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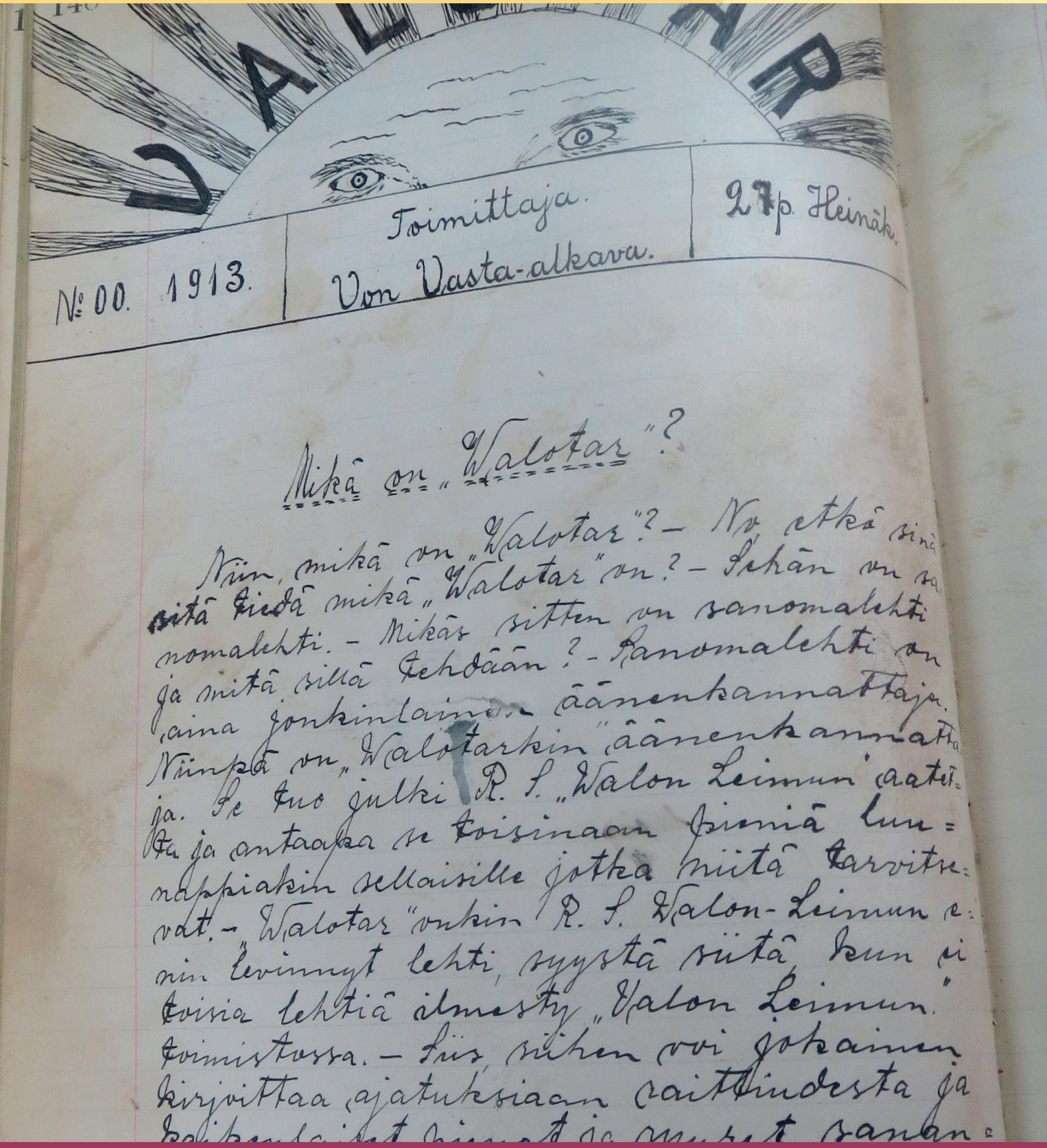

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Publisher
Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, Helsinki

Editor
Pekka Hakamies
pekhak@utu.fi

Editorial secretary
Petja Kauppi
secretary@folklorefellows.fi

Linguistic editor
Clive Tolley

Editorial office
Kalevala Institute, University of Turku

Address
Kalevala Institute, University of Turku
20014 Turku, Finland

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Pekka Hakamies

Scholarly Freedom

In folkloristics, as in scholarship in general, freedom of research is a fundamental value. Every nation and scholarly community has its own traditions and practices, but a scholar's right to choose his or her own research objectives is their basis. Scholarly freedom also encompasses the researcher's right to choose research methods and materials, and the right to publish whatever results the materials and research method lead to. A critical discussion which focuses on these matters must be based on scientific facts, and such a discussion needs to be taken up by colleagues and the scholarly community. Only after a critical discussion, entered into freely, can new finds be approved as scholarly realities.

In practice, many facets of research ethics and general morality give direction to and sometimes limit research. There is constant argument over independence vs dependence in terms of values. The so-called Hume's Law is often mentioned: how matters should be cannot be inferred from how they are. Research is bound up with values if the researcher appropriates or acknowledges some engagement with values. The researcher may end up confronting this if the object of research is something connected with a strong value engagement in society: the general attitude is either strongly negative or very positive.

It is characteristic of folklorists to have some degree of sympathy for the object of research: field work includes being involved with people, who deserve respect, and with whom a warm and positive relationship is formed. Such a basis for research is problematic, if the subjects being investigated espouse generally rejected values such as racism, violence or contempt for the human worth of some particular group or individuals. A folklorist may run up against this sort of thing, even close at hand, as for example in the oral traditions of school children. Then the researcher is confronted with a conflict between scholarly and popular values: from a scholarly perspective, he or she must describe the object of research accurately and truthfully, and also publish the material without sensationalism, but from a social perspective there may be reason to refrain from presenting the coarsest material, and, clearly, to desist from approving the value system that appears in it.

In Finland, the conflict between social morality and scholarship has been very evident in the past in the editing of collections of folk songs. These were meekly righteous and in accord with the morals of the time. Someone interested in the songs, upon beginning to scan through the archive collections, would feel a shock upon seeing how the editors had left out anything to do with sex or violence. Here, scholarly openness and the valuing of authenticity were in conflict with general morality.

A hermeneutic research stance involves to some degree an attempt to understand the object of research from its own perspective. If the object is a tradition which extols racism and violence, and despises the human worth of some group, for example through hate speech, a folklorist must think carefully what 'understanding' means in such research. Folklorists cannot, on the other hand, close their eyes to how hate speech and racism have spread in many countries as a result of the surging floods of migrants. There is a clear social problem here, and it forms an important object of research, which from a research-ethics perspective is very challenging.

Research ethics impose their own limits when a folklorist is concerned with living individuals rather than old archive materials. The practicalities observed in every country and even every university differ on this point, but a guiding principle is that people's intimacy must be honoured and it is not permissible to collect – let alone publish – data which could endanger them. Sometimes research-ethics guidelines on what it is permissible to publish may clearly impair the research. Also conceivable is a research position where it would be justified to publish information from the perspective of the society's moral values, which however could be damaging to the people who have acted as objects of the research, if for example it were a matter of a serious problem long unspoken of in a particular societal group, and damaging to the human worth of individual members of the group.

The training of researchers and the work of many academic institutions strive towards a systematic approach to ethical problems of research. Yet regardless of all the handbooks and check-off lists, we may sometimes end up in a situation we can escape from only by entering an open discussion with colleagues. Let us keep such discussion going.

Speaking Out, Speaking for, and the Right to Speak on Behalf of Others

Amy Shuman
The Ohio State University

Folklore is one of many disciplines that have addressed the companion questions of who has the right to speak about whom and who owns what kinds of knowledge. Because folklore integrates the fields of performance, discourse studies, ethnography, critical race theory, and feminist studies (among others), the field is a good place to address the complex issues regarding ownership, tellability, and entitlement, all central to the larger question posed by this volume about free speech. In discussions of who has the right to speak, the political and the personal, the public and the private, recognition and rights, often intersect. In this essay, I chart some of the intersections between the larger social and political disputes and the ordinary interactions in everyday life in negotiations about who has the right to speak about whom and when. As a folklorist, the premise of my discussion is that these questions are always interactive, invoking listeners as well as tellers, utilizing cultural styles and genres of communication, and indexing social understandings of reputation and status. I begin by reviewing some culturally based rules that constrain speaking on behalf of others and then turn to examples in which speaking on behalf of oneself is not necessarily more liberatory but can instead be implicated in cultural political conditions of marginalization.

In my research, I first encountered the ethical violations of speaking for others in my work with adolescent girls (mostly African American and Puerto Rican American) in a Philadelphia junior high school from 1978-81. The girls had an unstated rule against speaking about others (roughly referred to as talking about people behind their backs), a rule that they violated numerous times each day, and they held each other accountable for these violations. Informed primarily by Erving Goffman's discussions of face-saving, I explored how the girls navigated their way through the minefields of their transgressions. At the same time, I was engaged in research with a community of ultra-orthodox Jewish women in Brooklyn, NY. These women carefully avoided gossip, which they described as '*lashon hara*,' literally 'evil language.' Unlike the adolescent girls, who were making up the rules day to day in their efforts to forge ethical relationships as part of growing up, the Jewish women were guided by theological writings and a compilation of specific rules regarding the use of gossip in a book translated into English as *Guard Your Tongue* (Pliskin, 1975). To remind themselves of the temptation to gossip, many of them had purchased a sticker, readily available in local stores, which they placed on the cradle of the telephones in their homes. The sticker warned them in three languages (English, Yiddish and Hebrew) to avoid gossip. Interestingly, both the adolescent girls and the Orthodox Jewish women attended to prohibitions against speaking about others even if the information conveyed was true. The girls simply referred to such information as private (nobody else's business). In the Orthodox community, harming someone's reputation by spreading false information was differentiated from the sometimes more complex question about either the prohibition against or the obligation to convey a negative truth about someone.

These two very different examples of rules about speaking about others are both part of locally embedded systems for understanding how we use speech as part of the larger web of our social relationships (Brenneis 1996). Speaking is regulated not only by laws that determine what counts as slander and when political opposition is possible, but also by local habits and customs that are never entirely separate from state enforced restrictions. As Veena Das observes, rules for speaking on behalf of others are part of the larger question of individuals' regard for others (Das 2015: 135). She describes her interest in 'how the everyday words and gestures were folded into ways of acknowledging or withholding acknowledgment to the concrete others within a web of other practices' (2015: 136). Rules for ordinary conversation, even the unarticulated rules that governed junior high girls' talk, are part of hierarchical social structures. The girls' rules were motivated by face-saving in a world of constant humiliations. The Jewish women were not unattuned to the same questions of face-saving, but their rules were motivated by more complex understandings of the damage that can be done by speaking carelessly or casually about others' predicaments. Das' discussion of face-saving in the sometimes minute gestures that make up ordinary social relationships points to the deep connections between the ordinary and larger social structures. She writes, 'An arrangement is maintained between various social

actors in a given situation by which the fragile balance between enhancing one's own honor and prestige and being mindful of the honor that has to be shown to others is not disturbed' (2015: 136). As Donald Brenneis observes, speaking about others is often implicated in systems of reputation and honor. He explores the conditions in which 'privately held stories become more or less public' and people beyond the private circle 'gain legitimate access' to the stories (1996: 48). Each system for designating some kinds of speech as preferred and others as off limits is deeply cultural, requiring close attention to not only what people say but the way they say it, to whom, and when. Each of these systems further designates what counts as an insult and what counts as a scandal.

Although face-saving in ordinary life and face-saving in public politics are intricately connected, ethnographically based inquiries about how people negotiate the right to speak in particular occasions do not necessarily map onto political debates about the right to speak on behalf of others. Writing about discussions of who speaks, who is silenced, etc., Rey Chow writes,

"The emphasis of the question is always on 'who.' From that it follows that 'Who speaks?' is a rhetorical question, with predetermined answers which however cannot change the structure of privilege against which it is aimed. Obviously, it is those who have power who speak—this is the answer this question is meant to provide" (1990 146).

More than twenty years ago, Linda Alcoff introduced her essay 'The Problem of Speaking for Others' by saying,

> 'There is a strong, albeit contested, current within feminism which holds that speaking for others—even for other women—is arrogant, vain, unethical, and politically illegitimate. Feminist scholarship has a liberatory agenda that almost requires that women scholars speak on behalf of other women; yet the dangers of speaking across differences of race, culture, sexuality, and power are becoming increasingly clear' (1995: 97-98).

She observes that the contrary, individuals speaking only for themselves, is equally problematic (1995: 100) and suggests that the larger problem is representation.

> 'The problem of representation underlies all cases of speaking form whether I am speaking for myself or for others. This is not to suggest that all representations are fictions: they have very real material effects, as well as material origins, but they are always mediated in complex ways by discourse, power, and location' (1995: 101).

Further, 'In order to evaluate attempts to speak for others in particular instances, we need to analyze the *probable or actual effects of the words on the discursive and material context*' (italics in original; 1995: 113). Alcoff's discussion was a central part of a larger debate about identity politics, the authority of academic discourse (Roof and Weigman, 1995). As Alcoff and others, later anthologized in the Roof and Weigman anthology (1995) acknowledge, speaking for oneself raises the additional questions of presuming a coherent, unchanging self and asserting epistemologies of knowledge and truth.

The history of discussions of speaking and being spoken for in disability studies is as old as in feminist scholarship, but is perhaps less known outside of the context of disability rights. The U.N. Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UN CRPD) uses the slogan "nothing about us without us" to protest policies that are decided without the full and direct participation of people affected by that policy. James Charlton describes hearing the slogan for the first time in South Africa in 1993, spoken by leaders of the Disabled People of South Africa movement (Charlton, 1998: 3). He asks, 'Is the demand *Nothing About Us Without Us* a genuine, liberatory call for self-determination or a plea for recognition by the dominant culture?' (1998: 159). His reference to these two possibilities (which of course are not mutually exclusive), calls attention to recognition as a sometimes overlooked dimension of questions about speaking on behalf of others. Self-determination has become a central area of research and discussion for individuals with intellectual disabilities, who have been considered unable to make decisions on their own behalf. Promoting self-advocacy and self-determination has been linked to disability rights as recognition of the fact that individuals with intellectual disabilities can and do make decisions about their lives (Shogren et. al. 2015: 253). Self-determination, and its companion concept, self-advocacy, link the disability rights movement to everyday practices of speaking on one's own behalf and thus provide an interesting site for examining the intersection between rights and the question of who speaks for whom. Also, in some ways, the self-determination discussions promote a form of individual agency that can be at odds with current discussions of interdependency and precarity (Butler 2006: Berlant et. al 2012). Further, from a folklorist's perspective, as described in the literature (Shogren et. al), self-determination and self-advocacy are western neoliberal concepts that do not take into account cultural understandings of speaking for oneself or on another's behalf. Altogether, then, these concepts are ripe for consideration within the larger conversation about who speaks for whom.

> In disability studies, the issue of recognition points to the interactive dimension of questions about having a voice and/or speaking on behalf of others and especially considers whether or not individuals are participants in decisions about their lives or about policies, and these discussions remain relevant for disability studies. Building on Donna Haraway's discussion of speaking for 'misappropriated

others' Susan Ritchie suggests that speaking for others can be described as a kind of ventriloquism, including folklorists speaking for the subjects of their research (1993). Melanie Yergeau also uses the metaphor of ventriloquism to describe her experience of not being recognized as a speaking subject. She describes her exchange with the various professionals who involuntarily hospitalized her 'in the psych ward' when she was a new faculty member of her university: "Suddenly, the experts claimed, *I* wasn't talking. God, no. 'That's your depression talking,' they explained. 'That's your autism talking. That's your anxiety talking. Really, it's anything *but* you talking'" (2013: np).

Further, analyzing the event, she writes,

> And so, I've had to get used to not existing, rhetorically speaking. I will say something about autism, and someone will assert that nothing Ive said matters or applies to anything. Because I am self-centered. Because I do not have the capacity to intuit other minds or to understand the life experiences of others. Because it is just my autism talking. How can one have autism and have something to say? *Autistic voice* is the ultimate oxymoron. And so, I've had to get used to not existing, rhetorically speaking. I will say something about autism, and someone will assert that nothing I've said matters or applies to anything. Because I am self-centered. Because I do not have the capacity to intuit other minds or to understand the life experiences of others. Because it is just my autism talking (2013: np).

A disability studies perspective challenges not only the ethical positions but also some of the normative assumptions of speaking on behalf of others and speaking out for oneself. In addition to the normative assumptions about speaking itself as a metaphor for citizenship, speaking and listening index normative rhetorical positions among speakers, audiences, and other listeners. Insofar as questions about the possibility of speaking on one's own behalf are always questions about recognition, they always invoke questions of who will listen, or in other words, the limits of what can be heard. Referring to an interview with Roland Barthes, who says 'These days a discourse that is not impassioned can't be heard, quite simply. There's a decibel threshold that must be crossed for discourse to be heard,' Chow calls our attention to the technologies of sound that serve as gatekeepers and conduits to what is heard and how (1990: 149). More recently, Deborah Kapchan invites ethnographies of listening to better understand soundscapes as not only technologies but also affective processes of transmission and reception (2017: 4).

The conversation about speaking for oneself and speaking for others has shifted from a discourse about providing voices to disenfranchised subjects to a discourse about the conditions that marginalize people. Having a voice at the table is the condition for recognition and participation. However, not all voices are produced in the same way or sound the same, and conditions of marginalization invoke fundamental assumptions about normalcy.

For the past several years, I have been part of a team that created a post-secondary program (TOPS) at the Ohio State University for people with intellectual disabilities. As part of the program, the participants are encouraged to develop their "self-determination" skills, defined as, 'Being able to advocate for what you need, understanding your disability and how it impacts your learning, having self-confidence, being independent, and adjusting your schedule to make sure things get done' (Getzel and Thoma, 2008: 79). Advocating is understood as speaking up, speaking on one's own behalf. In some sense, such a goal is self-evident, an unquestionable goal that would contribute to social inclusion. At the same time, if we follow Melanie Yergeau's arguments on autism, self-determination and self-advocacy are predicated on normative requirements for recognition.

I began this essay with reference to the deeply cultural, normative understandings of rules about speaking about others and the consequences of transgressions for reputation and social status. Those rules suggest the possibility of speaking for oneself and to some extent controlling what is public, what is private, what gets said, and by whom and when. The alternative, being spoken for, suggests the loss of that control and the loss of participation in determining everything from small decisions to public policies.

I'll offer one example of how this plays out in ordinary life. My son, Colin, a participant in the OSU program, attended a college basketball game with a group of his friends, the director of the program, and me. During half-time, my son and his friends said they were going to go down to the basketball court to get a photograph with the cheer leaders. I said that I didn't think it was a good idea, and my son, whose speech is limited but who reads and writes well, spelled out

'S-E-L-F-A-D-V-O-C-A-C-Y,' thus making it clear that this was a decision for him, not me, to make. So they went (and got the photo). Colin learned the concept of self-advocacy in a TOPS class on life-skills; his meta-communicative use of it was an act of speaking on his own behalf. The director of the program, Margo Izzo, and I discussed what seemed to us to be a remarkable and strategic use of self-advocacy, a use not anticipated by the instruction in the life-skills class. The goal of TOPS is to promote inclusion, and students leave with a "competitive employment" position (meaning that they are paid a competitive wage in a job in the community). In other words, the goals of the program are to provide possibilities for a "normal life" and the conditions of inclusion are defined by others.

Colin's strategic use of self-advocacy was complicated for us because it provided him with a means to act outside the rules for fan behavior at a college basketball game. Fans are not permitted to go to the court during half-time to ask for a photograph with the cheer leaders. Colin and his friends, some with visibly recognizable disabilities and others, like Colin, only recognizable as disabled when they spoke, somehow managed to bypass whatever security measures might have prevented access to the cheer leaders. My guess (and I didn't accompany them) is that the security guards either tried unsuccessfully to stop them and/or saw that they were individuals with disabilities and let them pass through. In other words, they were treated as exceptional. Similarly, my guess is that the cheer leaders regarded them as exceptional and permitted the photograph. This happens to Colin all the time, though he doesn't seem to have any awareness of it. He simply asks for what he wants, whether in a store or at a sports game, and as soon as people recognize that he has a disability, they are helpful. When people are, instead, rude to him, as also happens, he leaves and moves on to something else. My larger point here is that Colin does speak up; he does speak on his own behalf; however, his self-advocacy does not necessarily result in recognition of his subjectivity. Instead, his exceptionality, his conditions of marginalization, are reinforced. My concern is that insofar that the literature on self-determination and self-advocacy does not take into account cultural interactions that dismiss some interlocutors as deviant or different, it cannot address the inevitably failed moments of self-advocacy. As Yergeau's discussions of autism demonstrate, when one speaks in an unrecognized voice, as the voice of depression or the voice of autism, in her case, one isn't recognized as speaking.

Uncomfortable stories about speaking up and saying something that isn't recognized, or isn't understood as expected, are not the anomaly. I present Colin's story (and Yergeau's), not as exceptions, in which, due to a disability, one isn't understood or recognized, but as central to the experience of speaking on one's own behalf or telling others' stories.

I set my example (and Yergeau's) alongside the many stories told by ethnographers about misunderstandings and misrecognitions. Deborah Kapchan relays her experience of playing the same audio clip of a Sufi liturgy for two different academic audiences. In one case, for a 'respected scholar of the Muslim world' playing the clip 'was akin to an illicit unveiling,' because Kapchan played it 'outside of its context of origin for non-Muslim audiences' (2017: 282). At the second presentation, a colleague remarked, 'We can talk about trauma. We can even look at it. But somehow listening to it is unbearable' (2017: 282). Kapchan had understood the performance as rapture, rather than trauma, and she uses the example to draw our attention to the question 'What does it mean to be an aural witness to the pain and praise of others? (2017: 282)' The illicit and the unbearable, are, of course, very different sorts of objections, although both are problems of tellability and central to the question of the right to speak about others.

Although many stories about speaking up and speaking on one's own behalf describe instances of breaking through discrimination and oppression to claim both rights and a rightful place in policy and decision-making, recognition of speaking up is also part of cultural systems of respect and reciprocity. In other words, speaking up includes listeners who acknowledge and hear what is said and who are willing to hear something said in an unfamiliar way or by a previously unrecognized speaker. The cultural systems of respect and reciprocity not only include but often depend on implicit rules for speaking about others as well as understandings of what it means to speak on one's own behalf. Concepts like self-advocacy are admirable, especially as political statements that counter prevailing views or practices of exclusion, and slogans such as 'not about us without us' can call attention to forms of discrimination. At the same time, as a cultural concept, self-advocacy exists within frameworks of relationship, for example those that privilege interdependence over independence. The politics and policies of speaking for oneself or speaking on behalf of others are implicated in everyday, local, cultural practices.

To add to the many observations made by others, outlined above, about who speaks for whom and about speaking on one's own behalf, I would like to propose that to understand the conditions for recognition, in addition to the 'decibel threshold that must be crossed' we also consider the possibility that some speakers are relegated to exceptional, outsider, status that confirms their marginalization.

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Writers and listeners of Walotar

Exploring the oral-literary traditions of the Finnish community in Rockport, Massachusetts

Kirsti Salmi-Niklander
The University of Helsinki

Immigrant communities are excellent subjects for investigating the interaction of oral, manuscript and printed communication. Multidisciplinary research into self-educated writers and vernacular literacies, which has been revived in Finland and other Nordic countries over the past decade, provides opportunities for placing the oral-literary traditions in immigrant communities into a wider historical and methodological context.[1]

My interest in immigrant communities is based on my long-term research into oral-literary practices and traditions in small groups and local communities. By "oral-literary tradition" I mean those expressive genres which involve both oral and written forms of communication. One reason for formulating this term is to emphasise the interplay of orality and literacy, instead of opposing "oral history" against "official history". My formulation of the term is also related to the ethnographic or ideological orientation in the research into orality and literacy. Researchers with an ethnographic-ideological orientation focus on oral-literate practices ("literacies"), challenging the Great Divide model of orality and literacy. (Street 1993, Besnier 1995.)

The first generation of Finnish immigrants brought different forms of oral-literary traditions and practices of reading, writing and publishing with them to the new country: among these were hand-written newspapers and broadsides. These traditions and practices gained new meanings in immigrant communities. Rather than viewing them as marginal phenomena, I see these oral-literary practices as innovative and hybrid genres, which complemented the print culture in immigrant communities. These marginal genres provided opportunities for the use of vernacular language forms and "Finglish".

My research has focused on two relatively small Finnish immigrant communities: the mining community of Timmins and South Porcupine in northern Ontario, and the Finnish community of Rockport and Lanesville on Cape Ann, Massachusetts. The reason why I have become interested in these two communities is that they have produced rich and well-maintained archival records. The largest and best-preserved collections of hand-written immigrant newspapers have been produced in these two communities. I spent three months in Canada in 1993, doing archival research in Ottawa and interviewing old Finnish immigrants in Timmins and South Porcupine. *Ruoskija* ("Flogger" is a collection of about 300 pages written under the auspices of the Finnish Socialist Society in Timmins from 1912 to 1917, and included in the archives of Finnish Organization of Canada at the Archives of Canada. I have discussed themes of religion, socialism and love in the Finnish community in Timmins and South Porcupine in three articles (Salmi-Niklander 1997, 1998, 2002).

I had the chance to return to immigrant research with a fellowship from the Academy of Finland. In 2012 I discovered the huge archival collections from Rockport, Massachusetts, in the Finnish American Heritage Center at Hancock: in total, 300 archival boxes including church records, minutes, and the archives of the temperance society Walon Leimu ("Blaze of Light") in Rockport. *Walotar* ("Lady of Light") was written by the members of Walon Leimu between 1903 and 1925. This unique collection runs to 1200 pages, which makes it is the largest and the most complete collection of hand-written newspapers I have found in Finland or in the Finnish immigrant communities. The Cape Ann materials were transported to the Finnish American Heritage Center in Hancock in 2009, most of them having been preserved in the basement of the Lanesville Lutheran Church or in private homes. In recent years I have visited Rockport and Lanesville several times, making interviews and documenting private collections of personal documents, printed materials and objects.[2]

1 Research on these themes is presented in the volumes edited by Kuismin & Driscoll 2013 and Edlund, Ashplant & Kuismin 2016. Marija Dalbello (2016) and Anne Heimo (2016) discuss themes related to immigrant communities.

2 I wish to express my warm gratitude to Elana Brink, Bob Burbank, Deanie French, Betty Kielinen Erkkila, Fred Peterson, Robert Ranta and other members of the Cape Ann Finnish community for hospitality and assistance during my visits to Rockport, Lanesville and Gloucester. Thank you also for the staff of Cape Ann Museum and Sandy Bay Historical Society.

Hand-written newspapers in Finland and in Finnish immigrant communities

Hand-written newspapers have been a long-term object of my research: my doctoral thesis *Itsekasvatusta ja kapinaa* (2004) is a case study of oral-literary traditions among the working-class youth in the industrial town of Högfors (Karkkila) during the 1910s and the 1920s. The most important material is the handwritten newspaper *Valistaja* ("Enlightener"), produced from 1914 to 1925. (Salmi-Niklander 2004, 2007.) Later, I studied hand-written newspapers in communities of young adults (student societies, temperance and agrarian youth societies) in nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Finland (Salmi-Niklander 2009, 2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2017). The heyday of this tradition in Finland was during the first decades of the twentieth century, when it was adopted by the labour movement and became an important alternative medium in small communities.[3]

The production of hand-written newspapers was a common practice among Finnish immigrants to Canada, who called them by a special term, *nyrkkilehti* ("fist press"). These materials have been studied by the late professor Varpu Lindström at York University. The first hand-written newspapers were produced by Finnish immigrants in Toronto and British Columbia at the beginning of the twentieth century. The editors had probably already learned this practice in Finland (Lindström-Best 1982).

Hand-written newspapers in Finnish communities in the United States have not previously been studied, even though Michael Karni mentions the "fist press" tradition in Finnish communities in Minnesota. The only preserved materials are, according to Michael Karni, eight copies of *Erämaan Tähti* ("Wilderness Star"), produced by a Finnish temperance society in Hibbing, Minnesota, in 1904 (Karni 1981, 168). I have found information on hand-written newspapers in minutes and other archival accounts related to Finnish communities in Minnesota, northern Michigan and New York, so this tradition was probably quite well known in Finnish-American communities.

Handwritten newspapers had close connections with the printed immigrant press. The first printed Finnish immigrant papers in North America were published in Hancock, Michigan, in the 1870s. Hancock was the centre of Finnish publishing activity in North America, but local presses functioned in many other cities, such as Fitchburg, Massachusetts, and Port Arthur, Ontario. The first socialist newspapers were (*Amerikan Suomalainen) Työmies* ("The (American Finnish) Workman", 1903–50; Worcester, Massachusetts; Hancock, Michigan; *Työmies-Eteenpäin* ("The Workman Forwards"), 1950–98) and *Raivaaja* ("The Clearer",1905–2009, Fitchburg). *New Yorkin Uutiset* ("New York News") was a non-socialist newspaper published in New York from 1906 to 1996.

Finnish publishing companies also published literary periodicals and books by Finnish-American authors. Many immigrant communities had small local presses which published short-lived local newspapers. I found one issue of *Lanesvillen Sanomat* ("Lanesville Newspaper") in the Finnish-American Heritage Center: the sixth issue of 1891. The subtitle is "Hengellinen aikakauslehti" ("A spiritual periodical"). The stories provide, for example, advice for the struggle against the devil's temptations and information on religious life in China.

Both *Ruoskija* and *Walotar* are unique collections, because the writers openly reflect the immigrant experience and everyday life in immigrant communities. The texts are difficult to interpret and even more difficult to translate: the language is a mixture of Finglish, non-standard Finnish and dialect expressions. Some hand-written newspapers in Finland and in immigrant communities imitated printed papers with titles and columns. *Ruoskija* and *Walotar* were written in empty ledgers, which is very helpful to researchers and archivists, since the dates and the order of issues is easy to trace. I have found some examples of this practice also in Finland.[4]

These "newspapers" rather resemble minutes and diaries, and maybe therefore their special features have often not been recognised by archivists or researchers. In fact, hand-written newspapers have often served as a kind of collective diary or a commonplace book, where members of the community discussed common, often delicate, issues. However, they were called "newspapers" with titles, dates and names of the editors. The editors usually changed for each issue, since the purpose of the paper was to give all the members of the community a chance – and also an obligation – to practise their writing skills and present their opinions in public.

3 See Erhnrooth 1992, Turunen 2016. Together with Prof. Heiko Droste (Stockholm University) I organised a symposium on hand-written newspapers in Uppsala in September 2015 with thirteen scholars from Europe and North America. On the international research see, e.g. Berrenberg 2014; Ilyefalvi 2016; Isbell 2016.

4 For example, *Wirittäjä*, edited by agrarian youth society in Hiirola in eastern Finland from 1906 onwards, was written in empty ledgers. (Salmi-Niklander 2013a, 2013b.)

Walon Leimu Hall was built on Forest Street, Rockport ("Finn Avenue") 1902.

Hand-written immigrant newspapers were published by being read out aloud at meetings and social evenings, which was a common practice with Finnish hand-written newspapers (Salmi-Niklander 2013a, 2013b). This is one reason why their language is closer to oral communication than printed newspapers. Because of these special features they provide interesting and unique material for folklorists, historians and linguists.

In this article I present some preliminary observations on *Walotar*, in relation to other archival materials from the Finnish community on Cape Ann. I have recently gained access to the transcriptions of *Walotar* for 1903–17, made by the research assistant Anniina Ylinen.[5] I focus here on the interaction of oral and literary expression in this collection, comparing it with my observations on Finnish and Finnish-Canadian materials from the same period. What genres and themes of oral tradition did immigrant writers use? What was the role of "Finglish" (American Finnish) in immigrant writing?

Debates on temperance and socialism

The Finnish community in Rockport was established in the 1880s, when Finnish immigrants were recruited to work in the stone quarries. Rockport is a relatively stable and well-preserved immigrant community: many old houses from the early twentieth century are still in use and well renovated, and many Finnish families have remained in the area since the late nineteenth century. When I have presented some rough translations of the texts in *Walotar* and manuscript histories from the Walon Leimu temperance society to members of the Finnish community, in many cases the listeners have immediately recognised names of family members in these texts, written more than a century ago.

However, the Finns in Rockport and Lanesville today can barely speak or understand even a few words of Finnish. Some of them, born in the 1930s and the 1940s, can remember some children's rhymes and songs that they had heard from their grandparents. In Timmins and many other North American immigrant communities there was a high majority of Finnish men, many of whom remained unmarried for the rest of their lives. Even though there were several bachelor houses in Rockport and Lanesville, most men there managed to find wives among Finnish young women working as maids and servants in families, hotels and

5 This assistance was provided by Faculty of Arts at University of Helsinki.

Niina Hämäläinen

Elias Lönnrot Letters

Niina Hämäläinen. Photo: Gary Wornell

The open online publication of Lönnrot's correspondence provides a view of the work, thoughts and networks of important 19th century opinion-leaders.

Elias Lönnrot's (1802–1884) extensive network included key figures of the Finnish nationalist university-educated elite. Lönnrot carefully documented and kept the letters he wrote and received. Now – during the first phase of the publication process – the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) will publish some 1,800 private letters written by Lönnrot.

The publication is an important source regarding 19th century intellectual and cultural history and it is also valuable for folkloristics, literature and correspondence culture studies. The large bilingual corpus also tells about the development of old literary Finnish into modern Finnish, Lönnrot's expeditions, origins of the *Kalevala* and daily life of the intelligentsia.

A high-quality digitised image and an XML/TEI5-coded transcription prepared by a specialist in accordance with the international standards will be published for each letter. In addition, the people, words and concepts mentioned in the letters as well as the context of the letters are explained through commentaries.

Elias Lönnrot's correspondence is published with open science and digital humanities research in mind. All data, whether images, transcriptions or metadata, can be freely downloaded as machine-readable files. Researchers and research institutes can further process the data into a format that best serves their research questions.

Elias Lönnrot Letters is a unique collection of material from the perspective of both cultural history and linguistics and SKS has been preparing it for publication since the 1980s.

Towards Kalevala edition with Aino first

In February 2017, SKS published the *Kalevalan Aino* online publication which illustrates what a critical edition of the Kalevala could be like. *Kalevalan Aino* is a commentary publication of poem 4, lines 1–30 of the New Kalevala (1849). This is the first time a publication with critical commentary is published about the Kalevala.

The publication allows one to examine the Aino poem through a digital image of the original manuscript and through a transcript next to the image.

Kalevalan Aino includes three editorial levels: the Aino poem with explanations of words, textual criticism of the Aino poem and an analysis of Väinö Kaukonen's study of lines from the Kalevala. Furthermore, the publication introduces the contents of the Aino poem, the folk poetry material used in the poem as well as Lönnrot's editorial methods.

SKS has published critical editions since 2010 as both printed books and open digital editions.

The editing of a critical edition of the entire *Kalevala* will begin in early 2018 under researcher Niina Hämäläinen's direction. Niina Hämäläinen has edited the *Kalevalan Aino* online publication and she is also actively involved in the creation of the *Elias Lönnrot Letters* online publication. The aim is to complete the critical edition of the *Kalevala* in 2020.

Elias Lönnrot Letters: http://lonnrot.finlit.fi/omeka
Kalevalan Aino: http://aino.finlit.fi/omeka/

Codices Fennici – Finnish (and Swedish) Medieval and 16th Century Manuscripts Online

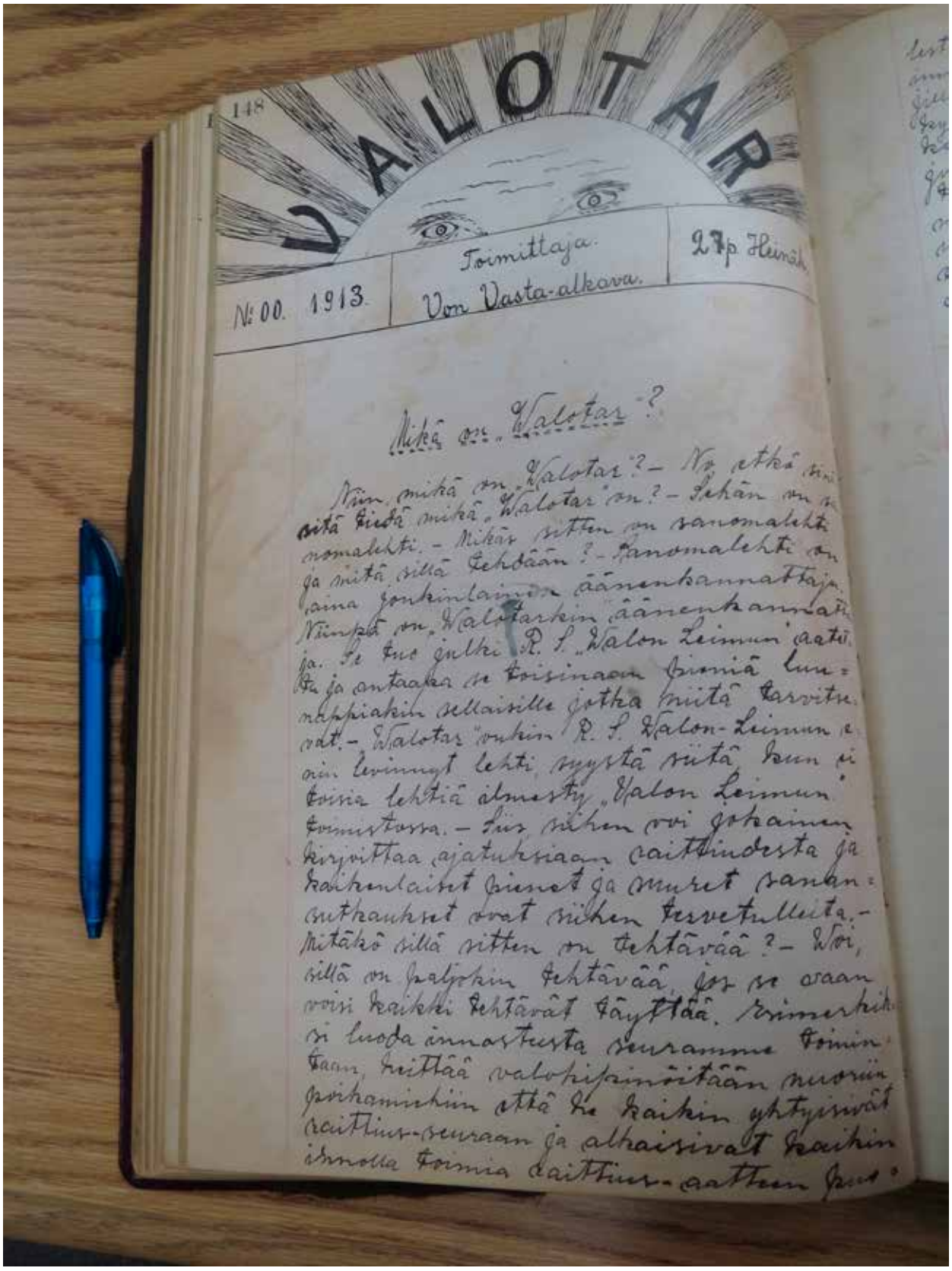
The Finnish Literature Society (SKS) is pleased to announce the release of *Codices Fennici* – a digital collection of Finnish medieval and 16th century manuscripts.

Upon completion, the collection will include digital reproductions and scholarly descriptions of over 200 manuscripts stored in archives and libraries in Finland and Sweden. The collection includes liturgical, legal, administrative, spiritual and historical texts in Latin, Swedish and Finnish.

The digital reproductions, TEI P5 versions of the manuscript descriptions, and the manuscript metadata are all published openly under Creative Commons licences. Users can also download the descriptions and reproductions and use them on their own personal computers.

Codices Fennici complements earlier online publications of Finnish medieval documents and manuscript fragments. After its publication, practically the entire corpus of written medieval sources from Finland is available online.

For more information, go to www.codicesfennici.fi.



Hand-written newspaper Walotar was written in empty ledgers. This is one of the few illustrated issues. (Photo: Kirsti Salmi-Niklander, Finnish American Heritage Center, Hancock, Michigan).

restaurants in Boston. The Finnish families established small farms, and most of them stayed in the area even after the granite quarries were closed in 1930.[6]

Liisa Liedes (1982: 58) has depicted the organisational life of the Finns in New England at the beginning of the twentieth century, pointing out that the immigrants often dived into organisational life with all their soul. The result was 'much bickering and quarreling, a great deal of loud, sometimes cruel, other times amusing accusations hurled at each other, taking sides against each other, parading for ideological issues and carrying on verbal battles on the pages of the Finnish-language newspapers'. This depiction can be applied to local activities in the Finnish community in Rockport and to the editorial processes of *Walotar* and other hand-written newspapers.

Temperance societies were very strong among Finnish communities in the United States: the first societies were founded in Minnesota and Michigan in the 1880s, taking as their model the Order of Good Templars, which had attracted Swedish and Norwegian immigrants. The Finnish temperance societies felt the "secret order" strange and founded own central association in 1888: the Suomalais Kansallis Raittius Veljeys Seura ("Finnish National Temperance Brotherhood"). However, there were disagreements on the role of religion (prayers) and attitudes to dancing and card games, which led to the division of the movement and the establishment of the Suomalainen Raittiuden Ystäväin Yhdistys ("Finnish Friends of Temperance Association") in 1890 (Liedes 1982: 69–73; Karni 1981; Holmio 2001, 237-244).

The temperance society Walon Leimu ("Blaze of Light") was founded in 1890 and was among the first societies to join the Brotherhood in 1890. However, members found Brotherhood's rules too restrictive and withdrew their membership and became an independent society in 1898. In 1900, the famous socialist speaker Antero Ferdinand Tanner visited Rockport and gave a speech at the meeting of the Walon Leimu. This caused a rift between the conservative and liberal members of the society. The political debate resulted in the society no longer being able to hold its meetings at the Lutheran church in Rockport, but the members built their own hall on Forest Street in 1902. In Rockport, the more conservative temperance society named Sampo merged with Walon Leimu 1900, but was restarted in 1904.

In 1907, a new rift was created between Walon Leimu and the local Finnish socialist society, depicted in the manuscript history of Walon Leimu written in 1915. After a few heated meetings, the society made a decision that members of the socialist society would no longer be accepted as members. Walon Leimu joined the eastern league of Finnish temperance societies in 1918. After the granite quarries were closed in 1929, young people left the community and activities decreased, though the society continued to function until 1968. Walon Leimu hall has now been renovated as a private home. (Liedes 1982: 461–4; manuscript histories of Walon Leimu temperance society.)

Several Finnish temperance societies functioned in Cape Ann in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Wäinölä (Vainola) Temperance Society in Lanesville was founded in 1891 by members who were dissatisfied with the strict rules of the Pelastaja ("Saviour") society. In 1894 Wäinölä society started the Wäinö Brass Band, which became very popular and later functioned as an independent society (Liedes 1982: 464–8). The Wäinölä Temperance Society continued to function up until 1958. A cooperation committee of the four temperance societies (Walon Leimu, Wäinölä, Pelastaja and Sampo) operated from 1909 until 1917.[7]

During the early years, all the contributors to *Walotar* were men, even though the name of the paper was feminine and the society had women as members. Most texts written during the early years were essays on the controversial relationship of the temperance movement and the Church. The writers took a very clear anti-religious, or rather anti-clerical, attitude, pointing out that many priests and ministers had in fact been involved in the business of selling liquor to working men, and profited from this business. The strong anti-clerical tendency is somewhat surprising, but it was actually quite common in Finnish-American temperance societies at the beginning of the twentieth century. (Holmio 2001: 267-268.)

One text written during the first years of *Walotar* adopts a different perspective on the temperance theme and brings up a painful issue in immigrant communities: the Finnish community included a great many single men, both unmarried and those who had left their family in Finland, which created moral tensions and collective emotions of guilt. For an issue published in late spring 1904 the writer J. R-ta submitted a text entitled "Perhe-elämästä joku sana" ("Some words

6 On the history of the Finnish community in Cape Ann, see, for example, Ray 1997; Erkkila 1980.

7 This historical information is based on the archives of Cape Ann Finnish societies at Finnish American Heritage Center.

on family life"). The writer quite frankly but without any direct personal involvement depicts the situation common in many Finnish families: the father had left for America to earn money for the family and left the wife and the children on their own in Finland. After a while he no longer sends extra money to the family but spends it on drinking and other amusements:

> you would not think that a sensible family father would think so little that when he gets to this country he won't remember any longer the reason he came here, so that when he makes money, what is left over from his own food, the rest is for his folk in Finland, but it is much nicer to give it to the saloon – the man enjoys great, wild luxury here but the wife and the children at home suffer from cold and hunger while the bread dole is pawned for money for strangers. It would be good if everyone kept away from drinking the mighty oil of joy, then family life would be in a much better state. (Trans. Kirsti Salmi-Niklander)[8]

"Luuknapei" – wellerisms in immigrant communities

More generic variety can be observed in *Walotar* from 1909 onwards: besides essays on politics and temperance there are fictional short stories and stories about local events. Especially interesting for folkloristic research are wellerisms, which were published under the title "Luuknapei" ("Fillips") or "Sanoi" ("Said"). These columns were very popular both in printed and hand-written immigrant papers. Also in *Ruoskija* in Timmins these sayings were very popular (Salmi-Niklander 1998: 282–4). Wellerisms were a very common tradition in the close-knit rural villages of western Finland, where most Finnish immigrants came from (Järviö-Nieminen 1997).

The first wellerism column was published in *Walotar* on 14 February 1909, and most issues included these materials until 1925. The following example is from the issue of 17 December 1911. The "Finglish" words are in italics:

> We will celebrate the wedding when the flour is finished, said N[estori] Kielinen to Mary Johnson.
>
> Take that and keep it, said Mary Johnson to Frank Elso when she gave him a cross.
>
> Raise your hand [?] and it will be a busy time when I will be engaged by Christmas, said John Liljeberg when he returned courting from Lanesville.
>
> Why don't you say here is H *pounds anyway* said J Pelanter when he lifted the *cabbages.9*

Wellerisms published in both *Walotar* and *Ruoskija* typically focus on small everyday events in the community, and especially on courting and romantic interests between men and women (Salmi-Niklander 1998: 282–4). Wellerisms were published in printed immigrant papers, for example, the comic magazine *Väkäleuka* ("The Babbler"), which was published between 1908 and 1915 in Port Arthur, and *Lapatossu10* published in Hancock during the same period, under the same titles, "Luuknapei" or "Sanoi". This indicates that the writers of hand-written newspapers got the idea for writing wellerisms from printed journals, even though the actual sayings were based on oral communication. In both printed and hand-written papers, wellerisms referred to real people with their real names, but in printed papers the contributors were anonymous.

In printed immigrant papers, wellerisms promoted interaction between editors and readers: submitting these sayings was an easy way for the readers to contact the newspaper, and after the contact was created they could be encouraged to send longer submissions. In the Finnish-Canadian comic magazine *Väkäleuka,* readers were encouraged to send funny sayings to the paper; and they were encouraged to perform songs and jokes printed in *Väkäleuka* during social evenings, if they remembered to inform the audience of the source. (*Väkäleuan Kevätlehti* 1915)

"Kitchenmaid's observations"

The first female editor of *Walotar* was Ida Mattson (1906). On 28 February 1909 Hilda Huhta signed off a lengthy fictional story "Pieni Kerjäläis poika kaukana salomaalla" ("A little beggar boy far away in the forest"). The increased literary activity of women coincides with the wider thematic and generic variety in the paper.

8 *Walotar*, issue 25, April/May? Apparently, this is a letter to the editor: "ei luulisi täysi järkis perhen jo isä niin vähä ajattelevaksi että kun päse tähän mahan niin hän ei muista enää mitä varten hän tänne läksi hän kun kun tienaa rahaa sitä varten että se mitä omasta ruaas jää, niin loppu joukolle suomeen, mutta se on paljo mieluisenpaa antaa sen kapakkaan, mies täälä nauttii suurta hullua ylällisyttä ja vaimo ja lapsett kotona vilua ja nälkää kun leipä ainat ovat rahan panttina vierailla ihmisillä kyllä olisi hyvä että kaikki ihmiset jättäisivät j sen valtian iloöljyn juomata niin perhe elämäkin on silloin paljo paremmalla kannalla."

9 "Sitten meillä häitä vietetään kun jauhot loppuu sanoi n kielinen mary Johnsonillen

Tuos on Ja pidä tallella sanoi mary Johnson kun Fränkö elsollen ristin antoi

käsi pystyy Ja kiirus kun Jouluksi kiihlaillen sanoi John liljeberg kun Lanesvillestä Friijoota tuli

mikseite sano onhan täs H paunoo enuvei sanoi J pelanter kun käpeksiä nosti'.

10 The name "Lapatossu" refers to a well-known comic character in Finnish oral tradition and popular literature at the beginning of the 20th century.

Instead of essays on politics and temperance, the writers focused more and more on humorous observations of everyday life in the community.

Mary Johansson (Johnson), who was mentioned in the wellerisms cited above, was an active editor for many issues during 1911 and 1912. She was interested in the women's cause and equal opportunities for political action. Her leader in the issue of 10 March 1912 was entitled "Kyökkipiian havaintoja Peruna pasta" ("A kitchenmaid's observations on potato stew"). She compares cooking of a potato stew to political agitation. Nothing seems to happen in the pot, when potatoes are placed into cold water on a stove; but then suddenly the water boils and the potatoes turn into a stew. Similarly, cold minds can be turned hot by a skilful agitator:

> Always when I make potato stew it reminds me of the development of human life, just as for Matti Kurikka, sawing the wood recalls the coming of the spring. Somebody among you might say that it recalls the well-being of a hungry stomach: it's true, it does recall this, but let me explain, and I'm not joking, what similarity I see in these – the human soul and cooking potatoes. I have to take your thoughts to the kitchen. First the potatoes go in the kettle, and you can see how calm and cold the potatoes remain on the bottom of the pan without caring about the fiery flames which lap the bottom of the pan. But suddenly a terrible noise comes from the pan, as if the potatoes have started a terrible fight, crashing each other against the edge of the iron pan.[11]

Mary Johnson creates metaphorical links between everyday objects and ideological issues, referring to the words of Matti Kurikka, who was a very controversial character in the Finnish labour movement, and also an agitator with a global perspective. He spent his last years in New York and New England, and died on 1 October 1915 on his farm in North Stonington, Connecticut. (Heimo & al. 2016.)

"Finglish" and hand-written newspapers

The language of Finnish-American and Finnish-Canadian immigrants has been a topic of intensive research by Finnish linguists since the 1960s. The American Finnish provides an interesting example for the study of language use by different generations of immigrants, because Finnish and English belong to different language families: Finnish is not an Indo-European language but belongs to the Finno-Ugric language group, and has a completely different grammar and syntax from English. Therefore, Finnish and English ingredients can quite easily be identified in the written and spoken languages. I will present some comparative observations between my research material and linguistic studies. Pertti Virtaranta and his colleagues carried out extensive fieldwork among Finnish communities in Canada and the United States in the 1960s and the 1970s, when different generations of Finnish immigrants could be interviewed. The results of the research projects led by Virtaranta were published in the essay collection *Amerikansuomi* in 1993.

"Finglish" or American Finnish is a special hybrid language form created in Finnish immigrant communities. "Finglish" had substantial English vocabulary spelled in a Finnish manner, as immigrants adopted English words for phenomena which they faced in North America. Pertti Virtaranta outlines different thematic fields of vocabulary loans: these include professional vocabulary used in lumber cams, mines and factories ("mainiengelska"), new kinds of food and meals ("kitsiengelska"), clothing and machines, political and social life, plants and animals. and ethnic groups. For most of these terms there are standard Finnish translations which are used nowadays, but which were not invented or not in common use when Finnish immigrants left for North America. (Virtaranta 1993a.)

Virtaranta and his colleagues focused their research on the spoken language. Virtaranta outlines "Finglish" in American Finnish printed literature and press in one chapter. Most printed Finnish-American books and periodicals were written and edited by professional writers and journalists, who had already learned to use standard Finnish in Finland. In Finnish-American literature, "Finglish" is most often used in dialogue, and sometimes in order to create a comic impression. For Finnish readers, "Finglish" often has a comic tone. Pertti Virtaranta uses the term "Condensed Finglish" for these comic texts, in which "Finglish" words are piled on top of each other. Normally, Finnish immigrants used "Finglish" words in their speech and writing only to the extent that was needed and for words and phenomena which belonged to their new life in North America. Over time, some features of Finnish syntax and grammar were also modified according to English grammar. (Virtaranta 1993b.)

11 Aina kun laitan Perunia Pattaa muistuttanet mullen ihmis elämän kehitystä kun. matti kurikallen pun sahamine keväntuloa. teistä ehkä joku väittää ettäse muistuttaa nalkäisen vatsan hyvän vointia seon totta se kyllä muistu sittäkin mutta antakas kunselitän enkä yhtän naura. mitä yhtäläisytä näjen naisä. nimitai ihmissiellus Ja perunan keitos, mintäyty teitän viettä ajatusi kyökin. Ensin perunat pataan, tenäjetten kuinka tynnen kylmänä perunat pysyy pan pohjas vahääkän välitämättä nistä tulisista liekistä Joka niin uhkaavina hyvääile paan pohjaa. mutta yhtääkiä rupia pasta kulun kauhia porinaa ikän kun perunat olis nostanet kauhejan taistellun tahtojen sälittä murskatta toinen toisensa rautaisen pattan laitan.

Many immigrants had attained only very basic reading and writing skills in Finland, in home education or ambulatory schools, and they had not learned to write in standard Finnish. However, they attempted to follow norms of standard written language as much as they could. In recent sociolinguistic research this phenomenon has been termed "intended standard". The linguist Taru Nordlund has studied correspondence between Finnish immigrants and their family left in Finland during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Not many Finglish words are used in this correspondence, since it would not be comprehensible to Finnish relatives. (Nordlund 2013a, 2013b.)

Discussing Finnish Heritage on Cape Ann at Sandy Bay Historical Society, Rockport with Bob Burbank and Gwen Stephenson in July 2013.

Walotar and *Ruoskija* provide interesting material for comparative linguistic analysis. Writing practices and audiences of hand-written newspapers are in many ways different from printed immigrant newspapers and correspondence. Hand-written newspapers were written by members of immigrant communities to each other, and readers (or rather listeners) of the texts could understand "Finglish" and non-standard Finnish expressions. The use of Finnish as a means for written communication lasted for several decades, even half a century in Finnish immigrant communities. In Rockport, the minutes of the local quarryworkers' association were written in Finnish until the 1920s.[12]

I have drawn parallel observations between *Walotar* and *Valistaja*, the main material for my doctoral thesis which was produced in the same period during the first decades of the twentieth century in the industrial community of Högfors (Karkkila) in Southern Finland.. In both of these collections, the influences of oral tradition increased during the period of their production, which was 11–22 years. This is a somewhat surprising result, and does not emerge in all hand-written newspapers I have studied. In the immigrant community, the limited reading and writing skills that members had acquired in Finland were deteriorated during their years in the immigrant community. Printed newspapers recruited new editors from Finland, but hand-written newspapers provided opportunities for self-reflection for working-class members of immigrant communities. Even though the language in *Walotar* and *Ruoskija* is non-standard and often difficult to understand, the writers could provide lively expressions of their immigrant experience. In the community of working-class young people in Högfors during the same period, the increased influence of oral tradition was partly related to working-class "counter-culture" after the Civil War and partly to new, modernist literary ideals (Salmi-Niklander 2004: 441-443). Written expression of oral tradition requires different and more refined literary skills than adaptation of literary genres and forms of expression.

The large archival collections from the Finnish community from Rockport and Lanesville provide plentiful research material for various disciplines and research interests. Members of the Finnish community value their history, and some of them have established small home museums and archives. Sandy Bay Historical Society in Rockport and Cape Ann Museum in Gloucester give important support for local heritage activities. During my visits to Cape Ann I have served as a translator and interpreter of family documents in Finnish. Recently, I have encouraged other researchers to explore different aspects in the history and heritage of this community: Saijaleena Rantanen is focusing on the musical life of Cape Ann as one case study in her post-doctoral project at Arts University (Rantanen

12 The minutes of the Quarryworkers' International Union Branch 86 are preserved at the Museum of Cape Ann, Gloucester.

2016, 2017), and Milka Varmola has started a doctoral project in ethnology (University of Helsinki) on handicraft tradition in Cape Ann. The transcriptions and digitised photographs of *Walotar* are going to be made accessible for researchers.

Immigrant archives provide other interesting materials for the study of vernacular literacy in Finnish American communities: one example is the valuable collection of Eelu Kiviranta's broadsides, poems which he printed with his own hand press in northern Michigan The hand press and a large collection of Eelu Kiviranta's broadsides and manuscripts are preserved at the Finnish American Heritage Center in Michigan. (Kiviranta 2010). It would be an important project to get these materials digitised and accessible to researchers both in Finland and North America.

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Education and research in the Department of Folklore, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

Dániel Bárth

The Department of Folklore in Eötvös Loránd University is one of the oldest university research centres in Hungary where academic folklore education is carried out. The Department is part of the Institute of Ethnography and is one of the most important university institutes for teaching folklore studies. This text gives a brief history of the university and focuses on major directions the Department took and the professors involved.

Tradition and heritage

In Budapest we are looking at over two hundred years of education in folklore and ethnography (Voigt 2004). In the beginning of folklore studies from the nineteenth century people who were interested in Hungarian folklore were professors of different fields and arrived from various disciplines. Pál Gyulai (1828–1909) and Lajos Katona (1862–1910) were two such professors who lectured often on contemporary Hungarian folk poetry, and on the genres of Hungarian literature closely associated with folklore. István Györffy (1884–1939), a progressive ethnographer and museologist, developed the educational system of ethnography in the Budapest university. He was appointed as professor of a newly established chair of ethnography in 1934. After World War II, in 1945, Gyula Ortutay (1910–1978) became a professor and the chairman of folklore at the institute. The Folklore Department was founded in 1946 and was reorganized in 1951. The reorganization involved the chair being separated into two distinct areas; the folklore chair, and the chair of material ethnography. This is the system as it is today. Gyula Ortutay was head of the Folklore Department until 1968 when Tekla Dömötör became the chair. Between 1979 and 2005 Vilmos Voigt was the chair of the Folklore Department and he was followed by Kincső Verebélyi (2005–2011). Since 2011 Dániel Bárth has been the chair.

Before 1989 the educational role of the Department was very important, as there were only two universities in Hungary (Budapest and Debrecen) which delivered special university lectures on folklore. An emphasis was placed on the folktale, folksong, ballads, folk beliefs, and folk customs. Gyula Ortutay, Linda Dégh, Vilmos Voigt became internationally recognised as experts on folk tales. Imre Katona wrote numerous pieces on folk songs and ballads while folk beliefs and folk custom studies were primarily supported by Tekla Dömötör and Kincső Verebélyi. At the same time, other lecturers were teaching topics in ethnology, as László Vajda (until 1956), Lajos Boglár, Mihály Sárkány. The university handbook, *A magyar folklór* [Hungarian Folklore] was written by the professors as well as invited lecturers of the Folklore Department (Voigt ed. 1998). It gives an overall view of history and phenomena of Hungarian folklore and folkloristics for the first time. In each chapter, a definition is given of the challenges in the various folk genres. The chapters reviewed previous studies and attempted to demonstrate the international connections and historical stratas of Hungarian folklore. The handbook was first published in 1979, in 1989 a revised version was prepared and the latest version appeared in 1998. In the 1940s and 1950s the Institution was the centre of new research such as the emblematic day of the Hungarian revolution (15th March 1848 in folk traditions), the folklore of industrial workers and miners, and the Big-Budapest research (the last concentrated on people's tradition and folklore in Hungary who lived the places which were coupled to Budapest in the 1950s) The collected narratives are in the archive of the Folklore Department. The Library of the Institute has about 60 000 printed books, and Gyula Ortutay's valuable private library (14 000 printed books) is also part of its holdings.

International connections were very important to the Institution. Gyula Ortutay, who initiated the 'Budapest school' of folklore studies from the 1930s paid close attention to the individuality of his story-tellers. Linda Dégh was his first student who followed his methods and her subsequent publications demonstrate the merits of this school and are well-known throughout the world. In the 1960s, Vilmos Voigt used the methods of structuralism, semiotic and communication theories in folklore research. In the 1970s, many conferences were organised in connection with folklore. In 1989 the members of the International Society for Folk-Narrative Research (ISFNR) held a worldwide congress in

The library of the Department

Budapest and the Department supported it. The texts of the conference were published in two volumes (Voigt ed 1995). The two main significant periodicals of the Institute, *Artes Populares* and *Folcloristica* were published from the 1980s The Institute also took part in the editing of the volumes of *Vallási néprajz* [Ethnology of Religion] from 1985.

The present structure of the education

The structure of the higher education system radically changed in 2006. During the three years of a Bachelor programme the university students are able to learn the main methods, the international connections, and the historical layers of Hungarian folkloristics. One section of the lectures given concentrate on folklore. There are semesters dedicated towards folk ballads, folk songs, folk tales and other narrative genres in Hungarian folklore. These lectures follow the aesthetics and ethical questions of folklore. On the other hand, there are numerous lectures in connection with folk religion and folk customs. When it is possible, guest professors may come from Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia and other neighbour countries so the students are exposed to lectures on folk music, folk dance, folk art and often on the folklore of the Hungarians in minority outside the state borders as well. These lectures also demonstrate the international connections found in Hungarian folklore. The students have the chance to learn practical methods of ethnographical fieldwork more precisely and they are given the opportunity to travel to small villages and write about these experiences. The Institute takes part in the Erasmus program which is the largest exchange student program. Erasmus students can apply to study in many countries for example Bulgaria, Estonia, Germany, Romania, etc.

During a two-year Masters programme the students study a more specialised line of query in Hungarian folklore. The professors highlight the historical perspectives of folklore and also hold courses around their own research areas. During these semesters the students are able to learn about customs, folk religion, and history of magic in a wider perspective. There are many courses about digital folklore, present perspectives of

folk narratives, newer research methods of oral history and life stories, and the connection between culture and politics.

The current PhD program, Hungarian and Comparative Folkloristics is open to students from different institutes as well. In 2016 this programme became four years in duration. In the past two decades more than fifty students completed their PhDs.

The present directions of research

Major research areas have close connections with the professor's interests. At the moment there is a professor *emeritus* and three full-time professors at the Department. Vilmos Voigt (b. 1940) is an internationally recognised expert of folk tales, folk religion, comparative religion, semiotic and Finno-Ugric mythology. His publication list consists of more than 2000 titles. Many of them were translated into a number of languages. He has edited the handbook of Hungarian folklore (Voigt ed. 1998) and written the handbook of comparative religion studies and semiotics which are required readings for students.

Dániel Bárth (b. 1976) is currently the chair of the Department. His research work focuses on the connections between folk and elite culture especially in reaction to customs, and religious phenomenon. The benediction and the use of exorcism have been highlighted in his work. In his latest book he examines the methods and the worldview of a Franciscan priest in Zombor in the eighteenth century. His source material are archival in nature and found throughout Europe in the early modern period.

Bernadett Smid (b. 1982) is an assistant professor in the Department. She also concentrates on archival source material, more specifically on trials of the Inquisition that examine a Spanish hermit from the seventeenth century. Her PhD dissertation examined the genre of the Spanish romances but she is also interested in the genres of new folklore such as on-line folklore.

Zsófia Kata Vincze (b. 1979) is an assistant professor too, she is recognised for her work on Hungarian Jews. She wrote her PhD dissertation on this topic which was published in 2009.

More recently her main research areas include the cultural conflicts and the memorial politics around ethnicity.

Currently the research topics of PhD students are varied. There are historical topics which are based on archive sources: the connection between folk and elite culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used by criminal suits, the use of the language in the witch trials, the socio-historical background of Hungarian folklore studies in the nineteenth century.The history of folkloristics in the 1950s also emphasized the connection between science ideology and politics and under this framework the folklore of industrial workers at the time. On the other hand, there is also postgradute work being undertaken in the areas of modern paganism, the Jews in Budapest, the denomination's conflicts as well as the cultural heritage, the childlore, the motifs of Estonian hand knit gloves, and the creation of digital databases.

In the future the professors of the Department would be open to new international projects and it would be a pleasure to join new research groups. A main objective is to create and foster international cooperation among other European Folklore Institute.

Dániel Bárth, PhD, is the Head of the Folklore Department of ELTE, Budapest

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