In Memoriam:
Anna-Leena Siikala

Linguistic Multiforms:
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Folklore Fellows' NETWORK

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Cover photo: Dr. Irina Nazmutdinova at the Folklore Archives of The Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature. Photo: Alexander Yegorov 2016.

Change and Continuity

A classic prayer asks for the strength to change what can be changed, for the humility to accept what cannot be changed and the wisdom to distinguish between them. Many working with responsibility in folkloristics nowadays ponder where the world, and especially our own scholarly environment, are headed, and how we should fit in with this: whether to resist with all our might, or accommodate ourselves and try to shape something more rewarding. Being proactive has been the mantra of some specialist communities like universities over the last few decades. It means preferring to actively try to influence the future rather than just being satisfied with passive acceptance or despondently resisting what is coming.

In Europe many universities have fallen into economic difficulties as a result of the extended economic downturn. Society does not have the resources to fund them as before, when there is less money available and it is used up on everything else more than before. In such circumstances, demands that the results of research and training be of immediate usefulness to society and especially economic life increase. Many universities have reorganised research into broad subject-based programmes, where folkloristics has disappeared from sight and made space for multi-disciplinary cultural research.

In such a milieu, folklorists must decide what the firm and lasting core of their subject is, which it is worth taking care to preserve so that folkloristics remains for us in the future. On the other hand, new objects and methods of research are to be acknowledged, and all the opportunities offered by interdisciplinary collaboration. Only in this way can we avoid marginalisation and a gradual withering away. Folklorists must proceed boldly into collaborative work and keep faith that they can bring their own unique contribution to multi-disciplinary research and training, without which the outcome would be the poorer. Internet and digital social media research is a good example of how folklorists can keep up with the times and find new topics of research.

Every organisation must be able to adapt as circumstances change, in order to remain viable. It is also necessary to keep hold of whatever is important in terms of the organisation's purpose. The Folklore Fellows and its publication series, Folklore Fellows' Communications,

have suffered two particular losses this year. The former editor of the series, the internationally well-known folkloristic and academician Anna-Leena Siikala, passed away at the end of February after a long and incurable illness.

The second, less dramatic but still notable change has been that at the beginning of the year, the long-serving editorial secretary of both FFC and the FF Network, Maria Vasenkari, moved to other responsibilities in Turku University. She had worked for a decade and a half in editorial positions as well as carrying out official work in the Folklore Fellows organisation. I had collaborated with her over some ten years, and learnt to value her professionalism and familiarity with folkloristics, her dedication to her work and the high quality of her output. I thank her on behalf of the whole Folklore Fellows organisation for the devotion she has shown, to the benefit of our discipline.

The editorial side of FFC remains much as before, but the editorial secretary has changes: the new editorial secretary is Petja Kauppi, who has a doctorate in folkloristics and is a professional publications producer. The Finnish Academy of Science, our publisher, has also changed its editorial secretary's salary from a monthly salary to a piecework-based one. This on the one hand clarifies the editorial secretary's job description and eases the editor in chief's task in that it is no longer necessary to strive to achieve a constant fixed flow of work as under the previous salary system; on the other hand a piecework salary relates to recognised and limited tasks, while outside these remains all the rest of the work of the Folklore Fellows organisation, which the editorial secretary under a monthly salary took part in.

Folklore Fellows has changed its work practices over the last couple of decades, although the central elements like publications and summer schools have been preserved. In November a large group of Folklore Fellows will meet each other in a joint congress of the AFS (American Folklore Society) and ISFNR (The International Society for Folk Narrative Research) in Miami. We will strive to organise an advisory board meeting for the congress in the traditional manner and also an event where we may ponder together the role of the Folklore Fellows and future ways of working.
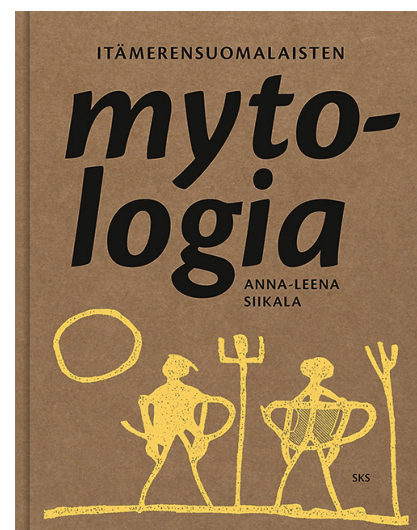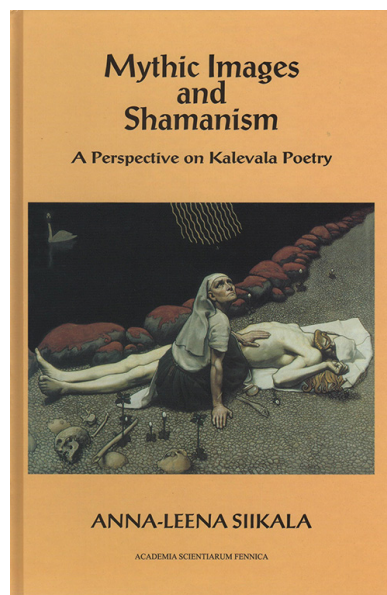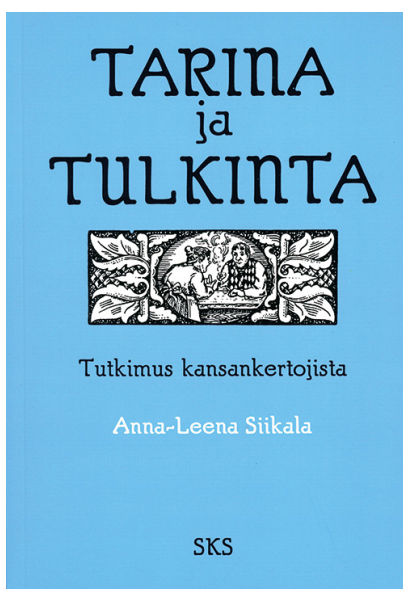
Anna-Leena Siikala (1943–2016)

Anna-Leena Siikala (née Aarnisalo) was born on 1 January 1943. Her family background was partly in Helsinki, partly in Pori, and partly in the countryside of eastern Finland – as a small child she heard *Kalevala*-metre lullabies from her grandmother. She went to school in Helsinki and studied at Helsinki University, with Matti Kuusi as her professor, and finally gained her doctorate in 1978 there on the topic of the rite techniques of the Siberian shamans. Apart from Kuusi's supervision, she was also guided by Martti Haavio and Lauri Honko. Her interest in folk belief, *tietäjät* and shamans had already fascinated her from an early age. In her final work on mythology she related how in her student field work in the early 1960s she had met a genuine, ecstatic *tietäjä*, but the true nature of the dramatic encounter dawned on her only later.

Anna-Leena Siikala worked in Finland in many universities, taking care of professorial duties as a locum in Turku and Helsinki. She was appointed professor of folkloristics at Joensuu University in eastern Finland in 1988, and from there she was invited to become professor of folkloristics at Helsinki University in 1995. In the early 2000s she worked as Academy professor for a five-year period, devoting herself primarily to her research projects. As a young researcher she had become familiar with academic life in the USA on visits, and later she worked as visiting professor at Hamburg University in Germany. Collecting of materials for her doctoral thesis on the rite technique of Siberia shaman brought her to work in the archives and libraries of Leningrad, USSR, in the middle of 1970s and opened to her lasting contacts with Russian colleagues.

The project 'Mythology of the Uralic Peoples' that Anna-Leena Siikala led had a long history. In the 1970s she had lectured on the folk religion of the Finno-Ugric peoples, and at that time was of the opinion that the ancient folk religion had sunk into history. The opening up of the Soviet Union from the 1980s radically changed many things.

In the spring of 1990 Anna-Leena Siikala found out from a colleague in Tartu that ancient folk religion still thrived in places in Udmurtia in the form of communal village sacrificial rites. Hence she travelled with an Estonian research group in the summer of 1991 to Udmurtia, through the collapsing Soviet Union, and got to see and document the sacrificial night festival arranged in honour of the god Inmar. From this began a lively collaboration with the Finno-Ugric world in the project "Mythology

Anna-Leena Siikala (1 Jan 1943–27 Feb 2016)

of the Uralic Peoples" led by her, and her research interest brought her on demanding field trips to the Khanty areas of Siberia.

With her husband Jukka, Anna-Leena Siikala also made long research trips to the Polynesian Cook Islands. This gave rise to a contextual investigation of the Maori narrative tradition. Thus she was well positioned to investigate cultural processes on a global scale over the course of millennia.

Anna-Leena Siikala was perhaps above all the student of Lauri Honko in that she was interested in living culture and tradition in its context. Nonetheless, her most important output has been a weighty monograph on the relationships between Finnish folk belief and epic tradition, *Mythic Images and Shamanism. A Perspective on Kalevala Poetry* (2003), and, expanded from this, the Finnish-language *Itämerensuomalainen mytologia* (Baltic-Finnic mythology), which she tenaciously completed in 2012, as her strength already was

weakening. Thus, her interest in the developmental framework of Finnish mythology and epic linked her with her old teachers Kuusi and Haavio, and at the same time with a lasting direction in the Finnish research tradition.

Another field where Anna-Leena Siikala advanced research markedly is story telling and narrator research. She took part in the field trip arranged by the Finnish Literature Society's folklore archive in 1970 to Kauhajoki, and apart from gathering folklore, the researchers were interested in the narrators and even made social-psychological tests for them. The materials lay for many years untouched, but after completing her thesis, Siikala applied herself to investigating the prose narration. The result was first a Finnish-language work in 1984, and, developed from that, the English-language *Interpreting Oral Narrative* (1990). Siikala introduced the cognitive perspective in the study of folklore, first in story telling research and later in the research of epic, incantations and folk healing

Anna-Leena Siikala was appointed in 2009 a member of the Academy of Finland, which was the highest recognition an academic may gain in Finland.

Anna-Leena Siikala was pivotal as an organiser of research and research collaborations, both in Finland and internationally. She had wide network of colleagues around the world. Along with Lauri Honko, she developed the international Folklore Fellows' Summer School research courses, and, succeeding Honko, she worked as editor of the FFC publications series from 2002 to 2009; her own research projects too were of course widely international. At the same time she was a friendly and caring older colleague, who was easy to approach; she was generally not called 'Professor Siikala', but 'Anna-Leena'. To many Finnish folklorists she was like a big sister, who listened and sorted out problems, and helped to forward careers.

Anna-Leena Siikala completed many important monographs and brought many research projects to a conclusion. She was also a main organiser in many international academic gatherings. With other projects she has left to younger colleagues a rich heritage to carry forward and complete, as for example the Mythology of the Uralic Peoples project, mentioned above. *Ars longa, vita brevis.*

Linguistic Multiforms:
Advancing Oral-Formulaic Theory

A linguistic multiform (or just a multiform) is a phenomenon one level above the formula. Theorizing this phenomenon makes it possible to move beyond a threshold that has limited Oral-Formulaic Theory (OFT). OFT has customarily approached the formula as a phraseological unit at the level of verse lines and advances from these minimal units directly to the theme or type-scene as a conventional unit of content or regularly used 'groups of ideas' (e.g. Lord 1960). Themes may then get related to phraseology that recurs with them (e.g. Foley 1993: esp. 240–245, 279–284, 329–335), but the gap between formula and theme has remained large and rather ambiguous (e.g. Zumthor 1990: 92). A formula is currently viewed as an 'integer' of the registral lexicon (i.e. the idiom of verbal art) forming a unit of meaning with an exclusive entry in the mental lexicon of a performer (Foley & Ramey 2012: 80; cf. Wray 2002: 9). John Miles Foley has described these units of utterance as emic 'words' of the register (1995: 8). Using this terminology, a formula constitutes an individual 'word', whereas a linguistic multiform is a system of 'words' that are established in the mind of a performer for producing a sequence of text. Addressing multiforms thus places focus on the verbal level of expression rather than on content (themes) when considering larger units of verbal expression. This focus reveals that a theme may be expressed through not one but several multiforms, and also that multiforms as verbal systems can be used in other contexts than particular themes with which they become associated. The shift in attention to a verbal system as such brings variation at a level directly above the formula into focus and opens new avenues for analysis.

The short history of the concept of linguistic multiforms will be outlined here along with illustrations of a variety of their formal types. I have found 'multiform' of particular utility when addressing oral poetries that have shorter forms with greater textual stability than the long epic traditions in relation to which Classic OFT (i.e. that outlined in Lord 1960) was developed. Classic OFT is not well-suited to account for variation in these types of oral poetry. However, when OFT of today is complemented with the theory of multiforms as conditioned by the poetic form and its patterns of use, a more coherent view emerges, inclusive of a broader range of poetries. For reasons of space, focus here will be on what multiforms are rather than on their meaning-potential.

Background

'Multiform' was proposed as an analytical term by Lauri and Anneli Honko in 1995 (1995; 1998), and discussion was carried further by Lauri Honko (1995; 1996; 1998; 2003). Although the term had been used in connection with OFT, its use had been inconsistent and not formalized (cf. Lord 1960: 100, 113 and 133; formalized in Foley 1995: 2). The Honkos' theory of multiforms has not received much attention, probably owing to: *a*) the presentation of multiforms as an alternative to OFT rather than complementary to it; *b*) only elaborating the concept in relation to the long epic form in order to answer quite specific research questions; and *c*) only addressing multiforms in a performer's idiolect rather than as a social phenomenon comparable to OFT's formulae and themes. The principle underlying the development of multiforms in the mind of an epic singer follows Anna-Leena Siikala's (1990: ch. 3) theory on the 'crystallization' of language in the memory of a performer as a verbal framework for specific units in narration (see also Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1996). Siikala's work provides a good foundation for multiform theory, while multiform theory advances attention from the formation process to the verbal system itself, which in turn makes it possible to show that multiforms can operate more generally as resources like formulae and themes.

I began to work with multiform theory in the analysis of compositional strategies used in Old Norse *dróttkvætt* poetry. This was a tradition of court poetry in a remarkably complex meter that circulated as highly crystallized or 'memorized' stanzas and poems, but which nevertheless exhibits conventional strategies linked to the oral composition of individual verses. The problem I faced was that, in this poetry, extremely variable formulae become linked to sets of rhyme words and even additional vocabulary to form a *metrically* coherent unit of expression, although the different elements of that unit could be spread across a syntactic break. In other words, the verbal system was not only incredibly variable but could also simultaneously be distributed across two units of semantic content (Frog 2009; 2014). 'Multiform' provided a tool for addressing this sort of lexical system operating at the level of verbal texture and not necessarily bound to specific content, even when the system entailed *alternative lexical choices*

all of which were never met in a single instantiation. Formally, these multiforms in *dróttkvætt* operated in the production of a six-syllable metrical line, which in a sense is as far as one can get from the flexible multiforms addressed by the Honkos in long epic performances. A corpus-wide study also illustrated multiforms as a social phenomenon rather than being limited to a single idiolect. Nevertheless, these differences were merely owing to the differences in the poetic form on the one hand and a difference in empirical data on the other: the concept of 'multiform' as a linguistic phenomenon remained the same.

As I took up 'multiform' as a tool in that context and became familiar with the concept, I quickly realized its utility for addressing other oral poetry traditions that Classic OFT was not well-suited to account for, such as the short epic forms of Finno-Karelian kalevalaic poetry and Old Norse eddic poetry, composed in sometimes quite tight stanzas or stanza-like verbal units, not to mention stanzaically structured ballads. In OFT research, Albert Lord recognized comparable units even in South Slavic epic (e.g. 1960: 58–60; 1995: 22–62), but he was concerned with showing that the texts were not 'memorized' rather than how such units operate *per se* (esp. 1981). Variation of these units could not simply be analysed as a series of formulae when it often involved the transposition of verbal elements between those formulae operating as a group in relation to one another. 'Multiform' provided a new way of looking at these units that made their dynamics approachable and opened the way to looking at their variation by local dialect (Frog 2016).

Working with multiforms across a variety of poetries has stimulated advances and refinements to the Honkos' model. Recurrent lexical material is now considered in relation to meter, syntax, and sets of equivalence vocabulary (e.g. alternative words meeting different alliterations), leading to the following definition of a linguistic multiform:

> a collocative system made up of specific verbal units (lexemes, formulae) and/or sets of these within function-specific (semantically, syntactically and/or metrically conditioned) equivalence classes that together form a coherent indexical system in the memory of an individual. (Frog 2016: 62–63)

Multiforms are now demonstrated as a socially transmittable phenomenon like formulae and themes, even if their transmission may not be very stable in flexible poetic forms like South Slavic epic (cf. Lord 1981; Foley 1993: 327–328). They are also recognized as manifesting, operating and varying in relation to the poetic system within which they evolve through use. Even in a single tradition of oral poetry, multiforms may be of several formal types, as discussed below.

Verbal Laticework Multiforms

The multiforms analysed by the Honkos are a distinct type characterized by potential for highly variable expansion or contraction. They are constituted of lexical material or 'words', ranging from minimal lexemes and orthographic words to formulaic emic 'words'. According to the Honkos' analyses, these 'words' provide a laticework for verbalization (cf. Siikala 1984: 85–93), which is completed into grammatically and metrically well-formed verses in entextualization. The framework can be elaborated through the insertion of additional lines and series of lines between the 'words' of the multiform or by appending supplementary information to them. Such multiforms can be interpenetrable: expansion may entail embedding one multiform in another or multiforms may be interwoven rather than abutted. The Honkos underline the polysemy of such multiforms, but the 'words' of which they are composed inevitably entail semantic links to what they are used to communicate. It seems probable that there are subtypes of verbal laticework multiforms differing by, for example, whether the system of 'words' is ordered or variable. If limits to the range of social use affect a multiform's potential for variation (cf. Hainsworth 1968: 25; Stepanova 2015: 265), openness to polysemy versus narrow conventions of context-specific use might also be a factor that structures formal differences between subtypes. Verbal laticework multiforms have been discussed by the Honkos, where examples can be found with discussion (Honko & Honko 1995; 1998; Honko 1995; 1998; 2003).

Macro-Formulae

Oral poetry in which poetic forms are shorter and in which oral poems may circulate as textual entities often exhibit the crystallization of text – i.e. multiforms – around semantic, symbolic or functional units, such as an image or motif in narration. This is common in Finno-Karelian kalevalaic epic, Old Norse eddic poetry, ballads, charms, and so on. Such multiforms may be stable in social transmission and operate like a formula of extended scope or as a *macro-formula*: they form a complex signifier for a specific unit of e.g. narration. They remain formally distinguishable from formulae in the sense of minimal integers or 'words' within the lexicon of the idiom because they are comprised of associative systems of such 'words'. This difference means that they are subject to different types of variation than such 'words', for instance in the organization or syntactic relations of those 'words' and potentially in which 'words' do or do not appear.

Crystallized Series Multiforms

A common type of macro-formula is a crystallized series multiform, which circulates as an ordered series of 'words'. For example, a well-attested (over

150 variants) and quite crystallized multiform associated with the opening of the kalevalaic epic *The Song of Lemminkäinen* is:

Example 1

> Šavu šoarella palavi,
> Tuli ńiemen tutkamešša,
> Pieńi ois šovan šavukši,
> Šuuri paimośen palokši; (SKVR I2 771.1–4.)

> *Smoke on the island burns,*
> *Fire on the peninsula's tip,*
> *Small it would be for the smoke of war,*
> *Great for the blaze of a shepherd;*

This multiform was so strongly linked to the opening of this particular epic that its lines could be used like a title. It is composed of two couplets of semantically parallel lines. The meter is basically a trochaic tetrameter (with flexibility in the opening foot), which means lines were usually eight syllables with little variation. In this case, the opening couplet is remarkably stable. The order of the parallel lines cannot vary because the verb must be in the first line. The second couplet, however, exhibits variation in line order, may transpose *pieni* 'small' and *suuri* 'large', exchange *palo* 'blaze' for a metrically and semantically equivalent word like *tuli* 'fire', and so on. Variation between *palo* and *tuli* might be considered variation of the individual formulaic line, but juxtaposition of *pieni* and *suuri* across lines cannot be understood without recognizing the context of the multiform.

Multiforms in kalevalaic epic poetry tend in general to operate as atomic units: they do not get embedded into one another and are abutted in a chain without interpenetration. This was a stichic poetry (i.e. lines were not organized into stanzas) so multiforms could be expanded through parallelism and lines of detail added – yet such variation was for the most part quite limited. The common performance ideal was characterized by non-variation (although see Harvilahti 1992), and performers tended to entextualize multiforms quite consistently each time they were used (cf. example 3). Even minor variations mostly appear only between performers. Semantically light elements, like the formulaic line with which a hero addresses his mother (e.g. *oi emoni kantajani* 'oh, my mother, my carrier'), could vary between singers within a dialect whereas other variations, sometimes quite subtle to an outsider, were emblematic of dialectal difference (Frog 2010: 99–100).

Old Norse eddic poetry, documented in the Middle Ages, is by comparison quite poorly attested. Nevertheless, multiforms become observable in the corpus although it is quite problematic to assess whether variations between examples relate to differences between singers within a dialect or across dialects. Eddic poetry

was composed in Norse forms of Old Germanic alliterative verse, which allowed variation in the number of syllables in a line. The following is a stanza unit describing the creation of the world that is independently attested in two different poems:

Example 2i

> [1]Ór Ymis holdi   [2]var iorð um scǫpuð,
>   [3]enn ór sveita sær,
> [4]biorg ór beinom,   [5]baðmr ór hári,
>   [6]enn ór hausi himinn. (*Grímnismál* 40.)

> *From Ymir's corpse   was the earth created*
>   *and out of sweat the sea*
> *mountains out of bones   brush out of hair*
>   *and out of [his] skull heaven*

Example 2ii

> [1]Ór Ymis holdi   [2]var iorð um scǫpuð,
>   [3]enn ór beinom biorg,
> [4]himinn ór hausi   [5]ins hrímkalda iotuns,
>   [6]enn ór sveita siór. (*Vafþrúðnismál* 21.)

> *From Ymir's corpse   was the earth created*
>   *and out of bones mountains*
> *heaven out of [the] skull   of the rime-cold giant*
>   *and out of sweat the sea*

The first long line (1–2) is identical across the two versions. Across the next four short lines (3–6), example 2.i presents a series of origins of natural phenomena out of parts of the body where the formulaic template varies by line-type: *X ór Y* or *enn ór Y X*. Variation in this series is conditioned by three different metrical types of short lines: the first part of a long line (4) may have either one or two words that alliterate with the first stressed position in the second short line, whereas the second short line (5) cannot have two words alliterating within it, and the third short line (called a Vollzeile) (3, 6) must have two words that alliterate. This means that the word for a natural phenomenon must alliterate with the word for part of the body in lines (3) and (6) and it can in (4) but never in (5). In the second example, the *X–Y* pairings with two alliterating words vary in order (i.3=ii.6, i.4=ii.3, i.6=ii.4) although the formulaic templates exhibit stability by line-type; only one word in line 5 can carry alliteration and this should alliterate with a word or words in line 4. In example 2.ii, rather than another *X ór Y* pairing in line 5, a formulaic expression for accomplishing h-alliteration is used: 'of the rime-cold giant'. In the medieval corpus, it is impossible to determine whether this variation reflects a difference in dialect, idiolect, 'normal' variation in performance or just a glitch in memory. What is important here is that the variation between versions becomes understandable when viewed as reflecting a multiform. As a unit,

the multiform appears constituted of an opening pair of short lines, a series of *X–Y* pairings for elements in the creation event, formulaic templates *X ór Y* and *enn ór Y X* that vary by line-type, and the variation between (i.5) and (ii.5) is linked to metrical alliteration with line (i.4) and (ii.4), respectively. Variation within the whole is also structured by a constraint of non-repetition of any *X–Y* pairing, related to the multiform as a unit.

Verbal-Core Multiforms

A *verbal-core multiform* is a more variable type of macro-formula in which a potentially minimal core element is socially stable while the surrounding tissue in which it is packed may vary. In kalevalaic epic, variation in these multiforms is at a social level: the multiform develops into a crystallized sequence multiform in the memory of an individual performer.

An interesting context in which to analyse multiforms is where they recur in narrative dialogue. Requests and demands may, for example, be repeated several times, eventually concluding with the same multiform varied to describe the requested action being completed. Example 3 presents a verbal-core multiform in which the core is the couplet *tuo mulle sotisomani / kanna vainovoattieni* 'bring me my war-shirt (armour) / carry my persecution-garment'. This is the hero's demand as he prepares for a journey, to which his interlocutor objects several times before complying. The multiform is structured

according to interlinear syntax: the addressee/subject appears before the core couplet; the couplet can be elaborated through additive information following it. The demand may also be introduced with a quotative formula each time it is used. In example 3, the demand is repeated six times in the dialogue before a seventh use when the hero's mother complies. This example illustrates the conservatism of this particular poetic tradition, how little singers sought to capitalize on flexibility in the multiform's length, and also how the morphological inflection of the multiform *as a whole* would vary between the contexts of use (indicated in italic font).

Open-Slot Multiforms

Another type of meta-formula multiform is characterized by variable positions that are completed in entextualization – although again in this tradition as in others where such multiforms are used in short epic, the slot-fillers also become conventionalized and variation between them is more likely to be a dialect marker than to reflect generative composition (Frog 2010: 107; 2016). The open slot may be embedded in a single formula, such as the kalevalaic formula *annan ainoan X* 'I will give my only X', in which X is metrically conditioned as a three-syllable word with a short first syllable and semantically conditioned as an object of value. The slot may also be a full line. In either case, parallelism in kalevalaic poetry allows the semantic unit of the slot-filler

Example 3

	Verse in dialogue	Line number in SKVR I₂ 791a						Verse in action	Line
Quotative	*Sano Ahti Šoarelaińi*	49	–	–	–	–	–	[Not applicable]	
Vocative	*Oi emońi* vanhempa*ńi*	50	76	91	–	123	139	*Jo emonsa* vanhempa*nša*	144
Core	Tuo *šie miun* sot'išoma*ńi*	51	77	92	111*	124	140	*Jo* tuo*pi hänen* šot'isoma*nsa*	145
couplet	Kann*a* vainovoattie*ńi*	52	78	93	112	125	141	Kan*to* vainovoatti*ša*	146
Character-	Pitoloissa piettävä*ńi*	53	79	94	113	126	142	Pitoloissa piettävä*nšä*	147
ization	Häissä häilyteltävä*ńi*	54	80	95	114	127	143	Häissä häilyteltävä*nšä*	148
Location	Lähen Päivöl'än pitoihe	55	81	96	115	–	–	–––	–
	Hyvän joukon juominkihi	56	82	97	116	–	–	–––	–

	Verse in dialogue	Line number in SKVR I₂ 791a						Verse in action	Line
Quotative	*Said Ahti Saarilainen*	49	–	–	–	–	–	[Not applicable]	
Vocative	*Oh my* mother *my* elder	50	76	91	–	123	139	*Already his* mother *his* elder	144
Core	Br*ing my* war-shirt	51	77	92	111*	124	140	Br*ought indeed his* war-shirt	145
couplet	Carry *my* persecution-garb	52	78	93	112	125	141	Ca*rries his* persecution-garb	146
Character-	*My* holding-one at the feast	53	79	94	113	126	142	*His* holding-one at the feast	147
ization	Glistening one at the wedding	54	80	95	114	127	143	Glistening one at the wedding	148
Location	I leave to Päivölä's feast	55	81	96	115	–	–	–––	–
	The good group's drinking-feast	56	82	97	116	–	–	–––	–

* Line 111 presents the variation tuoppas miun sotišomańi*; semantically, this variation would be so subtle that it would likely only be perceived as a textural variation in the continuous flow of performance.*

to be repeated as full lines extending the multiform. An open-slot multiform may even have multiple slots. An Old Norse eddic poem called *Alvíssmál* 'All-Wise's Speech' has stanzas structured in this way. The poem is a dialogue in which the god Thor asks a question such as (completed slots underlined):

Example 4.i

^{1}Segðu mér þat, Alvíss ^{2}– ǫll of rǫc fira
   ^{3}voromc, dvergr, at vitir –,
^{4}hvé <u>sú nótt</u> heitir, ^{5}<u>in Nǫrvi kenda</u>,
   ^{6}heimi hveriom í. (*Alvíssmál* 29.)

Say to me this, Alvíss   – all the fates of men
   I see, dwarf, that you know –,
what <u>that night</u> is called,   <u>that born of Nǫrr</u>;
   in all the worlds.

In each question, the noun filling the slot in line (i.4) is accompanied by a slot-filler in line (i.5) that will alliterate with it. The dwarf Alvíss then replies in a stanza comprised of a series of six open-slot formulae declaring how different types of beings refer to the noun, beginning with a repetition of the slot-filler in (i.4) as the slot-filler in (ii.1) as the word used among human beings:

Example 4.ii

^{1}<u>Nótt</u> heitir með mǫnnom, ^{2}enn <u>niól</u> með goðom,
   ^{3}kalla <u>grímo</u> ginregin,
^{4}<u>óliós</u> iotnar, ^{5}álfar <u>svefngaman</u>,
   ^{6}kalla dvergar <u>draumnio[r]un</u>. (*Alvíssmál* 30.)

<u>Night</u> it is called among men,   but <u>darkness</u> among gods
   the great gods call [it] <u>mask</u>
<u>without light</u> [call it] giants,   elves [call it] sleep-enjoyment
   dwarves call [it] <u>dream-goddess</u>

Only one variant of this medieval poem is preserved, but each multiform is repeated thirteen times within it as well as in two independent quotations of stanzas. I noted above that a multiform could entail equivalence sets of verbal material, which is also the case in (ii). For example, when the slot-filler in the opening line begins with a consonant, it carries alliteration with the noun of the following line, but if it begins with a vowel, the formula *enn X með goðum* alternates with the formula *enn með æsir X* 'but among the *æsir*-gods X', and alliteration is carried by the synonym for 'gods' (Acker 1998: 64–65). In fact, the whole stanza is organized in relation to the impacts of slot-fillers on alliteration. Line (ii.3) is most often *kalla X vanir* 'the *vanir*-gods call [it] X', in which X carries v-alliteration, but here the slot-filler *grímm* 'mask' requires a formula capable of g-alliteration. In other cases, a variation of the 'dwarves call [it]' formula (ii.6) can appear in the place of the 'elves [call it]' formula (ii.5), motivating a different formula in the final line, and so on (see Frog 2011a). This multiform is a complex constellation of formulae and their metrically dependent variations which, on the one hand, alternate in relation to the roles of slot-fullers in alliteration and, on the other hand, non-repetition of the terms for the types of beings mentioned. Recognition of the multiform as a system makes variation understandable.

Multiforms Evolved for Formal Units

Multiforms inevitably evolve in relation to the formal constraints of a poetic system, such as the metrical constraints and stanzaic structure in the example above. Multiforms can also evolve in relation to smaller formal units like a verse line. The fact that formulae are combined in lines of verse has long been recognized in OFT, but there has not been a term for their systemic interaction to form a unit of variable meaning. Milman Parry proposed that sets of formulae or, to use the terminology above, emic 'words' become established as equivalency sets in the mind of a singer – sets to say the same thing in different metrical positions and also sets of formally equivalent and syntactically/functionally similar formulae (e.g. naming different heroes) that could be exchanged in particular metrical positions (all called 'systems': e.g. 1971 [1928]: 19 [23]; 1971 [1930]: 274–279 [84–88]). This view can be advanced to consider that certain open-slot formulae are associated with equivalence sets of other formulae that can complete a metrical unit like a line. In kalevalaic poetry, for example, a quite simple open-slot formula is *sano X* 'said X' where X is a six-syllable nominative designation for a character. This formula is associated with an equivalence set of six-syllable formulae naming characters in the nominative case to complete the line (e.g. *vanha Väinämöinen* 'old Väinämöinen', *seppo Ilmarinen* 'smith Ilmarinen', *Ahti saarelainen* 'Ahti the islander', etc.). Together, these

Pendant, mask. Bronze.
Grave find, Härad, Härads-Kumla, Södemanland, Sweden.
SHM 34108 © Swedish Historical Museum, reproduced with permission.
Source:
https://www.flickr.com/photos/historiska/6777028890 (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

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form a compositional system for producing a metrically well-formed line. Formally, because this is not simply a formulaic 'word' or equivalence set of 'words' but a system based on combining 'words', it can be described as a simple multiform. Acknowledging the system provides a frame for understanding variations such as when a singer has forgotten the hero of an epic and completes relevant formulae with another noun–epithet formula across the first part of a performance. For a singer fluent in the poetic idiom, *sano X* may also be established within a metrical equivalence set that combine with six-position nominative noun–epithet formulae, which, interfaced with the multiform, could yield a semantically dynamic generative system, like:

Example 5

```
tuo on        ┌ vanha Väinämöinen
sitten        │ seppo Ilmarinen
oi sie        ┤ Ahti saarelainen
sano          │ Tiera Lieran poika
lähti etc.    └ Pohjolan emäntä
```

```
that is       ┌ old Väinämöinen
then          │ smith Ilmarinen
oh you        ┤ Ahti island-dweller
said          │ Tiera, son of Worm
left etc.     └ Mistress of Pohjola
```

In other poetries, the systems that evolve to produce metrically well-formed lines may be more extensive. This is the case in Old Norse *dróttkvætt* poetry mentioned at the beginning of this article, where lexically variable formulae can combine with preferred rhyme pairings and additional verbal elements that operate together to produce a metrically well-formed line, even if (as is not uncommon in this poetry) there is a syntactic break in the middle of that line. The crucial point here is simply that different types of multiforms evolve in relation to the meter, resources of diction and the needs of the poets using the poetry, which in some cases may be at the level of a seemingly small formal unit like a six- or eight-syllable line.

Multiforms on the Radar

'Multiforms' provide a new lens through which to view and analyse poetry that brings a different type of unit into focus with its distinctive forms of variation. Rather than an alternative to OFT formulae and themes, multiforms present a complementary and formally distinct unit for analysis. Classic OFT was not well equipped to address shorter forms of oral poetry with greater verbal stability, but when brought together with multiform analysis the operation of language in these poetries falls into a bigger picture of variation in verbal art. These poetries are no longer different from long epic forms as something apart, but rather in terms of how multiforms operate in structuring relationships of formulae to one

another and also to themes in entextualization.

If only formulae and themes are maintained as the units in focus, multiforms simply get overlooked between these two fields of focus, which can mean missing a potentially significant aspect of a tradition. For example, Patricia Arant looks at recurrent verbal passages in performances of a single singer in her analysis of formulae North Russian *bylina* epic (1990: 55–59) and briefly notes "the similarity of formula patterns within the traditions of a given district" (1990: 60) without advancing to how this relates to narration. Her discussion of themes in performances by a singer and his grandson address content only, and the appendix provided for the reader to see "variations in formulas" (1990: 128) seems to highlight difference when the two sample passages are considered as wholes, yet the role of macro-formula multiforms in the poetry becomes evident when focus narrows to smaller semantic units, like that in example 6 (Gil'ferding 80.1–5; Sokolov 97.1–6, quoted Arant 1990: 189–190; variations underlined; expletives translated in parentheses):

Example 6.i.

А Владимир князь <u>да</u> стольне-киевской
Заводил почестен пир да <u>й</u> пированьице
На многих князей, <u>да</u> на <u>всих</u> бояров,
На <u>всих</u> сильних <u>русьскиих</u> могучиих <u>на</u> богатырей,
<u>Ай</u> на славных поляниц да <u>на</u> удалых.

(So) Vladimir-prince <u>(and)</u> of the capital Kiev
<u>Held</u> the honourable feast and <u>(and)</u> a dear feasting,
For many princes, and for <u>all</u> boyars
For <u>all</u> strong <u>Russian</u> mighty <u>(for)</u> bogatyrs,
<u>Ai</u> for great polyanicas and <u>(for)</u> brave [ones].

Example 6.ii.

<u>Как во</u> стольнем <u>было городи во</u> Киеви,
<u>Что у лаского</u> князя <u>у</u> Владимира,
<u>Был хорош</u> почестен пир да пированьице
На многих князей, на <u>многих</u> бояров,
<u>Да</u> на сильныих могучиих богатырей,
<u>Да</u> на славных полениц да <u>разудалых</u>.

<u>As in the</u> capital <u>it was in the</u> city of Kiev,
<u>That of sweet</u> prince <u>(of)</u> Vladimir,
<u>Was the good</u> honourable feast and a dear feasting
For many princes, for <u>many</u> boyars,
<u>(And)</u> for strong mighty bogatyrs,
<u>(And)</u> for great polyanicas and <u>really-</u>brave [ones].

Registers of Communication
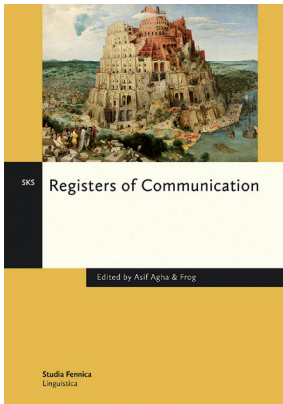
*Asif Agha, Frog,
Registers of Communication.
SF Linguistica 18.
SKS 2015.*

One of the most common themes uniting the interests the Folklore Fellows is a fascination with practices and embodied behaviors, most often linked to uses of lan-guage, whereby people create meanings, communicate knowledge, and potentially affect social and empirical realities that they perceive and imagine around them-selves. *Registers of Communication* is concerned with precisely the dynamics of these phenomena.

'Register' emerged as a term for speech varieties in social linguistics. The concept has gradually extended from focus on language to the behaviors of speech and communication more generally. In any society, communicative activities are organized into models of conduct that differentiate specific social practices from each other and enable people to communicate with each other in ways distinctive to those practices. The sixteen articles in this volume investigate a series of locale-specific models of communicative conduct, or registers of communication, through which persons organize their participation in varied social practices, including practices of politics, religion, schooling, migration, trade, media, verbal art, and ceremonial ritual.

The volume is organized in five sections with an introduction. The first section, "Approaching Register Phenomena", presents theoretical discussions that will be of value to anyone interested in the concept of register while also providing a broad frame of reference for the volume as a whole. "Between Language and Register" discuss registers in multilingual environments where different languages provide resources as alternative registers viewed in a variety of social situations. "Registers in Transition" then shifts focus to the evolution of registers in changing societal contexts, looking at connections between registers and authority, their potential for social impact and also to be mobilized. The discussions in "Corpus and Performance" address aspects of

linguistic registers including formulaicity that are analysable through different types of corpora of data, looking at traditions of verbal art that anticipate the closing section, "Performance and Poetics", in which the contributions explore the dynamics of registers of metrically structured oral poetries.

Drawing on research traditions on both sides of the Atlantic, the authors of these articles bring together insights from a variety of scholarly disciplines, including linguistics, anthropology, folklore, literary studies, and philology. Individual contributions range in emphasis from theory to empirical analysis. They describe register models associated with a great many forms of interpersonal behavior, and, through their own multi-year and multi-disciplinary collaborative efforts, bring register phenomena into focus as features of social life in the lived experience of people in societies around the world.

Frog and Asif Agha. Photo: Laura Tikkanen, SKS

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The Roma Archives of Finland – Finitiko kaalengo arkiivos

The Finnish Literature Society has started a project called "Romani cultural heritage: archiving, valuation and research", which will continue until the end of 2018. The aim of the project is to record the oral history and tradition of the Roma people. From the Roma point of view, the most important result is cherishing their own cultural heritage and increasing its appreciation.

As a permanent result of the project, the Finnish Literature Society and the National Advisory Board on Romani Affairs, in cooperation with the National Archives of Finland, will establish a growing and internationally networked Roma Archives of Finland – Finitiko kaalengo arkiivos.

The project will develop the archiving, availability and usability of recorded Romani tradition and material owned by Roma societies and private persons. Entirely new material will be collected with an oral history survey aimed at Roma people, which will collect data on topics such as places significant to them.

The project continues the long cooperation between the Finnish Literature Society and the Roma community. Since the 1960s, the Finnish Literature Society has systematically collected Romani tradition and oral history. As the result of the previous joint project by the National Advisory Board on Romani Affairs and the Finnish Literature Society, Suomen romanien historia ("The History of the Roma People of Finland") was published in 2012. It won the State Award for Public Information in 2013.

The project is related to the 60th anniversary of the National Advisory Board on Romani Affairs and the centenary of Finland's independence, celebrated in 2017.
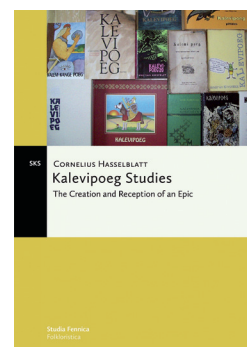
More information: www.finlit.fi

SKS is an academic society and a research institute.

Bringing these compositional units and their variation into focus is a fundamental step toward distinguishing meaningful variation and its contextual manipulation as a basis for further analysis. Recognizing multiforms as socially circulating elements in a tradition also presents the possibility for them to be meaning-bearing themselves and for their meaning-potential to be analysed. For example, an exceptional use of the first multiform quoted in this article positions it at the conclusion of a different epic: the conventional use of the multiform operates as an indicator that beer is being brewed for a wedding, to which the hero determines to go; its resituation in another epic follows a statement of joy by the hero's mother about a coming wedding, and the use of the multiform in that context seems to be intended to activate the connotations of beer-brewing for a great wedding (Frog 2010; 2011b). Bringing multiforms into focus has potential to open new avenues of analysis.

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Shaman or con-man?
Ways to frame cultural heritage after anti-religious propaganda

Karina Lukin

The creation, maintenance, presentation, classification and direction of ethnic minority groups are often mentioned as central factors in cultural heritage. Processes of cultural heritage are characteristically linked to communities whose tradition is said to be represented by heritage and to social power structures and discussions. The conflict between tradition and its governance creates tensions and gaps in cultural heritage, which the production of cultural heritage attempts alternately to seal up or expand.

Soviet cultural and minority politics offers a fruitful example of a state's long-term scientific struggles to form an all-embracing ethnolinguistic-caterory-based classification of citizens, as well as a system or framework for these groups to present themselves in. Cultural heritage processes of the Soviet era have been presented quite widely in recent research. Researchers have also focused on post-Soviet celebrations, festivals and rituals, where the identities of post-Soviet minorities are celebrated (e.g. Siikala & Ulyashev 2011, Kuutma 2006; Crate 2006; Siikala 2000; Hakamies (ed.) 1998).

I examine here a less-studied phenomenon, where the post-Soviet intelligentsia expresses in writing images of a narrative of history, for example of poems, but which also relies on a presentation of stories based on oral tradition to represent their ethnic group. I investigate whether the intelligentsia's narrative differs from narrative on a local level, and especially whether the narrative methods form a structure in narrative connected to belief and shamanism seventy years after official atheism.

I will speak of Purpey, who was one of the greatest shamans of Kolguyev Island in the Barents Sea at the end of the nineteenth century. Shamans born and living after Purpey ended up as objects of the great ideological suppression of the late 1920s on: they lost their citizenship rights, were forced to work harder if they did not give up the public signs of their office and end the holding of séances. Purpey was no "last shaman", of the sort recounted in other narratives (Lukin 2012). Like the narratives of the last shaman, this narrative does not speak of the complete death of shamanism, but rather of the irony of totalitarianism: repression leads more effectively to the forbidden phenomenon taking on a firm life of its own, both in the regions permitted by those in power and in areas outside the reach of their gaze.

It is also a narrative of the Kolguyev Nenets community, amongst whom I carried out ethnographic field work in the early 2000s. The community consists of around four thousand Nenets, whose mother tongue before the Soviet years was Tundra Nenets. Their language shifted to Russian from the mid-twentieth century, so that during my field research only a small portion of the families were teaching their children Tundra Nenets as a mother tongue. Behind the language shift undoubtedly lie the widescale modernisation transformations of the Soviet era, such as the settlement of nomadic populations, the increase in numbers of the Russian population in northern areas and Russian-language schooling and internships (e.g. Slezkine 1994; Bloch 2004; Rokina 2003; Ermakov et al. 2003). Today, the language shift focuses also on the disinclination to use the original heritage languages because of the negative images associated with northern peoples' cultures and languages. The language shift on Kolguyev has been swifter than in other Nenets communities, but it is consistent with the wider picture among the indigenous peoples of the Russian north.

The worsening of the position of northern languages entails the weakening of the possibilities of poetic usage or function of these languages. In practice this has meant that a language has remained merely as part of greetings, cultural events or ritual openings and conclusions of official or public occasions. For example, in the Nenets Autonomous District it is mainly older Nenets that are able to perform folklore in Tundra Nenets. The language and folklore of the Tundra Nenets are a pastime of the cultural elite or part of their work, and it exists mainly in performance settings. Traditional lore in its entirety has changed from an everyday skill and activity into "golden words of the wise", as among other northern peoples (Humphrey 1983: 230–231).

Nonetheless, folklore is presented today in Tundra Nenets, tradition is valued and its performers are greatly admired. In particular, the Nenets still value the epic genres of *syudbabts* and *yarabts*, and lyrical personal songs (*syo*, *yabye"mya syo*). In the Nenets Autonomous District the performance of epic today is particularly associated with the stage tradition, the background to which can be found in the Soviet system (e.g. Kuutma 2006: 211–214).

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Russian-language prose narrative is more everyday. On the basis of my materials, a Nenets community may be glimpsed which actively presents historical and local, as well as personal, narrative.

In post-Soviet social contexts it must be borne in mind that it is not sensible to place the form and content of Nenets speech solely within the continuum of Nenets tradition. The Nenets have long communicated in a social context that is wider than the local, and which is multi-cultural, but characteristically monolingual: supportive of one, Russian, language use. Among the Nenets the methods of public cultural performance formed during the Soviet era in dialogue with the frameworks of Soviet ideology. After the demise of the Soviet Union, the channels of performance became more complex, and in addition the presentation of previously forbidden topics, such as shamanism, became possible. Many methods and contents of performance have nonetheless maintained their position (see also Siikala & Ulyashev 2012).

Nenets narrating in Russian exploit the narrative techniques and methods catalogued by Richard Bauman and Lee Haring when announcing that they will present their tradition and when giving clues about the meanings of their narrative (Bauman 1977: 17–22; Haring 2003). In my analysis I concentrate particularly on the formation of a framework by means of which the narrators construct intertextual connections so that the presentations become part of greater fields of meaning and networks of social relationships (Bauman & Briggs 1992: 149–163). Intertextual relationships are constructed in narrative situations in relation to the narrator's and listener's existing knowledge and experience of the topic. Narrators may construct links and points of contact between tradition related in Tundra Nenets and in Russian. Narrators also construct connections with Nenets tradition's wider ontologies, as well as moving between different genres in their Russian narrations. Through different frameworks narrators construct relationships between the contents of the context of discussion, the narrative setting (Story Realm) and the narration. In practice these frameworks are meta-comments which comment on the events of the narrative world (Tale World) or the narrative setting, the value of the events, and so forth (Young 1987).

Purpey and the golden worm

Although the roots of the analysis model lie in research into oral expression, it may also be adapted to investigate written materials. The point of departure may then be considered the objective of the ethnography of speech to explain the symbols of language usage and its social implications. The intelligentsia of Nar'yan-Mar publishes a paper, *Vyngy vada* ("The word of the tundra"). The paper is in Russian, even though it deals with the

Nenets and almost all the articles concern matters related to the Nenets. The paper has a section with the title "Legends and myths of the shaman Purpey". It is written by the retired teacher Filipp Ardeyev, who comes from Kolguyev, and at present lives in Nar'yan-Mar. Ardeyev is a person who frequently appears in public in the area, and lends a face to the culture, handicrafts, oral tradition and shamanism of the Nenets. In the section Ardeyev presents the tales he writes about the most notable shaman in the history of Kolguyev.

Ardeyev has recorded his father's Tundra Nenets tales and plans to publish them. He also reproduces these tales by for example narrating them in Russian in the district to visiting tourists and school pupils. The text below from *Vyngy vada* is based on Ardeyev's father's oral presentation, although this is not mentioned in the paper. It exemplifies written more than oral Russian, but on the other hand there are many indications of its vernacular origins. There are many features common to the published text and to tales I have gathered myself among the Kolguyev Nenets.

The text consists of two parts: the first is a sort of introduction, while the second presents a more or less defined tale. A short section follows, which may be described as a resolution. The introduction is entitled "Tales of the great shaman Purpey".

> Once on the island of Kolguyev lived the outstanding shaman Purpey. To this day tales are still told of him, and the old Nenets try in vain to avoid pronouncing the name of this once formidable sorcerer. He was a short, lean shaman. He had not so many reindeer, a thousand or so. But no-one could be compared with him in sea-faring. Unlike other hunters on the sea Purpey sailed on a large wooden boat, and knew all the ocean currents. He coped well with his square-sail boat. Often, when he went hunting with his friend Antipa, also a shaman, they would float for days over the drift ice. On these ice-floes they also butchered the sea mammals they caught: walruses, bearded seals, ringed seals and beluga whales. Sometimes the shamans travelled right up to the island of Sengeysky that is beyond the strait, around eighty kilometres from the island. Sometimes they drifted along the island's shores, and then they left their catch in a recognised place on a sand spit. Purpey had trading contacts with Norwegian hunters from beyond the sea. The islanders exchanged the skins of arctic foxes, foxes and sea mammals, and fat and reindeer, along with gunpowder, lead, butter and sometimes rifles. Trade was always carried on in a peaceful and benevolent fashion. This great shaman learnt shamanism, according to the islanders' tales, from his grandfather, whose name no-one remembers any more. Purpey's lay name was Ivan Filippovich. His nickname he received from the traces of smallpox. The smallpox scars were like rust on his face (Purpey means "rusty"). Once a hot jet of blood from a wounded walrus struck the shaman in the eye. From this, he began to go blind and in old age he lost his sight completely. But his powers he did not lose…

(Ardeyev 2011)

This introductory section consists of summaries or references to the texts Ardeyev knows relating to Purpey. It also presents the main ontological points of the narrative: it contains references to shamanic and historical narrative worlds. Such incipits are typical of oral narrative: introductory sections guide the listeners, or, as in this case, readers, into the narrative world, but they are at the same time part of that world. The introduction also points to the narratives of the Kolguyev islanders, "according to the islanders' tales" (по рассказам островитян). This expression links the account to the chain of Ardeyev's earlier or contemporary narrators and creates a semblance of folklore (Bauman 2004: 27–28).

At the end of the introductory section Ardeyev speaks of the physical appearance of the shaman Purpey, and the number of his reindeer. This again represents a method typical of Nenets folklore by which the actors are presented. Purpey is an emphatically shamanic name, and the introduction also mentions his lay or normal name. The number of reindeer speaks not only of the personage's wealth or poverty, but also his social position in the community. Also, Ardeyev mentions in the introduction that Purpey was a good seaman, and that he was accustomed to pass over the sea to distant islands to hunt sea mammals along with a second Kolguyev shaman, Antipa. Comparable exaggerated motives are to be met with in Nenets epic as well as in shamanic narratives. Details of this sort forge links with myth or shamanic narrative.

The introduction mixes mythic and shamanic elements with historical: these point to times of (academic) historical writing and everyday activities. Purpey is said, for example, to have gone trading with other sea-mammal hunters. The introductory section thus also forms a picture of a man who in fact lived several decades ago, who went to sea with Ardeyev's grandfather, and who got his learning from his own grandfather, a mighty shaman whose name had been forgotten. Historical details point to the Nenets oral history. Memories relating to seafaring, sea-mammal hunting and trading are indeed much favoured among the Nenets.

With such facts the reader is thus led into the shamanic narrative world, where Nenets personages are able to carry out tasks which ordinary people cannot. Ardeyev in his introduction minimises the gap in the relationship with shamanic traditions. He also constructs relationships with historical discourses by depicting the shaman as a true historical person, who lived amongst the Kolguyev islanders.

The tale describes how the shaman Purpey finds a golden worm, and explains its meaning to the islanders and takes it into his care. Ardeyev entitles the text "Purpey and the golden worm" (Пурпэй и золотой червь):

Once, early in the morning, the frightened women woke up the shaman. They were terrified by what they saw: on the threshold of the chum lay stretched-out a worm. But it was not a normal earthworm, but huge and golden. From its scales shone light. Everyone was terrified at the sight of it. But Purpey was not scared. He took the worm in his hand, twisted it like a noose, and carefully put it under the threshold board. He explained to everyone that the shining worm was sent to him by another shaman, an enemy. This strange worm was to get inside Purpey through his anus and gnaw him. But the great old man turned out to be stronger than the evil one – his spirits protected their master from harm and certain death. Later, when moving, the shaman always carried the magic worm himself, and to no-one else did he entrust this task. But the worm suddenly disappeared, no-one knew where. Purpey would not say, nor did people dare ask.

The narrative is an exemplary shaman tale: shamans contend with each other through helping spirits appearing in different shapes. The worm in the story represents one incarnation of a helping spirit. In the narrative world the worm is presented as an exception: as huge and golden, but answering to this is Purpey's correspondingly exceptional courage and sense. This is typical of a shamanic narrative (Lukin 2011: 274–79; Lukin 2012). In Ardeyev's texts the narrative world is an integrated whole: its actors follow expectations as far as their roles are concerned, and on this the story's excitement is based. The secrecy of the shaman's activities is preserved up to the end of the tale.

The greatest difference from Ardeyev's narrative composition from the tales I gathered on Kolguyev lies in the frameworks which set out the ontological principles of the narrative. The difference does not lie in the contents of the narratives as such, but in the ways in which the relationships of the content, the narrative setting or the context of conversation or other contexts are constructed.

Clairvoyant, hypnotist

The relationship of Kolguyev islanders with shamanic traditions is not as simple or easy as for the intelligentsia living in the mainland cities. Their shamans or shamanic narratives are framed with doubt or suspicion: narrators distance themselves from the content of shamanic narrative and maximise the distance from shamanic folklore (see Lukin 2012). Veracity is built on doubt, which is typical of memorates or more generally of personal narrative (Bennett 1999: 14–25). The ridiculing of shamans is also something that arouses attention in narratives relating to Kolguyev shamans. Although such ridicule was apparently normal earlier as well, in modern narrative the similarity to Soviet antireligious propaganda is noticeable. Ridicule was one of the methods and favoured tools of propaganda, and the Kolguyev narrators seem to have appropriated it as part

of their story-telling. (Pospielovski 1988; Forsyth 1992: 287–289; Slezkine 1994: 219–228; Sundström 2007: 118–198.)

When Ardeyev, and, in my view, a large part of the Nenets intelligentsia, entwine historicity into their narratives as they construct an intertextual connection with shamanic narratives, they aim to emphasise that it really happened. In contrast, people on Kolguyev construct connections with shamanic and historical narrative events and contents to question the activities of shamans known from history. As well as anti-religious propaganda, the shamanic tradition in itself provides a reason for this tendency: earlier on, the shamans in shamanic communities were usually concealed from outsiders and information about shamans and their particularities was considered knowledge internal to the community, and they were continually compared with each other. The examples included here make clear the Kolguyev proclivity to produce questioning narratives:

Informant: The shaman is a normal person who can just, who is in a position to practise witchcraft. People like this are considered shamans, who are good at hypnosis. The shaman for example may be a clairvoyant – he sees further ahead, knows what's coming, and such people are considered shamans. A week ahead, it's said, that's what happened many times, that he saw a week ahead. And the shaman tells everyone and they all believe him. When the time comes, that is exactly what happens. So, the shaman may for example say something, to warn people, and these sort of people are considered shamans.

Karina Lukin: I see. And you said that your grandfather was a good shaman...

Informant: Yes, yes. For sure he hypnotised people just by looking in their eyes. [...] He hypnotised like this. There was a wedding once. They were driving around the wedding place with reindeer; there was a race. [...] And then our grandfather showed "I can". He stabbed here [he shows his wrist] with a dagger and he stabbed right through and here, and set up the sled. And there was just the harness there, and with just the harness he drew the sled here and went forward on the sled with all the harness, and when harnessed he rose up like on the reindeer, just as they grow tight on the reindeer around the houses. And then the harness decorations were beautiful. And so they went loudly without the reindeer as if the reindeer were harnessed around the houses, but the reindeer weren't visible. Perhaps did seven circuits in full sleds and through this place, drew it hither and thither where he did the sleds as well. And that's what a shaman is, a hypnotist, there's hypnosis whenever there's a shaman.

The tale above represents a shamanic feat: instead of a reindeer, the shaman harnesses himself and rides the sledge ascending to the sky and circulating around the wedding guests. These kinds of tales about strong shamans are still very popular among the Nenets. The narrator emphasises the shaman's normality and how the witchcraft under the shaman's control is merely a

technical skill that shamans have acquired. The narrator certainly stresses that shamans were trusted for example as clairvoyants and that their forecasts had a habit of coming true. When I asked about the narrator's grandfather, he moved from the framework of the introduction towards a story and the wedding where his grandfather wished to show his skill. This sort of narrative has long traditions, and it takes its place as part of the tradition surrounding shamanism, within which framework knowledge about the powers and skills of shamans has spread in the community (see Lukin 2012). In ethnographic texts and travel descriptions we are given to understand that shamans present their spiritual powers or helping spirits continually, for example by slashing themselves. Thus in the early nineteenth century M. A. Castrén, who carried out field work among the Nenets, wrote:

A few months ago three Samoyeds [Nenets] and a Russian gathered in a chum on the Timan tundra. One Samoyed was well informed on the secrets of the *taadibe* [shamans]. Having fallen into the usual trance state the *taadibe*, in the middle of his activity, ordered himself to be shot with a loaded rifle. The second Samoyed carried out the order, but the bullet did not hit its target, or, as was said, it bounced back out of his body. The rifle was loaded again and the other Samoyed shot it, but was equally unsuccessful. The Russian was amazed at this, and loaded the rifle, shot and – hit the target. The Samoyed died on the spot. On the Kanin tundra I met a group of workmen who had been sent to investigate the matter. I do not know the outcome of the investigation, and my narrative is based on general rumours. (Castrén 1967: 140–141.)

My informant also clearly knew this tradition well and his tale is indisputably situated in just such a shamanic narrative, where the shaman wishes to show his skill and power to the community. The shaman in the tale succeeds in astonishing the wedding party by fastening a harness on himself and dragging a sled around the wedding tent. The shaman or shamanism as a whole are not humiliated, as in the story Castrén heard in the 1840s, where the shaman dies in the end from a bullet shot by a Russian. But the narrator disputes the supernatural and shamanic basis of the shaman's skills both in the introductory section and in the assessments by repeating that the shaman's tricks are based on hypnosis. So the framework of the narrative setting feels as if it is denying the ontological claims of shamanism and emphasising the ontological claims of the social context surrounding the narrative setting.

Recounting tradition in the 2000s in the Russian north

The wider social context of both the narratives I have presented above is the same post-socialist Russian north, where narration in Nenets is now heard but rarely. Apart from this, both in the Nenets' own communities

and outside them, especially in the city of Nar'yan-Mar, there are those interested in the content of tradition. As in all northern districts of Russia, the indigenous people are presented as exotic others in Nenetsia, who lend the area its particularity. In Soviet times the presentation of this cultural particularity developed into a broad-ranging cultural industry, whose workers moved flexibly between the public centre and local events. Their cultural heritage was presented both to Soviet citizens as a whole and to their own ethnic groups. Soviet-era cultural heritage was by its nature aesthetically and politically selective and a consciously elevated stage tradition; for example, religious themes were not dealt with, other than in a negative light.

After the demise of the Soviet Union the stage tradition continued in Nenetsia, and culture began also to be presented in papers, and on the radio and television. The aesthetics of many performances was still similar to those of the Soviet era: performances referred to the material and spiritual culture of the Nenets before the Revolution, for example by presenting traditional dress, Nenets folklore motifs or the chum, the conical tent. The contents of the performances, however, were no longer so selective, and even themes referring to shamanism began to be brought in more forcefully. It is clearly an exotic and interesting theme, which many people, especially foreigners, wish to hear more about.

In this sense it can be considered cultural heritage, which in recent research has been defined as a selective or limited and emphasised part of culture, the value of which as cultural heritage is positive in tone. Such activity has often been considered the activity of the intelligentsia, but it is important to note that non-intelligentsia, so-called ordinary people, continually select, emphasise and value their own culture and speech (see Bendix 2000; Klein 2006).

Filipp Ardeyev has become a person within his district who often both performs as a shaman on the stage and speaks of shamans to outsiders. He knows the shamanic tradition personally through his parents and grandparents, and has also delved into the topic through literature. When he speaks of shamanism or individual shamans he refers to the oral tradition he knows, as in the examples above. It undoubtedly creates authority for a mediator of tradition. The title and characterisation of the shaman that refer to the Nenets epic tradition bring Ardeyev's narrating close to Nenets tradition.

His narrative is framed as true, but it is also framed as powerfully supportive of the ontologies of shamanism. The narrative does not create images just of the shaman Purpey as a real historical person, but also of the truthfulness of the metaphysical principles of shamanism. In the narrations of other Kolguyev islanders this happens only in exceptional instances. The narratives are in their content as genuine as Ardeyev's, but the framework of the narrative often denies, in many different ways, the truthfulness of the shamanic world view. In the examples I have cited the shamanic ontology is questioned by dragging it into hypnosis, but it is also possible to question it by asserting that shamans were prestidigitators and con-men (*obmanshtshiki*), or more implicitly for example by ridiculing what is recounted.

In both the narratives I have presented we may thus observe continuities in Nenets tradition, but they are linked too to the presentation methods of Nenets culture of the Soviet era – in differing ways in each. The tale of Purpey is a typical narrative of a representative of the intelligentsia which received its schooling in Soviet times; it asserts the historicity of shamanism – it is a phenomenon recounted in the past tense. What is new in Ardeyev's narrative is the assessment of the phenomenon as positive. Here, and elsewhere in the activities of the intelligentsia of the 2000s, shamanism is brought out in a positive light. Shamans, powerful possessors of special skills and good trade contacts, are figures whom the intelligentsia is keen to bring into the limelight from their own past culture.

The Kolguyev shaman narratives take their place on the continuum of Soviet-era atheist discourse. In atheist propaganda shamans and other religious authorities are blamed and despised, and their authority is diminished, especially by showing their activities are based on trickery and psychological techniques. It is possible that this sort of discourse has been appropriated as part of the way in which shamans are spoken of particularly to outsiders, which I too may be counted among. It is a safe way to mediate knowledge of shamans without identifying oneself as a supporter of the religious metaphysics. As the example garnered from Castrén's diary shows, narrative focused on the rebuttal of shamanism has its roots in something deeper than Soviet atheist propaganda. Shamans who suffer by showing off their craft or even die for their bluster are part of the tradition of shamanism.

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Folklore Archives
of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature of the Russian Academy of Sciences

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The Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature, within the Ural branch (Izhevsk, Russia) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, is the oldest research institution of the Udmurt Republic. It turned 85 in March 2016.

The Institute Research Archives nowadays contain the largest collection of material on the language, history and traditional culture of the Udmurts. The folklore archives mainly consist of data collected by cultural workers in the 1920s and 1930s and by the Institute's researchers from the second half of the twentieth century to the present. Besides the manuscript collections, the Institute has a phonogram archive, the earliest recordings of which date from the end of the 1960s. Regrettably, the recordings which had been made previously were lost as a result of the lack of proper storage conditions. Currently, the archives contain about 1000 audio files (more than 1300 hours of playing time) and include recordings of folklore material and thematic field interviews.

The manuscript collections of Grigory Yegorovich Vereschagin (1851–1930), the first Udmurt ethnographer and writer who worked at the turn of the twentieth century, are of great importance (approximately 4000 sheets of paper). The collections contain texts of almost all Udmurt folklore genres, including mythological narratives, legends, fairytales, charms, riddles, proverbs and sayings, folk beliefs, dreams and songs. Many of the manuscripts consist of ethnographic studies, with observations on Udmurt daily life and festivals related to ethnic religion and rituals. G. Ye. Vereschagin had an opportunity to acquaint himself with everyday life and customs of the Udmurts belonging to different local traditions, as he was a rural priest and a teacher. He was elected an associate member of the Russian Geographical Society (1888) and awarded silver medals for his published works in Russian "The Votyaks of the Sosnovsky District" (1886) and "The Votyaks of the Sarapulsky District of Vyatka Governorate" (1889). In 1995 a collaborative research team consisting of ethnographers, folklorists, linguists and literary critics was formed in order to edit and publish Vereschagin's manuscripts. The team was supervised by Professor V. M. Vanyushev. By 2015 the documents had been published in six volumes, comprising eleven books. One more book with Vereschagin's linguistic materials is currently being edited and prepared for publication.

The second most significant collection of that period is the collection of the Udmurt enlightener, teacher and cultural worker Mikhail Ilyich Ilyin (1876–1935). He is known as the author of five small books of poems written in the style of Udmurt folk songs. During his lifetime Ilyin published only one scientific work, "Games and Round Dances of the Votyak Youth in the Spring" (Ufa, 1915), although, according to the archive materials, he tried to popularise his observations in the work "History and Culture of the Udmurts" (1929). Folklore materials (over 1000 sheets of paper) were collected by M. I. Ilyin with the help of students studying at Elabuga Pedagogical Seminary, Izhevsk, and Mozhga Pedagogical College. Archive files under his name contain separate sheets of paper with fairytales, song lyrics, charms, incantations, mythological narratives and folk beliefs. Ilyin copied them, and then tried to unite the texts in separate blocks and to analyse according to his principles. The collection is of considerable interest in view of the time the data was collected and the genres presented. Thus far only a small part of his heritage has been used by researchers, such as incantations and information on folk medicine. Nowadays mythological narratives and folk beliefs are being systematised. His ethnographic heritage is also being prepared for publication.

Materials collected during the Udmurt expedition organised by the famous researcher in Finno-Ugric studies Dmitry Vladimirovich Bubrikh in 1929 are also of great importance to folklore specialists and linguists. Although the linguistic material was a high priority, the participants also recorded folklore texts, representing the context in which a living spoken language existed.

Over the succeeding years (1940–60), mainly Udmurt writers became interested in folklore (I. Dadyukov, M. Konovalov, M. Petrov, I. Gavrilov, A. Klabukov). They compiled separate collections of riddles, proverbs and sayings, song lyrics and fairy tales. Some of the material was published in books or articles with appendices. A characteristic feature of these publications was that the collectors interfered with the folklore heritage and amended the texts at their discretion. They treated folklore as a "primitive" stage in the development of literature, as "relics of the past" that

should be considered while writing literary works and should be amended to make them more classic. Regrettably, that generation of folklore collectors and classifiers were mostly focused on the common "Soviet" approach, which was later characterised as vernacular-sociological. Thus, the folklore collections from this period need a rigorous textological analysis nowadays. However, they are a living testimony of the past. While analysing these materials it becomes evident what folklore studies consisted of at different periods of history and how the attitude to the genre system could change depending on the political situation in the country.

From the late 1950s to the 1960s the folklorists N. P. Kralina and P. K. Pozdeev used the archive manuscripts to compile and publish separate collections of Udmurt fairy tales, songs and proverbs and sayings. However, even in those years researchers expressed no interest in folk beliefs, charms, prayers, dreams, and calendar and family rituals, which were generally regarded as survivals of times past.

Purposeful replenishment of the Folklore Archives of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature was started in the 1970s when the Institute employed new specialists, who had studied at Moscow and Tartu universities (I. V. Tarakanov, G. A. Arkhipov, V. K. Kelmakov, V. E. Vladykin, and T. G. Vladykina). Moreover, at that time new methods for studying traditional culture were applied within Russian science. It permitted researchers to collect folklore and ethnographic materials without making corrections to them, thus avoiding misrepresenting the reality and context. Fortunately, the culture's defence mechanisms came into operation and helped to preserve numerous facts about the Udmurts' everyday life and folk beliefs into the late twentieth century or early twenty-first century, before the globalisation processes set in. Annual expeditions to the Udmurts and other peoples living both in Udmurtia and in the border regions significantly enlarged the folklore collections and established the basis for carrying out research into the tangible and intangible cultural heritages of those peoples (the Udmurts, Besermyans, Russians, Mari and Tatars).

Modern technologies were introduced into the archive work in 2006 as a result of the project "An Electronic Database of Traditional Culture of Peoples Living in Udmurtia" (supervised by Professor T. G. Vladykina), which was supported by the Russian Foundation for the Humanities as a part of a megaproject "The Image of Russia in the Modern World". The project was focused on addressing regional research issues. The main problems it was supposed to solve were, firstly, to create an electronic database to streamline the process and identify prospects for further compilation of folklore collections and, secondly, to develop the structure of the information database,

classifier and search engine to provide a reliable storage of information and efficient access to it.

Much work has been done to preserve audio recordings collected during expeditions over many years. Audio archives include rare samples of field recordings which show the historical dynamics of the life and culture of peoples living in the Ural-Volga region. Prior to the project, the Institute's phonogram archive had audio files stored on reel-to-reel tapes (more than 100 items) and audio cassettes (more than 500 items). Making detailed inventories of digitised reel and audio tapes allowed specialists to obtain previously inaccessible information on the geography of field expeditions and their participants.

Reel-to-reel audio tape recordings were made in the Udmurt Republic, the Republic of Bashkortostan, the Republic of Tatarstan, Kirov Oblast, Perm Krai, Sverdlovsk Oblast, Tomsk Oblast and Krasnoyarsk Krai. The earliest recording which was made with a portable tape recorder dates back to 1976 (the villages of Bolshaya Yunda and Yagoshur, Balezinskiy District, the Udmurt Republic). Under the aegis of the "Electronic Database" project, 142 audio tapes were digitised. Their total playing time is more than 170 hours. The geography of cassette recordings is quite wide: Udmurtia, Perm Krai, Kirov Oblast, Sverdlovsk Oblast, the Republic of Bashkortostan, the Republic of Tatarstan, the Mari El Republic and Tomsk Oblast.

Audio materials were recorded during collaborative expeditions organised by researchers of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature of the RAS and their colleagues from the Udmurt State University (in 1979, 1984 and 1985), the Glazov State Pedagogical Institute (in 1985 and 1986), Perm State Institute of Culture (in 1984 and 1985), the Kazan State Institute of Culture (in 1988), the National Museum of the Udmurt Republic (in 2003), as well as by their foreign colleagues from Finland (in 1991–3 and in 1998), Hungary (in 1988 and 1993) and Estonia (in 2002–3).

The resulting hypertext database "Electronic Database of the Traditional Culture of Peoples Living in Udmurtia" marked the beginning of work aimed at systematising the Udmurt Republic's archive collections containing information on the intangible cultural heritage of peoples living in the region through the application of modern technologies. For the first time, the project's participants made attempts to draw general conclusions and systematise the unique handwritten folklore and ethnographic texts collected in the 1920s–1960s and to create an online database to facilitate searches for specific textual information for use in later research. The hypertext database includes texts, photographs and audio and video recordings, which demonstrate the variety of genres within traditional culture of the peoples living in Udmurtia

(the Udmurts, Russians and Besermyans, with the prospects for adding material on the spiritual culture of the Tatars, Mari and Komi-Permyaks). It also guarantees the preservation of rare handwritten texts, photographs and audio recordings.

Each archival unit in the database is numbered consecutively and has information on the date and place of recording, the informants (their name, date and place of birth, education and occupation), the collectors, the language and translation of a text's title, peculiarities of its existence and characteristics of its genre, the publication of the text, and, for audio and video recordings, a description of their technical characteristics and recording conditions. The materials of the database have been grouped by regions and provided with a brief description of the regional history and the main genre characteristics. The materials of the database are stored on a separate hard drive.

The condition of the audio recordings particularly concerned specialists in folklore and ethnomusicology. The project provided an opportunity to digitise the audio material, and this work was continued while pursuing the international project "Ancient Voices of the Uralic World: Audio Recordings in Russian and foreign archives (for example, in Udmurtia, Estonia, Finland and Hungary)" (supervised by Professor T. de Graaf, coordinated by V. N. Denisov), which was supported by the British Library. This project allowed specialists to examine the audio recordings in a new light and emphasised the necessity of meeting international requirements and standards. The researchers came up with the idea of creating the Udmurt Library of Audio Recordings, which could contain all currently available audio materials, including the earliest recordings – the restored samples of spoken Udmurt language and folklore, recorded from the prisoners of the First World War and stored in Vienna, Berlin and the Institute of Russian Literature (The Pushkin House, St Petersburg) phonogram archives. Thus far, approximately 200 audio cassettes (about 220 hours of playing time) have been digitised. The recordings were converted into a digital form according to the British Library standards at a sample rate of 96,000 Hz and stored as 24 bit WAV-format files.

Expedition materials recorded on reel-to-reel and magnetic tapes are divided into separate tracks according to genres including traditional ritual and non-ritual songs, instrumental folk tunes (calendar tunes – spring, summer, autumn and winter; family tunes – lullaby, wedding, recruitment and funeral), and songs composed and performed by amateur singers; prose genres (mythological narratives and fairy tales), and conversations (about the informants' lives, origins of their village, toponymy, kinship terminology, rites, etc.).

Each cassette is presented as a file with separate smaller files inside which consist of two parts: the WAV sound file and Microsoft Word document. Each file is provided with the list of detailed information. For example:

1. Title (the first line of an Udmurt text): "En vunete vozh turynez …" ("Do not forget green grass …")
2. Date: 1979.
Place: the Udmurt Republic, Kiyasovsky District, village of Staraya Salya.
3. Duration: 02'14".
4. Storage medium: DVD-R LG (6x).
5. Original data storage medium: compact cassette, tape speed of 4.75 cm/s.
6. Creater: a joint expedition of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature, and Udmurt State University: participants Vladykin Vladimir Yemelyanovich (supervisor), Perevezchikova Tatiana Grigoryevna, and students E. A. Makshakova and L. V. Vasilyeva.
7. Performer: Ivanova Maria Tarasovna, born in 1925.
8. Description (title or genre): *lekrutgur* – recruitment tune.
9. Language: Udmurt.

This way of material description is aimed at creating a general catalogue of audio recordings. When the project is completed copies of the digitised collection will be given to the British Library and the Estonian Folklore Archives.

For many years the archive data have been used for preparing compilations of folklore texts belonging to one genre and for writing monographs, but thus far the large amount of the material including audio and video recordings has not been actively involved in research. The reason for this kind of situation is that the entire volume of the archive material is still not available to scholars. It can become easily obtainable only when it is digitised and provided with metadata. The increased role of the media and information technologies in the folklore studies in recent decades helps to intensify field research and contributes to the restoration and preservation of analogue archival recordings.

Conservation of folklore archive data of the Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature of the RAS, supplying the archive with new folklore collections and using them in research will be continued by a new generation of researchers in order to preserve the Udmurt cultural heritage.

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