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The digital era is here

The present issue carries two articles on the blessings and curses of digital archiving, where the dream is clearer than the reality. For decades scholars in numerous disciplines have visioned a future where primary materials from fieldwork and archives as well as books and articles relevant to a particular study can be selected via a computer and, today, via the Internet, and downloaded to form a virtual research archive, the only one of its kind in the world but indispensable for the scholar writing on a particular subject. Broad data coverage could be achieved without the scholar leaving his desk. Ideally, the analysis need not see paper at all, and the electronic manuscript could be e-mailed to colleagues, editors and finally printers. The work could be published on the Internet and the cost of the first print-out could be left to the customer.

A reality check on this electronic dream is merciless. The number of paper drafts and print-outs is much larger than it was before the digital era. The scholar incessantly takes safety copies of his text, also on paper. Referees and editors are unwilling to read on screen and the printer wants a paper copy for reference. The coverage of data available via the Internet is uneven at best. A particular keyword used in the search for information may bring in a deluge of data ranging from meagre to redundant. Bibliographic databanks may be slightly better than archival sources. The accessibility of the latter is curtailed by limitations on use and lack of digitised materials. It takes real expertise to identify the gaps and remedy the shortcomings of electronic data retrieval.

Yet the dream is pursued from various angles. Here such disciplines as the social sciences (anthropology sometimes included) and humanistic cultural studies (tradition sciences, such as folkloristics, comparative religion, and ethnology) start at opposite ends. As Tiina Mahlamäki shows, the tendency in social-scientific computer-based analysis is to proceed from quantitative to qualitative data, even if the process is modest and its realisation lies in the future. The social scientists seem to be aspiring towards the position already reached by their colleagues in the tradition sciences. The social-scientific research strategy pinpoints the systematic archiving of qualitative data and their re-use as a novel course of life. But preaching this innovation to tradition researchers would be meaningless, because they have been pursuing it all their lives.

Despite their different research traditions and attitudes to materials, technical cooperation between the social sciences and humanistic tradition research may not be out of place. The thing that easily gets lost in the process is history. Easier access to primary materials and the broader availability of archival sources and fieldwork results has been the goal of most folkloristic and ethnological institutions, archives and museums for more than a hundred years. The harmonisation of cataloguing and

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Some guidelines for the archiving of qualitative research data in the digital era

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This article addresses some of the aspects of qualitative research methods at present being debated internationally. My perspective is a broad one of the social sciences and also takes in anthropology and especially cultural studies. I shall be looking at international issues as viewed by one archive, that of the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Turku. So far the archive has collections on folkloristics, comparative religion and ethnology, but there are plans for incorporating the archaeology archive and collections as well.

There are main three topics I wish to deal with: 1) archiving culture, i.e. attitudes to the archiving and re-use of qualitative data in different disciplines, 2) the documentation of research data, i.e. the way researchers can be informed of existing materials, and finally 3) digitisation, i.e. the way and format in which materials should be stored and disseminated.

According to Louise Corti, there are a number of questions surrounding qualitative research data that call for global discussion. There should, on the one hand, be debate on the culture of sharing and the promotion of the secondary use of databases and research data in research policy, and on the other hand, the development of methods permitting the archiving and use of materials of a confidential nature. Greater documentation of contextual data providing raw material and background information on research data is, furthermore, needed in archiving. All in all there is a need to develop documentation standards and to promote the use of digital materials for research and teaching requirements. (Corti 2000: 17.)

Corti also claims that the climate of research is undergoing rapid warming in relation to qualitative materials, since interdisciplinary and mixed-method approaches are, at least in the social sciences, becoming increasingly common. Archives should take up the challenge without delay and supply researchers with information on the existence of qualitative data and its potential uses. (Corti 2000: 7.)

Archiving culture

Attitudes to archiving in the social sciences, particularly, are often rather negative. Researchers are most concerned about confidentiality and any agreements that may have been made between the collector and the informant at the time of collection. They may also be uncertain about the quality of their data, and afraid that subsequent users will find fault with the data collection and/or analysis. Researchers who

have personally worked in the field also feel it is impossible to share the experience of 'being there'; secondary users cannot be aware of all the details and backgrounds to the collection of the material. Such concerns are pointless as far as the archives are concerned, since scientific research should, surely, be open and testable; the work and data of any researcher should accordingly be freely available for others to examine and criticise. Obviously, researchers working on the same issues should, furthermore, have an opportunity to study information already collected on the subject in order to avoid duplication and to permit comparison. Good documentation, such as the keeping of a field diary, is also a vital element of archiving and fieldwork, in order to enable others to use the material without themselves going out into the field. (Corti 2000: 9–10.)

The attitude to archives adopted by anthropologists may also be regarded as a slight problem. While they are happy to use archive materials as an aid to both teaching and research, they are not greatly in favour of archiving their own materials. Allowing researchers access to their materials even at a very remote date in the future does not seem to be acceptable to anthropologists. Since the collection of the bulk of the research material has, however, in some way or another been financed out of public funds, the collector should surely be under primary obligation to duly archive his or her own materials for others to use. The Economic Social Research Council (ESRC)¹ at the UK Data Archive has taken the position that the institution funding research should also be allowed to have its say on the use of the materials produced, such as field diaries, photographs and sound recordings. It has therefore updated its Datasets Policy² to urge British researchers to look ahead to the archiving of their findings while still in the field. The policy covers such issues as allowing for the data protection of the informant from the early stages of the research, since this avoids having to delete field notes later in the name of data protection. Archiving generally speaking means thinking well ahead, to a time maybe decades or centuries in the future, by which time the names of individual informants will no longer be of any importance from a data protection point of view. This kind of policy has been self-evident for decades among the disciplines of folkloristics and comparative religion in Finland, because the collected data becomes

¹ <http://www.essex.ac.uk/QUALIDATA/>

² <http://www.esrc.ac.uk/Resfund.sec17.html>

Documenting

reference material for scientific study only if it properly archived. (Zeitlyn 2000: 1–2; Mahlamäki 2000: 24, 44–46.)

The archives in the social sciences have mainly concentrated on the collection, description and dissemination of quantitative survey data. Only in recent years have they become aware of the existence and the importance of the archiving and secondary use of qualitative materials. One indication of this sudden awareness is, for instance, the fact that for the first time ever the conference of the International Association of Social Science Information Service and Technology (IASSIST)³ held in Amsterdam on 14–18 May 2001 ran a session dedicated exclusively to qualitative data. The theme of the conference was Collaborative Working in the Social Science Cyber Space, and the numerous working groups widely discussed topical issues connected with the archiving and re-use of social science data and international collaboration. (Kleemola, Borg and Kuula 2001.)

A similar trend was evident at the seminar held by the UK Data Archive⁴ at the University of Essex, during which a whole-day workshop concentrating on the archiving and description of qualitative data was held on 3 September 2001. The workshop attracted a wide international attendance.

Attitudes in Finland to the secondary use of research data, especially in the social sciences, have been and still are very grudging. The situation was eased by the establishment of the Finnish Social Science Data Archive⁵ under the auspices of the University of Tampere in 1999. In addition to promoting the use of research data in the social sciences, the Data Archive also accepts qualitative data for description. (See e.g. Kuula 2000.) It also collaborates with such folklore archives as those of the Finnish Literature Society and the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Turku.

Culture researchers, especially the disciplines of folklore and comparative religion have always been far more well-disposed towards archiving their findings, being aware that scientific and postgraduate research are impossible without data either personally collected for a specific purpose or deposited in archives. New or re-analysed data alone creates the potential for new scientific discoveries. Students are therefore taught on the one hand to carry out the fieldwork in which one essential element is the process of archiving research data, and on the other hand to become familiar with the existing archive materials and their use. So the situation in social science in general and in folklore and comparative religion is quite the opposite. (Mahlamäki 2001; Honko et al. 2000.)

The purpose of a research archive is to collect, store and promote the re-use of scientific data. The metadata – the documentation related to the data – is a major factor with a view to the secondary use of the material. Metadata may be defined as data about data giving the information necessary for the effective, accurate use of the data. Regardless of the data format, proper documentation is crucial because the data may be used many years after its collection and very likely for purposes that are different from the original. Metadata is necessary for the re-user of the data, to indicate the intellectual content, geographical and temporal coverage, and the methods employed in its collection. Only well-documented data can be re-used. (Kleemola 1999; Kuula 2000: 3.)

Agreement was first reached on an international standard for describing social science data in the 1970s, but because archives needed different kinds of descriptions, used different data processing software and methods, the standard developed very many local ‘dialects’. In practice the data description did not therefore observe any standard. A move was made to rectify the situation in 1995 when the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (ICPSR) set up a committee to construct a standard for the description and coding of social science data. This standard was named the DDI (Data Documentation Initiative). (Kleemola 1999.)

The DDI model consists of five sections: 1) *document description*, describing the metadata of document itself and the sources used in creating it, 2) *study description*, containing information about the entire study, i.e. the content, the methods and the process of the data collection, the sources and access conditions, 3) *file description*, describing the files of data collection, 4) *variable description*, describing each single variable in the data file and 5) *other study-related materials*, including references to reports and publications or other machine readable documentation that is relevant to the users of the study.⁶ The description can also contain links to other materials, such as collection instructions, lists of interview themes, invitations to contribute material for competitions, observation lists, etc. Each main section is divided into sub-sections and elements. The original DDI, designed for quantitative data, has about 300 elements to be filled in. Some 50 of these are or could be made suitable for qualitative data. (Kuula 2000: 4–5.)

Although the DDI was originally designed for the description of quantitative data, it has in practice proved very handy for qualitative data, too. It has been tested in Finland at the Finnish Social Science Data Archive,⁷ and the archives of the Finnish Literature Society and the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Turku. It uses Extensible Markup

³ <http://datalib.library.ualberta.ca/iassist/>

⁴ <http://www.data-archive.ac.uk>

⁵ <http://www.fsd.uta.fi>

⁶ <http://www.fsd.uta.fi/~arjak/docuguide.html>

⁷ <http://www.fsd.uta.fi>

Language (XML), which permits direct transfer to the Internet and is neither software- nor hardware-dependent. It provides an extremely high degree of data protection, because no confidential data about informants is given. The DDI can be used to describe even large archive entities and to disseminate existing data via the Internet. (See Kuula 2000; Mahlamäki 2000.)

The DDI standard can easily be used together with the cataloguing system of an independent archive. The Collcard⁸ (Collection card) filing system in the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Turku that was edited in 1988 by Professor Lauri Honko and the researchers of the Department can be examined as a functional cataloguing system for research material. The Collcard filing system is first of all a medium for storing archive material on computer, and its content and structure are based on researchers' actual fieldwork experiences. With Collcard it is possible to start the archiving process immediately during fieldwork and it also makes it possible to catalogue all kinds of material according to the same system. It contains the most important basic data that must be known about a folklore item of scientific value. Collcard was first a paper version that was used in the field and later converted to a WordPerfect macro that was used when cataloguing the material in the database created in 1989. Now the Collcard form can be found and filled in on the Internet and can then be sent to the Archive by e-mail. (Honko et al. 1990; Huttunen 1992; Rajamäki 1989: 35; Mahlamäki 2000: 26–27.)

The DDI does not conflict or overlap with archives' own cataloguing systems because the data is at different levels. The cataloguing card, such as the Collcard, describes an individual archive item such as a photograph or a tape for archiving and secondary purposes and the databases based on it cannot be put on the Internet without violating confidentiality of the informants. Meanwhile DDI description gives information about existing sets of data in such a form that it does not conflict with protection of the informant, so that anyone interested in a particular corpus can approach the archive for further details.⁹

Digitising

Digitising is the process by which material in an archive (tapes, photographs, transliterations, etc.) is converted to a computer-readable form. The reasons for doing this are varied and numerous. The most concrete reason is that such materials are slowly but surely being destroyed, due partly to the effect of time and partly to defective archiving premises and

facilities. Materials are not, however, digitised merely to rescue them, since digitising also has great advantages for archivists and users alike. Once it has been done, the material is easy to handle, edit and store in, say, a different format, or backup copies can be made. Copies are quick and easy to run off for researchers, students and others, organisations or communities. Secondly, once a whole corpus has been digitised, it can be browsed on the net, and the user no longer needs a physical or the original copy. This both accelerates and updates work with archive materials and spares the original material the strain of handling and copying. (Muhonen 2001; Mahlamäki and Muhonen 2001.)

In autumn 1999 the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Turku had two reasons for concern: one was the poor state of its archive materials and the other the dwindling resources for carrying out the fieldwork vital to its disciplines. It was particularly worried about its sound and visual materials and manuscripts, which had been damaged by the far from perfect archiving premises and facilities. (Hankesuunnitelma 2000.)

The problem was most pressing for the sound tapes. According to investigations and surveys carried out by the Department of Folk Tradition at the University of Tampere, the contents of the reel tapes made in the 1950s are in immediate danger of destruction only a few years from now. The biggest danger is the degeneration of the glue binding the oxide surface of the tape to the spool. The archivist's nightmare is coming true: the information on the tapes disappears into outer space as the tape is wound. The photographs faced immediate destruction; the rubber glues of the 1960s had eaten into the photos, making it impossible to use them again. Manuscripts had also suffered from exposure to light and from variations in humidity and heat, and were gradually becoming illegible. (Kurkela 1999; Hankesuunnitelma 2000.)

Having contacted and made comparisons with other tradition archives, the working group investigating the Department's archives decided to recommend that the material should be rescued by converting it to digital format. Digitising is, of course, not the only way of saving endangered tapes. Copying onto quality analogical tapes would achieve the same purpose. The photos could likewise have been redeveloped from the original negatives and the manuscripts photocopied, but this would merely have postponed their demise, not prevented it. Photocopying would even have accelerated the disintegration process. Digitalisation has many other advantages. It is much cheaper than studio tape copying or processing, and it permits speedy, simple searching and copying of the materials digitalised. (Kurkela 1999.)

In the course of digitisation the archive material of the Department of Cultural Studies is being transferred to the TripHighway-based database maintained by the University of Turku and Åbo Akademi University. It will then be possible to access the

⁸ <http://www.utu.fi/hum/uskontotiede/english/collcard.htm>

⁹ See e.g. <http://www.kultut-arkistot.utu.fi/ddi/dditalvadas.html>

data online from a central database. The cataloguing of the material will thus be standardised and will permit searches for data on a specific topic from a single integrated database. The material will also be available online to researchers at other universities as specified in the archive bylaws. The database itself will be in a closed network and accessible only with passwords. Indexes and content descriptions according to the DDI standard can, however, be placed on the Internet to serve researchers, the media, the culture sector and others in their search for data and sources. Material in digital form will also be more readily available for research and teaching purposes, and it will be of special assistance in the development of virtual teaching. (Hankesuunnitelma 2000; Mahlamäki and Enges 2001.)

A number of problems have arisen in the planning and launching of the digitisation project. The rapid advances in digitising techniques and saving formats call for careful thought before committing the system to specific hardware, software and formats. The research ethics perspective must also be allowed for in documentation and the online and secondary use of data. Detailed planning is very important in the digitisation process, because the decisions made will be felt for a long time and they must be serviceable in contexts that may not necessarily be predictable at the time of planning. Data protection is of primary importance. The archive databases are subject to the Personal Data Act¹⁰ in force since December 1999 and the Act on the openness of government activities¹¹ because they contain confidential information on informants, such as their names, linked with details of religious or ideological convictions or other private affairs. Such data must never be allowed to fall into the wrong hands or to be used for commercial purposes. Nor may any information indicating the true identity of the informant be revealed in academic theses or papers without the consent of the informant. (Mahlamäki and Enges 2001.)

Conclusions

Finnish scholars – especially in cultural studies – can well be satisfied with the situation at present. This does not mean it can now sit back and relax, but the trend is in a very positive direction. Archiving and the secondary use of research material have, at least in folklore and comparative religion, been an inseparable part of the research culture for several decades. Students receive instruction in fieldwork, archiving and the use of archived material from the beginning of their academic careers and the archives are ensuring the storage, cataloguing and dissemination of their materials. The physical premises could, however, be better. The archives have also prepared for

the future, are aware of the dangers facing their materials and are taking steps to prevent them by digitising and cataloguing their materials in databases and making them accessible online to researchers.

Many of the questions facing the social science archives have already been solved in cultural studies, at least in Finland. The cultural studies archive at the University of Turku has had a functional Collcard filing system and a database for over a decade now. The digitisation project launched in 1999 makes it possible to search and use both the cataloguing cards and the original material (interviews, photographs and manuscripts) online according to the archive bylaws. The DDI descriptions of the datasets can be put on the Internet for anyone to access and the descriptions can be linked to the original data for registered users.

All archives have their own methods of cataloguing their material. These methods may have been in use for decades already, and there is no need to abandon them. But in addition to them there are grounds for adopting the international DDI standard for describing research datasets, since this permits the description of data on the Internet without infringing the copyright and data protection regulations, and spreads the information about existing collections to a larger research community.

Digitisation is the solution to many of the problems surrounding qualitative data. It can both rescue endangered materials and spare them the strain of use and copying. Data in digital format is easily accessed either over the net or on CD-ROM. Digital data can be widely processed to suit the needs of research, teaching and communications.

Digitisation is, however, a slow process, and many solutions and decisions have to be made on techniques, formats, copyright and data protection. Collaboration between archives is of decisive importance here. A network of cultural studies researchers in Finland has already been established for the technical side of the issue, and another is being set up to look into questions of ethics and copyright.

Finland, and cultural studies in particular, is thus playing an active part in the international move to archive, document and re-use qualitative research data. The biggest problem facing both Finland and the international community is the shortage of funds, despite the support granted in principle for the safeguarding of the cultural heritage by both the European Union and the Finnish Government.

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¹⁰ HetiL 523/1999

¹¹ JulkL 621/1999



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Kalevalaic poetry as a digital corpus

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The Kalevala, the epic compiled by Elias Lönnrot, is based on the ancient Baltic-Finnic poetry in the trochaic tetrameter subsequently known in Finland as Kalevalaic poetry. It is not, however, a single genre in itself since the metre has been widely cultivated in various genres: epic, lyric songs, wedding songs, incantations, riddles, proverbs, and so on.

Kalevalaic poetry played a major role in the establishment of a specifically Finnish culture and the Finnish nation. Lönnrot's Kalevala was a significant attempt to create a national history and mythology founded on tradition. Some oral poetry in the ancient metre had been collected and published even before the Kalevala, but the volume of material was greatly augmented as the result of the work of Lönnrot and later collectors. The bulk of the poetry has been preserved in the collections of the Finnish Literature Society since around the middle of the 19th century. Ever since the Kalevala was published, and even before, scholars have been proposing the publication of the texts as they were actually noted down from the original informants. The aim initially was to verify the authenticity of the Kalevala or to check whether the collation was correct. From the late 19th century onwards people began to realise that, rather than the Kalevala, the original texts were focal sources for the study of ancient poetry and through it of archaic Finnish-Karelian culture, history and religion. The outcome was the birth of Finnish folkloristics. The observations on the way Kalevalaic poetry changed in travelling from one locality to another were fundamental in the establishment of the geographical-historical or Finnish school. Projects

were launched aiming at the scientific publication of the original texts, and by the end of the century two volumes entitled "Kalevalan toisintoja" ("Les variants de Kalevala") had been published, one edited by Julius Krohn (1888) and the other by A. A. Borenius (1895). The editorial principles were, however, found to be too complex and the project was soon aborted. A new start was made at the very beginning of the 20th century, the aim being to publish a complete collection of all poetry in the Kalevalaic metre. The first volumes, containing Viena Karelian epic and edited by A. R. Niemi, appeared in 1908 and served as a model for the volumes dedicated to other regions published over the next 40 years. The result was an extensive collection of Kalevalaic poetry preserved in archives: *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* ("The Ancient Poems of the Finnish People"), commonly known for short as SKVR. The series is in 14 regional sections (33 volumes, 1908–1948) with the addition in 1997 of a volume containing texts by four leading collectors not previously published. The complete SKVR runs to over 27,000 pages and more than 86,000 items; including the different versions of the same text by one informant, the number of items totals well over 100,000.

Although the different volumes of SKVR were published over a long period of time, there were many editors and the process was at times laborious

¹ Hautala, Jouko 1957: Vicissitudes in publishing the Ancient Poetry of the Finnish People. *Studia Fennica* VII:5. Helsinki.

and far from smooth,¹ the volumes all observed the same underlying editorial principles and look, with only minor variations.

The main editorial principles were as follows:

1. The texts are arranged into subcategories under the main generic headings (epic, lyric poetry, occasional poetry, incantations), and finally specific "poems" (a particular song, incantation, rhyme, etc.). The variants of each specific poem are arranged geographically.
2. Every effort was made to publish every available text in the Kalevalaic metre; texts that were regarded as not "genuine archaic poetry", i.e. learnt from books, were in some cases excluded.
3. Infinite precision was observed in publishing collectors' notes. The texts are published as such, preserving all their special features, diacritic characters, additions and corrections. Any additions by the editors are placed in square brackets [].
4. Each text is accompanied by background information using a standard format, such as the source locality, collector and performer (the "metadata", to use the modern terminology).

Thanks to the standard editorial principles and the accuracy of the copying (the texts were, for example, proofread several times, comparing them with the original texts), it has been possible for scholars to use SKVR as a source without having to refer to the original notes. SKVR further assigns each text a number of its own that can be used as such as a source reference.

The Finnish Literature Society began digitalising SKVR in 1998. The conversion of the texts into digital format by scanning and OCR (Optical Character Recognition) was assigned to an Estonian team as Estonia already had experience of such work. The task was to produce a version that was character-by-character identical with SKVR; this is now being processed to form a serviceable text corpus in the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society. The leader of the project at the Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum in Tartu was Arvo Krikmann and the assignment took two years to complete.

The Folklore Archives also contain a large volume (over 60,000 texts) of Kalevalaic poetry that is not included in SKVR, most of it collected after the regional volumes had already been published. This material is being digitised in Tartu in the course of 2001 and will be appended to the SKVR corpus.

The objective of the original SKVR was to produce source material that was readily accessible to scholars of archaic Finnish poetry. Researchers no longer needed to rely on the archives and to handle vulnerable manuscripts that were difficult to read and sometimes in poor condition. The individual researcher could borrow or buy the whole series at a

time and work on it in his or her own study. Similar reasons once again prompted the digitalisation of SKVR, because manual browsing through the entire, vast series is time-consuming and laborious. Nor can researchers today necessarily afford to buy the whole series, and some of the volumes are sold out. Now, researchers can access the entire opus on screen and conduct more efficient searches.

The digital text is no more than a character string. In order to facilitate various search functions, to view texts in a logical format or to exchange data with other computers, the text must be converted into a compatible form. This process is called structuring and the method used to do it markup. Texts can be marked up by, for example, inserting tags to indicate the beginning and end of a given type of data.

In the printed SKVR items are marked by typographical means. The human brain can, by combining visual and semantic elements, distinguish between the metadata, the original manuscript text, or the name of the collector or informant.

The images produced by scanning have been converted into text by OCR and the typographical information has been preserved by saving it as a Word file. The preservation of features is, however, not an end in itself but a means of enabling the computer to add structuring tags to the text. The first stage – structuring and marking up the typographical features of SKVR – is being carried out in Estonia. The structure and markup will then be verified and supplemented in Finland.

The potential of common word processors for marking up a corpus of text is limited and in most cases program-specific. In transferring from one program to another, typographical signs such as type of text, line changes, division into paragraphs, etc., no longer have universal application. Special characters are a major problem. A researcher working on a text over a long period of time must always use a particular program and even version of a program, and information will probably be lost when a text is transferred from one system to another.

Digitised texts must therefore be saved in some standardised format that is not program-specific and must be marked up in some standardised way. The SKVR project therefore uses XML (Extensible Markup Language), a subset of SGML (Standard Generalized Markup Language). XML is a platform-independent way of marking up, saving and transferring data in text form.²

XML is a universal, growing standard. Being platform-independent and well-supported, it is a safe way of storing data for the future. Another reason for choosing XML is its flexibility. The elements, their attributes, the relationships between the elements and the entities can be defined by creating a document type definition (DTD) that can then be used to

² Further details from the website of the developer of the standard, The World Wide Web Consortium, <http://www.w3.org/XML>

check that text created by scanning, OCR and mechanical structuring is structurally correct (all the vital elements are present and in the right places and there is nothing “extra” in the text). Many standard document type definitions (DTDs) exist, such as TEI (Text Encoding Initiative) for coding digital texts for purposes of research.³ The use of a standard DTD would enhance the corpus by improving its comparability and transferability to other corpuses and by providing ready software for accessing texts. The uniform principles observed in the editing of SKVR and the accuracy and precision of the work have proved to be fundamental assets in converting the work to digital format. The uniform structure and standard markup methods mean that the initial structuring of the texts can be done by computer, thus appreciably reducing the time spent doing this. In view of this, we have decided that we will initially use a document type definition of our own. It is possible and even probable that we may at some point in the future transfer and convert to some standard DTD, but this will require additional manual marking up and text analysis – no mean undertaking in a corpus of over 100,000 text units.

All the 400 or more special characters appearing in SKVR are being preserved. This will ensure that the digital SKVR can be used as such as source material for research, in preparing publications and in other demanding assignments. The special characters are being coded according to the Unicode system, which so far runs to over 90,000 characters.⁴

The SKVR volumes comprise 1) source references and an introduction outlining the editing principles, 2) a table of contents that at the same time constitutes the volume’s motif index, and 3) the main body of the volume, the actual texts. The only items apart from the numbered texts are almost all poetic genre, subgenre and individual poem type headings, and they are also listed in the contents. Some volumes also have an index of informants.

The numbered texts are, in the digitised SKVR, in a corpus of their own separate from the rest of the text. The introductions and indexes have also been digitalised, but they are used separately, parallel to the text corpus. Each numbered text in the corpus constitutes a single item that always has the same, recurring structure. Each item is divided hierarchically into elements and has three main constituents: metadata, text and references.

The metadata consists of the text number, topographical data, the name of the collector, the archive reference, the date of collection, and other information such as, in many cases, the name of the informant. The structure is the same from one unit to another. The metadata is formatted by the editors of the publication, either according to the original source or sometimes by inference. Unfortunately the source is not always clearly stated.

³ See <http://etext.virginia.edu/TEI.html>

⁴ See the Unicode Home Page, <http://www.unicode.org/>

Although the metadata supplied by SKVR is for the most part very consistent, there is some variation in, for example, the orthography of people’s names and place names (abbreviations), and the writing of dates (far from the “yyyy-mm-dd” format). One particular obstacle to systematic searching and indexing is posed by the informants’ names, for it is impossible for the computer to distinguish between these and other-information elements. A more systematic, revised version of the metadata may prove necessary for computerised data retrieval.

The elements of the text unit are the lines of poetry, episodes in prose, titles/headings, and editorial comments.

The reference unit contains footnotes: both editorial comments and commentaries and notes on corrections, additions and deletions in the manuscripts.

The following is an example of variant VII₄ 2168 as printed⁵ and as XML text:

**2168. Rääkkylä. Hyvärinen, A. n. 323,
—02.**

**Rasivaara. Loviisa Asikainen, 76 v.
Kuullut lapsuudessaan Kiteen Potoskavaarassa.**

Päivännäkemättömällä kun paineltiin, sanottiin:

Puuhun¹ muhkat, muahan mahkat,

**kantoin² ves'näräpät;
elä immeiseen tähän
ennee nosta muhkii!**

2168. ¹ kk:ssa pieni alkukirjain. — ² r. (kantoihin).

```
<ITEM nro="ib21680">
<META>
<ID>2168.</ID>
<LOC>Rääkkylä.</LOC>
<COL>Hyvärinen,</COL>
<SGN>A. n. 323.</SGN>
<TMP>—02.</TMP>
<INF>
```

Rasivaara. Loviisa Asikainen, 76 v. Kuullut lapsuudessaan Kiteen Potoskavaarassa.

⁵ Translation:

“2168. [Parish] Rääkkylä. [collector] Hyvärinen, A. [archive number] n. 323. [year] -02.

[Place] Rasivaara. [informant] Loviisa Asikainen, [age] 76 years. Heard this in her childhood at Potoskavaara of Kitee.

When [a tumour] was pressed with something that has not seen the daylight, it was said:

To a tree the lumbs, to the ground the bumps,
to treestubs the water blisters;
do not raise lumbs
to this person any more!

¹ in the manuscript a small initial letter. — ² r. (to treestubs). ”

```

</INF>
</META>
<TEXT>
  <L>Päivännäkemättömällä kun paineltiin, sa-
nottiin:</L>
  <V>Puuhun#1 muhkat, muahan mahkat,</V>
  <V>kantoin#2 ves'näräpät;</V>
  <V>elä immeiseen tähän</V>
  <V>ennee nosta muhkii!</V>
</TEXT>
<REFS>
#1 kk:ssa pieni alkukirjain.
#2 r. (kantoihin).
</REFS>
</ITEM>

```

Note that in the printed publication the metadata does not include title data. The XML tags are ITEM = text item, META = metadata, ID = SKVR number, LOC = locality data, COL = collector, SGN = archive number, TMP = time (year) of collection, INF = other information (here: informant's home village, name and age and information on learning of poem), TEXT = text copied from manuscript, L = prose commentary, V = verse, REFS = footnotes.

XML is one way of saving structured data as a text file, but it does not do anything. XML texts are, with their tags and entities, difficult to read as such. A program is needed to interpret them, and several are available. The latest versions of the common Internet browsers, for example (Microsoft Internet Explorer 5 and later), are capable of showing XML text in a readable format and can, with an additional stylesheet, present text almost exactly as it looks in the original. It is thus possible to browse texts in just the same way as original texts, to copy text and to make simple word searches.

The biggest advantage of digital text is naturally that it permits efficient, comprehensive searches of an entire corpus for which a database is required. XML permits the transfer of data to many different database programs. In the database the elements constitute a search field of their own, and the search can be targeted at a particular element, or the search can be limited so as to find several character strings in the same element (such as a verse). A database accessible to researchers via the Internet is to be established in the course of the present project.

The index to each volume of SKVR is also a thematic index. The thematic classification is approximately the same for all the volumes, but there are some differences of detail, naming practices, etc., and there are many things missing from the tables of contents. The Finnish Literature Society is drawing up a comprehensive, standard thematic index of all the volumes that will, when complete, be of service to the digital SKVR as well.

The structure defined in the DTD consists only of the logical structure; it does not concern the content of texts. The structure has neither elements nor attributes describing themes, motifs, poetic devices or linguistic features. These can, however, be added

later: researchers can obtain a copy of the corpus or some section of it to which they can add the structures they need, and they can then use this copy as a basis for analyses. The basic corpus thus remains untouched, permitting as many potential uses as possible.

The digital corpus will be as close a copy of the published SKVR as possible. It should be noted that it does not seek to be a copy of the original sources, the manuscripts in the archives, because the latter texts have a different structure corresponding to a different DTD. The printed SKVR adheres faithfully to the information in the sources, but isolating the texts and text units from their contexts and compiling the metadata have caused some confusion and errors. No attempt has been made to rectify these in the digital corpus: the aim has not been to produce a new edition requiring source criticism of its own.

Source criticism is important whatever the mode of a work: printed or digital. It often necessitates study of the original sources, which is possible in the archives, through microfilm copies or, in the future – hopefully – browsing facsimile copies of the original manuscripts on the net.⁶ The digital SKVR will greatly facilitate the use of the material and searches. The more comprehensive search functions may raise new ideas for research. Even so, researchers will still have to be thoroughly familiar with their materials and be critical of the sources. Computers are a useful tool, but they cannot solve problems or draw conclusions. □

⁶ Some examples can be viewed via the MUISTI database, http://www.lib.helsinki.fi/memory/haku_e.html. Search e.g. author="berg, o". The Digitised Archive Material in Cultural Studies project of the Academy of Finland is, in the course of 2000–2001, digitising in facsimile format all the collection manuscripts of Elias Lönnrot. This material will in due course be accessible to researchers as a companion to the SKVR corpus.

Anna Birgitta Rooth and folkloristics in Sweden

by Professor *Barbro Klein*,
SCASSS, Uppsala

Anna Birgitta Rooth died on June 5, 2000. With her passing the world lost an important folklorist and a generous human being who had much success but also met with many hardships.

Born in 1919 into a well-to-do family in the small southern Swedish town of Ängelholm, Anna Birgitta Rooth chose nearby Lund to pursue her university studies. At Lund she became a student of Carl Wilhelm von Sydow and, in 1951, she defended her Ph.D. dissertation under his direction. In 1964, she was appointed research scholar (*forskardocent*) at Lund University and in 1973 she succeeded Dag Strömbäck as full professor at Uppsala University. But while, during his tenure, the position was specified as one in "Nordic and Comparative Folklife Research, Particularly Folkloristics", it was named a position in "Ethnology" only, when Anna Birgitta Rooth took over. The word "folkloristics" had been deleted. Indeed, in a formal sense, a folkloristic specialization had ceased to exist in Sweden in 1972, when Folklife Research and Folkloristics were united into one field, Ethnology. Although this unification eventually had significant consequences for folklore study in Sweden, a folkloristic specialization did in fact continue, at least until 1984, when Anna Birgitta Rooth retired from her position at Uppsala University.

From Cinderella to The Garden of Delights

Anna Birgitta Rooth's scholarly output comprises seven major books, several smaller monographs, two or three books intended for teaching and a great number of articles, lectures and conference papers. The topics range across genres, periods, geographical areas and themes. In her work many early signals of coming disciplinary developments can be detected; at the same time her own interests come forth loud and clear throughout her career.

In many respects, Anna Birgitta Rooth's first three major works constitute one group. The first of these, her highly praised doctoral dissertation *The Cinderella Cycle* (1951), is still required reading in folklore courses around the world. In this study of motif distribution she criticizes an idea that was common among students of the historic-geographic method, namely that the Cinderella story, along with other wonder tales, was, as a matter of course, a part of "the Indo-European heritage". This, Rooth notes, was not true: the paths of dissemination were far more complex than that. In her investigation of the

Cinderella cycle she also emphasizes that the ultimate goal of studies such as hers is not only to elucidate folktale connections as such but, above all, "to contribute to the knowledge of the relationship between different cultures" and "to further anthropological science" (p. 234).

In other words, Anna Birgitta Rooth was already formulating wide-ranging ambitions in her dissertation. Such ambitions were spelled out also in her second major work, *Loki in Scandinavian Mythology* (1961). In this study of "the kaleidoscopic trickster character" Loki, Rooth threw herself into debates with celebrated scholars in folkloristics, comparative religion, philology and other fields. She ends her long treatise connecting Loki to *locke*, a Swedish dialect word for "spider" and to such trickster figures as Anansi the Spider in African and African American traditions. Although Rooth's book on Loki has met with a great deal of criticism, not least because of the bold leaps of faith that it requires from the reader, there can be no doubt that her reasoning is clear and logical. A similar clarity characterizes yet another substantial study which appeared only a year after the Loki book: *The Raven and the Carcass. An Investigation of a Motif in the Deluge Myth in Europe, Asia, and North America* (1962). It is exciting to follow Rooth's discussion of the deluge story from the Gilgamesh epos to North American Indian nineteenth century traditions. It is equally exciting to follow her learned perusal of iconographic material. In my view, *The Raven and the Carcass* is one of the best of all Rooth's works.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Anna Birgitta Rooth published anthologies and other works (mostly in Swedish) intended for use in teaching. Foremost among these is the book *Folklig Diktning. Form och teknik* ("Folk Poetry: Form and Technique", 1965) in which she analyzes metaphors, imagery, dialogue and other formal aspects of the traditional verbal arts. While in some ways this book remains useful, it is also strikingly out-of-date, not least in the light of the many ethnographically based publications on oral literary style and textualization that have appeared during the past few decades. Rooth's lack of attention to oral style is especially surprising, since fieldwork was by no means foreign to her. During the 1960s and 1970s, in particular, she was deeply engaged in studying the storytelling of the Athabaskan Indians in Alaska among whom she worked on several occasions. However, it must be remembered that to Rooth, the ethnography of storytelling was no end in itself; to her, fieldwork was closely linked to comparative textual studies. Indeed, she empha-

sized many times that the impetus for her work in Alaska came from her diffusion studies: her original motivation for going there was that she had not been able to find material from that part of the world when she did research for *The Raven and the Carcass*. But once in the field, she became fascinated with the people themselves, with their lives and their stories. Her field studies in Alaska generated two substantial books. In one, *The Alaska Expedition 1966: Myths, Customs and Beliefs among the Athabascan Indians and the Eskimos of Northern Alaska* (1971), she presents an annotated collection of narratives and songs; but in the book she also describes and critiques her methods of interviewing and transcribing. In the other, a small book entitled *The Importance of Storytelling. A Study based on Field Work in Northern Alaska* (1976), she analyzes the collected material. This book is full of astute observations on oral style, narrative technique and the role of narration in the upbringing of children (cf. Janssen 1978). But the study is also disorganized and fragmentary; in some ways, it seems unfinished.

It appears that her experiences in Alaska inspired Anna Birgitta Rooth to take a greater interest than she had shown before in the study of folklore as situated communication. The clearest evidence of this interest is *L. O. En Analys av en småbrukarhustrus trosvärld* ("L. O. An analysis of the belief world of a sharecropper's wife", 1981). In this book she endeavours to understand her informant's many stories about experiences with supernatural beings and forces. The methodological discussion concerns the extent to which interviews and transcriptions of these are at all capable of saying much about the "panorama" of a person's beliefs and experiences with the supernatural. The discussion is important methodologically and, clearly, in this book Rooth was ahead of her time in addressing questions of epistemology and ethics. At the same time, it is striking that, despite her orientation toward Anglo-American folklore studies, she did not seem to be aware of such methodological innovations of the 1960s and 1970s as the ethnography of speaking and ethnopoetics. In her works, Rooth never debates these "schools"; she neither rejects nor accepts them. Furthermore, as is the case with *The Importance of Storytelling*, the book about L. O. is rhapsodic and fragmentary.

During the final decades of her life, Anna Birgitta Rooth returned to themes and ideas that she had touched upon many times before. But now she added a great deal of new material and many fresh ideas. In the penultimate of her substantial works, *Från lögsnäsaga till paradiset* ("From tall tale to paradise", 1983), she continued the discussion of the domains of belief. But in this book, the perspectives differ from those that dominate in the book about L. O. and Rooth now focuses on the conditions needed for belief in the improbable. The materials she analyzes in this richly illustrated book range from tall tales and miracle stories to verbal and visual descriptions of paradise.

"From tall tale to paradise" constitutes a stepping stone to Anna Birgitta Rooth's last major work, *Exploring the Garden of Delights. Essays in Bosch's Paintings and the Medieval Mental Culture* (1992). Here her long interest in visual imagery is at the center of attention and she utilizes, as much as possible, the resources of the Iconographical Archives which she had founded in Lund and subsequently moved to Uppsala. In special focus are paintings made by Bosch or attributed to him; the painting "The Garden of Delights" is of central interest. Rooth wishes to demonstrate that Bosch was no mystic, cryptic or alchemist, as has often been claimed. Rather, his paintings represent a late Medieval "mental culture". What Bosch does, she emphasizes, is to utilize or allude to late Medieval beliefs, laws, carnival customs, narratives, proverbs and the like, i.e. to materials that would have been comprehensible to his contemporaries and appreciated by them.

Anna Birgitta Rooth is said to have regarded *Exploring the Garden of Delights* as her best work and, to be sure, in the book communicates a profound sense of completion and closure. Yet, this work has not received a great deal of recognition among Swedish folklorists. On the contrary, it has hardly been discussed at all. One reason for this is perhaps that Anna Birgitta Rooth studied visual art in ways that are more unusual in the Nordic countries than in continental and southern Europe. But there are also other reasons to which I shall return presently.

Anna Birgitta Rooth and folkloristics in Sweden

In many ways, Anna Birgitta Rooth's work is exciting. It spans a great number of approaches, genres, geographical areas and historical periods. It includes intensive fieldwork in local communities as well as investigations of the distribution of narratives and visual forms. Yet, in my view, Rooth is stronger in her studies of large-scale motif distribution than in analyses based on fieldwork. Indeed, as I have hinted at above, she often criticized scholars involved with intensive field studies with a few informants, warning against the risk of such studies becoming ends in themselves. The large questions of historical and geographical connections must never be forgotten, she observed. She herself never hesitated to ask the large questions. In some ways, through her insistence that micro studies had to be linked to studies of macro connections, she foreboded today's interests in the interrelationships between the local and the global: as early as 1969, she entitled an anthology of her own articles, *Lokalt och globalt* ("Local and global"). And there can be no doubt that it was Rooth's life-long ambition to go beyond narrower local interests that helped to make her an internationally noted scholar. Indeed, she became almost as well known among folklorists around the world as her teacher, Carl Wilhelm von Sydow. At the same time, and not unlike him, she seems to have been

underestimated in her home country. Yet, if one looks for Swedish members among such internationally recognized bodies as the editorial board of the Folklore Fellows' Communications, one finds von Sydow and Rooth who both served the series many years as internationally oriented outstanding folklorists of their country.

There are many reasons why the work of Anna Birgitta Rooth does not stand at the center of folkloristic attention in Sweden – and never has done. One is that she was not particularly successful as professor of ethnology at Uppsala University. Although she was a good teacher in the sense that she was an engaging speaker, she did not create a student following. Although some interesting Ph.D. dissertations were written under her tutelage, such as Kerstin Rodin's (1981) study of a proverb in late Medieval iconography, Rooth did not create a school of folkloristics. What was perhaps even more detrimental was her failure as an administrator and university politician. The anecdotes and other forms of folklore portraying her difficulties in those respects are legion. Another problem was the kind of woman she was. Many stories allude to Anna Birgitta Rooth's charming and, allegedly, whimsical femininity and, not least, to the fact that she was beautiful and often elegantly dressed. Her dramatic entré at a faculty dinner, wearing a white robe and a large white fur collar, is proverbial. "The Swan Queen", a well-known (male) professor is said to have whispered aloud (Andræ 2000). Like other forms of folklore, this anecdote can be understood in many ways. One way is to interpret it in the light of Rooth's position as a woman professor in the male-dominated faculty of humanities at an ancient and ceremonious university. She had to find ways to assert herself among colleagues who could be condescending and patronizing. It seems to me that Anna Birgitta Rooth suffered much more as professor of ethnology at Uppsala University than she let on. In any case, to me it is clear that she did her best scholarly work before and after her tenure in Uppsala.

It is perhaps significant that not only Anna Birgitta Rooth but also Sven Liljeblad died in the year 2000 and that, thus, two internationally known Swedish folklorists of grand stature, both with anthropological interests and both students of Carl-Wilhelm von Sydow, passed away within a few months of each other. It is to be hoped that this coincidence will lead to a re-evaluation of folkloristics in Sweden in the past and to reflections on the future of the discipline in the country. In many ways, it seems to me that the Swedish folkloristic achievements have been richer, more varied, and more suggestive than recent debates – inside and outside Sweden – have indicated.

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Anna Birgitta Rooth's main works:

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Loki in Scandinavian Mythology. Lund: CWK Gleerup (= Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, LXI). 1961.

The Raven and the Carcass. An Investigation of a Motif in the Deluge Myth in Europe, Asia, and North America. FF Communications No. 186. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica. 1962.

Folklig Diktning. Form och teknik ["Folk poetry. Form and technique"]. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 1965.

Livet i Lergökastan ["Life in 'Clay Pipe Town'"], edited by Anna Birgitta Rooth. Lund: CWK Gleerup. 1966.

Ordspråk från södra Sverige. Ordnade efter åsikter, värderingar, samhällssyn. Med en inledning om etnologiska och sociala aspekter på ordspråken ["Proverbs from southern Sweden. Arranged in accordance with opinions, values, social views. With an introduction on ethnological and social aspects on the proverbs"]. Lund: Studentlitteratur. 1968.

Lokalt och globalt ["Local and global"]. 2 volumes. Lund: Studentlitteratur. 1969.

Folkdikt och folktro ["Folk poetry and folk belief"], edited by Anna Birgitta Rooth. Lund: CWK Gleerup. 1971.

The Alaska Expedition 1966. Myths, Customs and Beliefs among the Athabaskan Indians and the Eskimos of Northern Alaska, collected and annotated by Anna Birgitta Rooth. Lund: CWK Gleerup (= Acta Universitatis Lundensis, Sectio I:14). 1971.

The Importance of Storytelling. A Study Based on Field Work in Northern Alaska. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell International (= Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, *Studia Ethnologica Upsaliensia* 1). 1976.

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indexing methods in order to promote the exchange of information between scholars and institutions holding primary collections has occupied the minds of researchers and archivists for even longer and has constituted the basis for intensive cooperation between teaching and archiving institutions in the tradition sciences.

In the Nordic context, the late Nordic Institute of Folklore (1959–96) made considerable contributions by creating tools for harmonisation and by organising quadrennial “archive and documentation conferences” for archivists and university teachers dealing with primary research materials. One of the tools was *A Guide to Nordic Tradition Archives* (ed. by Gun Herranen and Lassi Saressalo, NIF Publications 7, 1978), a survey of 92 institutions in Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden, their holdings and principles of archiving. The book reflects the broad variety of institutions in question: a “tradition archive” may be an archive, library or museum, dominated by ethnological, folkloristic, historical, medical, musicological, linguistic or religious interests and focusing on ancient manuscripts, interview materials, iconographic sources, audiovisual, radio or TV documents.

Bringing together such diversity was an achievement in itself but the word “harmonisation” was not to be taken too literally: most institutions had very individual backgrounds and strategic profiles and any attempt to unify their codes of action was doomed to fail. This became clear at the NIF archiving and documentation conferences which focused on new problems such as the copyright issue and the development of indexing and, as early as 1984, computerised archiving (*Glemmer lidt men lærer langsomt. EDB i de folkloristiske arkiver*, ed. by Carsten Bregenhøj and Gun Herranen, NIF Publications 14, 1984). Many of the problems debated by social scientists today were being discussed by Nordic folklorists twenty years ago.

Consequently, it is no wonder that in the eyes of folklorists the social scientists dealing with the archiving of qualitative data occasionally seem to be inventing the wheel. For example, the Collcard developed in Turku in 1988 is analytically more advanced than the DDI model of data description. Unfortunately, the developers of the latter had no knowledge of Collcard or other similar tools.

Modern digitisation and data retrieval are full of unsolved problems for anyone willing to solve them. Jukka Saarinen describes the level of accuracy needed for textual data description. The world is full of different languages for folkloristic datalogy whereas the DDI model speaks only English. Yet, the concerted effort of all branches of social and cultural research, as Tiina Mahlamäki recommends, and the creation of a common language of documentation and data exchange, is an objective which deserves the crossdisciplinary support of all active scholars.

Lauri Honko

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Reviews

Le style et les formules dans les contes oraux du Maghreb

Maarten Kossmann, *A Study of Eastern Moroccan Fairy Tales*. Folklore Fellows' Communications No. 274. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), 2000. 156 pp. Hard (ISBN 951-41-0880-9), FIM 100 Soft (ISBN 951-41-0881-7), FIM 80

Available at the Tiedekirja Bookstore,
Kirkkokatu 14, 00170 Helsinki, Finland
(tel.: +358 9 635177; fax: +358 9 635017;
e-mail: tiedekirja@tsv.fi).

Maarten Kossmann est bien connu des spécialistes pour ses travaux de linguistique berbère du Maroc et son intérêt pour la linguistique historique de la famille des langues berbères. Il a publié: *Grammaire du parler berbère de Figuig* (1997); *Essai sur la phonologie du proto-berbère* (1999); *Esquisse grammaticale du rifain occidental* (2000). Il est actuellement chargé de l'édition d'importants travaux inédits, laissés par Werner Vycichl.

Linguiste de terrain, M. Kossmann est naturellement attentif à l'oralité: il a recueilli des contes, en a traduit et publié en néerlandais. Il les étudie, ici, en s'inspirant d'une démarche scientifique avérée, celle de Max Lüthi (1975, 1985). Rappelons qu'au Maghreb, comme dans bien d'autres régions, c'est aux linguistes que nous devons, dans le passé, les textes les plus fiables. Qu'il suffise de citer, pour le seul Maroc, les corpus en dialectes berbères (A. Socin et H. Stumme 1894; H. Stumme 1895; V. Loubignac 1924; A. Renisio 1932; E. Destaing 1937) et ceux en dialectes arabes (par exemple: W. Marçais 1911 et G. Colin 1955 et 1957).

Nous saluons donc, avec plaisir, la parution de ce petit livre que publie M. Kossmann dans la très sérieuse et élégante collection ci-dessus mentionnée.

M. Kossmann étudie ici un corpus de quatre contes oraux en berbère du Maroc oriental (parfois émaillés d'arabe), dont il donne les textes originaux en annexes (pp. 104–149): les deux premiers, inédits (AT 451 et 707) ont été recueillis par lui-même à Figuig (1990 et 1991), les deux autres sont deux versions différentes (AT 480) d'un même conte des Beni Iznassen, l'une publiée par A. Renisio (1932) et l'autre extraite du manuscrit d'une thèse (Abdelkader Bezzazi, 1993). La présentation phrase à

phrase (texte marocain et traduction), de ces deux versions d'un même conte permet d'apprécier une étonnante et remarquable constance du récit recueilli à soixante années d'intervalle auprès de locuteurs du même parler, si suggestive que la comparaison est traitée, d'emblée, en introduction (pp. 11–18). Ce comparatisme fondé sur le corpus des quatre textes, a guidé l'auteur dans le plan de l'exposé qui suit, étendu à l'ensemble de la littérature orale de cette grande région de l'Est marocain.

Après avoir présenté le contexte culturel local, M. Kossmann analyse le contenu des contes à travers les histoires, les personnages, le temps, les lieux familiers de l'univers du conte, les genres littéraires, toujours fondés sur des exemples tirés des textes (chap. I, pp. 19–38). Le choix de ces textes est judicieux: légende de "The Walking Tribe" (pp. 22–23) qui rend compte de l'origine des institutions, telles que la solidarité de la vie sociale; histoires facétieuses du très populaire Jha, frère de Nasreddin Hodja, et contes des deux compères, Chacal et Hérisson, illustrant l'art si prisé de la ruse et des jeux de mots (pp. 24–28).

L'approche de la structure (II, 39–51) permet de montrer l'équilibre de la composition – enchaînement successif de scènes en épisodes et d'épisodes en actes, selon le schéma proposé –, l'intégration de deux récits en un seul (AT 451), d'y reconnaître des parallélismes (dont l'auteur croit pouvoir souligner le caractère binaire), puis d'évoquer les formes des introductions, des épilogues, et les "éléments de liaison". La fonction, souvent complexe, de ces "Connective Phrases" – que nous avons coutume d'appeler "signaux démarcatifs", à la suite de Paulette Galand-Pernet (1973–74, 1976, 1981 et surtout 1998) – mériterait, à nos yeux, que le linguiste s'y attardât davantage ici (note 45, p. 49), comme ultérieurement ("Temporal Structure", 65–69).

Sont ensuite analysés (III, 52–73) quelques aspects du style des contes: la sobriété de l'expression, l'absence de description, les actions de magie, les dialogues si fréquents, certaines répétitions et quelques indications de gestuelle et de communication avec le public (exemple d'apartés où le narrateur semble prendre fait et cause pour un personnage sous la forme répétitive: *meskin(a)*, "le/la pauvre"). Ajoutons – trait notable illustré par le conte de *Sarsara*, Annexe A – l'utilisation du procédé artistique, de mise en abyme. De même que la pièce jouée dans *Hamlet* permet, indirectement, de faire éclater

la vérité, de même le récit raconté à la veillée par le personnage de notre conte est-il le moyen, à la fois subtil et incontestable, de révéler la trahison dont cette jeune fille a été victime. Assez fréquente dans le conte maghrébin, d'expression berbère comme d'expression arabe, la mise en abyme revêt diverses formes: celle du "conte dans le conte" comme ici, celle d'un proverbe, ou celle d'un objet, tel un tapis dont les images offertes à la vue reconstituent les faits dans leur authenticité. Dans tous les cas, le procédé répond au goût marqué du public pour l'allusion, tout en s'inscrivant dans la dynamique du récit.

Vient le quatrième et dernier chapitre (pp. 74–103) consacré à la "formule", prise dans la signification et la fonction propres au conte. Deux catégories, également marquées par le rythme et l'assonance, en sont examinées:

1) formules initiales et finales, généralement brèves et poétiques.

Les premières ont pour fonction d'introduire l'auditoire dans le monde merveilleux:

"Il y avait jadis et il n'y avait pas ...
Il y avait du basilic et du lys,
Des roses et du myrte,
Dans les jardins du Sultan" (p. 76).

Les dernières permettent au narrateur de se désolidariser de son histoire, pour mieux se protéger des éventuels maléfiques que pourraient exercer les forces surnaturelles du conte:

"J'ai laissé mon histoire dans la rivière
Et je suis venu(e) parmi les gens de cœur"
(p. 77).

2) formules, plus ou moins développées, qui interviennent dans le récit auquel elles sont le plus souvent (hormis quelques expressions religieuses) intimement liées.

Un trait commun aux deux: leur formulation en langue arabe. Notons qu'une typographie différente permet de repérer aisément ces formules, à la lecture du texte du conte (pp. 105–109).

Pourquoi le recours à l'arabisme, de la part du conteur berbérophone? Telle est la question qui se pose. M. Kossmann dégage, au moyen de nombreux exemples concrets, les fonctions qu'en revêt l'usage, dans la société concernée: tantôt parodiques (p. 83), tantôt esthétiques (comme dans le cas qui nous occupe). Soit dit en passant: ce jeu verbal, rendu possible par les contacts entre langues, n'est pas unique au Maroc; témoin: ces poèmes bilingues appelés "broderies" (*matrúz*) où alternent vers arabes et vers hébraïques (Zafrani 1996).

En ce qui concerne la formule initiale la plus courante (pp. 105, 116, 126), précisons d'abord qu'elle est empruntée à l'expression arabe en usage dans le jeu des devinettes, *hajît-kum*, ou à sa variante *hajît-kum ma jît-kum* (voire *ma jît-ek*) où dominant, plus que le sens des mots, les parallélismes et les asso-

nances. La formule, en effet, correspond simplement à "je te donne une devinette à deviner" et, en début de conte, à "voici mon histoire" (plutôt que, littéralement: "I told you, I didn't leave you", p. 110).

Quant aux formules insérées en bonne place dans le cours du récit, voici, à titre d'illustration, l'une d'elles, bien connue, à quelques variations près, dans le conte maghrébin d'expression berbère (Lacoste 1965, 471; Amrouche 1966, 15) et arabe (Galley 1971, 45; Baklouti 1988, 116; Galley et Iraqui Sinaceur 1994, 81). Il s'agit d'une complainte où la jeune victime (AT 451) exprime sa détresse:

*A jmâl ppa u mma
La taklu la tsherbu
L-khâdem wellât hurra
U-l-hurra wellât khâdem.* (p. 107)

"O chameaux de mes père et mère
Ne mangez pas, ne buvez pas
L'esclave est devenue libre
Et la femme libre devenue esclave ..." (p. 112)

M. Kossmann analyse ces petits textes poétiques dans leur forme – un domaine qui n'a encore jamais été véritablement étudié. Il dégage rimes, allitérations et assonances, répétitions et parallélismes, ainsi que deux types d'intonation: l'intonation "psalmodiée" et l'intonation propre à la récitation (pp. 90–95) – d'après les trois paramètres retenus: timbre vocal, structures rythmique et tonale. Il ouvre des perspectives de recherche. Souhaitons que, dans un avenir proche, il développe et approfondisse cette première esquisse.

Enfin, l'ouvrage est accompagné d'un index et de références bibliographiques. On regrettera, néanmoins, l'absence d'une véritable bibliographie et le silence qui est fait sur des travaux récents, comme ceux de Michael Peyron – pour ne citer qu'un exemple emprunté au seul domaine berbère.

Si l'auteur se réfère, à juste titre, à la méthode d'analyse employée par Max Lüthi (nous l'avons dit), on peut cependant se demander pourquoi il n'a pas tiré profit des avancées méthodologiques en littérature orale maghrébine publiées tout au long des 23 volumes de la revue française *Littérature orale arabo-berbère*. S'il cite les "signaux démarcatifs" de P. Galand-Pernet, il néglige pourtant de les utiliser.

A ces minimes réserves près, peut-être imputables à un problème de langue, cette étude, et la publication de ces trois contes du Maroc oriental dans leurs quatre versions très précisément établies, constitue un indiscutable apport à la connaissance du patrimoine littéraire oral maghrébin berbérophone.

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"Like father, like daughter" – a joint paremiological accomplishment

Outi Lauhakangas, *The Matti Kuusi International Type System of Proverbs*. Folklore Fellows' Communications No. 275. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), 2001. 158 pp.
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The renowned Finnish scholar Matti Kuusi (1914–1998) is one of the legendary figures of twentieth-century paremiology. Together with his friends Archer Taylor (1890–1973), Grigoriï L'vovich Permiakov (1919–1983), Bartlett Jere Whiting (1904–1995), Démétrios Loukatos (born 1908), and Lutz Röhrich (born 1922) he was a major force in international proverb studies. His editorship of twenty-five issues (1965–1975) of *Proverbium* (rpt. in a two-volume set in 1987) and his numerous books, monographs, and articles were celebrated in a *Festschrift* on his seventieth birthday in 1984, which was also the first volume of the new *Proverbium: Yearbook of International Scholarship*.

On his eightieth birthday Henni Ilomäki edited Matti Kuusi's *Mind and Form in Folklore: Selected Articles* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 1994), which contained numerous important articles in English translation that had appeared in Finnish over a span of about fifty years. And then, in 1998, the world of proverb scholarship learned of the death of this great colleague and friend. Very appropriately the fifteenth volume of *Proverbium* (1998) was dedicated to the memory of Matti Kuusi, containing Wolfgang Mieder's essay "Matti Kuusi (1914–1998): In Memory of the Last Giant of International Paremiology" (pp. 1–11).

A workable type-system of proverbs as a database

This is not the place to review Kuusi's accomplishments once again, but let me cite the following paragraph from my essay just mentioned. It relates directly to the book under review here:

Matti Kuusi's own most significant publication in *Proverbium* was his monograph *Towards an International Type-System of Proverbs*, which appeared in issue no. 19 (1972), 699–736, and as a separate publication (FFC 211. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia [Academia Scientiarum Fennica], 1972. 40 pp.; see also my review in *Fabula*, 14 [1973], 164–166). This is indeed a seminal theoretical study on the possible organization of an international type-system of proverbs. Especially Matti Kuusi and Grigoriï L'vovich

Permiakov expended much energy into creating a system of proverb classification which would enable scholars to perform more meaningful comparative studies. Unfortunately this work has not been continued very vigorously by recent scholars, but there is hope that modern computers will help to revive the interest in type systems. It is, of course, a very time consuming undertaking, but a workable international classification system of proverbs would without doubt lead to new insights about the logical and semiotic aspects of human wisdom expressed in proverbs. (pp. 4–5)

Now, with Outi Lauhakangas's book in hand, one is inclined to declare proverbially that "miracles do happen!" What scholar would not wish to have a daughter or son like Outi Lauhakangas! We now learn, and some of us have known it for some time, that she had already worked for several years (since about 1988) together with her father Matti Kuusi on getting the much needed international type system of proverbs into a more or less finished shape. It is she who added weeks, months, and years of her energies to this giant project with her aging and ailing father supporting her with his wisdom and ideas. Outi Lauhakangas brought not only her computer expertise to this large database, but she also added socio-psychological aspects to the classification system as developed by her father. For the past three years after the master's death, the daughter continued on her own with the support of friends and colleagues. And now the *magnum opus* of father and daughter is in our hands. Be it known that Outi Lauhakangas has brought her father's life-long work on an international type system of proverbs to fruition. The fruits of their labors are for paremiologists and paremiographers from around the world to pick and to enjoy. While much credit is, of course, due Matti Kuusi, his daughter Outi Lauhakangas deserves half the recognition. She has done her father proud with her new book, and the altered proverb "Like father, like daughter" definitely holds true. Outi Lauhakangas has completed and published a useful and pragmatic type system of proverbs that was her father's brain-child but which very much became her "baby" especially during the past three years. Many thanks and admiration then for Matti Kuusi and Outi Lauhakangas!

Praise be to this unique father-daughter team, whose untiring and dedicated work has resulted in this book and a workable (!) type system of proverbs. Outi Lauhakangas has divided her book into six historical, explanatory, and instructional chapters (pp. 13–95) that make up the first half of this study. As expected, the second part consists of three appendices that lists the proverb collections and sources, presents the classification index itself, and also includes a list of universal proverb types and their criteria (pp. 97–158). All of this is preceded by a short preface (pp. 9–11) in which Lauhakangas explains that she wishes to show how the international type system of proverbs moved from dream or idea to

practical reality. With understandable pride the author states:

The thematic classification of proverbs consists of 13 main themes or "home districts" and their 52 main classes which are divided into 325 subgroups or "home addresses". The whole system, as well as the Matti Kuusi special library are situated in the Finnish Literature Society. The material is also available on the World Wide Web pages of the Finnish Literature Society (<http://www.finlit.fi>). (p. 10)

Indeed, the entire database is computerized! Imagine how thrilled our deceased colleague and friend Bengt Holbek would be if he could have known this phenomenal accomplishment by Outi Lauhakangas. Holbek, it will be recalled, had published a short paper more than thirty years ago on "Computer Classification of Proverbs" in *Proverbium*, 14 (1969), 372–376.

A quest for basic images and formulas

Chapter 1 presents "The basic elements of the international proverb corpus: the Matti Kuusi Library of proverb collections, the original card index and the computer database" (pp. 13–16). Here Outi Lauhakangas describes Matti Kuusi's vast library of proverb collections from around the world, which has now become part of the Library of the Finnish Literature Society. She also refers to Kuusi's critical reaction to Grigorii L'vovich Permiakov's attempt of using a logico-semiotic notation system of proverbs, which Kuusi found too restrictive and deductive (for the reception of Permiakov's work see above all Peter Grzybek and Wolfgang Eismann [eds.], *Semiotische Studien zum Sprichwort. Simple Forms Reconsidered I* [Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1984]; and Peter Grzybek [ed.], *Die Grammatik der sprichwörtlichen Weisheit von G. L. Permiakov* [Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 2000]). Kuusi had started his database towards an international type system on thousands by now famous "pink cards", of which some indicate up to fifty references to different proverb collections. What is important to note at this point is that Kuusi was not so much a theoretician but rather a pragmatist, as he began his classification work. His work was not necessarily systematic but rather pragmatic and based above all on comparative work. As long as he could, basically until the late 1980s, Kuusi worked manually with his thousands of cards (as all of us did, and to a certain degree still do). What was needed, of course, was a classification system that could be programmed as a database and thus be retrievable at ease with the help of the computer.

In Chapter 2 we learn in more detail about the "Background of the construction of the Matti Kuusi international type system of proverbs" (pp. 17–25). It is revealing to note that Kuusi had basically given up hope of being able to create a type system due to

the complexity and vastness of proverbs: “Only when he became convinced (persuaded) that, by means of a computer database, at least some of the basic search difficulties of thematic classification could be solved, was he willing to continue his work” (p. 18). Thank God that the insistent daughter was able to coerce her father into accepting the tool of the modern computer!

While both Kuusi and Permiakov think of every proverb as an answer to a question, Kuusi rejected Permiakov’s limiting logico-semiotic approach in favor of a broader and open thematic classification system that could, however, also include structural, semiotic, and (the influence of his daughter; see p. 22) social-psychological concepts. There is no doubt that Kuusi’s classification system is a combination of at least thematic and structural aspects, since, for example, binary oppositions show themselves both thematically and structurally in proverbs (see pp. 21–23). In fact, “binary oppositions are the first and most natural way to approach proverb types” (p. 22). Lauhakangas reviews a number of important papers that her father published during the 1960s and 1970s in which he dealt with such matters as surface and deep structure. I might add one paper that she seemingly forgot to include in her list of “References” (pp. 93–95), namely “How Can a Type-Index of International Proverbs Be Outlined?” *Proverbium*, 15 (1970), 473–476.

In a final section of the second chapter, Lauhakangas discusses “The approach of basic images and formulae in the Matti Kuusi type system of proverbs” (pp. 23–25), stating that “if we try to study proverbs as fixed forms, we cannot avoid an analysis of proverb patterns. Kuusi calls them formulas, a term that was introduced by Archer Taylor in his classical text *The Proverb* (1931)” (p. 23). Here she might also have referred to Kuusi’s early essay “Basic images and formulae” (1954; see the volume edited by H. Ilomäki, pp. 142–144). It certainly is interesting to note that Taylor influenced Kuusi’s thinking. Both he and Kuusi obviously noticed that people tend to use the same formulas (patterns) to construct new proverbs. But, as Kuusi stressed, the imagery of earlier proverbs is also of great importance in the formulation of such proverbs.

The units of classification

With Chapter 3 Outi Lauhakangas leaves the historical analysis of the process of putting together a classification system for proverbs. Here she deals very objectively with the “Thematic classification and its problems” (pp. 26–61). The discussion of “the multi-level character” (p. 29) of proverbs, which includes the fact that “proverbs unite, associate, merge, link and overturn their [other proverbs] meanings” (p. 27), is of much importance in understanding the complexity in the establishment of a meaningful classification system. It is thus understandable and even proper that Kuusi “had no (conscious) theo-

retical models to interpret his [vast proverb] material” (p. 28). He preferred practical principles based on common sense and cultural similarities and differences. In other words:

The Matti Kuusi database is intended as a tool, not as a Bible for paremiologists and other professionals dealing with language. The classification work in practice was quite intuitive and consciously inductive. Kuusi constructed structure-based groups, but if the substance seemed to be more important, the proverb was not forced into some pattern of opposition or logical relations. There are thus some pure thematic groups, with or without oppositions. (p. 30)

There is then to some degree a certain Kuusi/Lauhakangas subjectivity in this classification system. But this is the case with all folklore classification schemes, even the most famous Aarne/Thompson classification system of folktales. The issue thing is that we now finally have a useful international classification system of proverbs!

As stated before, the classification system starts with 13 main themes (see p. 33), which for the most part represent basic aspects of human life:

- A Practical knowledge of nature
- B Faith and basic attitudes
- C Basic observations and socio-logic
- D The world and human life
- E Sense of proportion
- F Concepts of morality
- G Social life
- H Social interaction
- J Communication
- K Social position
- L Agreements and norms
- M Coping and learning
- T Time and sense of time

Under the 13 main themes there are 52 main classes (from A1 to Ta). The main theme of “G. Social life”, having 8 main classes, may serve as an example here (see p. 35):

- G. *Social life*
- G1 kinship
- G2 development – a person’s background
- G3 child : parents / upbringing
- G4 man : woman / ranking and position of both sexes
- G5 marriage
- G6 youth : old age
- G7 health : illness
- G8 death / the dead

The 52 main classes are once again subdivided into 325 subgroups with different numbers of subgroups for each main class. Some subgroups register 7 or fewer proverb types, but there are also those subgroups that list 50 or more types. Thus subgroup “G8g life from death” contains merely 6 proverb types, while subgroup “G5e woman and man – the right moment of offer of marriage, norms, criteria

of choosing (mostly by men)" offers 73 proverb types! In the actual entire "Classification index" (see Appendix 2, pp. 113–123), Lauhakangas has used a series of symbols after each subgroup to indicate whether they are descriptive titles, relational titles, positively- or negatively-charged expressions of values and warning titles, comparative titles (i.e., many "better ... than" proverbs), contrasting titles, indicative titles, and cause and effect relational titles (for this see pp. 42–61).

Lauhakangas is, however, well aware of the debatability (p. 46), ambivalence (p. 47), ambiguity (p. 48), relativity (p. 52), and complexity (p. 60) of such comparisons "according to the character and structure of included proverb types" (p. 41). She quite correctly admits that "it is not always easy to assess evaluation within a proverb, especially within those from strange cultures" (p. 57). Above all, Lauhakangas wants future users of the Kuusi classification system to be aware of the following basic truth about proverbs:

Proverbs are not merely oppositional or non-oppositional. These concepts are too general to be useful. Besides, proverbs do not always compare and contrast. When proverbs transmit social ideals, define standards and deviations from the norm, they are not bound to one function or even to one modality, because they admit several interpretations and the same proverb message must fit different situations. (pp. 60–61)

In this regard Arvo Krikmann has spoken of the polyfunctionality, polysemanticity, and polysituativity of proverbs (see his important studies *On Denotative Indefiniteness of Proverbs* and *Some Additional Aspects of Semantic Indefiniteness of Proverbs* [Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, 1974]). No classification system, no matter how elaborate, could possibly include all of these variables. It must be kept in mind that Matti Kuusi wanted to create a useful and workable classification system for the proverbs of the world, and together with his daughter he has succeeded splendidly in accomplishing this task after almost four decades of tedious comparative work!

The possibility of universal types

Chapter 4 on "Proverb types" (pp. 62–77) begins with the expected statement that "The AT type system of fairy tales was the most important model for Kuusi's idea of proverb types. In both systems exists the same kind of search for archetypes of human thinking" (p. 62). Basing his studies on a large comparative database of proverbs from basically every corner of the world, Kuusi's idea of a universal "proverb type" in the broadest sense of that word "encompasses similar proverb types from different nations, presenting them as a global type having a common idea. That is why we can speak

of universal proverb types if we wish to compare them to our local proverb titles or proverb types in the narrowest sense of the word. [...] There are no standard models or patterns for a proverb type. In the Matti Kuusi type system the concept of type is not very strict and it moves between a relatively abstract proverb title [...] to a cluster of proverbs using different images but having the same idea" (pp. 62–63).

In the fascinating and extremely important Appendix 3, Lauhakangas presents a list of over 700 "Universal [proverb] types and their criteria" (pp. 125–158), which are in most cases more like clusters of proverb types, having "variants from four main cultural areas: European, African, Islamic, and Asiatic cultures. The criterion for a global type or type cluster [indicated by the letter G in square brackets] is that it contains variants from all these cultural spheres" (p. 64). Lauhakangas gives numerous examples of such global proverb types, referring also to Matti Kuusi's by now classical study of 420 pages on *Regen bei Sonnenschein. Zur Welteschichte einer Redensart* (FFC 171. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1957). This monograph clearly shows the complexity of the study of just one global proverb type! With the new classification system now finished, and with its inclusion of universal proverb types, such studies will certainly be very much enhanced. But even the giant Finnish database would represent only part of the work, especially if the international study of an individual proverb type is carried out synchronically *and* diachronically as well as contextually, semantically, functionally, etc.

In any case, it is of utmost importance that proverb scholars acquaint themselves with the about 700 universal types, presented in Appendix 3 with "the geographical or cultural distribution of that [i.e., each] title along with the number of the exemplary proverb and its closest variants" (p. 125). Without entering into a detailed explanation of the notation system, let me give at least one example of the universal proverb types that can be found under the main theme "C" (Basic observations and socio-logic) and its main class "C6" (appearance : internal values). The subgroup "C6c" (everything is not as it appears; the deceptiveness of identifying marks [- -]) includes the following universal types (see p. 131):

All that glitters is not gold. C6c10 [G]; ref: M3b
 All are not hunters that blow the horn. C6c17 (+16) [-a] F, E, I, O; ref: M5a, K1j
 There are more maids than Maukin and more men than Michael. C6c22 (+21) [G]; ref: M1c
 A wolf in sheep's clothing. C6c28 (+28b, 28d) [-a] F, E, I, O, P; ref: J1j
 All are good maids, but whence come the bad wives? C6c31 [-i] F, E, A, O; ref: G5e, H2d

This is quite an elaborate system of notations with abundant information and, above all, also cross references to other proverb types. This takes care of the problem that the assignment of proverbs to a

certain position in the classification system can be somewhat subjective at times. And, to be sure, the computerized database does (thank God!) permit a precise search by key-words (usually nouns) that will help to locate each and every proverb in the system if one is not certain under what main theme, main class, and subgroup it might have been registered by Matti Kuusi and Outi Lauhakangas.

An open system permanently under construction

At the end of Chapter 4, Lauhakangas makes a number of honest and critical comments regarding her father's and her classification system, basically admitting to its somewhat subjective nature:

It is obvious that the viewpoint or the aim of the interpreter has an effect on defining proverb texts as a proverb type. [...] The Matti Kuusi international type system of proverbs represents only one solution to the classification of proverbs – and not necessarily the best. It has primarily been an attempt to find a practical way to arrange a large collection of literature [i.e., proverbs found in collections] references. [...] We can and we should say that the Matti Kuusi index is permanently “under construction”. Consequently also the file of universal proverb types is unfinished. (p. 77)

To this statement I would add that this is the way it should be! Yes, the classification system might not be the very best solution, but we have no better index at this time. And will we ever have another research team as that of Matti Kuusi and Outi Lauhakangas who are willing to undertake even the attempt to work out a practical and international type system? So let us gladly, enthusiastically, and thankfully accept this one and work with it.

It is indeed an open system that will permanently be under construction, as can be seen from the discussions of two more chapters and the truly impressive Appendix 1 of “The proverb collections and sources (the *Books file*)” (pp. 97–112). Chapter 5 on “Instructions for the use of the Matti Kuusi database” (pp. 78–90) with its analysis of some of the major proverb collections used to establish the index indicates clearly that “choosing the ‘right’ place for a proverb [in the classification system] becomes even more complicated if we remember that every type consists of a cluster of variable proverb forms” (p. 89). The short and final Chapter 6 of a “Discussion on the further use of the Matti Kuusi database” (pp. 91–92) also states that “Kuusi’s profound expertise in the vast body of proverb materials made it possible for him to combine the cultural [i.e., thematic] and formal [i.e., structural] view in his classification” (p. 92). With the death of Matti Kuusi we have lost the most knowledgeable person of the world’s proverbs. But we do have his daughter Outi Lauhakangas, who has already proven herself to be walking solidly in her father’s large footsteps. It is she

who must now continue the work so that the international classification system of proverbs becomes ever more complete.

Future tasks

In closing, let me just give two sets of examples for the work that lies ahead for Outi Lauhakangas: Her father did indeed cast his net very widely regarding the hundreds of proverb collections used in establishing the classification system. And yet, there are many older and above all newer major proverb collections waiting to be included in the database. A few comparative collections that must be integrated are: Jens Aage Stabell Bilgrav, *20.000 Proverbs, Sprichwörter, Proverbes, Ordspråk, Ordsprog* (Copenhagen: Hans Heide, 1985); H. L. Cox, *Spreekwoordenboek: Nederlands, Fries, Afrikaans, Engels, Duits, Frans, Spaans, Latijn* (Utrecht: Van Dale Lexicografie, 2000); Harold V. Cordry, *The Multicultural Dictionary of Proverbs* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 1997); Luis Iscla, *English Proverbs and Their Near Equivalents in Spanish, French, Italian and Latin* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995); Julia Sevilla Muñoz and Jesús Cantera Ortiz de Urbina, *1001 refranes españoles con su correspondencia en ocho lenguas (alemán, árabe, francés, inglés, italiano, polaco, provenzal y ruso)* (Madrid: Ediciones Internacionales Universitarias, 2001); and Emanuel Strauss, *Dictionary of European Proverbs*, 3 vols. (London: Routledge, 1994). Of utmost importance, especially for diachronic purposes, are the by now invaluable eleven volumes (probably 13 volumes when completed) of Samuel Singer and Ricarda Liver, *Thesaurus proverbiorum medii aevi. Lexikon der Sprichwörter des romanisch-germanischen Mittelalters* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995ff.). Kuusi and Lauhakangas have, of course, excerpted Samuel Singer’s classical collection *Sprichwörter des Mittelalters* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1944–1947).

Matti Kuusi as well as Outi Lauhakangas have always had a special interest in the proverbs of the Balto-Finnic regions, as can be seen from Kuusi’s impressive volume *Proverbia septentrionalia: 900 Balto-Finnic Proverb Types with Russian, Baltic, German and Scandinavian Parallels* (FFC 236. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia [Academia Scientiarum Fennica], 1985; see my review in *Proverbium*, 3 [1986], 325–334), which became the basis of the list of universal types. Now Outi Lauhakangas will want to incorporate the five volumes (one volume has appeared thus far) of the massive Lithuanian proverb collection edited by Kazys Grigas et al., *Lietuvių patarlės ir priežodžiai* (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2000ff.).

Other major collections awaiting integration into the classification system are among others those by John Lazurus, *A Dictionary of Tamil Proverbs* (Madras: Albinon Press, 1984; rpt. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1991 [plus many other major Indian collections]); Luis Martínez Kleiser, *Refranero general ideológico español* (Madrid: Real Academia Española,

1953; rpt. Madrid: Hernando, 1989); Peter Mertvago, *The Comparative Russian-English Dictionary of Russian Proverbs and Sayings* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1995); Wolfgang Mieder, Stewart K. Kingsbury, and Kelsie B. Harder, *A Dictionary of American Proverbs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Florence Montreynaud, Agnès Pierron, and François Suzzoni, *Dictionnaire de proverbes et dictons* (Paris: Le Robert, 1989); Ryszard Pachocinski, *Proverbs of Africa* (St. Paul, Minnesota: Professors World Peace Academy, 1996); Albert Scheven, *Swahili Proverbs* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1981); Bartlett Jere Whiting, *Modern Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989); and Metin Yurtbasi, *A Dictionary of Turkish Proverbs* (Ankara: Turkish Daily News, 1993). Regarding African proverbs, let me also draw attention to Matti Kuusi's superb collection of *Ovambo Proverbs with African Parallels* (FFC 208. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1970; see also my review in *Fabula*, 14 [1973], 166–168), which formed the basis for the proverbs from Africa in the international classification system.

There is much work to be done, as both Matti Kuusi knew and Outi Lauhakangas is only too aware of at this time. In the best of all worlds, Lauhakangas should now continue with the “work in progress” of this truly unique international type system of proverbs. She knows its structure and intricacies the best, and she can go on to expand the system in the most consistent way possible, both according to the ideas of her father as well as her own. This relates not only to older proverbs but also to such new texts as for example “It takes two to tango,” “Different strokes for different folks,” and “Garbage in, garbage out.” After all, the creation of new proverbs is not over, and it behooves us to integrate them into the international classification system to see how such innovative texts fit into the universal type system.

Even if the work on this international type system of proverbs were to stop completely at this time, we would have a fantastic and beneficial research tool at our disposal for serious comparative proverb scholarship. But it is my hope that Outi Lauhakangas is interested and willing in continuing her superb work with the support of the Finnish Literature Society. This would ensure an ever better type system for paremiologists around the world. The work must go on, but in the meantime, we all owe much thanks, respect, and admiration to Matti Kuusi and Outi Lauhakangas. They will always be remembered in paremiological circles as the epitome of the varied proverb “Like father, like daughter”, and their *International Type System of Proverbs* with its computer database will reign as the standard work in comparative paremiology. Generations of scholars will benefit from this classification system as they continue to look for universal bits of human wisdom in the form of proverbs.

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Multiformity of variation in folklore theory¹

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Performance context and outlines of the topic

The Folklore Fellows' (FF) Summer Schools, which have been held in Finland for the past ten years, have begun to play an essential role in international folkloristics; shaping the interests of researchers, introducing new theoretical vistas and topics of discussion. The FF Summer Schools have also been significant social events as the contacts and friendships established there have certainly helped to build up the scholarly network of folklorists that encompasses a large part of the world today. Every summer school has been somehow especial, because the main topics, as well as the participants, have been different. A major innovation was introduced in the year 2000 in Turku, in that most of the lectures to be delivered at the summer school were made available for the participants in preprints. For the first time the proceedings of the summer school were published as a separate volume, the title referring to the keywords of this forum, dedicated to variation and textuality in oral traditions.

The book consists of 28 contributions from 26 authors who represent Finland, Germany, Ireland, Norway, Sweden and the USA. The summer schools have been organized by Finnish folklore institutions, which boast strong folklore programs in several universities and different research centers, so it is no wonder that the majority of the articles come from Finland. However, it is surprising that as many as 12 authors, i.e., almost half of the contributors, represent Turku with its three centers for folkloristic research: Turku University, Åbo Akademi University and the Kalevala Institute. Hence, Turku should be marked as one of the capital cities on the map of

¹ I thank Maria Teresa Agozzino from the Folklore Archives, University of California, Berkeley, for improving the English language of this article.

global folkloristics. The considerable number of young Finnish researchers among the authors of the present book supports the potentiality of Finnish folkloristics – so essential to preserving the dynamics of the discipline.

Outlining the contents of such a bulky volume in one book-review without exceeding the limits of this minor genre is no easy task. The editor, Lauri Honko, has successfully explained the stresses and pinpointed some trends in theory in his general introduction – so important in understanding the book as a whole. While some articles discuss a variety of topics, others deviate from the main questions, and thus it takes both depth analysis and synthetical skills to show that there is something more than the original performance context – FF Summer School dedicated to a certain topic – holding the book together. Honko's introduction is a valuable guide for all readers, but especially for those who did not participate in the original interactive performance situation of this inspiring forum, where folklore theory and methodology were processed.

Honko delineates the history of folkloristics by characterizing its three stages of relations with text (how useful is tripartition in our cognitive schemes, just like in folklore!). At the first, pre-textual stage the main interest was in the content of folklore, i.e., oral tradition was seen as a source for studying something else, for example history. The later classics of the Finnish school were antedated by Henrik Gabriel Porthan, a professor at Turku University, who discussed the variation and reconstruction of oral texts at the end of the 18th century. The geographic-historic school saw variation as a problem, as a lack of stability and tried to penetrate these incomplete texts to liquidate this lack, to find out the original text, the ultimate source of variation. Thus the second stage of folkloristics was introduced, when the text became the "king" and the object of thorough research. Several discoveries were made about the basic structural patterns in folklore, symbolic and deep psychological interpretations were introduced. The classical authors of this stage include researchers ranging from Kaarle Krohn to Alan Dundes and many others. At the third stage, folklorists crowned performance as the "king". The verbal element was seen only as "one part of the text, not necessarily its core." (p. 13)

I believe that using the word "stage" in this context is most meaningful. Doubts would arise if we interpreted the history of folkloristics as a development from lower to higher level, from the primitive methodological tools of our mental ancestors to the most sophisticated methodology and theory of the 21st century. A stage rather stands for a theater, for a space where something happens, for a folkloristic performance and the varieties of interpretation of folklore texts. Just as at a big rock festival there is more than one stage, and the performers attract different numbers of fans, something similar has happened in international folkloristics. Without the different "music" playing, i.e., variation within folk-

loristics, the whole field would be endangered by stagnation, strangled by the sinister "master form" of theory and methodology. Even the first stage is not desolate nowadays, in part because the role of folkloristics differs between societies all over the world. Fortunately, the whole volume of "Thick corpus..." proves that folkloristics is not exhausted and can still devise further stages. "What makes scholarly work so charming is the existence of important questions which still remain unanswered" is the optimistic credo formulated by the editor (p. 26).

The theoretical introduction by Lauri Honko is important as it shows the scale of variation in folklore and explains some basic concepts, such as "mental text" and the keywords accentuated in the title. "Textualisation" refers to the many-staged process which starts with the mental text as a "pre-narrative" in the minds of individuals and through the act of performing folklore leads to its documentation, editing and publication. Although folklore is a collective tradition, it becomes manifest in single performances. Folklorists should aim at building up a "thick corpus" of research material, which will become possible thanks to repeated collection from the same tradition-bearers, from cohesive communities, social groups and cohesive regions. Consistence and thoroughness of data-collecting make visible the organic variation of folklore in living tradition systems. Thus folklore theory shifts from postulating the phenomenon of variation as a distinctive feature of oral traditions to the study of real variation, variation in action.

Although it is perhaps unlikely that many readers will have the patience to study the volume in its entirety, they will most likely read the theoretical introduction. Therefore let us proceed by examining the rest of the book.

Varying the theory of variation

If the question "How is variation in oral traditions most effectively discussed?", was asked, the answer, as proposed by this book, would probably be, "Vary it". The general topic is rendered in a multiform, rich variety of approaches. John Miles Foley compares Homer with the figure of the legendary singer in South Slavic oral epic and shows that such bardic primogenitors can be interpreted as anthropomorphizations of the tradition. Lauri Harvilahti discusses some theories of the psychology of memory and applies them to Latvian and Finnish songs. He examines the variation of formulaic units in different songs that are semantically related to one another. The article introduces the world of folkloristic ideas in all its richness, offering insights into oral-formulaic theory, into ethnopoetic strategies of singers who are skilled in using various registers, and into a processual approach to oral traditions. Just like some other articles in this volume, Harvilahti's essay could be expanded into a monograph. Dell Hymes analyzes Native American oral traditions

where narrators have applied patterns of two and four or three and five. These numbers have marked gender: five has been associated with men, four with women. Control of such patterning has been a part of the narrative competence of the tellers.

Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj makes a historical retrospect on the Finnish school and the works of Kaarle Krohn, who explained variation by psychology of memory factors as an “anomaly that had to be seen through” to find the missing original. She points to the radical changes in understanding variation in later and contemporary folkloristics. Nowadays it is seen as proof of the performer’s competence (“suitable variation is a sign of a good narrator”). Kaivola-Bregenhøj discusses the basic rules of reproduction of folklore, such as the process of learning, memorizing and reproducing, the genre-specific norms, the personal attributes of the narrator and the performing situation. Variation, which is never mechanical, occurs at several levels simultaneously.

Seppo Knuutila’s attempt to seize the history of mentalities’ scholarship, and the examples of his own research on Finnish folklore provide one more fascinating read. He approaches variation diachronically, examining both the conservative and innovative features in mentalities. Knuutila’s discussions about “us” and the “others” and the attention that he pays to localities and local identities, add a new dimension to the book: he observes cognitive processes on the level of the tradition-bearing communities, exceeding the individual level of organic variation. Ríonach úí Ógáin writes about the history of collecting Irish folklore, concentrating on the diary of one collector, Michael J. Murphy, and addressing the significance of the concepts of “text”, “context”, and “subtext”. The latter is interpreted as “the silent, undocumented fashion in which the cultural background of the collector is brought to bear on the collecting work” (p. 165). Uí Ógáin stresses the vital role of ongoing collecting of the tradition in order to build up archives rich in contextual data.

Ilkka Pyysiäinen examines variation from the perspective of cognitive sciences. Representing comparative religion, he introduces the cognitive approach of Pascal Boyer, Dan Sperber and others, including the author himself, who is one of the leading Nordic theoreticians in this field. The works of cognitivists support the conclusions of folklorists about the rules of transmission and reproduction in oral tradition. Singers and story-tellers do not use verbatim repetition but rely upon sets of rules, constraints, or schemas, i.e., a mental text or pre-narrative that gets its verbalized, textual form through a performance. Pyysiäinen stresses the importance of imagery in the store of memory, especially in oral genres where one has to move from one situation to another. As paths are much easier to remember than random lists, it is easy to explain why journeys tend to be a dominating pattern in many narratives.

In his article, Anders Salomonsson studies archiving as a process between folklore collecting and research. His main sources are the collections of the

Lund University Folklore Archives, but he also reflects on the contemporary work and the problems that the archivists are facing. In a historical retrospect Salomonsson reviews the work of Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, the founder of the archives in Lund, and the further development of collecting techniques. While the pioneering folklorists were influenced by the national romantic idea, nowadays we are influenced by contemporary values and ideologies (p. 210). Viewing the tradition bearers as the “Others” has changed, so that not only the peasants but the whole of society is included under the label of “the folk”. However, the questions about the representativeness of the folklore archives remain. Salomonsson stresses that by documenting, archiving and folkloristic research, history is being produced that requires a great sense of responsibility.

Anna-Leena Siikala approaches variation through the differences between ethnical genres and shows that the domains of variation depend on forms of oral discourse. Inspired by the works of Mikhail Bakhtin and some American folklorists and linguistic anthropologists (such as Charles Briggs, Richard Bauman and William Hanks), she conceptualizes oral genres as folkloric practice and strategy, a form of communicating various meanings. The oral history of the Cook islands is transmitted in the meta-genre known as *korero*, narrated by the specialists of this tradition, *tumu koreros*. Siikala shows the flexibility of *korero* both as a form of discourse and as a system of meanings: it can easily be reinterpreted in the changing political situations.

Maria Vasenkari and Armi Pekkala interpret the concept of thick data, as it is produced in field research. They understand a researcher to be an active subject who creates data in encounter situations with field informants: “The data is not somewhere out there (e.g., in the informant’s head) ready to be collected and taken home, but it is rather produced in the very situation where the counterparts meet” (pp. 246–247). Also knowledge and meanings are derived from these dialogic encounters, later analysis and representation of the produced data to the readers is a continuation of the same process that started in the field. (The authors exemplify this dialogic methodology in a sequential article, published in the second part of the volume. They have been interviewing elderly women from Ingria, focussing on their life stories.)

The first part of the book concludes with an article by Ulrika Wolf-Knuts, who examines how comparison has been applied in the works of different folklorists. It is no wonder that variation as a distinctive feature of folklore and comparison as a central method go hand in hand throughout the history of the discipline. However, Wolf-Knuts demonstrates that comparison has been used for many purposes, e.g., in order to stress the difference and connection between ethnical groups (J. O. I. Rancken), in order to study the relics of old races and surviving phenomena of the past (Andrew Lang) or in order to determine the age and birth-

place of certain texts (Julius Krohn). Wolf-Knuts traces the continuation of the Finnish school through the works of Walter Anderson, Kaarle Krohn, Anna Birgitta Rooth, Jan-Öjvind Swahn, Matti Kuusi and Inger Lövkrona until Christine Goldberg, who remains faithful to the historic-comparative method but uses it for new purposes: “to discover the meaning of the tale and to reveal the factors that have held the tale together” (p. 279).

Variation in the field, mass media, archives

The second part of the book is slightly more empirically oriented, but several articles provide illuminating theoretical discussions. Thus, the division between the parts is somewhat conventional and is probably drawn for the sake of the reader who may need to pause to take a breath.

Carola Ekrem focuses on functional, structural and thematic variation in the counting-out rhymes among Swedish-speaking children in Finland. John Miles Foley studies return songs of three singers from South Slavic folklore and investigates the plastic morphology of these epic songs that move from the introductory stage of the absence of the hero through devastation, return and retribution to the eventual wedding. The order of narration tends to be nonchronological and it customarily begins in the middle. Foley compares his findings with the *Odyssey* and sheds new light on the composition of the Homeric epic and its heroes.

Lauri Honko and Anneli Honko study the variation in the repertoire and epic idiolect of one singer, Gopala Naika from South Kanara, South India. The authors deal with the minor variation on the level of formulas and with “big variation”, i.e., constructing the path of composition in performance. Here, mental editing, meditating on the epic between the performances and pondering about interpretations, has a role to play. This process can lead to the changing of the plot and creation of a new mythical frame by linking the past story with present Hinduist cult.

Tuija Hovi introduces her work among the members of evangelical churches and narratives about religious conversion. As she demonstrates, this profound experience changes the individual’s discourse universe but, in being molded into a story, the experience is adjusted to the tradition, thus supporting the narrator’s integration into the community. Barbro Klein studies the miracle in Södertälje, Sweden in 1992, i.e., the events that followed the burial of a Syrian-Orthodox patriarch and their consequences. This fascinating article examines how the mass media communicate a deeply religious culture of an ethnic minority and discusses the powerful role the media plays in influencing belief and shaping attitudes. Lena Marander-Eklund has conducted a series of interviews with women giving birth for the first time: one before the event, the second just after and the third when the child was about a year old. Marander-Eklund utilises the concepts of *Täle-*

world, where the events are told, and Storyrealm, where the actual storytelling takes place. The variation in these narratives takes place on the level of both events and of style and meaning.

Ulrich Marzolph starts his article on Persian storytelling with a discussion of Iranian folk narrative research before and after the revolution of 1979. Folkloristic fieldwork in Iran has not been possible since the revolution so that the researcher has to rely upon printed sources. Marzolph studies variation, stability and meanings in one of the most valuable sources of Iranian oral narrative; tales told by a gifted female story-teller from Teheran in the mid-1940s. Margaret A. Mills investigates different presentations of the same cultural theme (women’s tricks) in the storytelling of men and women in the same province of Afghanistan. Patricia Nyberg, Marjut Huuskonen and Pasi Enges study a pioneer project of interviewing Saami people and collecting their oral traditions between 1967 and 1975. Later developments in folklore theory and methodology allow the authors to review this in-depth project at a distance and add their remarks, although they acknowledge that the results are exceptionally well-documented material available to researchers.

In her second article in this volume, Ríonach uí Ógáin studies recent developments in the Irish-language singing tradition in the west of Ireland. An important article is offered by Jyrki Pöysä, who discusses variation in archived Finnish anecdotes. Although many contemporary folklorists do fieldwork and are thus able to observe organic variation of living tradition, there are others who do not visit the field. (Do they really constitute the majority within the discipline, as noted by Lauri Honko [p. 16]? If so, most of the authors of the present volume belong to the folkloristic minority.) For the folklorists who work with old archived manuscripts, Pöysä’s work is an encouragement to continue their pursuits. Although archival data are often less dense than field records, it makes sense to study the variation of these anecdotes on many levels: agent changes, changes in the level of abstraction, in the social outlook of the narrative and in the degree of personal experience. Some of the collected variants can also form a “thicker” and more cohesive interpretive whole.

Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred observes the historical developments of the Norwegian Ethnological Archives, founded in 1946. “From the desire to obtain fragments to complete the picture of the old peasant culture, – – one has arrived at an understanding of the fact that all one can hope to attain is to contribute to understanding small pieces of a complex period of our time” (pp. 609–610). Skjelbred concludes that the archives do not tell one uniform story about any topic, but a multitude of stories.

The article by Senni Timonen is another significant work on archived orality, adding more *Achtergewicht* to this volume. The enormous collections of songs in the Kalevala meter generally lack density, because it was not common in the 19th century to do in-depth collection focusing on particular areas

or individuals. However, one Ingrian singer, Larin Paraske was interviewed with unusual thoroughness and approximately 2,000 texts were recorded from her. Timonen has studied the valuable comments of the singer to her own poems and her evaluations of the songs, noted by another singer, Maija-Liisa Kelo. This enables the author to reconstruct the framework of Paraske's poetics. While some songs always had to be performed in the same manner, there were others (e.g., laments, wedding and dance songs) that were much more flexible in intermingling and variation. Although Paraske did not claim to compose new poems, her singing self is clearly manifest in the songs.

Päivikki Suojanen has studied the cultural change and confrontation of ethnic traditions in Kenya, where people representing many tribes have migrated from rural areas to city slums in order to find work. Using the method of qualitative theme interviews she sheds light on the acculturation processes in the miserable "waiting-room of life" in the slums of Nairobi.

Summing up

The book ends with several important articles and an afterword by Dell Hymes. While the theoretical introduction by Lauri Honko helps the reader to consider this long book as a thematical whole, the concluding comments by Hymes fulfil the same function, and hold the "Thick corpus..." book together. His remarks on the importance of a philological approach are encouraging for folklorists who prefer to do research on heritage that was long-ago formulated in a written form in cultural settings that are already beyond our reach. From the Ingrian folk-songs discussed by Timonen, Hymes leads the reader to Native North American narratives, sometimes recorded in languages that, unfortunately, are no longer spoken. One of the conclusions of the book is that there definitely are more universal laws and regularities to be discovered in folklore, although they can take various forms when folklore is actualized in different cultural settings. Inevitable variation in the processes of textualization is one of the distinctive features of oral traditions everywhere.

I know that many articles in this volume deserve much longer comments and discussions. No doubt feedback will come in future publications from folklorists in several countries and many of the ideas will be developed further. Besides the keyword of variation as the common thread, there are other inspiring lines of thought in the book. As Honko notes: "Since variation does not constitute an independent field of folkloristic research, we must try to seize it in its textual and cultural locations" (p. 4). If variation is seen in relation to other folkloristic paradigms, more ideas and themes emerge. As an example of this we could mention the issues of genre, discussed by some authors. Kaivola-Bregenhøj demonstrates that the tendency toward variation varies

from one genre to another. Siikala views genres in action, as strategies for reproducing oral traditions. Timonen examines one singer's understanding of oral genres and thus presents an emic and culture-specific taxonomy of folklore genres. Variation in connection with other keywords, such as tradition, textuality, folk group, tradition bearer, performance, meaning or context has given other novel insights in the book, which is far from exhausting the topic formulated in its title. Quite a few of the articles could be developed into monographs, and I hope that this will happen in the years to come. The authors are united by their successful attempts to see folklore as a dynamic process of recreation, not as a set of textual objects that have a museomic value.

The cover illustration of the book is an old photo of some neatly dressed Ingrian women and children sitting with fields and farmhouses of a traditional village in the background. It is a mystery that the old photo is not in black-and-white, but in color. The reader probably feels that something similar has happened to the oral traditions, partly introduced for the first time, partly re-examined in the book: it is not only that new theoretical light is shed on them; folklore seems to reveal some of its genuine colors. As the cover illustration is the only picture published here, it attracts attention and allows the reader to meditate. Who are these people and why are they sitting there, as if waiting for something or somebody? Are they expecting to meet folklorists who will come to listen to their songs and stories and interview them in order to find out the rules and irregularities of variation in an attempt to improve their understanding of oral traditions? Or are these people just happy to sit in the warm sunshine, oblivious to the attention of folklorists, the Others? In the latter case there must be other tradition bearers, invisible to us, somewhere in the villages beyond the horizon. "Thick corpus..." is an appeal to folklorists to go on conducting fieldwork, discovering new domains of thought, and re-reading the archives. There is so much work to be done in traditional and non-traditional cultures everywhere.

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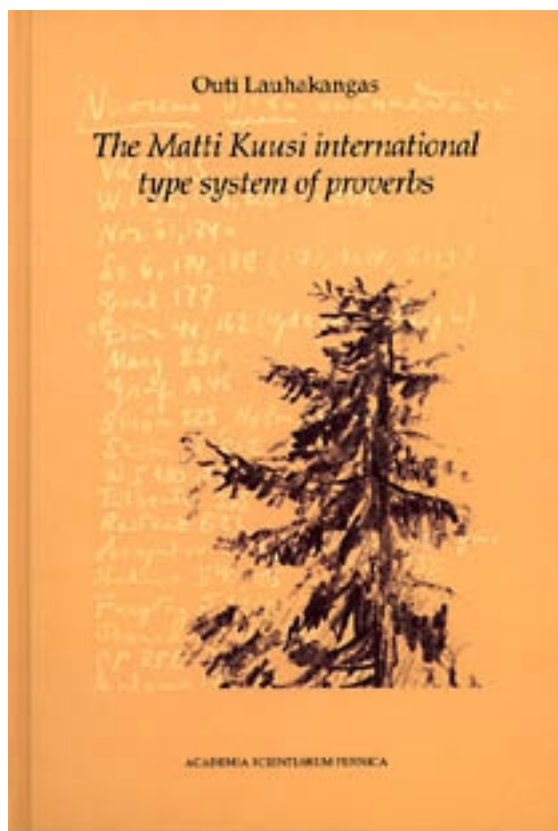
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From 1965 to 1974 Matti Kuusi was editor-in-chief of the famous journal *Proverbium* and invited proverb scholars to contribute to this forum. During this period he began to keep a card index of literature references to proverb types and made his first experiment in the thematic classification of international proverb materials in the 1970s (FF Communications No. 211). This volume is a study of the development of this type system. Outi Lauhakangas, who as Matti Kuusi's daughter was able to benefit from his guidance, attempts to show how her father's practical dream of a common international reference code came to be realised. The reader will find a list of some 700 global or almost global proverb motifs and can access the database via the website of the Finnish Literature Society (<http://www.finlit.fi>). The international proverb database serves as a tool for various disciplines from folklore to cognitive sciences.



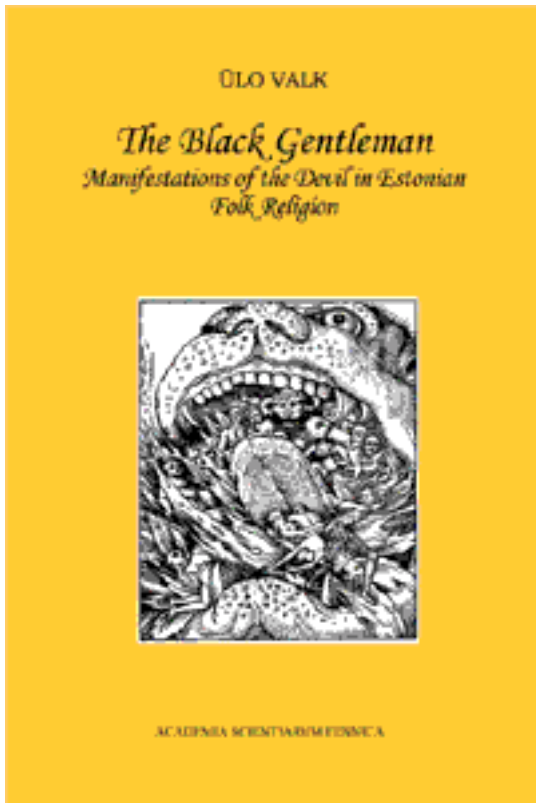
The authors

Outi Lauhakangas, social psychologist, is a Project Researcher at the Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society. Her main assignment in the 1990s was the development of a database of international proverb types. She has also worked on Baltic-Finnish proverbs in a Finnish-Estonian project and published collections of world proverbs and quotations for Finnish readers.

Ülo Valk studied folklore, literature and Indology at the University of Tartu in the 1980s. He later worked as a researcher at the Folklore Department of the Institute of the Estonian Language and Literature, which in practice meant working in the national Folklore Archives. At present he is Professor of Estonian and Comparative Folklore at the University of Tartu. Dr Valk has done fieldwork in Estonia and India and has published articles on folk religion, demonology, legends and folksongs in Estonian and English. FFC 276 is a slightly revised version of his doctoral thesis, submitted to the University of Tartu in 1994.

John Minton is Associate Professor of Folklore at Indiana University-Purdue University Fort Wayne, having completed his Ph.D. in Folklore at the University of Texas at Austin. In addition to numerous articles on American folk music and song, he is the author of *Big 'Fraid and Little 'Fraid: An Afro-American Folktale* (FF Communications No. 253. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1993).

David Evans is Professor of Music at the University of Memphis. He completed his Ph.D. in Folklore and Mythology at the University of California Los Angeles. The author of *Tommy Johnson* (London: Studio Vista, 1971) and *Big Road Blues: Tradition and Creativity in the Folk Blues* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), he is currently also the General Editor of the *American Made Music Series* of the University Press of Mississippi.



FFC 276. Ülo Valk,
The Black Gentleman: Manifestations of the Devil in Estonian Folk Religion.
 Folklore Fellows' Communications No. 276.
 Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia
 (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), 2001. 217 pp.

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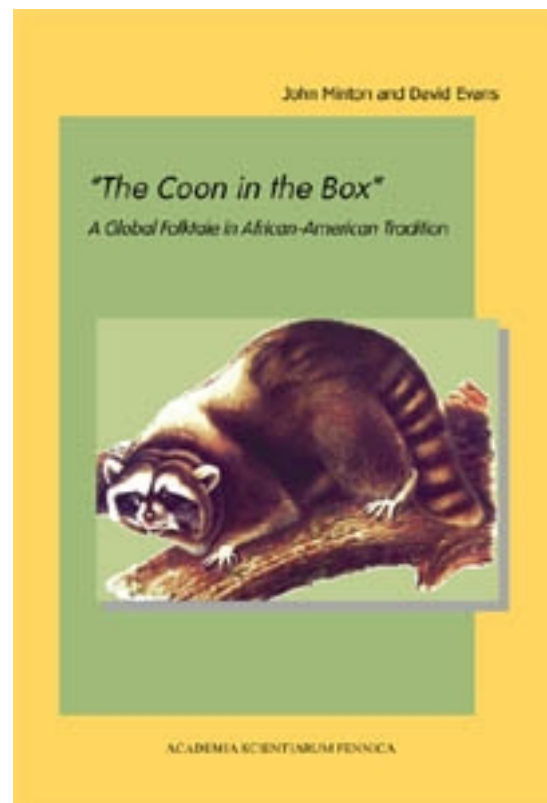
This empirical study of the Devil in the collections of the Estonian Folklore Archives, reflecting the world of belief inhabited by the Estonians in the 19th and 20th centuries, is also a book about suspicion and fear in everyday life. It describes how religious folklore has drawn borders between the human and the non-human, how it has modelled the Other, the supernatural and social evil. As a study of folk narrative, and legends in particular, it mainly discusses variation at the level of motif with special reference to the visual guises of the Devil. These are projected against the backcloth of international folklore and demonological treatises on Christianity.

FFC 277. John Minton and David Evans,
"The Coon in the Box": A Global Folktale in African-American Context.
 Folklore Fellows' Communications No. 277.
 Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia
 (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), 2001. 112 pp.

ISBN (hard) 951-41-0895-7 / (soft) 951-41-0896-5

Hard, FIM 70 / Soft, FIM 60

Among the most popular of all African-American folktales is the story folklorists know as "The Coon in the Box", itself a derivative of the extremely old and widespread narrative usually identified, after the Brothers Grimm, as "Doctor Know-All" (*Doktor Allwissend*) (AaTh 1641). Not coincidentally, this item has served as a centerpiece in the debate over the sources of New World black folktales. A detailed analysis of "The Coon in the Box", its life history and cultural context thus reveals a great deal not only of the nature of African-American oral narratives in and of themselves, but also of the challenges confronting scholars in investigating the origins, diffusion, and development of these traditions.



Forthcoming in the FFC

FF Communications No. 278 — publication date: December 2001

Moral Fictions. Tamil Folktales from Oral Tradition

by Stuart Blackburn

Is fantasy the defining element in fairy tales? This question is the starting point for Stuart Blackburn's study of Tamil oral tales. Having collected over 300 tales, 100 of which are translated in this book, he concludes that although fantasy, and humour, are present, at the core of the tales lies a moral vision in which wrongdoing, especially physical cruelty, is punished. Only the second full-length study of Indian tales from oral tradition, this book places the Tamil tradition in an international context, describes the telling sessions and includes tellers' interpretations of some tales.

Stuart Blackburn teaches at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and is the author of several books, including *Singing of birth and death: texts in performance*, 1988, and *Inside the drama-house: Rama stories and shadow puppets in South India*, 1996. He is currently coordinating a research project on culture change in Arunachal Pradesh, India.

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