Folklore

Electronic Journal of Folklore 88

Folklore
Electronic Journal of Folklore
http://www.folklore.ee/folklore

Vol. 88
2023

Folk Belief and Media Group
of the Estonian Literary Museum

Estonian Institute of Folklore

Folklore

Electronic Journal of Folklore
Vol. 88

Edited by Mare Kõiva

ELM Scholarly Press
Tartu 2023

The journal is supported by the research grant of the Estonian Literary Museum EKM 8-2/20/3 and by the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies (TK 145) through the European Regional Development Fund.

Indexed in EBSCO Publishing Humanities International Complete, Clarivate Analytics Web of Science (Arts & Humanities Citation Index), MLA International Bibliography, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, Internationale Volkskundliche Bibliographie / International Folklore Bibliography / Bibliographie Internationale d'Ethnologie, Open Folklore, C.E.E.O.L., Scopus

Editorial address:
Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore
Vanemuise 42–235
51003 Tartu
Estonia
phone: +372 737 7740
fax: +372 737 7706
e-mail: folklore@folklore.ee
home page: http://www.folklore.ee/folklore

ISSN 1406-0957
doi:10.7592/FEJF2023.88

CONTENTS

https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2023.88.magic

MATERIALITY OF MAGIC IN ESTONIAN AND FINNISH MUSEUMS

Sonja Hukantaival
Postdoctoral Researcher
Åbo Akademi University, Turku, Finland
sonja.hukantaival@abo.fi

Tõnno Jonuks
Research Professor
Estonian Literary Museum, Tartu, Estonia
tonno.jonuks@folklore.ee

Kristiina Johanson
Research Fellow, PhD
Institute of Archaeology and History, University of Tartu, Estonia
kristiina.johanson@ut.ee

Abstract: This paper discusses objects connected with folk magic and medicine found in museum collections in Estonia and Finland. Our perspective is comparative as we compare these collections to other sources and to each other. The focus is on what kind of objects are found in the museum collections and how these differ between the two countries. We also explore how these materials have been acquired and collated. While we see general similarities between the magic objects in the two countries, there are also notable differences: remains of bears stand out in the Finnish collections while fossils are common in the Estonian ones. Although these observations may reflect a true difference in magic traditions, there are still potential sources of bias in the collections. Even though the museum collections in both countries were formed with romantic national overtones, the interests of individual collectors and curators influenced them in various ways.

Keywords: Estonia, Finland, folk magic, folk medicine, materiality, museums

INTRODUCTION

> *… divination was done such that a brooch was put in a sieve which was rattled. The answer to the question asked was deduced by how the brooch bounced and where it stopped. … From this kind of lot casting, cunning people got the name lot-casters* (arpojat)*, which is always used in Russian chronicles of Finnish and Estonian witches.*
> (Krohn 1875: 30. Translated by S. Hukantaival)

In traditional academic discussions, Estonia and Finland are often seen as sharing similar cultural phenomena. These neighbouring countries belong to the same linguistic family and this linguistic background links them to other Finno-Ugric peoples. Similarities in prehistoric material culture, especially from the Late Iron Age, strengthen the connectivity of these regions. Since the thirteenth century, the different histories of the countries are more easily identified. Finland came under the rule of the Swedish Crown and Estonia was divided between the Danish kingdom, the Teutonic Order, and the bishopric of Riga. The countries were united under the same ruler twice in their history: firstly the Swedish Crown for a short period in the seventeenth century and secondly the Russian Empire in the early nineteenth century. Still, their unique cultural attributes stemming from the Medieval and Early Modern periods prevailed. Despite the historical differences, scholars of folk culture and religion have traditionally stressed a shared distant (pre)history (e.g., Talve 2004; see also Salminen 2009). This is further strengthened by the common view that folk customs and traditions are relatively conservative phenomena, mainly connected with local nature and not linked to changing administrative systems or urban culture. Such a background has only emphasized the view of Finland and Estonia being a common cultural region. Still, contrary to the view that emphazises similarities, there are significant differences in the folk customs, religion, and magic practices of the two countries.

This paper explores objects connected with folk magic found in museum collections in Estonia and Finland. In Estonia, the main collections of objects used for magical purposes are stored in the archaeology collection of the Pärnu Museum and the ethnographic collections of the Estonian National Museum (ENM) in Tartu, with only single artefacts held in various, mostly archaeological collections across the country. In Finland, numerous magic objects are preserved in several museums, mainly in ethnological[1] collections. For this paper, we chose two of the largest collections: that of the National Museum of Finland in Helsinki and the Museum Centre Vapriikki in Tampere. Some Stone Age objects used in later magical practices are also found in the National Museum's

archaeological collections and these are noted here as well. The focus of this paper is on what is represented in the material sources in Estonia and Finland and how this relates to folk magic paraphernalia depicted in other sources. We also discuss how the material sources have been collected and collated. Our perspective is comparative; however, since the Finnish and Estonian museum collections are formed differently, comparisons are approached from a critical viewpoint. Instead of proposing comprehensive results of the materiality of folk magic of these countries, this paper highlights some similarities and differences in the respective collections and in their formation.

MAIN RESEARCH TRENDS AND PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF ESTONIAN AND FINNISH MAGIC

Magic has not been a popular subject of study with Estonian scholars, even though the earliest studies date as far back as the nineteenth century (Holzmeyer 1872; Buch 1897; Schroeder 1906). The nineteenth-century research of local "exotic savages" (Plath 2008) has set a national discourse that has continued to this day – the majority of the relevant studies focus on *Estonian* folk religion and magic. Such an ethnic approach is problematic in many aspects, as it ascribes magical practices only to ethnic and rural Estonians, ignoring similar practices among the contemporary multi-ethnic nobility despite available records already since the Middle Ages (e.g., Jung 1879: 14; Jürjo 2004: 185; Lukas et al. 2022).

This national approach makes it difficult to discuss Estonian folk magic in a broader European context. Contrary to Eastern Europe, the researchers' focus in the West has been on educated (book-learned) magic, while folk magic has been overlooked (Rider 2015: 303). The reason for such a distinction comes from differing source materials – a rich, sophisticated, and highly appreciated corpus of written materials dominates in Western Europe, compared to Eastern Europe, where such a corpus is absent and the emphasis is on orally transmitted folk customs and associative magic, with a clear national approach. Nevertheless, as folk customs, including folk magic, became one of the cornerstones of Estonian national identity in the 1920s–1930s (Johanson & Jonuks 2018), folk magic gets mentioned with more positive connotations here and there, especially in popular textbooks and novels. However, in academic studies magic has continued to be a marginal subject (Kõiva 2011, 2019; Hiiemäe 2012).

Similarly, all of the efforts to collect folk culture in Finland in the late nineteenth century were influenced by national and the need to preserve and display the unique history of the Finnish people. However, the research paradigm that

came to dominate folk culture studies in the early twentieth century was the historic-geographic or Finnish method that aimed to reconstruct the original "ur-forms" of folklore texts and to trace their place of origin and migration patterns (Krohn 1971; Wilson 1976; Dégh 1986). This called for large collections of material and a comparative approach. Thus, classic studies on folk culture include numerous examples of similar customs elsewhere in Northern Europe, and especially among other Finno-Ugric language groups (Harva 1948; Haavio 1967). Folk religion was understood as a relic of some previous religion. The prominent folklorist Kaarle Krohn believed that most of the late nineteenth-century folk religion was a remnant of medieval Catholic practices and beliefs, with only folklore about ancestors showing traces of "pagan" times (Krohn 1915). Still, the search for the "pagan" ethnic religion would dominate most of the classic discussions in Finland.

The study of magic in both countries was for long overshadowed by the interest in mythology and folk songs as "higher" forms of folk tradition. In spite of this, the Finnish Literature Society published an instruction booklet as a guide for collecting magic as early as 1885, with new editions in 1894, 1911, and 1936 (Mustonen 1936 [1885]; Stark 2006: 119). Similarly, one of the leaders of national awakening in Estonia, Jakob Hurt, published "A call to wakeful sons and daughters of Estonia" "to collect folk customs and folk religion, including magic", in 1888 (Paar Palwid 1888). Interestingly, magic is not defined in any way in these publications. In the Finnish booklet, topics are listed under such headings as "dwelling and household", "fishing and fish", "hunting and forest dwellers", "cattle and animal husbandry", or "agriculture". At the end of the booklet, we find headings like "the cunning person and lot-caster, divination and magic", "guardian spirits and heroes", "offerings and special places", and finally, "health, sickness", and "death". The lists include topics such as "the hunter's relationship with the forest guardian spirits, hunting offerings, addressing the forest guardian spirit, etc.", but also simply "the hunting dog, choosing the puppy, raising it, and caring for it" (Mustonen 1936 [1885]).

In this way, a wide range of everyday customs and beliefs, but also knowledge of herbal medicine, was implicitly classified as magic. In the call by Jakob Hurt, the final section under the heading "Old folk religion and superstition" holds a comprehensive questionnaire about different "supernatural" beings, beliefs about animals and weather phenomena, as well as beliefs about plants, minerals, and household utensils. According to Hurt, old customs and practices are very often connected with "superstition", which explains the detailed interest in daily practices. After the work of Jakob Hurt, magical beliefs and customs were meticulously collected by the questionnaires of the Estonian Folklore Archives (ERA) since its foundation in 1927. A slightly different approach was

taken in the collection policy of the Estonian Health Museum: in its call at the beginning of the 1920s, it encouraged the collecting of artefacts used in folk medical procedures (see Tupits 2009). Similarly, the Põltsamaa Museum placed an advertisement in the local newspaper in 1926, attempting to collect different artefacts connected with traditional life, including curing implements, like cupping and bloodletting equipment, ear stones, coins to cure swellings, etc. (Piisang & Tänav 2007: 207). As a result, single objects that we classify as "magic" have reached various museums in Estonia.

Both in Finland and Estonia, academic discussions on folk magic and its associative and cognitive magical practices have been dominated by folklore texts concerning incantations, cunning people, or specific topics such as guardian spirits (Hästesko 1910; Loorits 1932; Haavio 1942; Siikala 1994; Stark 2007; Issakainen 2012; Kõiva 2017). Some more comprehensive studies exist as well (e.g., Stark 2006). Due to the focus of folklore studies on oral culture, only a few papers discuss objects described in oral descriptions of magical practices (Rantasalo 1956; Valk 2004; Issakainen 2006; Piela 2011; Kuningas 2014). Historians have discussed folk magic using the evidence from witchcraft and superstition trial records (mainly from the seventeenth century), but here as well the objects associated with such practices are seldom mentioned (Nenonen 1993; Toivo 2016; Uuspuu 1937; Reoli 1964; Metsvahi 2015; Ruben 2016). As noted, the magic objects in Finnish museums mostly belong to the ethnological collections. However, after a few short publications in the early twentieth century (Sirelius 1906, 1921; Manninen 1933), ethnologists have largely overlooked these objects.

Lately, the materiality of magic has inspired discussions across Europe (Wilburn 2012; Houlbrook & Armitage 2015; Boschung & Bremmer 2015; Parker & McKie 2018). This trend has also reached Estonia and Finland, and this paper is part of this emerging avenue of research (Johanson & Jonuks 2018; Hukantaival 2018). In this paper, we see magic as everyday practices and beliefs, in which causality relies on symbolic, metaphorical, or metonymic relationships between phenomena. Within folk religion, magic refers to specific skills of influencing the interrelatedness of things in order to produce desired results in areas such as health, economy, or marriage. Often, these practices involve one or several material objects.

For this study, we have chosen artefacts accompanied by documentation that indicates magical usage. This approach helps the analysis of what kind of objects were used in folk magic but also what kind of objects were considered valuable enough to be collected and catalogued as "magical". In Finland, many local museums house a small selection of folk magic objects. The two most comprehensive collections (the National Museum in Helsinki and the Museum

Centre Vapriikki in Tampere) were chosen due to their representativeness and also since the magic objects in these two collections are classified in a way that makes them accessible for study. The National Museum of Finland has an old card catalogue for "magic objects" (*taikakalut*), which was used to find the relevant objects. The Museum Centre Vapriikki has an online catalogue (siiri.tampere.fi) where objects were selected using "magic object" (*taikaesine*) as the keyword. The objects in the collection of the National Museum of Finland were requested from storage and examined, while photographs in the online catalogue were relied on in the case of the objects in Tampere.

In contrast to Finland, the Estonian museum collections lack special catalogues for magic objects and these are dispersed throughout other sub-categories – jewellery items used for magic in the category of decoration, tools in the category of traditional life, etc. Many objects used for magical purposes are catalogued under the category of medical objects since healing forms a large part of folk magic. This means that selecting objects for this study was complicated. Even though most of the objects in Estonian museum collections are catalogued in the shared online database called Museums Public Portal (Museum Information System – MuIS, www.muis.ee), in many cases detailed information about the objects, and especially their use, is omitted. Thus, various keywords were used to discover magically used artefacts, e.g., *nõiakivi* (witch's stone), *ravikivi* (healing stone), and *piksekivi* (thunder stone), but the possibility remains that not all magically used items were detected. In all museums, paper catalogues as well as acquisition books and collection diaries (the latter in the case of the ENM) were used in parallel to electronic catalogues.

MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

Finland

The two museums in Finland, the National Museum in Helsinki (KM) and the Museum Centre Vapriikki in Tampere (the Häme Museum collection, HM), house large ethnological collections of objects catalogued as being associated with folk magic. The objects that have been acquired and deposited at the National Museum and the (subsequently closed) Häme Museum date from the 1850s to the 1960s, with most objects belonging to the late 1800s and early 1900s. Here, the objects in question are identified as belonging to folk magic (*taikuus*) in the museum catalogues, with this categorization being attributed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the two museums, we find 451 main catalogue entries of objects used for everyday concerns: such as medicine,

to awake or eradicate love, to ensure good luck in livelihood and other daily activities, or as amulets protecting against harm. A few objects found within the collections are used for aggressive (curse) purposes: to destroy the growth of a field, the fishing equipment of a rival fisherman, or to punish a thief with a horrible disease. In addition, multiple Stone Age tools that have been used in magic practices of the same period are found in archaeological collections, and these are also addressed here (see also Hukantaival 2019). These objects were used by a wide variety of people: ordinary, uneducated persons, but also more specialized healers and cunning folk.

The National Museum of Finland (KM) was established in 1894 (until 1917 it was called the State Historical Museum) by combining the collections of the Historical-Ethnological Museum of Helsinki University, the university's student associations, and the Finnish Antiquarian Society (established in 1870). The collections of the museum of the university included folk medicine objects acquired by the Finnish Literature Society in connection with its efforts to collect oral culture. The ethnological collections of the students' associations formed the largest part of the new state museum. Students were encouraged to collect objects from their home regions during holiday breaks. Moreover, the student associations funded the collection work through scholarships. While the focus was on collecting folk costumes and decorative objects, some of the magic objects belong to these collections (Sihvo 1977). According to the museum's catalogue, 33 of the magic objects in the ethnological collections were deposited by the Finnish Antiquarian Society between 1876 and 1900. The largest number of magic objects that were added to the collection after the turn of the century were from the private museum of the temperance speaker Jalmari Matisto (Aaltonen 1933). In 1954, after the death of Matisto, 13 magic objects that he had collected during his speaking engagements were among the objects that the National Museum selected from Matisto's impressive ethnological collection. The magic objects received a small space in the exhibition of the National Museum, together with folk medicine objects (Kansallismuseo 1977: 61).

The student associations of Helsinki University were also behind the birth of the Häme Museum (HM) in Tampere (opened to the public in 1908), initiated by the archaeologist and politician Julius Ailio (who was curator of the Hämäläisosakunta, Tavastia Nation, an association of students from the Häme region). The collections were supplemented by scholarship holders and as a result of pleas to local communities through newspapers. In accordance with Ailio's vision, the ethnological section presented a wide scope of varying material culture with folk magic and medicine, forming their own subsection within the exhibition (Fig. 1) (Tirkkonen 2008, 2016). In fact, Ailio himself donated 15 magic objects to the Tampere collection (all from Utajärvi) in 1904. In 1907,

the Hämäläis-osakunta sent scholarship holders to Karelia to collect material and oral culture believed to have already disappeared in the Häme region, for example, incantations and magic objects. This interest inspired local collectors and two famous runo-singers,[2] Konsta Kuokka and Iivana Onoila, sold their private collections to the museum (Tirkkonen 2016: 24). Thus, 19 Karelian magic objects with quite detailed descriptions were acquired by the museum. The Häme Museum was permanently closed in 1998 and the Museum Centre Vapriikki now houses these collections.

Figure 1. *The early twentieth-century exhibition of Karelian magic objects at the former Häme Museum, Tampere. A bear skull and two bear paws are in the centre, surrounded by curiously shaped wooden objects. Below in the right corner is the skin of a flying squirrel. Photograph courtesy of the Finnish Heritage Agency, Ethnographic Picture Collection (KK1758:13, license CC BY 4.0).*

Other sources, contemporary to the museum collections, shedding light on the use of objects in folk magic and medicine in Finland, are the vast folklore collections of the Finnish Literature Society and the Society of Swedish Literature in Finland. However, as noted above, these oral tradition collections have not been published with a focus on the materiality of magic. Despite this shortcoming, it is evident that the types of objects depicted in this material represent a far wider array of choices than those in the museum collections (Ratia 2009; Piela 2011). Still, most, if not all, types of objects found in the museum collections also appear in the recorded folklore. The witchcraft and superstition trial records of the late sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries are another source of information, but again the focus has not been on the objects themselves. Objects that occasionally appear in publications, however, are similar to the ones known in later folklore accounts and the museum collections. However, comprehensive studies of the folklore and trial records focusing on the material aspects would be needed for a proper comparison.

Estonia

The main collections of objects associated with magic in Estonia can be found in the Pärnu Museum and the Estonian National Museum (ENM), while only single objects connected with magic appear in other museums. The two mentioned major collections have not been collated with the purpose of curating magic items. In the case of Pärnu, the main influence was the local doctor Martin Bolz (1868–1917), who visited rural areas when treating patients in the early years of the twentieth century. As a man with antiquarian interests, he started to collect magic curing implements and antiquities, mostly Stone Age objects. In contrast to the general trend of the period, Martin Bolz did not only value the historical authenticity of objects (e.g., Stone Age axes), but also their contemporary use. As such he recorded stories of how rural people explained and used peculiar lithic objects in the early years of the twentieth century (Fig. 2). As a result, the Pärnu Museum has the largest collection of thunderbolts in Estonia (see Johanson & Jonuks 2018). Considering the large number of lithic axes collected from rural communities and deposited in other Estonian museum collections at the same time, it could be assumed they had similar folk belief backgrounds. However, as only the historical and seemingly scientific value of such finds was appreciated, the folkloric legends were not recorded and preserved. As a result, a number of possibly magically used lithic objects are stored with a scientifically correct, but rather incomplete label of "a stone axe" with only a few having been interpreted as being used as thunderbolts.

Figure 2. *An elliptical fire-striking stone from the collection of Martin Bolz (PäMu 3 A 519). According to the caption, it fell from the sky in front of the owner during a thunderstorm in 1872. It was kept at the owner's farm as a thunderbolt with great honour and it was only reluctantly given away. Photograph by T. Jonuks 2011.*

The background of the collection of magic objects at the ENM is different – the museum is an offspring of the late-nineteenth-century campaign to collect oral tradition and its main purpose was to collect and preserve the tangible and intangible culture of the Estonian nation. The latter is also the reason why this museum, different to all the other collections, also collected magically used objects and the stories behind them. However, folk magic was not specifically addressed even by this institution. Instead, magically used artefacts were catalogued according to their "primary" function; for example, there are a handful of brooches used for healing in the jewellery collection (Kuningas 2014). Medicine became one of the special topics to collect and as magic was part of folk medicine, magic objects were mostly catalogued in the collection of medical objects. Later on, other magically used artefacts (without a medical purpose) were also added to the same collection. As a result, the largest collection of magic objects in Estonia was formed, clearly dominated by the ones

with healing attributes. The majority of the objects were collected before World War II, while later additions are only occasional and rare.

The rest of the Estonian museums have only single objects that can be associated with magic, and even then, mainly with healing magic as following the collecting policy of the ENM. For example, two silver coins preserved at the Järvamaa Museum were used for scraping silver into water that was used to wash skin diseases (PM 1018 E 241 and PM 1019 E241). The archaeological collections of Tallinn University hold two ear stones that are fossils of bryozoans (AI 2643: 40–41). Two shaft-hole axes (AI 2671: 25, 3822: 17) and two adzes (AI 2490: 25, AI 3822: 12) in the same collection have been used as curing implements. The archaeological collection of the Estonian History Museum holds an elliptical fire-striking stone (AM A 130) and a shaft-hole axe (AM A 155) used to cure several illnesses. All these have a probable connection with the thunderbolt legend, but this has not been emphasized in the records. The single objects that are magical *per se*, such as a stone disc covered with zodiac-inspired symbols, are rather hidden and their magical potential is ignored and not exhibited (see Jonuks & Friedenthal 2020). So, with this evidence we can say with some confidence that magic has often been overlooked as a subject of study in Estonia and sometimes it was ignored when interpreting objects even when the context would suggest an association with magical practices. As a result, the material objects associated with magic found in museums do not represent the whole of what was actually present in the folk tradition.

The most comprehensive overview of folk magic can be found in the folklore collections at the Estonian Literary Museum. Several researchers have investigated charms (e.g., Kõiva 2019) and folk magic has been discussed in many studies, for example, in connection with specific illnesses, like erysipelas, also mentioning material objects (Veidemann 1985; Martsoo 2007), but a comprehensive overview, including folkloristic and material sources of magic in Estonia, is still missing. As a third corpus of sources for folk magic, though not much used, are newspaper articles, in which folk magic is often ridiculed in an unflattering manner (see Jonuks & Johanson forthcoming). This judgmental attitude aside, the newspapers present several examples that are evident neither in the collections of recorded folklore nor of material objects. In addition to this, a few material objects have been mentioned in historical sources about witchcraft trials, for example coins, copper rings, pieces of red woollen thread, green moss, dried bats, wax, salt, woollen thread, and stones (Reoli 1964: 57; Johanson 2018: 60, and references therein). As the purposes for collating these separate bodies of evidence were different, they complement each other, rather than provide the opportunity for comparison.

MATERIA MAGICA AND MAGICAL PRACTICE

Archaeologist Andrew T. Wilburn listed four classes of materials that were frequently employed in magical rites, *materia magica*, in Greek and Roman antiquity: 1) written or inscribed objects, 2) figurines and representations, 3) naturally occurring plants and animals (including parts of human bodies), and 4) household objects that have been repurposed for magical use (Wilburn 2012: 26). In both Estonia and Finland, the majority of the magic objects in the study collections fall into the last two classes – that of natural objects or artefacts of everyday usage (e.g., coins, brooches). Only a few examples are deliberately manufactured magic artefacts, such as figurines or objects with inscribed symbols. In Finland, the most common categories of objects associated with magic contained within the KM and HM collections (451 main catalogue entries in total) are animal remains (28%) and lithic objects (28%). More than half of the animal remains are parts of bears; for example, teeth (canines), claws, paws, windpipes, muzzle skins, skulls, penises, and even a heart. Where contextual information exists, most of these have been used either to heal an illness or as protection against harm. Windpipes of bears have been used to heal throat problems by pouring a liquid through them to give to the patient. These are common healing practices in Finnish folk magic, since other tube-like or holed objects have been used to transform some liquid into medicine by pouring it through the tube or hole while often visualizing a desired effect (such as curing constipation or urinary retention). In Estonia, the bear is represented by a single claw only, associated with uncertain "superstitious customs" (ERM 285:4). Another unique artefact, related to traditions recorded in Finland, is a seal's windpipe from Hiiumaa Island used to cure neck and throat problems (ERM 492:14).

In Finland, pig canines and snouts are the most common parts of domestic animals in the magic object collections but these are entirely missing from the Estonian material. The snouts have been used to heal skin problems by pressing the snout to the affected area or to ensure good crops by keeping it in a seed basket. One catalogue entry also mentions that girls would keep a pig's snout in their pocket to make them more attractive (KM KF2131). The pig canines have also been used in healing practises, but the catalogues give no details of how they were used. Of other domestic animals, the collections include two ox penises, one of a ram, and the foot of a rooster (KM KF2126–8; KF1554). According to the catalogue entries, a small piece of an ox penis is fed to a calf to make it a "strong eater", and pieces of a yellow rooster's foot are given as medicine to someone suffering from jaundice. In the Finnish collections, wild animal species are more common than domestic ones. In addition to bears, there are also snakes (vipers), frogs, squirrels, bats, elk, wolf, lynx, badger, stoat, mole, and some birds present.

Contrary to Finland, animal parts are not common objects for magical purposes in the collections of material objects in Estonia and they are rare in the oral tradition as well. The few existing objects were part of unique vernacular practices, in which suitable materials have been exploited, rather than part of systematic patterns of magical behaviour. For instance, the ENM collection of folk medicine holds a wolf's tail used to whip girls in the sauna to help them get married (ERM 35:1) or a penis of an ox was used to heal urinary problems of domestic animals (ERM 282:110). However, folklore records describe using animal body parts for protective and healing magic. Snakes, especially vipers, have been most popular in this respect; for example, vodka with a viper in it was a popular curing implement for joint problems and boils (see Kõivupuu 2004). In addition, body parts of frogs, cats, mice and rats and European minks as well as pieces of honeycomb are also present in the folk medicine records.

Although the majority of magic items were everyday utensils and natural objects, it does not mean that they were perceived as ordinary. Objects used in magical practices were somehow different and special. In the case of natural objects, it is often their appearance that made them special. In Estonia, the obvious example is that of fossils, one of the most popular kind of objects used in magical practises (roughly a couple of dozens are found in museum collections). These usually had a special form or texture, making them attract attention in the field to be picked up and ascribed certain supernatural qualities to. Because of this special form and/or texture, fossils have sometimes been associated with certain body parts and thus considered suitable for curing specific diseases. For instance, the conical fossils of Bryozoa are described as good at treating earache when the heated stone is put in the ear. The practice associated with Bryozoa is special among the magical practices in Estonia as this is the only example where one type of object is used to cure a specific illness – the fossil was heated and then put into the aching ear. Alternatively, hot steam resulting from pouring water on the heated fossil was directed into the afflicted ear. In the majority of the other examples, the data leads to the interpretation of how objects considered special are associated with different diseases on a very personal level (Fig. 3). There are no fossils in the two Finnish museum collections. The obvious explanation is the different geological background of the two countries, as the Estonian limestone is rich in various kinds of fossilized animal and plant remains, which are missing from the Finnish granite bedrock. One coral fossil is mentioned to have been donated in 1862, together with a cunning person's pouch (KM K754), but it is unclear whether these objects were connected. In any case, this coral fossil is not included in the "magic objects" card catalogue. It is notable that no other types of objects used to heal earache are present in the Finnish collections.

Figure 3. *a) The "stone-heart" (ERM 283:1) from Jõelähtme, northern Estonia, used as a healing attribute to treat boils. According to the catalogue entry of the object, a human has been transformed to stone by witchcraft and this is the heart. b) An ear-stone (ERM 502:124): "an aching ear was treated by heating the stone up, pouring water on it and the steam was directed into the ear". Photographs courtesy of the ENM.*

However, apart from fossils, various other lithic objects – quartz crystals, pebbles, and prehistoric stone artefacts – have been used for magical purposes in both countries. The most common stones found in the Finnish collections are natural, small, smooth, round or oval-shaped pebbles. Many of these are water-polished flint pebbles and they are most often labelled as "snake's court stones" (*käärmeenkäräjäkivi*). In addition to their appearance, the belief of how these stones were formed caused their special nature. According to folklore, vipers would pass a pebble from mouth to mouth during their court gathering in spring (Lehikoinen 2009: 199–201). Many of the catalogue entries refer to this story. As a result of the snakes' believed behaviour, the stone became a powerful object that was kept in the pocket as an amulet when travelling or going to a rural law court (Fin. *käräjä*). This type of artefact has also been documented as being used to heal pains and swellings on the skin by pressing the stone to the ailing area. In some cases, pebbles are called "raven stones" (Fin. *korpinkivi*, Est. *kaarnakivi*) as in folklore these were found in a raven's nest (Rantasalo 1956). The catalogue entry of seven raven stones in a knitted pouch at the Finnish National Museum repeats the popular story that the raven would bring the pebble from the Jordan River to revive its young if they had been harmed (KM K7928:59). These particular pebbles had been used to heal tooth problems. Snake's court stones and raven stones are almost absent among magically used artefacts in Estonia as well as in Estonian folklore records. Only a single raven stone exists, with the legend that a raven had brought it from the coast to its nest and it was used to heal swellings (ERM 7797).

In Estonia, the medical collection of the ENM also includes ten "witch's stones". Many of these are round or oval naturally polished pebbles, but in a few cases, we are dealing with completely inconspicuous pieces of limestone. According to the accompanying documents, only one had been used in witchcraft (ERM A 371: 14) and one for curing snake bites and against strokes (ERM A509: 6369). The rest had no information about their use whatsoever, despite the label of "witch's stone". However, of the seven thunderstones preserved in the ENM medicine collection, six had, according to the record, knowingly been used to cure different illnesses and the remaining case stated that "perhaps it was used for witchcraft" (ERM 16152). In some cases, it is also evident that the donators did not know how these peculiar objects had been used. For instance, a fossilized nautiloid (ERM A 353:3) that was recovered from a box in a granary together with a "meteor", was described by the original owners as "perhaps a medical implement". There are other similar cases, in which magical qualities are ascribed to peculiar-looking objects (often fossils) by collectors and donators without them actually having been used as such (Johanson & Jonuks 2018). This is especially pertinent for the witch's stones, as it appears that this label

may have been a general term for peculiar stones that may or may not have been used for magical purposes, but kept for some other reason and given or sold to the donators.

So-called "thunderbolts" form a broad category of objects represented at the Pärnu Museum and at the ENM. It is interesting to note the difference in usage – the catalogue entries of the thunderbolts at the Pärnu Museum state that thunderbolts were found and then kept at the farm or carried along as luck-securing amulets, while their healing ability is mentioned only rarely. True, Martin Bolz (1914) mentions a number of healing objects that people held at farms, but were unwilling to sell. The oral data of thunderbolts at the ENM, on the other hand, emphasize the curative ability of thunderbolts. Apparently, this variation is a result of the different collecting policies (see above), indicating the importance of understanding the curatorial processes behind the formation of the collections. While the ENM looked for curative objects, Bolz focused on Stone Age artefacts – both of these categories included magical use, but in a different manner.

In Finland, the lithic objects used in magical practices also include "thunderbolts". However, only a few (13 main catalogue entries) Stone Age tools that have been used as "thunderbolts" have been catalogued in the ethnological folk magic collections (Fig. 4). Instead, most of the known thunderbolts (191 entries) are included in the archaeological collections (see Hukantaival 2019). The KM catalogue even mentions, in connection with one pouch that originally contained some Stone Age tools together with other "witch's stones", that the prehistoric stones have been moved to the archaeological collection, thus dispersing the assemblage (KM KF472). Some Stone Age lithic objects, collected originally as thunderbolts, were also transferred from the ethnography collection of the ENM to the archaeological collections. Still, not all stone objects labelled as thunderbolts are Stone Age tools. The Finnish ethnological collections include thunderbolts that are whetstones, round pebbles, and natural wedge-formed stones. Estonian folkloristic descriptions also add shiny rocks and white pebbles to this class. In some cases, the stone is so worn from its use as medicine that it is not possible to assess whether it is a prehistoric tool or not. Slivers of thunderbolts were often shaved into a drink given to a patient, but the stones could also be heated and pressed against sore skin. These objects were also useful in protecting buildings from harm, controlling or putting out a fire, and ensuring good crops (Hukantaival 2016: 181–184; 2019; Johanson 2009).

Figure 4. *This Stone Age chisel that was kept in a leather pouch is one of the thunderbolts catalogued in the ethnological collection at the National Museum of Finland (KM K3495:5). According to the catalogue entry, it had been kept in the seed basket during sowing, in the drying barn when the sheaves were dried, and in the inside chest pocket when visiting the rural court of law. The master of Kurhila farm in Hollola donated it to the collector Atte Salmi in 1897. Photograph by Timo Ahola 2020. Ethnological Collections, National Museum of Finland.*

Wooden formations form 12% of the Finnish folk magic collections while in the Estonian collections they are represented again only by a small number of examples. The largest group of wooden formations is small natural wooden gnarls found under the bark of a tree, often called "things that have not seen the sun" (Fin. *päivännäkemätön*). These objects have mainly been used to heal swellings or boils by pressing the gnarl onto the skin. There are also three plates made of oak, used in diverse healing practices (KM KF1303; KF1293; HM 1220:10). Other common wooden formations are branches or roots that have grown to form a circle (Fin. *umpipuu*). This is a widely-known practice, represented in various places, including documentary sources from the Early Modern Age (e.g.,

Vaitkevičius 2009). In Finland, they were used to heal constipation and urine retention by pouring a liquid through the hole and giving this medicine to the patient. The only Estonian example is labelled as a "witch's eye" without any more elaboration (ERM 446:1462). Other objects in this group include burrs (that are not called by the same name as the smaller gnarls), witches' brooms, and other curiously shaped natural formations. Again, it was their curious shape that marked them out for use in magical practices.

The special qualities of an object can also be linked to its old age. In Estonia, an example of this is the usage of a copper coin, the scraped copper filings of which were used to help bones to recover, adding that "older coins were used since modern coins do not consist of pure copper" (ERM 14356). A common criterion to consider something special is also to preserve its original condition; for example, a fragment of a belt, donated to the ENM as a century-old object used to cure erysipelas, came with the comment that the belt "will lose its healing power when washed" (ERM 282). Old objects often appear in the folklore of magic, where old prints of the Bible and other books are preferred in magical rituals (Kõiva 2017: 144). The use of old objects is also documented in Finland. This is often motivated by a preference to use objects with an unknown maker (Hukantaival 2016: 140). Still, the catalogue entries reveal that many of the magic objects in the museum collections had been passed down within families for several generations.

In addition to the broad natural-material-based categories, various everyday utensils occur as objects used in magic. Again, the Finnish collections provide more diverse categories of artefacts. In Estonia, everyday objects associated with magical practices have only rarely reached museum collections; however, oral tradition suggests that these were often used for healing, divination, and apotropaic magic. The everyday objects include, for example, keys, knives, scissors, fire-making equipment, and spindle whorls. In Finland, for instance, a fire steel was tied to a horse's tail when bathing it to protect the animal from the malicious water spirit called *näkki* (KM KF271). A cowbell to ensure that the bull stayed with the cattle herd was used in the following manner: salt was carefully poured through its hoop after which the salt was put in water given to the bull to drink before letting it out onto the pastures in spring (HM 515:18). Copper or bronze objects, like coins, were commonly used in healing practices. Silver brooches have been common in healing practices in both countries, especially to shave "silverwhite" to offer it to healing springs (KM KF1545; Kuningas 2014).

The most intriguing of the manufactured magic artefacts in Estonia is the *kratt/pisuhänd/tont* (ERM A 291: 503) – a schematic anthropomorphic creature, which was supposed to be animated by making a contract with the devil. The

doll was expected to carry wealth to its owner from nearby villages, farms, and manors, and when the contract ended, the soul of the owner belonged to the devil. The folklore describing the *kratt* is rich and recorded across Estonia; however, only a single actual material example is known. It is also interesting to note that this creature was recovered from the ground in Tartu-Maarja parish but, based on its condition, it had not lain in the ground for very long. In 1928, the newspaper *Sakala* (Ebausk 1928) referred to a lecture by folklorist M. J. Eisen, who related that a spinster from Raadi Manor, Tartu-Maarja parish, made a *kratt* that was supposed to bring her a husband but the "ghost" nevertheless remained lifeless. The preserved creature and the story are not directly connected, but they still demonstrate the variability of how the *kratt* appears in the tradition. The corresponding magic creature to the *kratt* is known in Finland as a *para* (Holmberg-Harva 1928), but no material manifestations of the *para* survive in the two museum collections. However, there is a metal snuffbox containing communion wafers in the KM collection. According to the catalogue entry, these could be used as medicine, to make a rifle shoot better, or as the heart of a *para* figure (KM KF1825).

In the Finnish collections, the most remarkable objects that have been specifically manufactured for use in magic are the miniature coffins that contain either a frog or a wooden human figure (KM KF1253; K3442:1; KF277). Three additional coffins have contained squirrels, but these animal remains had been thrown away before the objects were delivered to the museum (KM K7604:1–3). The coffins that contain frogs or squirrels were found in two churches: the Kuopio Cathedral and the Kiihtelysvaara Church. Folklore accounts associate such practises with counter-magic against witchcraft (Hukantaival 2015). The collections also include two objects that comprise a wooden handle with bear claws attached to one end. According to the catalogue, these have been used to scrape away headaches (KM KF280; KF2243). Another object is the replica of a "fish god" (*kalajumala*): a crude human face made of birch bark, which has been used to protect a spawning structure for fish against the evil eye (KM K7876). There are also a few crosses made of kindling splinters that are meant to protect against the "night-hag" creature (*painajainen*).

As noted earlier, while magic objects are less common in Estonian museum collections, they are mentioned in other sources, such as in Estonian newspaper articles. These in particular describe objects in contexts where the material objects cannot end up in museum collections, like "molten silver" (possibly mercury) poured into the walls of barns to protect animals (Pärnumaa 1944). In these records we can find special witchcraft dolls (Moodne nõidus 1934) and more unusual natural objects – dried snake heads, wasp combs, toads, various insects, and other objects that were perceived as hazardous (Nõelussipeadega

1936; Õudne leid 1930). These records also mention more unique objects, which most probably only had meaning in this particular context and for these participants, like a "witch's horn / antler" used to harm other people (Mõndasugust 1884). Moreover, in folklore, foodstuffs that appear in unusual locations are mentioned as hazardous objects, like a ham hidden in a haystack or eggs placed in a pasture or at the entrance of a shed (EKLA, f 199, m 16a, 25/6; Ebausk 1940). Of the objects mentioned in the Estonian newspapers, snakes' heads, wasps' nests, and two glass vials that have contained mercury are also present in the Finnish object collections. Still, the vast corpus of Finnish folklore material depicts the use of numerous objects that have not ended up in the museum collections. These include, for example, human bones, nails and bodily fluids, horse skulls, dog skulls and canine teeth, cats' tails, milk, eggs, bread, almanacs, and hymnals (Hämäläinen 1920; Vuorela 1960; Ratia 2009; Hukantaival 2016). However, as mentioned, the folklore material is still largely unanalysed from the point of view of the materiality of magic.

DISCUSSION

The true understanding of the magic objects in Estonia and Finland requires placing them in their cultural contexts and worldviews in which reality was constructed differently from how it was done in westernized modernity (Stark 2006). While a thorough discussion on this aspect is beyond the scope of this paper, some remarks can be made. There is a reasoning in the choices of objects even though it might not be obvious to people of today. As noted, the majority of both Estonian and Finnish *materia magica* can be described as natural objects or everyday utensils, which are somehow special, either because of their curious appearance, the unusual location where they were recovered, or the special time when the artefacts were collected. Thus, the naturalness and everydayness of these objects is only superficial. Moreover, the Finnish material includes catalogue entries depicting rituals conducted when retrieving a natural object or manufacturing a magic artefact (Hukantaival forthcoming). Similarly, in Estonian folklore records various rituals accompanied the using of pebbles for healing practices, including the practices of retrieving as well as discarding these after use (Johanson 2018). These rituals also make the objects in question special and thus suitable for use in magical practices, compared with similar objects that had not been subject to such.

In general, the studied Finnish museum collections are more comprehensive than the Estonian ones. While Estonian narrative sources provide a broad range of various reasons for why and how magical practices were conducted and how

some material objects were used, the examples in the Estonian museum collections refer predominantly to healing magic. This is apparently due to the collecting policy but it sets certain limits on the further studies of magic. Despite the presence of a special collection of medical artefacts, magical practices were also conducted with objects located in other Estonian collections; for example, the jewellery collection holds silver brooches, which have been used to scrape silver from for curing purposes (Kuningas 2014). Due to that, it is difficult to quantify all magically used objects and potentially their number can be significantly increased with future in-depth studies of these museum collections.

While the difference in the volume and formation of the museum collections in the respective countries makes comparisons difficult, some general observations can be made. Thunderbolts occur in both countries in a fairly similar way, though with some nuances. The lack of fossils in the Finnish collections and their abundance in the Estonian ones may reflect a true difference that is in line with the differences in the geology of the nations. Unlike Estonia, fossils are rare in the Finnish Precambrian bedrock. Still, it is noteworthy that flint pebbles occur often as magic objects in Finland, although this mineral is not found locally. However, flint has been imported to Finland as a raw material and used in fire-making both in the prehistoric and historical (arriving, e.g., as ballast) periods (Costopoulos 2003; Terävä 2016: 147, 159). Perhaps this made the mineral more accessible than the fossils that were mostly introduced to the area accidentally in imported limestone (Terävä 2016: 147). For the time being, however, it is uncertain whether the absence of fossils in the Finnish magic collections truly reflects their absence in magical practices.

Another striking difference between the collections in the two countries is the emphasis on animals and especially the bear in the Finnish collections. Body parts of bears form a large proportion of all magic objects. The special relationship between Finns and the bear has been romanticized due to studies connecting the evidence of mythological beliefs surrounding the bear and the hunting rituals connected with it with an ancient pan-Finno-Ugric (even pan-Arctic) bear cult (Sarmela & Poom 1982). Thus, it is possible that the body parts of bears have attracted special interest during the collection process in Finland. It is remarkable that a similar idea of the bear cult has not influenced the collections in Estonia and the bear has no prominent position in Estonian narrative sources about magic either.

In Finland, the brown bear (*Ursus arctos*) was distributed throughout the country until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Due to intensive hunting, at the end of the nineteenth century, bears seemed to be extinct in most areas of Finland except in the north and in the east (Ermala 2003). In Estonia, as well, bears were found in large numbers all over the area until the end of

the eighteenth century, while intensive hunting during the nineteenth century significantly reduced the population (Kaal 1976: 333). Since the distribution of the animal (and the availability of its body parts due to hunting) was similar in the study areas, this aspect is unlikely to have caused the observed difference in the magic traditions. The bear may truly have had a special role in Finnish folk magic in contrast to the situation in Estonia, but there might also be some bias in this picture.

As seen above, folk magic was collected as culture believed to be in danger of disappearing or already having vanished from some regions. This was part of the view that folk culture was a static phenomenon and folk magic was largely inherited from a pre-Christian religion. This has resulted in a broadly used concept of folk religion that is disappearing together with the elderly generation. Such views were already established by the first scholars during the eighteenth-century Enlightenment and Romanticism and they have been repeated ever since. Folk culture was endangered in the changing modern world and while this change was welcomed, it was important to preserve the history of the people for future generations. The scholars of the time were interested in the distant "pagan" past that these objects represented and less in what they meant for the people using the objects at the time of the collection efforts. The idea of folk magic being static obscures its dynamism and the possibility of innovative practitioners of magic.

In both countries, folk traditions, including folk religion, were highly valued since the 1880s when folklore collecting was organized systematically. Still, the interest of particular collectors had a great impact, and this is likely to be the reason why *materia magica* in Estonian museums is so dominated by curing implements. The other forms of magic, on the other hand, are represented only in rare cases and perhaps were ignored as something low-valued. Thus, the *materia magica* in museums represents what was valued at the time and in the context of collecting objects. The whole picture of what people did in magic practices and what kind of objects were used is another story.

CONCLUSION

While there are many similarities between Estonian and Finnish culture, these neighbouring countries have their own histories that have shaped them in unique ways. Moreover, many aspects have contributed to the formation of the museum collections: the national romantic ideas of Finno-Ugric cultural roots, the histories of the museums themselves, the interests of individual collectors and curators, and, naturally, the willingness of people to share their heritage

with antiquities collectors. It may seem that the voice of the practitioners of magic became muted, but their view can still be found. The catalogue entries accompanying the objects often record how these objects were used and how they were found, manufactured, and treated. In future research, these could be complemented with use-wear or organic residue studies. Moreover, both Estonia and Finland have vast folklore collections that include accounts of magic practices. It is also interesting that folklore collections and the catalogue entries accompanying magic objects seem to correlate only partly. A multi-source method utilizing folklore, historic records, and object collections would have great potential in shedding some more light on the materiality of magic in both countries.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank Raila Kataja of the National Museum of Finland, Sanna Särkelä and Marja Pelanne of the Finnish Heritage Agency's Collections and Conservation Centre, and Riitta Kela of Museum Centre Vapriikki. We are also grateful to the staff of the various Estonian museums, especially the Estonian National Museum, in providing access to their collections. The language was revised by D. Freer. This study is funded by the Academy of Finland (314622) and the European Union through the European Regional Development Fund (Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies, TK 145) and research grant of the Estonian Literary Museum EKM 8-2/20/3.

NOTES

[1] These are called ethnological collections due to the local research tradition; however, ethnographical would be more correct.

[2] Runo-singers are people adept in performing poems in the vernacular Finnic poetic metre (the Kalevala-metre of Kalevalaic poetry) (see, e.g., Tarkka & Stepanova & Haapoja-Mäkelä 2018).

ABBREVIATIONS

AI – Archaeology collection at Tallinn University

AM – Estonian History Museum

EKLA – Estonian Cultural History Archives, Estonian Literary Museum

ENM – Estonian National Museum

ERA – Estonian Folklore Archives, Estonian Literary Museum

ERM – Collections at the Estonian National Museum

HM – Häme Museum collection at the Museum Centre Vapriikki, Tampere, Finland

KM – (Kansallismuseo) National Museum of Finland, Helsinki, Finland

PM – Järvamaa Museum, Estonia

PäMu – Pärnu Museum, Estonia

REFERENCES

Aaltonen, Esko 1933. *Jalmari Matiston museo ja kirjasto Humppilassa.* [The Museum and Library of Jalmari Matisto in Humppila.] Forssa: Forssan kirjapaino Oy.

Bolz, Martin 1914. Neolithische Steingeräte aus dem Pernau-Fellinschen Kreise und dessen Umgebung. *Sitzungsberichte der Altertumforschenden Gesellschaft zu Pernau*, Vol. 7. Pernau: L.W. Laakmann, pp. I–CXVI. Available at http://dspace.ut.ee/handle/10062/22596, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Boschung, Dietrich & Bremmer, Jan M. (eds.) 2015. *The Materiality of Magic*. Morphomata, Vol. 20. Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

Buch, Max 1897. Ueber den Tõnnis-cultus und andere Opfergebräuche der Esthen. *Vorgetragen in den Sitzungen der Gesellschaft den 18 jan. u. 15 febr. 1896*. Helsingfors: Druckerei der Finnischen Litteratur-Gesellscaft, pp. 1–8.

Costopoulos, Andre 2003. Prehistoric Flint Provenance in Finland: Reanalysis of Southern Data and Initial Results for the North. *Fennoscandia Archaeologica*, Vol. 20, pp. 41–54. Available at http://www.sarks.fi/fa/PDF/FA20_41.pdf, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Dégh, Linda 1986. Introduction: [Special Double Issue: The Comparative Method in Folklore]. *Journal of Folklore Research*, Vol. 23, No. 2/3, pp. 77–85.

Ebausk 1928 = Ebausk meie päevil. [Superstition Today.] *Sakala*, 8 March, p. 1. Available at https://dea.digar.ee/?a=d&d=sakalaew19280308.2.6&srpos=2&e=, last accessed on 6 February 2023.

Ebausk 1940 = Ebausk või halb nali. [Superstition or a Bad Joke.] *Meie Maa*, 14 June, p. 3. Available at https://dea.digar.ee/?a=d&d=meiemaaew19400614.1.3&e, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Ermala, Aslak 2003. A Survey of Large Predators in Finland during the 19th–20th Centuries. *Acta Zoologica Lituanica*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 15–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/13921657.2003.10512538.

Haavio, Martti 1942. *Suomalaiset kodinhaltiat.* [Finnish Household Guardian Spirits.] Helsinki: WSOY.

Haavio, Martti 1967. *Suomalainen mytologia.* [Finnish Mythology.] Helsinki: WSOY.

Hämäläinen, Albert 1920. *Ihmisruumiin substanssi suomalais-ugrilaisten kansojen taikuudessa: Taikapsykologinen tutkimus.* [The Substance of the Human Body in the Magic of Finno-Ugric Peoples: A Magic-Psychological Study.] Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia / Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XLVII. Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura.

Harva, Uno 1948. *Suomalaisten muinaisusko.* [The Ancient Religion of the Finns.] Helsinki: WSOY.

Hästesko, Frans Akseli 1910. *Länsisuomalaiset tautien loitsut.* [Western Finnish Decease Incantations.] Helsinki: SKS.

Hiiemäe, Reet 2012. *Kaitsemaagia eesti rahvausundis*. [Protective Magic in Estonian Folk Belief.] Tallinn: Pegasus.

Holmberg-Harva, Uno 1928. *Para: Vertaileva tutkimus.* [The Para: A Comparative Study.] Turku: University of Turku. Available at https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/teos/binding/1994416?page=1, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Holzmeyer, Jean Baptiste 1872. *Osiliana. Erinnerungen aus dem heidnischen Göttercultus und alte Gebräuche verschiedener Art, gesammelt under den Insel-Esten*. Dorpat: Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft, 7: 2. Available at https://dspace.ut.ee/handle/10062/77458, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Houlbrook, Ceri & Armitage, Natalie (eds.) 2015. *The Materiality of Magic: An Artifactual Investigation into Ritual Practices and Popular Beliefs*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Hukantaival, Sonja 2015. Frogs in Miniature Coffins from Churches in Finland: Folk Magic in Christian Holy Places. *Mirator,* Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 192–220. Available at http://www.glossa.fi/mirator/pdf/i-2015/frogsinminiaturecoffins.pdf, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Hukantaival, Sonja 2016. *"For a Witch Cannot Cross Such a Threshold!" – Building Concealment Traditions in Finland c. 1200–1950*. Archaeologia Medii Aevi Finlandiae XXIII. Turku: SKAS. Available at http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-952-67329-9-2, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Hukantaival, Sonja 2018. The Materiality of Finnish Folk Magic: Objects in the Collections of the National Museum of Finland. *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 183–198. https://doi.org/10.1080/17432200.2018.1443893.

Hukantaival, Sonja 2019. Ukonvaajojen monet kasvot: Luokittelu- ja tulkintakysymyksiä. [The Many Faces of Thunderbolts: Questions of Classification and Interpretation.] In: Janne Harjula & Visa Immonen & Juha Ruohonen (eds.) *Puukenkien kopinaa. Henrik Asplundin juhlakirja*. Karhunhammas 19. Turku: Arkeologia / Turun yliopisto, pp. 345–381.

Hukantaival, Sonja forthcoming. Tools of Magic – Ritual Handling and Human-Thing Entanglement in Finnish Folk Magic. Accepted for publication in *Material Religion*.

Issakainen, Tenka 2006. "Vainajien lapset": Taikaesineet ajassa. [The Children of the Deceased: Magic Objects in Time.] *Ennen ja nyt: Historian tietosanomat*, Vol. 6, No. 2. Available at https://journal.fi/ennenjanyt/issue/view/7708, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Issakainen, Tenka 2012. *Tavallista taikuutta: Tulkinta suomalaisten taikojen merkityksistä Mikko Koljosen osaamisen valossa.* [Ordinary Magic: An Interpretation of the Meanings of Finnish Magic Practices in the Light of the Expertise of Mikko Koljonen.] Annales Universitatis Turkuensis C 347. Turku: University of Turku. Available at https://www.utupub.fi/handle/10024/84792, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Johanson, Kristiina 2009. The Changing Meaning of 'Thunderbolts'. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Vol. 42, pp. 129–174. http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2009.42.johanson.

Johanson, Kristiina 2018. *Missing Interpretations: Natural and Residual Finds in Estonian Archaeological Collections*. Dissertationes archaeologiae Universitatis Tartuensis 8. Tartu: University of Tartu Press. Available at https://dspace.ut.ee/handle/10062/62834, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Johanson, Kristiina & Jonuks, Tõnno 2018. Are We Afraid of Magic? Magical Artifacts in Estonian Museums. *Material Religion: The Journal of Objects, Art and Belief*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 199–217. https://doi.org/10.1080/17432200.2018.1443894.

Jonuks, Tõnno & Friedenthal, Meelis 2020. Symbols in Stone – a Spindle Whorl, a Talisman or a Magical Object from Rattama Farm, South-Estonia. *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 121–132. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00794236.2020.1812288.

Jonuks, Tõnno & Johanson, Kristiina forthcoming. How to React to Magic? Behaviours and Strategies of Responding to Magical Practices in Estonia. In: L. Wilson & D. Moretti (eds.) *Witchcraft and Counter Witchcraft in Medieval, Early Modern and Modern Europe: Archaeological and Historical Approaches*. London: Palgrave.

Jung, Jaan 1879. *Eesti rahwa wanast usust, kombedest ja juttudest*. [About Estonians' Old Beliefs, Customs, and Stories.] Kodu-maalt 6. Tartu: H. Laakmann. Available at https://www.digar.ee/arhiiv/et/kollektsioonid/20760, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Jürjo, Indrek 2004. *Liivimaa valgustaja August Wilhelm Hupel 1737–1819*. [Livonian Enlightener August Wilhelm Hupel.] Tallinn: Riigiarhiiv.

Kaal, Mati 1976. Ecology, Protection and Prospect of Utilization of the Brown Bear in the Estonian S.S.R. *Bears: Their Biology and Management*, Vol. 3, pp. 303–306. https://doi.org/10.2307/3872778.

Kansallismuseo 1977 = *Kansallismuseo: Opas*. [National Museum: Guide.] 4th ed. Helsinki: Suomen kansallismuseo.

Kõiva, Mare 2011. *Eesti loitsud*. [Estonian Incantations.] Tallinn: Pegasus.

Kõiva, Mare 2017. Loitsud ja rahvaarstid Virumaal. [Healers and Charms in Virumaa.] *Mäetagused*, Vol. 67, pp. 141–180. http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/MT2017.67.koiva.

Kõiva, Mare 2019. *Eesti loitsud I. Arstimissõnad*. [Estonian Incantations: Healing Words.] Tartu: EKM Teaduskirjastus.

Kõivupuu, Marju 2004. *Rahvaarstid Võrumaalt: noor ja vana Suri Hargla kihelkonnast*. [Folk Healers from Võru County: Young and Old Suri from Hargla Parish.] Võru: Võro Instituut. Available at https://www.folklore.ee/pubte/rahvaarstid/, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Krohn, Julius 1875. *Kertomuksia Suomen historiasta. Pakanuuden aikakausi III: Muinais-suomalaisten uskonto*. [The Pagan Era III. The Religion of the Ancient Finns.] Tampere: Emil Hagelberg'in ja kump. kirjapaino.

Krohn, Kaarle 1915. *Suomalaisten runojen uskonto.* [The Religion of Finnish Folklore.] Suomen suvun uskonnot 1. Helsinki: SKS.

Krohn, Kaarle 1971. *Folklore Methodology: Formulated by Julius Krohn and Expanded by Nordic Researchers*. Transl. by Roger L. Welsch. Publications of the American Folklore Society. Bibliographical and Special Series 21. Austin & London: University of Texas Press.

Kuningas, Maire 2014. Ravimise ja nõidumise hõbepreesid. [Silver Brooches for Healing and Witchcraft.] *Horisont*, No. 1, pp. 6–7. Available at http://www.horisont.ee/arhiiv-2014/Horisont-1-2014.pdf, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Lehikoinen, Heikki 2009. *Ole siviä sikanen: Suomalaiset eläinuskomukset.* [Be a Virtuous Pig: Finnish Animal Beliefs.] Helsinki: Teos.

Loorits, Oskar 1932. *Eesti rahva usund*. [Estonian Folk Belief.] Tartu: Eesti Kirjanduse Seltsi Kirjastus.

Lukas, Liina & Kala, Tiina & Plath, Ulrike & Võsa, Aira & Friedenthal, Tiina-Erika & Friedenthal, Meelis & Jonuks, Tõnno & Põldvee, Aivar & Pärt, Irina & Leitane, Iveta & Põldsam, Anu & Ross, Kristiina & Neitsov-Mauer, Kristel & Beyer, Jürgen & Lotman, Piret & Daija, Pauls & Briežkalne, Sanita & Kolk, Kaspar & Jaago, Tiiu 2022. *Balti kirjakultuuri ajalugu II.* Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus.

Manninen, Ilmari 1933. Kansanomaisesta tautiopista ja taikaparannuksista. [About Folk Medicine and Magic Remedies.] In: E. Jutikkala (ed.) *Suomen Kulttuurihistoria I.* Jyväskylä: Gummerus, pp. 228–244.

Martsoo, Stella 2007. Ravimitest 18. ja 19. sajandi eestikeelses kalendrikirjanduses. [Medicine in the 18th- and 19th-Century Estonian Almanacs.] *Mäetagused*, Vol. 36, pp. 7–34. http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/MT2007.36.martsoo.

Metsvahi, Merili 2015. Estonian Werewolf History. In: Willem de Blecourt (ed.) *Werewolf Histories*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 206–227.

Mõndasugust 1884 = Mõndasugust. [Miscellaneous.] *Perno Postimees*, 31 August, p. 3. Available at https://dea.digar.ee/?a=is&oid=pernopostimees18840831&type=staticpdf&e, last accessed on 6 February 2023.

Moodne nõidus 1934 = "Moodne" nõidus Heimtalis. ["Modern" Witchcraft at Heimtali.] *Kaja*, 28 April, p. 4. Available at https://dea.digar.ee/?a=d&d=kaja19340428-1&e, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Mustonen, Oskar Andreas Ferdinand (ed.) 1936 [1885]. *Taikanuotta eli opas taikojen kerääjille.* [The Magic Seine Net or a Guide to Collectors of Magic.] 5th ed. Helsinki: SKS.

Nenonen, Marko 1993. "Envious Are All the People, Witches Watch at Every Gate": Finnish Witches and Witch Trials in the 17th Century. *Scandinavian Journal of History,* Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 77–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/03468759308579248.

Nõelussipeadega 1936 = Nõelussipeadega meest otsimas. [In Search of a Man with Viper's Heads.] *Päewaleht*, 19 March, p. 8. Available at https://dea.digar.ee/?a=is&oid=paevalehtew19360319&type=staticpdf&e, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Õudne leid 1930 = Õudne leid Visaku teel. [A Ghastly Find on Visaku Road.] *Sakala*, No. 29, 15 March, p. 3. Available at https://dea.digar.ee/?a=d&d=sakalaew19300315&e, last accessed on 6 February 2023.

Paar palwid 1888 = Paar palwid. [A Couple of Pleas.] *Olewik*, No. 12, 21 March, p. 1. Available at https://dea.digar.ee/?a=d&d=olewik18880321&e, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Parker, Adam & McKie, Stuart (eds.) 2018. *Material Approaches to Roman Magic: Occult Objects and Supernatural Substances*. TRAC Themes in Archaeology 2. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

Pärnumaa 1944 = Pärnumaa rahvatarkust. [Folk Wisdom from Pärnu County.] *Uus Elu*, 6 May, p. 4. Available at https://dea.digar.ee/?a=d&d=uuselu19440506&e, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Piela, Ulla 2011. Esineen taika. [The Magic of the Object.] In: A. Nieminen & P. J. Olsson & H. Ruotsala & K. Siivonen (eds.) *Aineen taikaa. Näkyvän ja näkymättömän kulttuurin jäljillä*. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 109–123.

Piisang, Helen & Tänav, Rutt 2007. Kuidas Põltsamaale muuseum asutati? [How Was a Museum Founded at Põltsamaa?] *Põltsamaa Muuseumi Toimetised*, No. 1, pp. 205–219.

Plath, Ulrike 2008. Euroopa viimased metslased: eestlased saksa koloniaaldiskursis 1770–1870. [Europe's Last Savages: Estonians in German Colonial Discourse 1770–1870.] In: R. Undusk (ed.) *Rahvuskultuur ja tema teised*. Collegium Litterarum 22. Tallinn: ETA Underi ja Tuglase Kirjanduskeskus, pp. 37–64.

Rantasalo, Aukusti Vilho 1956. Korpinkivi. [The Raven Stone.] *Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja*, Vol. 36, pp. 108–24.

Ratia, Katri 2009. *Taikojen väkevät ainekset: Tutkielma väestä ja sen ilmenemisestä esineissä ja materiaaleissa vanhassa pohjois-suomalaisessa taikaperinteessä*. [The Powerful Materials of Magic: A Study of *Väki* and Its Manifestation in Objects and Materials in the Old Northern Finnish Tradition.] Diss. (MA Thesis). University of Jyväskylä. Available at https://jyx.jyu.fi/dspace/bitstream/handle/123456789/45665/URN:NBN:fi:jyu-201504201621.pdf?sequence=1, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Reoli, K. 1964. Rahvameditsiin ja nõiaprotsessid Eestis. [Folk Medicine and Witchcraft Trials in Estonia.] *Nõukogude Eesti tervishoid*, No. 4, pp. 56–59.

Rider, Catherine 2015. Common Magic. In: D. J. Collins (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Magic and Witchcraft in the West: From Antiquity to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 303–331. https://doi.org/10.1017/CHO9781139043021.015.

Ruben, Aarne 2016. *Nõiaprotsessid Eestis*. [Witch Trials in Estonia.] Tallinn: Varrak.

Salminen, Timo 2009. Finland and Estonia in Each Other's Images of Prehistory: Building National Myths. *Estonian Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 3–20. https://doi.org/10.3176/arch.2009.1.01.

Sarmela, Matti & Poom, Ritva 1982. Death of the Bear: An Old Finnish Hunting Drama. *The Drama Review: TDR*, Vol. 26, No. 3, pp. 57–66. https://doi.org/10.2307/1145415.

Schroeder, Leopold v. 1906. *Germanische Elben und Götter: beim Estenvolke. Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, 153: 1. Wien: Alfred Hölder.

Sihvo, Pirkko 1977. Kansallismuseon kotimaisten kansatieteellisten kokoelmien syntyvaiheita. [The Birth of the National Ethnological Collections of the National Museum.] *Ethnologia Fennica*, Vol. 7, pp. 47–61.

Siikala, Anna-Leena 1994. *Suomalainen samanismi: Mielikuvien historiaa.* [Finnish Shamanism: A History of Mental Images.] Helsinki: SKS.

Sirelius, Uuno Taavi 1906. Muutamista suomalaisten taikakaluista. [About Some Finnish Magic Objects.] *Virittäjä*, Vol. 10, No. 3/4, pp. 33–40.

Sirelius, Uuno Taavi 1921. Varautuminen: Taika- ja varausneuvot. [Protection: Magic and Protective Means.] In: U. T. Sirelius (ed.) *Suomen kansanomaista kulttuuria. Esineellisen kansatieteen tuloksia II*. Helsinki: Otava, pp. 554–561.

Stark, Laura 2006. *The Magical Self: Body, Society and the Supernatural in Early Modern Rural Finland*. FF Communications 290. Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/298537563, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Stark, Laura 2007. Sorcerers and Their Social Context in 19th–20th Century Rural Finland. *Arv*, Vol. 63, pp. 7–29. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/329626820, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Talve, Ilmar 2004. *Eesti kultuurilugu: keskaja algusest Eesti iseseisvuseni*. [Estonian Cultural History: From the Beginning of Middle Ages until Estonian Independence.] Tartu: Ilmamaa.

Tarkka, Lotte & Stepanova, Eila & Haapoja-Mäkelä, Heidi 2018. The *Kalevala*'s Languages: Receptions, Myths, and Ideologies. *Journal of Finnish Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 1/2, pp. 15–45. http://dx.doi.org/10.5406/28315081.21.1.2.02.

Terävä, Elina 2016. Finds from Mankby: Everyday Life and Work in the Village with a Hint of Luxury. In: Janne Harjula & Maija Helamaa & Janne Haarala & Visa Immonen (eds.) *Mankby: A Deserted Medieval Village on the Coast of Southern Finland*. Archaeologia Medii Aevi Finlandiae XXII. Turku: SKAS, pp. 139–166.

Tirkkonen, Erik 2008. "Edistyköön, kasvakoon Hämeen museo kansanomaista tarkoitustaan silmälläpitäen!" Hämeen museon perustaminen ja sen toiminta 1904–1952. ["Let Häme Museum Proceed and Grow to Fulfil Its National Function!" Establishing the Häme Museum and Its Operation 1904–1952.] Diss. (MA Thesis). University of Tampere. Available at https://trepo.tuni.fi/handle/10024/80092, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Tirkkonen, Erik 2016. Kasvakoon, nouskoon Hämeen museo! – Itsenäisenä museona 1908–1969. [Let Häme Museum Grow and Rise! As an Independent Museum 1908–1969.] In: Ritva Palo-Oja (ed.) *Hämeen museon historia*. Tampere: Tampereen museot, pp. 17–119.

Toivo, Raisa Maria 2016. *Faith and Magic in Early Modern Finland*. Palgrave Historical Studies in Witchcraft and Magic. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Tupits, Ave 2009. *Käsitlusi rahvameditsiinist: mõiste kujunemine, kogumis- ja uurimistöö kulg Eestis 20. sajandil.* [Aspects on Folk Medicine: Development of the Definition, Data Collecting and Research in Estonia in the 20th Century.] Dissertationes Folkloristicae Universitatis Tartuensis 13. Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus. Available at https://dspace.ut.ee/handle/10062/14290, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Uuspuu, Villem 1937. Nõiaprotsesse Pärnu Maakohtu Arhiivist kuni 1642. [Witch Trials in the Archives of Pärnu County Court until 1642.] *Usuteadusline Ajakiri*, Vol. 9, No. 3/4, pp. 114–126. Available at https://usuteadus.ee/wp-content/uploads/usuteadusline%20ajakiri/usuteadusline_ajakiri_1937_IX_vihik_3_4.pdf, last accessed on 30 January 2023.

Vaitkevičius, Vykintas 2009. The Sacred Groves of the Balts: Lost History and Modern Research. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Vol. 42, pp. 81–94. http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2009.42.vaitkevicius.

Valk, Heiki 2004. Võre, sõel ja rist: võreripatsid ja nende tähendus. [Lettice, Cross and Sieve: Sieve-Shaped Pendants and Their Meaning.] In: M. Aun & A. Jürgenson (eds.) *Uurimusi Setumaa arheoloogiast, geograafiast, rahvakultuurist ja ajaloost. Setumaa kogumik 2.* Tallinn: Ajaloo Instituut ja MTÜ Arheoloogiakeskus, pp. 233–313.

Veidemann, Andra 1985. Rahvapärased arusaamad roosihaigusest ja selle ravimisest Eestis 19. sajandil ja 20. sajandi algul. [Folk Understandings of Erysipelas and Its Treatment in Estonia in the 19th Century and Beginning of the 20th Century.] In: A. Viires (ed.) *Eesti külaelu arengujooni.* Tallinn: ENSV Teaduste Akadeemia, pp. 130–152.

Vuorela, Toivo 1960. *Paha silmä suomalaisen perinteen valossa.* [The Evil Eye in the Finnish Tradition.] Helsinki: SKS.

Wilburn, Andrew T. 2012. *Materia Magica. The Archaeology of Magic in Roman Egypt, Cyprus, and Spain*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.233550.

Wilson, William A. 1976. The Evolutionary Premise in Folklore Theory and the "Finnish Method". *Western Folklore*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 241–249. https://doi.org/10.2307/1499304.

Sonja Hukantaival (PhD) specialises in the archaeology of folk religion in Finland. This paper is part of her post-doctoral project "The Materiality of Magic in Finland in a Long-Term Perspective: Developing the Archaeology of Folk Religion (2018–21)", funded by the Academy of Finland (SA-314622). The project was conducted at the Department of Nordic Folkloristics at the Åbo Akademi University in Turku, Finland.

sonja.hukantaival@abo.fi

Tõnno Jonuks (PhD), is Research Professor at the Department of Folkloristics of the Estonian Literary Museum, Estonia. He specialises in the materiality of religion and has conducted in-depth analysis of multiple objects from Estonian museums.

tonno.jonuks@folklore.ee

Kristiina Johanson (PhD) is an archaeologist at the University of Tartu, Estonia. She has studied different aspects of the materiality of folk religion and magic, more thoroughly the magical use of Stone Age artefacts and natural objects, such as pebbles and fossils.

kristiina.johanson@ut.ee

https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2023.88.kohonen

TRADITIONAL HEALING EXPECTATIONS IN LIGHT OF PLACEBO AND PERFORMANCE STUDIES

Siria Kohonen
Postdoctoral Researcher
University of Helsinki, Finland
siria.kohonen@helsinki.fi

Abstract: This article examines what expectations lay people (those not considered folk healers themselves) had for pre-industrial Finnish-Karelian healing traditions, how these expectations were represented in archived folklore materials, and how they, in turn, affected the healing traditions. The study represents a cross-disciplinary analysis of the subject, with theoretical perspectives drawn from performance studies, cognitive science memory studies, and placebo studies. Via a two-step analysis, this article examines the different meanings given to traditional healing methods and suggests that these methods increased the placebo effect in several ways, most importantly by fulfilling the general expectations for healing performances. The article also proposes that the placebo effect affected the way that lay people considered efficacious healing performances.

Keywords: ethno-medicine, Finnish-Karelian traditions, folklore, performance theory, placebo effect, schema-analysis

INTRODUCTION

In this article my aim is to study how individuals' expectations of healing rituals affect these rituals. Based on performance theories and placebo studies, I consider that expectations for healing rituals affect the way that people evaluate and experience their efficacy. According to performance studies, people tend to evaluate a performance as successful if it follows their general expectations (e.g., Bauman 2004: 9, 126–127), and according to placebo studies, a patient's expectations of treatments in turn affect the placebo effect, which also increases physical healing rates (e.g., Kirsch 1985; Brody 2010). I suggest that recollections and narratives about ritual traditions mirror these expectations, and that these expectations affect the practical healing performances as well.

As a case study, I analyse materials about Finnish-Karelian healing traditions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – more precisely, materials about the traditional healing of skin burns. The materials consist of recollections about healing methods and healing instructions, and they were collected and sent to the Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society between 1880 and 1939 from all over Finland and from several parts of Karelia.[1] My research questions are as follows: What were the general expectations of and understanding about traditional skin burn healing? How are these expectations represented in archived folklore materials? How did they affect healing traditions? I studied these questions via a two-step analysis. First, I conducted a quantitative analysis to determine the healing features that occurred most frequently in the research material. After that, I analysed the different qualitative aspects of these frequently occurring features.

This article functions as a complementary study to previous ones about Finnish-Karelian healing traditions (e.g., Naakka-Korhonen 1997; Piela 2003, 2005, 2006), magic and incantations (e.g., Siikala 2002; Stark 2006; Issakainen 2012; Tarkka 2013; Frog 2017), and the wider academic discussion about the relationship between archived folklore materials and historical folklore performances (e.g., Gunnell 2018; Wolf-Knuts 2020). The approach followed by placebo studies has been adopted to studies on historical healing traditions by, for instance, Olympia Panagiotidou (2016; 2022), and James McClenon (2002) has connected the placebo effect to the evolutionary origin of religions. As far as I am aware, the perspectives of placebo and performance studies have not been combined before.

A pre-industrial, early modern agricultural lifestyle maintained its dominance in many Finnish and Karelian provinces until the early twentieth century, and there were many areas in which people lived far away from hospitals or professional doctors. Thus, traditional healing practices and healers were valued in some regions even up to the 1930s (Stark 2006: 50–53). In most cases, when dealing with minor afflictions, people would use domestic methods of healing: in most households and neighbourhoods at least someone knew some measures, which might include massaging, bathing in the sauna, and using different ointments and herbs (Piela 2006: 291–293).

Verbal incantations and symbolic ritual actions were also important parts of the healing tradition. Lay people might have known a few of these methods, but most incantations and rituals were performed by traditional specialists, the *tietäjä*s (Siikala 2002: 76–79, 85–86; Tarkka 2013: 104–109). A *tietäjä* ("the one who knows" in Finnish and Karelian) was a traditional semi-professional sage or a ritual specialist in pre-industrial Finnish-Karelian cultures. Healing was the most important task of *tietäjä*s and, in addition to incantations, the *tietäjä*s

also used many similar healing methods as the lay people, for instance bathing in the sauna or using different ointments (Siikala 2002: 76–84; Piela 2005: 18–21). In this article, the traditional healing knowledge of the *tietäjä*s, and other studies about it, function as the information context for my analysis, but I will primarily concentrate on the knowledge and perspectives of the lay people.

Since my research perspective in this article concentrates on different processes of the human mind, my own analyses and interpretations of the research material are not likely to be similar to those that the informants themselves would have had about the healing traditions. The aim of this study is to complement the academic understanding of vernacular healing systems from an etic (versus emic) point of view.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Ritual, performance, and the schematic expectations of the audience

Rituals have been studied as performances by Stanley J. Tambiah (1985), Ronald L. Grimes (2006, 2014), and many other scholars. Generally, rituals represent a form of conventional behaviour – they are combinations of formal and structural enactments and words that condense cultural values and worldviews (see, e.g., Tambiah 1985). As performances, rituals designate specific roles for their participants, might have an audience, and are expected to achieve certain goals, such as status changes, luck in life, or improved health (Grimes 2006; 2014: 297–302; Schechner 2013 [2002]: 52–88).

Performances – rituals included – are "restored behaviours", that is, behaviours that are familiar, known, and have been witnessed earlier within their social contexts (Schechner 2013 [2002]: 28–30). The performers, the co-participants, and the audience always recognize performances as such, and they might evaluate how well the performance fits their previous conception of what comprises a (good) performance. Richard Bauman describes these evaluations as being made within the *frames* and *keys of performance*, such as special codes, figurative language, or appeals to tradition (Bauman 1984 [1977]: 7–24). Additionally, John Miles Foley uses the concept of the *performance arena* to describe the social and cultural frameworks associated with experiencing and interpreting a performance, the different semantic meanings ascribed to it, and the different verbal, sensate, and embodied aspects included in it (Foley 1995: 8, 47–49). However, (ritual) performances can also fail. The audience or the performers themselves judge the performance on the basis of their *expectations* of what comprises a successful performance – their understanding of

the performance arena, and what they consider a successful performance to be (Foley 1995: 49; Bauman 2004: 9, 126–127).

The expectations for these rituals are constructed through the memory processes of individuals. Their previous experiences and learned stories are used to construct *schematic understandings* of how these situations usually ought to go. Mental schemas are, analytically speaking, depositories of thinking and absorbed knowledge: they contain representations of different elements that occur in different events, entities, or environments. When an individual encounters a situation similar to their previous experiences, the relevant elements of that situation are activated in the individual's mind as they construct a schematic understanding involving a kind of "basic grammar rules" for that situation. However, schemas can undergo continuous changes through the effects of new experiences (see, e.g., Eysenck 2015 [2014]: 182–188).

Schematic understandings guide individuals as they interpret and act on different situations (ibid.). Schemas lead people to have previous expectations about what to expect in different situations: when one goes to a doctor, or to a traditional healer, is that person expected to wear a white coat, or not? If the majority of people in a society share a more or less similar schema, it forms a "cultural schema", which will guide socio-cultural expectations and interpretations about what comprises successful performances (Bernard 2011 [1988]: 439–443). Thus, it can be said that (cultural) schematic understandings form the basic rules for evaluating the success of healing rituals as well.

The cultural schemas associated with ritual and/or healing performances also include understandings of relevant traditions. In the cases of vernacular healing rituals, the expectations for performances are constructed within the frames of tradition: people recognize the healing performances generally because of these schemas, and additionally they recognize them as special and meaningful traditions (see, e.g., Bauman 2004: 8–10, 27–28). Performances following the frames of tradition acquire authority, and also activate several cultural-semiotic links: links to tradition might also include, for instance, moral stances or socio-cultural codes (Bauman 2004: 25–28; Koski 2008: 282; Tarkka 2013: 119).

The placebo effect and the influence of expectancies

Facing and fulfilling the socio-cultural schematic expectations increases the placebo effect in different healing processes, both in traditional and contemporary medicine. The *placebo effect* is a medical and psychobiological phenomenon in which mental stimuli lead to improved neural and physical responses in a patient's condition (Benedetti et al. 2005; Brody 2010). The term *placebo*

has many pejorative connotations, such as "fake medicine", and the "illusion effect", which have led to views that the placebo effect is something that should be avoided in contemporary medicine. However, modern placebo studies have shown that the placebo effect is an important part of almost all medical encounters (Brody 2010). The placebo effect causes responses in and activation of many of the neural areas that would be activated by the pharmacological treatments that the placebo mimics (Benedetti et al. 2005).

According to the research on placebos, the features that increase the placebo effect in healing include: 1) the fulfilment of the expectations that the patient has about the treatment; 2) positive conditioning; 3) the communication and provision of exact information for the patient about the treatment; and 4) the motivation for healing (Benedetti 2008; Kaptchuk 2011: 1855; Finniss et al. 2010). Howard Brody has also suggested a meaning model for placebo responses. He argues that the placebo effect may also activate when a patient feels that the healer or clinician listens to them, or when the patient receives an explanation for the illness that comports with their worldview, or when the patient feels that they can exert control over the illness (Brody 2010: 160–161). If these positive placebo accelerators are instead manifested in their negative forms – for instance, avoiding communication with the patient or highlighting the negative effects of the treatment – this might even enhance *nocebo*. The nocebo effect lowers the normal healing rate and might even lower the expected efficacy of intense painkillers, such as opioids (Amanzio et al. 2001).

Fulfilling a patient's expectations is the most studied aspect raising the placebo effect, although oftentimes the different types of influence cannot be properly distinguished from each other. Expectancy influences treatment results in ways similar to those that influence the success of performances. Thus, I will introduce more closely the effects of expectancy from the viewpoint of placebo studies.

Many placebo studies have provided evidence for how mental processing can increase the placebo effect. For instance, verbal cues can manipulate the patient's expectancy and mediate the placebo effect (Kirsch 1985; Finniss et al. 2010: 688). There is a clear difference in efficacy based on whether the clinician says the medicine is a sugar pill or a powerful painkiller.

Contextual cues, such as the appearance of the environment and the healer, can also be evaluated via expectations. Patients have a schematic understanding of how a treatment usually happens. In a modern context, a medical treatment usually involves a specific, conventional script and not much improvising: the doctors wear white coats and diagnostic instruments, the treatment room has a certain sterile look, and the interaction between the clinician and the patient involves certain questions and answers, gestures, and possibly methods of

touching (Colloca & Miller 2011: 1860). If these expectations are met, it usually increases the placebo effect; however, as noted above, violations might lower it, or might even trigger a nocebo.

A patient's prior experiences of illnesses, pain, or afflictions will affect his or her expectations about future illnesses and treatments (Colloca & Miller 2011). These prior experiences of successful healing situations do not need to be first-hand experiences, as placebo effects also occur in patients who have observed the benefits of the treatment in another person (Colloca & Benedetti 2009). In addition, the clinician-patient relationship also affects the placebo effect and expectations (Kaptchuk et al. 2008).

To conclude, an individual's former experiences, the verbal and contextual cues from the environment, and the framework of tradition all work together to construct mental schemas about afflictions or illnesses and their healing processes, and this schematic knowledge constitutes people's expectations of different healers, curing methods, and their efficacy. Schematic expectations are thus not only socio-cultural evaluation tools for making judgments about the success or failure of a healing performance. They also construct the fundamentals for a patient's mental processing, which in turn activates the placebo effect, and thus might influence the success or failure in dealing with a patient's physical health as well.

Both performance theories and placebo studies highlight the importance of expectancy in the success of healing performances. However, whereas the perspective of performance theories concentrates on interpretations of the success of (healing) performances, the perspective of placebo studies emphasizes the physical outcomes of healing performances – the improved healing rates.

RESEARCH MATERIAL

The research materials for this study were gathered from all over Finland and Karelia between 1880 and 1939, and they were deposited in the folklore archive of the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, SKS).

Before the 1880s, folklore collectors were mostly academic persons interested in poetic traditions, but during the 1880s lay people also started to collect materials about their own traditions, and these collections included prose narratives and reports on traditional practices as well (Stark 2006: 53). The first larger collections of ethno-medical traditions were also collected during that time. The most extensive collections of ethno-medical traditions gathered before the era of wider industrialization in Finland and Karelia were, however, collected during the 1930s. Between these decades, there were some periods

when folklore collecting was less intense, and thus, for instance, the collections from the 1920s are not very extensive compared to earlier or later decades.

The informants of this material were mostly lay people who had a general understanding of the healing tradition but were not specialists in those methods. Thus, the analysis of this article focuses on the perspectives of these lay people and their understandings about their own domestic healing practices as well as the healing performances of the *tietäjä*s. The research material consists of stories about healers and their methods, some personal recollections about illnesses and afflictions, and reports about domestic healing measures used in the past. Much of the material is presented in the form of healing instructions, but primarily they were recorded rather like responses to questions, such as "Do you remember what kind of healing procedures were usually done if someone burned their skin?", so the instructions were often a kind of recollection as well.

Several researchers have discussed in multiple ways how recollections and narratives relate to the events, practices, and performances they reflect (e.g., Tarkka 2013: 76–79; Gunnell 2018; Wolf-Knuts 2020: 116). The archived materials cannot be considered as the "original" folklore that people would perform for and within themselves; rather, the archive materials represent a kind of meta-commentary about folklore and traditional healing (see, e.g., Wolf-Knuts 2020: 116; Kohonen 2022: 31–33).

In cognitive memory studies, scholars have provided evidence that schematic aspects are better remembered than aspects that violate established schemas when people are asked to recall past events or scenarios (e.g., Brewer & Treyens 1981; Lampinen & Copeland & Neuschatz 2001). Based on what we know about schematic knowledge and its influences on memory processes (see previous sections), I believe that archival materials about folklore can be considered a special kind of pathway to understanding the folklore and traditional knowledge that people performed in their everyday lives. I consider that when interviewers asked about folklore and old traditions, the informants provided them with information that was *not exactly* their folklore, but was still something that *bore the same main schematic aspects* that were also present in folklore – with narratives and practical performances both included. Thus, in my analysis, I will concentrate on the general schematic features that are present in this research material.

Since the ethno-medical collections in the SKS archive are huge, and comprise tens of thousands of archive units, I have concentrated on materials concerning skin burn healing. This corpus of material consists of 573 archive units and was collected from approximately 500 informants. I chose skin burns because they represent an affliction that might be anything from harmless to deadly. All in all, the skin burn corpus is surprisingly diverse.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The first part of my analysis is built on a quantitative evaluation of the most frequent features mentioned in the research material. These include suggestions for specific medicines, ointments, ingredients for ointments, and instruments required in skin burn healing; instructions for specific enactments or recited words; mentions of special healers or specific contextual circumstances required in healing; and certain descriptions of the affliction itself. Inspired by H. Russell Bernard's anthropological schema analysis method (Bernard 2011 [1988]: 439–443), I treat the most frequently occurring features as parts of a culturally shared schematic understanding of skin burn healing.

Following this process, I found altogether 235 different features. I considered a feature frequent if it appeared in more than 20% of the entire research material, which resulted in five considerably frequent features. It is of course important to note that since the research material was not originally collected in any single standard way, but rather via different kinds of discussions between the informants and collectors, it is safe to assume that these five features did not come to people's minds in any one special context, but rather on several occasions.

The five most frequent features are as follows:

1) The healing requires ointments (61% of the material);
2) The healing requires recited words, for example, incantations (43%);
3) Similar-affects-similar concept used in healing (26%);
4) The affliction is called "the wraths of fire" (*tulen vihat* in Finnish and Karelian) (26%);
5) The healing requires symbolic repetitions three or nine times (21%).

Table 1. *The frequencies of the most common features in the research material, sorted by decade*

Decade	Quantity	**1)**	**2)**	**3)**	**4)**	**5)**
1880s	45 units	33 / 73.3%	23 / 51.1%	16 / 35.6%	12 / 26.7%	13 / 28.9%
1890s	73 units	48 / 65.8%	44 / 60.3%	25 / 34.2%	14 / 19.2%	19 / 26.0%
1900s	37 units	23 / 60.5%	32 / 84.2%	8 / 21.1%	8 / 21.1%	16 / 42.1%
1910s	46 units	33 / 71.7%	21 / 45.7%	7 / 15.2%	17 / 37.0%	9 / 19.6%
1920s	17 units	13 / 76.5%	1 / 5.9%	3 / 17.6%	1 / 5.9%	0 / 0%
1930s	355 units	197 / 55.5%	126 / 35.5%	91 / 25.6%	95 / 26.8%	62 / 17.5%
Altogether	**573 units**	**347 / 60.6%**	**247 / 43.1%**	**150 / 26.2%**	**147 / 25.7%**	**119 / 20.8%**

The first feature – that the healing requires ointments – points to the physical nature of skin burns that require physical treatments. Features 2, 3, and 5, however, suggest a need for more ritualistic and symbolic treatment methods. Feature 4 presents a vernacular understanding about certain skin burns as manifestations of fire's anger.

I have used the same research material and quantitative evaluation as used in this article in a previous study (Kohonen 2020).[2] In that study, I concentrated on analysing feature 4, the "wraths of fire" illness, and how these understandings mirror the human mind's intuitive thinking processes. Therefore, in this article I will concentrate on the other four schematic features.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: RITUAL EXPECTATIONS IN THE MATERIAL

The second part of my analysis involves a qualitative content analysis of the most frequent healing methods found in the quantitative analysis: the use of ointments or recited words, the similar-affects-similar concept, and the use of symbolic repetitions in skin burn healing. I will focus on each feature separately, and show how they are presented in the research material. By means of this analysis, I attempt to evaluate the idea of approaching the materials as schematic expectations, and to form a deeper view about each frequent feature, their different cultural meanings, possible psychological backgrounds, ways of reception, and possible relations to the placebo effect.

Ointments

> Burned skin should be moistened with cow's urine so it won't get blisters.
> Burns are also moistened with flax oil, which keeps the bandages from sticking to the wound, because its form is so greasy.
> Lamp oil is also used in anointing the burn spot, it does not let the blisters rise.
>
> *Palanutta ihoa kastellaan lehmän virtsassa niin se ei nouse rakoille.*
> *Palohaavaa voitellaan myös liina öljyllä joka pitää sen rasvaisen olonsa vuoksi sellaissa ettei siihen haavaan tartu kääreet.*
> *Lamppuöljyllä myös voijellaan palanutta kohtaa se ei anna nousta rakkoja.*
>
> (Example 1. SKS KRA. Pielavesi. Armas Nissinen, 53. 1936.)[3]

As domestic medicines, a burned spot was covered with syrup or cream, or one could also use this so-called salve of lead or calcium liniment from the Pharmacy.

Palaneen paikan päälle pantiin joko siirappia eli kermaa kotilääkkeenä, myös käytettiin Apteekista tuotua n.k. lyijysalvaa ja kalkkilinimenttiä.

(Example 2. SKS KRA. Lohja. Maria Österberg 274b. 1920.)

Ointment for burns was made by bringing sheep's dung to a boil in milk.

Tulenpolttaman voiteeks kiuhautettiin lampaan lantoo maijossa.

(Example 3. SKS KRA. Sonkajärvi. V. Kaukonen 1192. 1934. Jaakko Huttunen.)

Taking away the pain of burns
A piece of iron must be heated and put into milk. Then some charcoals of birch must be heated in the milk. The skin burn is anointed with it.

Palotuskat pois
Rauta pitää kuumentoo ja se pistee maitoon. Kuumentoo sittä koivun hiiliä maijossa. Sillä voijella palanut jäläki.

(Example 4. SKS KRA. Nilsiä. P. Ollikainen. 419. 1894. Pietari Myöhänen.)

Ointments were used in both domestic healing performances and in the healing performances of the *tietäjä*s but their importance is highlighted in domestic healing – probably because the *tietäjä*s had more special healing methods in addition to ointments (see, e.g., Siikala 2002: 76–84; Piela 2005: 18–21). The four examples presented above illustrate quite usual forms of using ointments in healing. The narrators instruct the listener to make an ointment for skin burns from different ingredients that are quite easily available in rural environments. The ingredients are comprised of common products such as oils, milk or cream, animal excrement, and in some cases ointments from pharmacies. However, it was quite rare that the ointment was comprised only of these products; instead, something was usually mixed into it, or the ointment was manipulated somehow.

In example 3, the narrator states that sheep excrement should be used in the ointment. Using cow, pig, or horse excrement are also quite common options in the research material.[4] Animal excrement was a very common ingredient for practices of magical harm, but sometimes it was used in beneficial magic as well (Issakainen 2012: 131–134). The magical efficacy of excrement has been considered to be based on its strong and repulsive scent (Kuusi 1985: 39) or its essential connection to the animals themselves (Issakainen 2012: 131–134). In addition, animal excrement was generally used as a fertilizer in agriculture, to grow and nurture new life. This nurturing feature of excrement may also have been in peoples' minds when they used it in healing.

The use of excrement in ethno-medical skin burn healing is strikingly common in the research material. In one or two reports the informants themselves display doubt in this method,[5] but dozens of mentions from different areas and decades suggest that this has been a trusted method in traditional healing. In a symbolic sense, people might have thought that the excrement drove away some magical threat from the burn, or that it nurtured new life and health.

In example 2, the narrator states that ointments from a pharmacy – for instance calcium liniment – were also good options for skin burns.[6] In the nineteenth-century Finland and Karelia, medical ingredients from pharmacies were common additions to traditional and domestic medicines. At that time lay people did not have much trust in educated doctors, but their medicines were more popular than their advice (Piela 2003: 315–318). Some people stated that it was easier to get some medicines from pharmacies or doctors than to make them at home, although that was also possible. Some also stated that the pharmacy medicines had magical healing powers (Issakainen 2012: 53–54).

Examples 1–4 present quite plausible options for healing skin burns in traditional ways. The ointments presented there are common in the research material, and probably anointing burns with anything non-harmful would have had some efficacy for the healing rate. Positive experiences with such ointments would have confirmed the schematic understandings that presented ointments as usual and efficacious healing products. Additionally, the symbolic aspects included in the ingredients connected them with the authority of tradition – the idea that the bygone people in the same culture have used these same methods for ages (e.g., Tarkka 2013: 119). The authority of tradition encouraged people to trust the established healing methods, and, hypothetically, this connection might have led to placebo effects as well, although it cannot be properly measured from this research material.

The next example also presents the use of some ointments. However, some details in the example might cause suspicion, at least for a contemporary reader.

> For burns, one must anoint them with salt water, for it takes away the pricking. It is good to anoint the burns with oil and heat them near fire, and they will heal well. Honeybee's nectar and fresh cream are good for healing burns. Wood oil must not be used in anointing the face, for it leaves scars on the face.
>
> *Palaneeseen pitää panna suolavettä se ottaa kirvelyksen pois. Palaneeseen on hyvä voidella öljyllä ja paahtaa tultavasten se paranee siitä hyvin. Palanetta on hyvä parantamaan Mehiläisen mesi ja nuori kerma. Puuöljyllä ei pidä voitella palaneita kasvoja kun se paranee se jättää arvet kasvoihin.*
>
> (Example 5. SKS KRA. Tuusula. Andersson, A. G. 354. 1901.)

It is most likely that, like the contemporary audience, people at that time also would have had some experiences with salt actually increasing the pain of wounds, and that more heat hurts a skin burn even more. However, salt was in fact a rather common ingredient in traditional healing ointments. In this research material, salt is mentioned as an ingredient for ointments in approximately 11% of the material considering ointments, and in approximately 7% of the whole material corpus. Salt was a valuable product, and it was something that came from outside the rural communities – it was something important in everyday life (for instance, in preserving food), but also something that was possibly hard to acquire. Thus, salt had symbolic meanings in addition to its price, and as a product of the "outside" world it was also considered to be a powerful and efficacious, even magical, product. Indeed, salt has been considered a magical ingredient in several traditions, all over the world (Vuorela 2019 [1960]: 54–55).

Heating a skin burn again is also something that would actually increase the pain of the burn. However, this method is rather common as well. I will concentrate on this more in the following section, "Similar affects similar". Nevertheless, in example 5, salt water and heating the burn are suggested side-by-side with using oils and cream, which represent the common ointment ingredients in the healing schema, as we saw in examples 1–4. Thus, although a contemporary reader might find these methods suspicious, most likely they would not have been considered as such in their own historical and cultural context. Without editorializing whether these methods would have been efficacious or not, I would rather observe that these methods fit in this healing schema – they represent the tradition that bore significant authority, and they included the general ideas about what had been used in healing and what might have been used again. Provided with the status of tradition, even somewhat peculiar healing methods might have increased the placebo effect, although this cannot actually be verified from this research material.

Incantations

The second most frequent healing feature in the research material is the use of recited words in healing. In this material corpus, this mostly means using Finnish-Karelian incantations that were presented in a poetic form and followed the Finnic tetrametre. Incantations were considered to be ritual tools – especially for *tietäjä*s – that could affect both this world and the transcendent otherworld (Siikala 2002: 71–79). Alongside the *tietäjä*s, many lay people also knew and used incantations in their everyday life, but these incantations were

somewhat different. The efficacy of the lay people's incantations was thought to be based on magical connections between words and their objects (Siikala 2002: 71–76; Tarkka 2013: 109–110), but the efficacy of *tietäjä*'s incantations was considered to be based on communication with the otherworld (Siikala 2002: 84–92; Tarkka 2013: 110–111). Certainly, some lay people had heard fragments of the *tietäjä*'s incantations, and they might have reported them to the folklore collectors.[7] However, what was their understanding of the incantations' efficacy, or more generally, what did they think was going on during an incantation ritual?

The incantations mentioned in this research material mostly represent instructions for incantations used by the lay people.[8] The following examples (examples 6 and 7) present two of them.[9]

Medicine for skin burns	*Lääke palohaavoihin*
One should put cold water in a cup, bring their mouth very close to the cup, and blow into the water and recite the following incantation as close to the water cup as possible, so the water will hear them.	*Tulee ottaa kylmää vettä kuppiin ja puhallella aivan lähellä suuta siihen veteen kupissa ja lukea seuraava loitsu niin lähellä sitä vesikuppia kun suinkin, että vesi kuulee.*
Iron the eldest brother,	*Rauta on vanhin veljeksistä,*
water the second.	*vesi toinen.*
Wipe away your hallow wrath,	*Pyyhi pois pyhät vihasi,*
into your golden cup,	*kultaiseen kuppiisi*
into your tiny goblet.	*pikkuiseen pikariisi.*
This should be recited three times, and a little of the water is given to the patient to drink, and the rest of the water should be used for anointing the sore.	*Tämä luetaan kolme kertaa ja annetaan juoda sairaalle ja lopulla vedellä valellaan kipeä paikka.*

(Example 6. SKS KRA. Pudasjärvi, Sotkajärvi. Lukkari, Olavi. KT213: 177. 1936.)[10]

The wraths of fire	*Tulen vihat*
Ugh, what am I seeing far away?	*Hyi, mikä kaukana näkyy?*
A cloud over there… etc.	*Pilvi kaukana… jne.*
(This is recited 9 times to the spirit or water that is used to anoint the burned spot.)	*(Luetaan 9 kert. viinaan tai veteen, jolla voidellaan tulen polttamaa paikkaa).*
Stirred with a knife.	*Weits. sekoitetaan.*

(Example 7. SKS KRA. Lammi. Alho, K. E. VK3:7. 1903.)

In example 6, the incantation consists of two parts. The first part considers the origin of iron and water ("Iron the eldest brother, water the second"). Similar verses sometimes also state that fire is the youngest or the middle brother.[11] Possibly, these words were presented to tame the healing water, for the words are explicitly recited to the water. On the other hand, some people might have believed that the water worked as a mediator between the incantation and the burn. Different beliefs might have been in parallel, or even contradictory. The second part of the incantation presents a command to heal ("Wipe away your hallow wrath, into your golden cup, into your tiny goblet").

The incantation in example 7 is a fragment of a longer one. Reporting only a part of an incantation to a folklore collector was rather common and, at the least, many *tietäjä*s were reluctant to reveal complete incantations to folklore collectors, as they usually thought that the incantation would lose its efficacy if revealed carelessly (Tarkka 2013: 109). The same way of thinking might also have been related to a reluctance to reveal lay incantations to folklore collectors, as they were usually people from an outside culture.

The incantation fragments presented here might also be parts of *tietäjä*'s incantations. However, in these two cases, the short form of the incantation (example 6) and the instructions for the performance point to magical efficacy rather than communication. In both examples, the narrators stress that the incantation must be recited three or nine times. This points to the idea that the efficacy of the incantation was somehow tied to the magical repetition of exact words, although the idea that the water could listen and act accordingly was also present, at least in example 6 ("the water will hear them"). I will consider the meaning of magical repetitions in more detail later in this article. In any case, the requirement of repetition points to the idea that the efficacy of the incantation lies in the magical mechanisms of repetitions and in the mystic power of spoken words. In cases of magically affective spoken words, a communicational and dialogical connection to the otherworld was not necessarily needed or sought (see, e.g., Tarkka 2013: 110).

However, some ideas related to the presence of the otherworld were also linked to the lay incantations. They too were *addressed* to the otherworld, though the connection was far more distant than in the communicational incantations of the *tietäjä*s. Furthermore, the cultural conception of serious skin burns pointed to the idea that fire was both intentional and personal, which connected fire and skin burns to the mystic otherworld and mythic thinking (see, e.g., Kohonen 2020). In fact, folklorist Frog proposes that lay people did believe that some kind of connection to the otherworld was made during an incantation ritual (at least when the lay people acted as an audience), although they might not have formed such a connection themselves in their own incantations (Frog

2017: 601). All in all, it is most likely that people's interpretations of the efficacy of incantations and the presence of the otherworld have varied. Different interpretations have probably appeared contemporaneously, overlapping and even contradicting each other.

Thirty-four material units of the total 248 units mentioning incantations (14%) represent recollections of past healing events.[12] In most of these cases, the narrator does not remember the incantation words very well, but only fragments of them, if at all. The following two examples (examples 8 and 9) represent these kinds of material units.

Skin burn
When the narrator was a child and had burned her skin, they usually went to "the smith of Kärpänen for he could incantate the ointment for burns". The smith took some cream and "recited the incantation for the wraths of fire to it". When the skin burn was anointed with the cream, the spot was healed.

Palohaava
Kun kertoja oli lapsena saanut palohaavan, mentiin tavallisesti "Kärpäse sepäll tulevvoijetta luettammaa." Seppä laittoi kermaa ja "luk tulevvihat sen kerma pääll". Kun sitten palanutta voideltiin kermalla, parani se kohta.

(Example 8. SKS KRA. Vuoksenranta. Aino Arponen E 114, s. 10–11. 1934.)

How Kust Ihalainen made an ointment for skin burns for one girl
The farmer Jussi Ihalainen said that once when he lived in Siikaniemi, his younger sister, who was a child, burned her arm on a hot pot of milk. They left to get some ointments for burns from Litmaniemi's Harju, where Kust Ihalainen was a tenant. Kust poured milk into a bowl and brought it to the pot, then stirred it with his knife and incantated, Jussi recalled. A verse that Kust repeated many times stayed in Jussi's mind. It was:
"Wrap the pains in your mittens,
all the pangs in your gloves."
It was a long incantation.

Miten Kust Ihalainen laittoi palaman voidetta eräälle tytölle
Maanvilj. Jussi Ihalainen kertoi että ennen Siikaniemellä asuttaessa poltti hänen nuorempi keskenkasvuinen sisarensa kätensä kuumassa maitopadassa. Hän lähti Litmaniemen Harjulle, jossa oli lampuotina Kust Ihalainen, saamaan palaman voiteita. Kust toi maitoa vadissa pataan liuksella, hämmenteli sitä veitsellään ja loihti, muisteli Jussi. Erään paikan, jota Kust usein toisti, sanoi Jussi jääneen mieleensä. Se kuului:
"Kiäri kivut kintaihis,
kaikki vaivat vanttuihis."
Se oli pitkä loitsu.

(Example 9. SKS KRA. Vehmersalmi. Räsänen, Otto. KRK118:224. 1935.)

In these examples, the narrators stress that the incantations were crucial parts of healing, but the words themselves do not play much of a role in these recollections. In example 8 the narrator does not mention the words at all, and in example 9 the narrator remembers only two lines of a long incantation. Some narrators also report that they could not hear the words of the incantations at all, because the healer recited them so quietly or unclearly. As so many other material units follow this same pattern,[13] it is likely that the patients and the lay people in general did not have much insight into what kind of incantations the *tietäjä*s presented, so they could not evaluate the actual words of the incantations, but rather concentrated on the healing performance in a more general sense.

Presenting an incantation in a healing situation also enhances the placebo effect. Reciting an incantation when applying an ointment seems to be a more efficacious healing method than using the ointment alone, as the patient feels that something more is done. In placebo studies, researchers have found evidence that elaborate procedures increase the placebo effect more than the use of placebo pills alone (e.g., De Craen et al. 2000; Kaptchuk 2002). This is likely similar to why performing an incantation while applying an ointment is probably more effective treatment. Additionally, the semantic content of the incantations activates extensive frames of cultural and traditional knowledge and meanings that charge the substances and actions of the ritual with performative and affective power. The healing attempts and the healer take on specific cultural meanings that function as explanations for the patient, and thus instil confidence in the healing situation.[14] Giving a meaning to a situation and experiencing control over it increase the results of placebo effects (Brody 1980; 2010: 160–162).

The essential level of understanding of healing incantations, and their efficacy, was probably similar between the *tietäjä*s and the lay people, although there were also differences. The knowledge of *tietäjä*s was much more detailed and deeper, and it is possible that the lay people may not have even considered how detailed and deep it was. Thus, I suggest that the understanding of the lay people was not only less detailed, but that they considered *tietäjä*s' incantations to be quite similar to their own incantations, which did not aim at establishing any communication and dialogue with the otherworld, but formed their link to the otherworld via magically affective words. The lay people understood that the *tietäjä*s had specific qualities[15] that enabled the performance of stronger incantations, but as they did not have much knowledge about the content of the *tietäjä*s' incantations, they might have guessed about them based on their own incantations.

The material units that mentioned incantations stress strongly that incantations were an important part of the healing schema and the authorized tradition. The patients expected an incantation performance, and living up to these expectations probably increased the placebo effect. However, the research material does not emphasize that certain kinds of incantations were more expected than others, either in lay or in the *tietäjä*s' incantations.

Similar affects similar

The idea of efficacy via similarity is well known all around the world. The Victorian era anthropologists, for instance James Frazer (1911 [1890]), introduced the concept of magical thinking, and they considered it to be a typical form of thinking for "primitive" people. The idea of magical effects via similarity has been linked to, for instance, the use of dolls and images, which represent living people, and different rituals in which people imitate their desired outcomes, as well as to Finnish-Karelian traditional healing methods. A common principle in this healing tradition is the idea of healing the patient with the same substance that hurt them.

However, modern cognitive psychology has found evidence that this kind of magical thinking is not limited only to people living in non-industrialized environments; rather, "magical" thinking is natural and common for all humans, regardless of culture or time. Magical thinking has been linked to heuristic and intuitive thinking, which are basic forms of thought for humans (e.g., Rozin & Nemeroff 1990; 2002). In the human mind, intuitive thinking presents fast, reaction-based, and automatic interpretations of newly encountered situations and phenomena, and after a little delay, the more conscious form of thinking – reflective thinking – either confirms, contradicts, or corrects the interpretations of the intuition (Kahneman & Frederick 2005; Evans & Frankish 2009).[16] Intuitive thinking often follows certain cognitive structures, with heuristics being one example. Heuristics provide rules-of-thumb and quick, generalized answers that explain many situations well enough – although in fact not very accurately (Tversky & Kahneman 1974; Gilovich & Griffin & Kahneman 2002). Thereby, the idea of magical effects via similarity represents a so-called *similarity heuristic*, which is a form of other, better known representativeness heuristic (Rozin & Nemeroff 2002).[17]

As a form of intuitive thinking, it is safe to assume that people considered healing methods following the similarity heuristic as familiar practices that came to their mind naturally and easily (Kohonen 2021). The following two examples represent the way the similarity heuristic appears in the research material.[18]

The wraths of fire will heal if one takes that white fuzz on top of the coals of an ember and puts that onto the wraths.

Tulen vihat paranoo kun otta hiiluksesta hiilijen piältä valkeeta nukko ja panno sitä vihohin.

(Example 10. SKS KRA. Juva. T. Pasanen 615. 1899. Akatta Takkinen.)

Erasing the wraths of fire
If a spot of someone's skin has burned, the wraths of fire will be erased by heating the burned spot three times, as close to the fire as one can bear.

Valkian-vihat pois
Valkian vihat saadaan pois jos joku paikka ihmisestä on palanut siten että palanutta kohtaa kuumennetaan tulen likellä kolme kertaa niin kuumaksi kun suinkin kärsii.

(Example 11. SKS KRA. Lehtimäki. Aaro Vallinmäki 493. 1912.)

These examples represent the idea of curing an injury with the element that caused the injury: healing skin burns with something that has burnt as well (example 10, the fuzz on top of coals), or healing by repeating the process of hurting (example 11, heating the burnt spot again). These can be considered primarily as representations of similarity heuristic and expressions of intuitive thinking. However, people might have had analytical reasons for these healing methods as well, and they might have had practical experience that these methods have clearly worked. For instance, if a skin burn occurred some time ago, and then became inflamed, heating it again (example 11) could work as a disinfecting act, which might reduce the inflammation (see, e.g., Hugo 1995: 200).

In example 10, the narrator instructs one to use the white fuzz on top of coals for healing skin burns. In this example, in which the fuzz is not mixed with anything else, the essential idea resembles that of similarity heuristic, but there may have been analytical reasons behind it as well. Ashes can be used to make lye and soap, which have cleaning and disinfecting effects (see, e.g., Naakka-Korhonen 1997: 216; Piela 2003: 315). The following example (example 12) presents a recollection in which a smith makes a kind of soap for healing.

Teacher K has said:
A smith took just ordinary pieces of sheep's poop and roasted them in a pot in the glow of forge. Then he ground them by the anvil and mixed them with sparks of a coal and cream. – He cooked this and incantated. –

Opett. K on kertonut:
Seppä otti tavallisia lampaan "papuja" ja paahtoi niitä padankappaleella ahjon hehkussa. Sitten hän jauhoi ne alasimella hienoksi ja sekoitti joukkoon hiilen kyventä ja kermaa. – Tätä hän keitti ja samalla loitsi. –

This turned into a yellowish salve, which was a cure for all burns. (The teacher had seen this when he was a boy, and nobody had seemed to care about the presence of the boy. The teacher's sister had had hot water poured on her chest, and the smith Pöykänen from Vesanta had made the medicine mentioned above.)

Tästä tuli kellertävää salvaa, joka oli parannusaineena kaikkiin palamiin. (Opett. oli nähnyt tämän poikasena ollessaan, pojan läsnäolosta ei nähtävästi välitetty. Opett:n sisaren rinnalle oli mennyt kuumaa vettä ja seppä Pöykänen Vesannalta oli tehnyt yllä m. lääkkeen.)

(Example 12. SKS KRA. Konnevesi. Kyllikki Sutinen 144. 1936.)

Ashes have also had symbolic meanings. Toivo Vuorela points out that ashes were used in preventing and curing the effects of the 'evil eye', as ashes were the product of all-purifying fire, and were thus purifying products themselves (Vuorela 2019 [1960]: 51–53). Therefore, ashes probably not only represented a similarity heuristic for these people, but also purification in a wider sense.

However, using heat or ashes is not the only way that similarity heuristic appears in the research material. The following examples (examples 13 and 14) show how the concept of similarity magic has been used in other ways as well.

The origin of burns
The origin of fire is familiar,
Merciless is the beloved of iron,
But I know the charm of fire etc.
If a human or animal burns themselves with water, soup, or the stove; one must take the same substance from the same place where the burning happened; and the same substance from two other similar places, and stir them into salt water or spirits, and sing the above origin words three times while stirring; and anoint the burned spot three times with this ointment.

Palon synty
Tuttava on tulen synty,
Armottomat rauan armat.
Vaan tunnen minä tulen lumoa jne.
Jos vedessä, keitossa tai tulisijassa joku ihminen tai eläin polttaa itsensä; niin otetaan samaa ainetta ja samasta paikasta jossa ja jolla palo tapahtui; sekä kahdesta muustakin saman laisesta aineesta ja paikasta ja sekoitetaan suolaveteen tai viinaan ja sekoittaessa lauletaan edellä olevaa syntyä kolme kertaa; sekä voidellaan sillä kolme kertaa palanutta kohtaa.

(Example 13. SKS KRA. Suomussalmi. L. Niiranen. 20. 1891.)

Healing of burns from sauna steam. If sauna steam has burned a spot, it will heal when one takes dirt from the chinks of the sauna benches and presses the burn with it.	*Löylyn polttama paranee. Jos löyly on polttanut jonkun paikan, niin paranee se, kun saunanlauteitten raoista ottaa likaa ja sillä painelee.*

(Example 14. SKS KRA. Nurmes. M. Nurmio 2110. 1891.)

The similarity heuristic is present in these examples, although the healing products are not directly associated with fire. In example 13, the narrator states explicitly that the same substance that has caused the burn must be used in the healing, even if the cause of the burn might have been, for instance, hot water. Additionally, example 14 proposes that if a patient has been burned by sauna steam, the cure comes from sauna as well.

Tenka Issakainen has discussed the similarity heuristic – or similarity magic – in Finnish context. She notes that the concept of similarity magic is inherent in many magical practices, but this does not absolutely determine how these charms should be interpreted, as different variations must be considered as well (Issakainen 2012: 91, 128–130). I argue that in this research material the similarity heuristic could be seen the same way as Issakainen suggests: as something that defines different healing methods, although they are not solely just manifestations of this heuristic. People might have reasoned that using ashes in healing simultaneously represented physical and symbolic purifying, and additionally this might have been felt to be a good method because of the intuitive tendency of similarity heuristic. These two aspects do not exclude each other.

I have proposed that healing methods following the conception of similarity magic have had both intuitive and analytical meanings. Some people might have reasoned that these healing methods had both intuitive and analytical explanations, and others might have emphasized some reasons over others. All in all, it seems like the concept of similar-affecting-similar was a familiar part of the healing tradition. It occurred in many different ways, but nonetheless in ways that people recognized as a part of their general, schematic understanding of the healing tradition.

Symbolic repetitions

Symbolic repetitions were present in many of the previous examples in this article (examples 6, 7, 11, 13). It is often stated that many practical methods must be repeated three times, or that an incantation must be recited thrice (see

examples 15 and 16). Additionally, in some instructions or recollections the ingredients for an ointment are gathered from three different places (example 16).

The wraths of fire	*Valkian vihat*
whence the flame flares	*mistä tuli loimoa*
from the sky the flame flares	*taivahasta tuli loimuaa*
where the flame flares	*mihinkä tuli loimuaa*
to the sea it flares.	*merehen se loimuaa.*
– These words had to be recited without breathing three times. One had to have flax oil into which to recite these words; in cases of such afflictions people came to our place, for that Mariuska could heal them; that is how she was usually called.	*– Nämä sanat piti lausua hengähtämättä kolme kertaa. Liinaöljyä piti olla, johon hän ylläolevat sanat lausui kun tuli sellaisia vahinkoja tultihin meille jotta Mariuska parantaa niin tavallisesti häntä sanottiin.*

(Example 15. SKS KRA. Kauhajoki. Ellen Leppimaa. KRK 182.39. 1935.)

A burn will heal when one takes dust from three fireplaces and mixes them with cream. Then one must blow on it 3 times and spit.	*Palanut paranee, kun kolmesta tulisijasta otetaan poroja ja pannaan poroihin kermaa. Sitten puhalletaan 3 kertaa ja syleksitään.*

(Example 16. SKS KRA. Maaninka. Pertti Korhonen 481. 1939.)

In this research material concerning skin burns, the ingredients collected from different places are in most cases connected to the similarity heuristic: ashes or coals from three different places (e.g., example 16), ashes of three or nine different kinds of woods, or similar substance that has burned from three different locations (e.g., example 13).[19] Tenka Issakainen argues that in many charms, repetitions three or nine times represent the variety of different substances as well as – or even more than – the power of the magical number three (Issakainen 2012: 151–153). Additionally, in many cases in which repetitions of three or nine are mentioned in this research material, the repetition concerns the performance. The incantation must be repeated three or nine times (e.g., examples 6, 7, and 15), or some enactment – for instance blowing, spitting, heating, or anointing – must be performed three or nine times (e.g., examples 11 and 16). In these cases, the repetition seems to emphasize the enactment and its value to the performance. One must pay attention to the repetitions because they are considered to transmit the efficacy of the healing ritual.

The value of symbolic repetitions in rituals has been noted in many studies, and their importance seems to be cross-cultural (see, e.g., Lease 1919; Dundes

1980 [1968]). Additionally, in recent ritual studies, scholars have found evidence that people in different cultures believe that repetitions of procedures increase or mediate the efficacy of a ritual (Legare & Souza 2012). Furthermore, repetitions of specific enactments have been considered as one of the aspects that are linked to the relieving effects of rituals: when people perform rituals in stressful situations, their concentration turns away from the stressful event and towards the correct performance of the ritual, especially so if the performance requires detailed enactments (Boyer & Liénard 2006).

Repetitions have been connected to the placebo effect as well. Healing rates are higher if a patient receives placebo treatment four times a day rather than twice a day (De Craen et al. 1999). This refers to a different kind of repetition – repetitions that are not conducted right away after the previous procedure, but after a little delay. However, in both kinds of repetitions, the repeating is connected to learning and absorbing ideas. People trust repeated information more than new information (e.g., Corneille & Mierop & Unkelbach 2020).

With these arguments in mind, I propose that symbolic repetitions were rather common in traditional Finnish-Karelian skin burn healing because of their psychological properties. Repeating an incantation or an enactment a certain number of times reinforced the belief that the incantation would work, and this had relieving effects. As was the case with the similarity heuristic, the psychological easiness of these ideas probably affected their popularity, but this is not the sole reason why these ideas increase the placebo effect and later evaluations of a performance's success. Their involvement in healing rituals is considered necessary because people have become used to their presence in rituals. I suggest that they were incorporated into these rituals in the first place because of their psychological easiness, but that they later acquired their importance and authority in rituals and traditions through their continued renewal. Thus, people began to consider them to be crucial parts of rituals – as expected parts of the healing ritual schema and tradition, and something that had been performed for generations in their culture.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study, I have attempted to illustrate the general understanding of skin burn healing in pre-industrial Finland and Karelia. What were the most common features of the healing schemas of that time, and why were they significant? Why were they mentioned in healing instructions and recollections? How were they connected to the placebo effect?

The four most frequent healing features in the research material can be convincingly argued to form the general skin burn healing schema, and represent the general expectations for skin burn healing in this socio-cultural context. Building on several previous studies on Finnish-Karelian incantations, charms, and worldview, I found different ways to contextualize these healing features within their social, cultural, and environmental contexts and general worldview. It seems clear that people were familiar with these healing features, and that they had certain expectations of their roles in healing performances. People considered these healing features to be traditional, and thus they trusted their authority and significance (see, e.g., Bauman 2004: 27–28; Tarkka 2013: 119). Their status as tradition enhanced their continuity in Finnish and Karelian healing contexts; however, the placebo effect might have consolidated their status and traditionalization processes as well. The research materials of this study do not state objectively whether the placebo effect occurred or not while using these healing methods. Nevertheless, my analysis proposes a hypothesis that the placebo effect occurred at some level because the analysed healing features are connected to several aspects that are known to increase the placebo effect, most importantly schematic expectations (see, e.g., Kirsch 1985; Brody 2010; Finniss et al. 2010).

Two of the features – the similar-affects-similar concept and symbolic repetitions – could be seen as psychologically easy ideas that arise from the intuitive thinking systems characteristic of human cognition. They come to people's minds very easily, and are tempting trains of thought. As a result, they have spread widely and have been manifested in different ways suitable to this socio-cultural context. When established as crucial or typical parts in a ritual healing schema, they also become important identifiers of traditional and ritual authority and the efficacy of ritual performances. These examples represent the ways that the tendencies of the human mind might have strengthened the traditionalization processes of certain customs.

I have also identified factors other than expectancy, which have possibly strengthened the placebo effect in Finnish-Karelian skin burn healing. Ritualistic and elaborate procedures increase the placebo effect as well (e.g., De Craen et al. 1999, 2000; Kaptchuk 2002), and at least incantations and symbolic repetitions also fall into this category. Additionally, performing incantations might have served as a placebo stimulus in itself because incantations provide a culturally coherent explanation for an illness or injury and its treatment (see, e.g., Brody 1980; 2010: 161). Perhaps these features have gained their wide distribution in the healing tradition partly because they enhance the placebo effect, although this suggestion is difficult to verify.

Howard Brody concluded that a patient must be provided with an explanation for an illness and treatment that fits their general worldview (Brody 2010: 161). In the case of Finnish-Karelian healing incantations, it seems that the patients (and the lay people generally) also somehow modified the explanations provided by the healers. The *tietäjä*'s incantations usually included some kind of dialogue with the otherworld, and the efficacy of the incantation was considered to rely on these relations – at least for the *tietäjä*s themselves (Siikala 2002: 73–92). However, in my analysis, it seems that the lay people might have understood the efficacy of the *tietäjä*'s incantations a little differently, in a way that was more reliant on the magical efficacy of the words themselves – just as the shorter "lay incantations" were. It seems that there were (at least) two cultural schemas associated with the efficacy of healing incantations: that of the *tietäjä*s, and that of the lay people. However, they were not extremely different from each other.

What cannot be determined from this research material is how well the patients felt listened to, or taken care of. Most likely, the relationship between a healer and a patient in a healing performance was still much closer than it usually is in contemporary hospitals, where a doctor might order some pills for a patient, but nurses administer the medicine, and clinicians do not have much time to discuss matters with patients (see, e.g., Piela 2005). Interpersonal relations also affect the placebo effect (e.g., Kaptchuk et al. 2008; Miller & Colloca & Kaptchuk 2009), and most likely they have had beneficial effects on traditional healing performances.

Furthermore, in this article I have analysed the different symbolic and cultural meanings that defined certain special healing ingredients and procedures – most importantly the symbolic meanings given to animal excrement, salt, ash, and repetitions of procedures or ingredients in medicines. In the cases of ash and repetitions, the symbolic meanings are intertwined with mental processes that emphasize their value. In the cases of animal excrement and salt, however, their different symbolic meanings seem to have had such a traditional value that they were integrated into the cultural healing schema due to that position.

Oftentimes in folklore studies, scholars argue that archived folklore materials somehow mirror the performances, events, traditions, and cultures they reflect – not necessarily in an exact way, but nevertheless in some way, and thus they can be used as research materials when investigating past traditions (e.g., Dundes 2007 [1969]; Gunnell 2018: 109). However, I do not think that archived materials *only* mirror the past traditions. When considering schematic aspects contained in archived folklore materials, such as in this research material, these schematic aspects might also have been *mirrored* in the past traditions; that is,

schematic knowledge involved in, for instance, healing traditions might have affected the actual healing performances.

The schematic knowledge about healers and healing rituals affected the audience's understanding of this tradition. The lay people had certain expectations when they encountered traditional healing – expectations influenced by their own previous experiences as well as stories they had heard from others. Consequently, if the healers were aware of these expectations and the healing schemas of the lay people, and if they performed their practices accordingly, this most probably increased the placebo effect, which usually leads to better results in healing processes. This – perhaps unconscious – notion might have given some extra encouragement for the healers to perform according to these expectations, in addition to the encouragement provided by the authority of tradition.

Thus, the influential relationship between the healing performances and the stories about them had effects in both directions: the schematic knowledge about healers and healing mirrored the actual events, but it affected the enactments of the healers as well. They were in an ongoing interaction with each other.

The aim of this article was to study the schematic expectations associated with the pre-industrial Finnish-Karelian healing tradition, how these expectations were represented in archived folklore materials, and how they affected the healing tradition. I conducted the analysis within the frameworks of performance theories, placebo studies, and cognitive science theories about memory schemas. The analysis suggested that schematic features related to skin burn healing had several ways to enhance the placebo effect – and being a part of the traditional customs, general healing schema, and expectations were perhaps the most influential aspects in this sense. This study acts as an example of a multi-disciplinary analysis that could benefit the field of folklore studies and archival studies in further research projects as well. Studying the mental processes of the human mind helps us in our studies of historical as well as contemporary people, in exploring their mental worlds and the representations of those worlds in folklore.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My work during this study was funded by the Finnish Cultural Foundation (2019), the Emil Aaltonen Foundation (2020–2021), the Alfred Kordelin Foundation (2021), and the research project "Materiality, Verbal Art, Mythic Knowledge and the Lived Environment" funded by Kone Foundation (2022). I would like to give my sincere thanks for my dissertation supervisors Professor Lotte Tarkka,

Docent Kaarina Koski and Docent Risto Uro for their support and comments. I would also like to thank Professor Terry Gunnell and Senior Lecturer Neill Martin for their comments on the manuscript during Folklore Fellows Summer School 2021. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewers. Finally, this study would not have been conducted without the inspiring conversations with my colleagues in the Network Meeting of the NNCSR in Stockholm in 2019, and in the Folklore Studies Research Seminar at the University of Helsinki.

NOTES

[1] The Finnish and Karelian cultures are neighbouring cultures that have been in close relation with each other, and thus many features in their vernacular healing traditions were shared. Most of my research material (435 archive units out of 573) was collected from different parts of Finland, where Finnish was the main language and Lutheran Christianity was the official religion. Finland proclaimed its independence in 1917, but the eastern border moved a couple of times before the 1940s. Karelia is an area that is situated partly in Eastern Finland and partly outside Finland's borders. The research material for this article that was collected from Karelian provinces comprises altogether 139 archival units. The languages that were spoken in Karelia were Karelian, Finnish, and Russian, depending on the area, and the official religions were Orthodox and Lutheran Christianity.

[2] In the previous study, also some materials from Finnmark and the Swedish side of Länsipohja were included in the material corpus. I have not included them in this article, because these materials might have been associated more with Sámi and Scandinavian cultures than with Finnish cultures, although the materials were written and archived in Finnish. The excluded materials totalled altogether 22 archival units, and thus the statistics were a bit different in the previous article, although not by much. The most frequent features remain the same in both sets of statistics.

[3] The codes after each example provide information of how to detect them in the Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society. The order of the codes is the following: 1. Shortened name of the archive (in Finnish); 2. Municipality where the note was written down; 3. Name of the collector; 4. Number of the note in this collector's collections. Sometimes there is a code with letters and numbers, and this means that this note is a part of a larger collection (for instance KRK-collection is a Kalevala Jubilee Year's Collection (Kalevalan Riemuvuoden Keräys). 5. Archiving year; 6. Name of the informant. This is not given in many notes.

[4] Approximately 10% of the whole material mentions that animal excrement could be used in skin burn healing, and these suggestions come from all around the studied area and throughout the whole collection period. For other examples, see, for instance, SKS KRA. Perniö. Hjorth, G. E. 122. 1887; SKS KRA. Laihia. Brandt, Herman 833. 1891; SKS KRA. Kangasniemi. Oskari Kuitunen 996. 1927.

[5] Especially SKS KRA. Perho. Samuli Paulaharju 21443. 1933. The informant ends his report with the words: "Those curing methods were nothing to fuss about" (In Finnish: "Ei ne niin kakkosia ole ne parannukset").

[6] For other similar examples, see, for instance, SKS KRA. Ruovesi. Vilho Saariluoma 3651b. 1919; SKS KRA. Nousiainen. Leivo, Frans 2615. 1937.

[7] For instance, SKS KRA. Juva, Purhola. Kärkkäinen, V. J. 3. 1899; SKS KRA. Uhtua, Ievala Iivari 0202. 1930; SKS KRA. Koivisto. Ulla Mannonen 4901. 1937.

[8] 207 material units out of 248 units mentioning incantations (83%) are presented as instructions. 6 units of these 207 resemble longer and more communicative incantations.

[9] For similar examples see SKS KRA. Joroinen. Aleks Rytkönen 98. 1888; SKS KRA. Sahalahti. Äijälä, Emilia. VK115:90. 1896; SKS KRA. Kurikka. Samuli Paulaharju 2631. 1907; SKS KRA. Somerniemi. E. Vihervaara 631. 1910; SKS KRA. Nurmes. Lasanen Pekka KRK163:981. 1935; SKS KRA. Taivalkoski. Matti Tienari 942. 1939.

[10] I have separated the lines of the incantation from each other, but they are not separated in the original archive text. I have made similar separations of the lines in some of the other examples as well (examples 9 and 15).

[11] For instance, SKVR I4 137; SKVR I4 333; SKVR VI1 3195; SKVR VI1 3228; SKVR VII3 loitsut 619; SKVR VII3 loitsut 679; SKVR IX2 442; SKVR XII1 3556; SKVR XIII3 8717. These words are also parts of the aphoristic tradition (Tarkka 2013: 229).

[12] 3% of the material units mentioning incantations are not explicitly instructions or recollections, but their form is more unclear.

[13] For instance, SKS KRA. Tervola. Väinö Salminen 298. 1904; SKS KRA. Hyrynsalmi. Samuli Paulaharju 20012. 1932; SKS KRA. Kittilä. Samuli Paulaharju 20027. 1932; SKS KRA. Perho. Samuli Paulaharju 21462. 1933; SKS KRA. Konnevesi. Kyllikki Sutinen 144. 1936; SKS KRA. Tampere, Halttunen, Iida KT16:152. 1936.

[14] Tarkka (2013: 172–179) has also concluded that other poetic representations of healers, such as epic stories about mythic healing events, establish a healer's authority and trust in their traditional practices.

[15] *Tietäjä*s were thought to have a strong *luonto*, a special character that brought them power (Stark 2006: 262–266).

[16] For more on the *dual-process theory* see, e.g., Tversky and Kahneman 1974; Kahneman and Frederick 2005; Evans and Frankish 2009).

[17] According to representativeness heuristic, phenomena that appear close to each other or have significant categorical similarities would affect each other (see, e.g., Kahneman & Frederick 2002).

[18] For similar examples see, for instance, SKS KRA. Ii. Samuli Paulaharju 6613. 1917; SKS KRA. Pöytyä. Eemil Vihervaara 5043h. 1919; SKS KRA. Vuolijoki. Samuli Paulaharju 20015. 1932; SKS KRA. Nilsiä. Kaukonen, Väinö 500. 1933.

[19] The three exceptions in the research material are 1) three different kinds of rust from brass objects (SKS KRA. Rautavaara. Ollikainen, P. 306. 1894), 2) nine different ingredients from a graveyard (SKS KRA. Rautavaara. Lyyli Karhu 619. 1936), and 3) three ears of rye (SKS KRA. Koivisto. Ulla Mannonen 4910. 1937).

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

SKS KRA – Folklore Archive of the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran arkisto, perinteen ja nykykulttuurin kokoelma), Ethno-Medicine Catalogue (Kansanlääkintäkortisto).

SKVR: The Ancient Poems of Finnic People (Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot), available at https://skvr.fi/.

REFERENCES

Amanzio, Martina & Pollo, Antonella & Maggi, Giuliano & Benedetti, Fabrizio 2001. Response Variability to Analgesics: A Role for Non-Specific Activation of Endogenous Opioids. *Pain*, Vol. 90, No. 3, pp. 205–215. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0304-3959(00)00486-3.

Bauman, Richard 1984 [1977]. *Verbal Art as Performance*. With supplementary essays by Barbara A. Babcock [and others]. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.

Bauman, Richard 2004. *A World of Others' Words. Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Intertextuality*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Benedetti, Fabrizio 2008. *Placebo Effects: Understanding the Mechanisms in Health and Disease*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Benedetti, Fabrizio & Mayberg, Helen S. & Wager, Tor D. & Stohler, Christian S. & Zubieta, Jon-Kar 2005. Neurobiological Mechanisms of the Placebo Effect. *Journal of Neuroscience*, Vol. 25, No. 45, pp. 10390–10402. http://dx.doi.org/10.1523/JNEUROSCI.3458-05.2005.

Bernard, H. Russell 2011 [1988]. *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 5th ed. Lanham: AltaMira.

Boyer, Pascal & Liénard, Pierre 2006. Why Ritualized Behavior? Precaution Systems and Action Parsing in Developmental, Pathological and Cultural Rituals. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, Vol. 29, No. 6, pp. 595–613. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0140525X06009332.

Brewer, William F. & Treyens, James C. 1981. Role of Schemata in Memory for Places. *Cognitive Psychology*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 207–230. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0010-0285(81)90008-6.

Brody, Howard 1980. *Placebos and the Philosophy of Medicine: Clinical, Conceptual, and Ethical Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brody, Howard 2010. Ritual, Medicine, and the Placebo Response. In: William S. Sax & Johannes Quack & Jan Weinhold (eds.) *The Problem of Ritual Efficacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 151–167.

Colloca, Luana & Benedetti, Fabrizio 2009. Placebo Analgesia Induced by Social Observational Learning. *Pain*, Vol. 144, No. 1, pp. 28–34. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pain.2009.01.033.

Colloca, Luana & Miller, Franklin G. 2011. How Placebo Responses Are Formed: A Learning Perspective. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, Vol. 366, No. 1572, pp. 1859–1869. http://dx.doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0398.

Corneille, Olivier & Mierop, Adrien & Unkelbach, Christian 2020. Repetition Increases Both Perceived Truth and Fakeness of Information: An Ecological Account. *Cognition*, Vol. 205, article 104470. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2020.104470.

De Craen, Anton J. M. & Moerman, Daniel E. & Heisterkamp, Simon H. & Tytgat, Guido N. J. & Tijssen, Jan G. P. & Kleijnen, Jos 1999. Placebo Effect in the Treatment of Duodenal Ulcer. *British Journal of Clinical Pharmacology*, Vol. 48, No. 6, pp. 853–860. http://dx.doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2125.1999.00094.x.

De Craen, Anton J. M. & Tijssen, Jan G. P. & de Gans, Jan & Kleijnen, Jos 2000. Placebo Effect in the Acute Treatment of Migraine: Subcutaneous Placebos Are Better than Oral Placebos. *Journal of Neurology*, Vol. 247, pp. 183–188. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s004150050560.

Dundes, Alan 1980 [1968]. The Number Three in American Culture. In: Alan Dundes. *Interpreting Folklore*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 134–159. Available at https://archive.org/details/interpretingfolk0000dund, last accessed on 7 February 2023.

Dundes, Alan 2007 [1969]. Folklore as a Mirror of Culture. In: Alan Dundes. *The Meaning of Folklore: The Analytical Essays of Alan Dundes.* Edited and Introduced by Simon J. Bronner. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, pp. 53–66. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt4cgrzn.6.

Evans, Jonathan St. B. T. & Frankish, Keith (eds.) 2009. *In Two Minds: Dual Process and Beyond*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Eysenck, Michael W. 2015 [2014]. Semantic Memory and Stored Knowledge. In: Alan Baddley & Michael W. Eysenck & Michael C. Anderson (eds.) *Memory.* 2nd edition. New York: Psychology Press, pp. 165–193.

Finniss, Damien G. & Kaptchuk, Ted J. & Miller, Franklin & Benedetti, Fabrizio 2010. Biological, Clinical, and Ethical Advances of Placebo Effects. *Lancet*, Vol. 375, No. 9715, pp. 686–695. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(09)61706-2.

Foley, John Miles 1995. *The Singer of Tales in Performance*. Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Frazer, James George 1911 [1890]. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. *Part 1: The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings. Vol. 1.* 3rd edition. London: MacMillan and Co., Limited.

Frog 2017. Multimedial Parallelism in Ritual Performance (Parallelism Dynamics II). *Oral Tradition*, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 583–620. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/ort.2017.0022.

Gilovich, Thomas & Griffin, Dale & Kahneman, Daniel (eds.) 2002. *Heuristics and Biases: The Psychology of Intuitive Judgement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grimes, Ronald L. 2006. Performance. In: Jens Kreinath & Jan Snoek & Michael Stausberg (eds.) *Theorizing Ritual. Vol. 1. Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 379–394.

Grimes, Ronald L. 2014. *The Craft of Ritual Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gunnell, Terry 2018. Performance Studies. In: Jürg Glauser & Pernille Hermann & Stephen A. Mitchell (eds.) *Handbook of Pre-Modern Nordic Memory Studies*. Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter, pp. 107–119.

Hugo, W. B. 1995. A Brief History of Heat, Chemical and Radiation Preservation and Disinfection. *International Biodeterioration & Biodegradation*, Vol. 36, No. 3/4, pp. 197–217. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/0964-8305(95)00055-0.

Issakainen, Tenka 2012. *Tavallista taikuutta: Tulkinta suomalaisten taikojen merkityksistä Mikko Koljosen osaamisen valossa*. [Ordinary Magic: An Interpretation of the Meanings of Finnish Magical Measures in the Light of the Expertise of Mikko Koljonen.] Diss. (PhD Thesis). University of Turku. Available at https://www.utupub.fi/handle/10024/84792, last accessed on 8 February 2023.

Kahneman, Daniel & Frederick, Shane 2002. Representativeness Revisited: Attribute Substitution in Intuitive Judgement. In: Thomas Gilovich & Dale Griffin & Daniel Kahneman (eds.) *Heuristics and Biases: The Psychology of Intuitive Judgement*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 49–81.

Kahneman, Daniel & Frederick, Shane 2005. A Model of Heuristic Judgment. In: Keith J. Holyoak & Robert G. Morrison (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Thinking and Reasoning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 267–294.

Kaptchuk, Ted J. 2002. The Placebo Effect in Alternative Medicine: Can the Performance of a Healing Ritual Have Clinical Significance? *Annals of Internal Medicine*, Vol. 136, No. 11, pp. 817–825. http://dx.doi.org/10.7326/0003-4819-136-11-200206040-00011.

Kaptchuk, Ted J. 2011. Placebo Studies and Ritual Theory: A Comparative Analysis of Navajo, Acupuncture and Biomedical Healing. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological Sciences*, Vol. 366, No. 1572, pp. 1849–1858. http://dx.doi.org/10.1098/rstb.2010.0385.

Kaptchuk, Ted J. & Kelley, John M. & Conboy, Lisa A. & Davis, Roger B. & Kerr, Catherine E. & Jacobson, Eric E. & Kirsch, Irving & Schyner, Rosa N. & Nam, Bong Hyun & Nguyen, Long T. & Park, Min & Rivers, Andrea L. & McManus, Claire & Kokkotou, Efi & Drossman, Douglas A. & Goldman, Peter & Lembo, Anthony J. 2008. Components of Placebo Effect: Randomised Controlled Trial in Patients with Irritable Bowel Syndrome. *BMJ*, Vol. 336, pp. 999–1003. http://dx.doi.org/10.1136/bmj.39524.439618.25.

Kirsch, Irving 1985. Response Expectancy as a Determinant of Experience and Behavior. *American Psychologist*, Vol. 40, No. 11, pp. 1189–1202. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.40.11.1189.

Kohonen, Siria 2020. The Wraths of Fire: Contagion Heuristic and Intuitive Personification Processes in Early Modern Finnish-Karelian Conceptions of Illness. *Journal for the Cognitive Science of Religion*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 166–186. http://dx.doi.org/10.1558/jcsr.41026.

Kohonen, Siria 2021. Ihmismieli kulttuurin takana: kognitiivisen kulttuurintutkimuksen tiedonintressi ja potentiaali arkistoaineiston tutkimuksessa. [The Human Mind Behind Culture: The Research Interest and Potential of Cognitive Cultural Studies in Analysing Archive Materials.] In: Niina Hämäläinen & Petja Kauppi (eds.) *Paradigma. Näkökulmia tieteen periaatteisiin ja käsityksiin*. Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja 100. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 183–201. Available at https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/51434/1/9789518583946.pdf, last accessed on 8 February 2023.

Kohonen, Siria 2022. *Healing, Magic, and Mind – The Early Modern Finnish-Karelian Healing Tradition in Light of the Cognitive Science of Religion and Ritual Studies*. Diss. (PhD Thesis). University of Helsinki. Available at https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/346865, last accessed on 9 March 2023.

Koski, Kaarina 2008. Uskomustarinoiden estetiikkaa. [Aesthetics of Belief Narratives.] In: Seppo Knuuttila & Ulla Piela (eds.) *Kansanestetiikkaa*. Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja 87. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 271–288.

Kuusi, Matti 1985. *Perisuomalaista ja kansainvälistä*. [Thoroughly Finnish and International.] Tietolipas 99. Helsinki: SKS.

Lampinen, James M. & Copeland, Susann M. & Neuschatz, Jeffrey S. 2001. Recollections of Things Schematic: Room Schemas Revisited. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory & Cognition*, Vol. 27, No. 5, pp. 1211–1222. http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0278-7393.27.5.1211.

Lease, Emory B. 1919. The Number Three, Mysterious, Mystic, Magic. *Classical Philology*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 56–73. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/360206.

Legare, Cristine H. & Souza, André L. 2012. Evaluating Ritual Efficacy: Evidence from the Supernatural. *Cognition*, Vol. 124, No. 1, pp. 1–15. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2012.03.004.

McClenon, James 2002. *Wondrous Healing. Shamanism, Human Evolution, and the Origin of Religion*. DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press.

Miller, Franklin G. & Colloca, Luana & Kaptchuk, Ted J. 2009. The Placebo Effect: Illness and Interpersonal Healing. *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, Vol. 52, No. 4, pp. 518–539. http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/pbm.0.0115.

Naakka-Korhonen, Mervi 1997. *Vaivasta taudiksi: Lapamatoon liittyvä kansanparannus erityisesti pohjoiskarjalaisen aineiston valossa*. [From an Ailment to an Illness: Ethno-Medicine Associated with Tapeworms in the Light of North Karelian Materials.] Helsinki: SKS.

Panagiotidou, Olympia 2016. Religious Healing and the Asclepius Cult: A Case of Placebo Effects. *Open Theology*, Vol. 2, pp. 79–91. http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/opth-2016-0006.

Panagiotidou, Olympia 2022. *Healing, Disease and Placebo in Graeco-Roman Asclepius Temples: A Neurocognitive Approach*. Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Piela, Ulla 2003. Kansanomaiset terveyskäsitykset ja yhteisöllisyys. [Communality and Vernacular Conceptions about Health.] In: Pekka Laaksonen & Seppo Knuuttila & Ulla Piela (eds.) *Tutkijat kentällä*. Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja 82. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 304–327.

Piela, Ulla 2005. Parantajan rituaalinen kosketus. [The Ritualistic Touch of a Healer.] In: Sirpa Huttunen & Pirkko Nuolijärvi (eds.) *Tahdon sanoa: Kirjoituksia kielen ja perinteen voimasta*. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 11–31.

Piela, Ulla 2006. Luonto ja muuttuvat maailmat kansanlääkinnässä. [Nature and Changing Worlds in Ethno-Medicine.] In: Hilkka Helsti & Laura Stark & Saara Tuomaala (eds.) *Modernisaatio ja kansan kokemus Suomessa 1860–1960*. Helsinki: SKS, pp. 277–331.

Rozin, Paul & Nemeroff, Carol 1990. The Laws of Sympathetic Magic: A Psychological Analysis of Similarity and Contagion. In: James W. Stigler & Richard A. Shweder & Gilbert Herdt (eds.) *Cultural Psychology: Essays on Comparative Human Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 205–232.

Rozin, Paul & Nemeroff, Carol 2002. Sympathetic Magical Thinking: The Contagion and Similarity 'Heuristics'. In: Thomas Gilovich & Dale Griffin & Daniel Kahneman (eds.) *Heuristics and Biases: The Psychology of Intuitive Judgement.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 201–216.

Schechner, Richard 2013 [2002]. *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. Third Edition. London & New York: Routledge.

Siikala, Anna-Leena 2002. *Mythic Images and Shamanism*. FF Communications 280. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Stark, Laura 2006. *The Magical Self: Body, Self and Society in Early Modern Rural Finland*. FF Communications 290. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Tambiah, Stanley J. 1985. A Performative Approach to Ritual. In: Stanley J. Tambiah. *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 123–166.

Tarkka, Lotte 2013. *Songs of the Border People*. FF Communications 305. Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica.

Tversky, Amos & Kahneman, Daniel 1974. Judgement Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases. *Science*, Vol. 185, No. 4157, pp. 1124–1131. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.185.4157.1124.

Vuorela, Toivo 2019 [1960]. *Paha silmä suomalaisen perinteen valossa*. [The Evil Eye in the Light of Finnish Tradition.] Helsinki: SKS.

Wolf-Knuts, Ulrika 2020. What Can We Do Today with Old Records of Folk Belief? On the Example of Devil Lore. *Folklore*, Vol. 131, No. 2, pp. 115–134. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/0015587X.2020.1733313.

Siria Kohonen is a postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Cultures, University of Helsinki, Finland. She finalized her doctoral dissertation, *Healing, Magic, and Mind: Early Modern Finnish-Karelian Healing Tradition in Light of the Cognitive Science of Religion and Ritual Studies*, in 2022. Her main research fields are folkloristics, the cognitive science of religion and ritual studies.

siria.kohonen@helsinki.fi

https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2023.88.doesburg_valijarvi

‘HAVE YOU HEARD OF KALEVAUVA.FI YET?’ MODERN FOLKLORE, HUMOUR, AND GENDER IN THE LYRICS OF THE FINNISH FOLK TROUBADOUR DUO KALEVAUVA.FI

Charlotte Doesburg
School of Slavonic and East European Studies
University College London, London, United Kingdom
charlotte.doesburg.16@ucl.ac.uk

Riitta-Liisa Valijärvi
School of Slavonic and East European Studies
University College London, London, United Kingdom
Department of Modern Languages, Uppsala University, Sweden
r.valijarvi@ucl.ac.uk

Abstract: This article explores the lyrics of the Finnish folk duo Kalevauva.fi. The duo uses extracts from online forums and other social media. We argue that this method of song-writing is a prime example of modern folklore as it reflects the collective, anonymous creativity of people and is reminiscent of the compilation of the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*. The humour in the lyrics is used to create a sense of community and discuss taboos. It rises from incongruity, for example by mismatch between melodies and lyrical content. We relate the lyrics to internet memes, and examine stereotypical and alternative representations of Finnish men. We place Kalevauva.fi in the context of the *Kalevala* process as well as contemporary music making.

Keywords: Finnish music, folk music, gender, humour, Kalevala, modern folklore, online discussion forum, gender, song lyrics

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background, the name Kalevauva.fi, and the vauva.fi forum

Finnish professional musicians Aapo Niininen and Kimmo Numminen started the group Kalevauva.fi in the summer of 2016 as a temporary project to perform at Kaustinen Folk Music Festival.[1] Kalevauva.fi has since turned into a lasting

collaboration and the band has their own dedicated YouTube channel where they regularly upload new songs. The group has also released two albums on online streaming services. Their self-titled debut Kalevauva.fi was released in 2017, and in 2020 they released the album SOME FOLK.[2]

The self-described "modern troubadours"[3] create their lyrics in a less than conventional way. The texts are extracted from online forum threads and other comments left on diverse social media channels. The band's method to create lyrics from what everyday people have written on forums and social media is reminiscent of how the creator of Finland's national epic, the *Kalevala* (1849), Elias Lönnrot (1802–1884) collected his material by travelling throughout Finland, neighbouring Karelia and Ingria, to listen to the reciting of poetry by locals (Pentikäinen 1987: 34; see also section 3.1; DuBois 1995; Honko 1990; Piela & Knuuttila & Laaksonen 2008; Kaukonen 1990; Kärki 2015; Tarkka 1994). This similarity in the method of collection from ordinary people is acknowledged in the first part of the band's name, *Kale-*, which clearly refers to the epic's title *Kalevala*. Because of this aspect the band's music can be classified as folk music, whilst at the same time they make use of musical expression typically associated with popular music. In other words, they represent a hybrid form of music combining folk and pop, challenging the established genre boundaries.

The second part of the band's name honours the website from which Niininen and Numminen first started to sample material for their lyrics. The website vauva.fi functions as a forum mainly aimed at (expecting) mothers and it is set up by the magazine *Vauva* 'Baby' (Linkoheimo 2015: 3). The majority of threads on the forum relate to pregnancy and motherhood, and this is reflected in some of the band's songs, such as "Pitääkö synnytyksessä todellakin olla alapää paljaana?" (Does your bottom really have to be naked when in labour?) (2017) or "Annatteko lastenne leikkiä vuokratalojen lasten kanssa?" (Do you let your children play with council-house children?) (2020). A subcategory on the website vauva.fi is entitled *Aihe vapaa* 'Topic free' and features threads about a diverse range of topics unrelated to motherhood and pregnancy. The group has written numerous songs based on threads from this category, such as "Kuorsaava kissa. Ei tätä kestä" (Snoring cat. I can't cope) (2017) or "Noloin asia mitä sinulle on tapahtunut kyläpaikassa?" (What is the most embarrassing thing that has happened to you whilst visiting someone?) (2017). The duo themselves have drawn parallels between vauva.fi and folk poetry both in content and form, and said that the stories on the forum are a cross-section of everyday Finnish life much like folk poetry.[4]

1.2 Previous studies and research questions

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the lyrical content and the cultural significance of the band Kalevauva.fi. Finland is known for heavy metal and the national romantic composer Sibelius but the country has a rich, diverse, and lively music scene including, for example, Finnish-medium rap and tango. Our study adds to the growing body of research on Finnish popular music (e.g., Aho & Kärjä 2007; Doesburg 2021; DuBois 1997; Jaakkola & Toivonen 2005; Jalkanen & Kurkela 2003; Kallioniemi & Kärki 2009; Karjalainen & Kärki 2020; Kärjä 2017; Kärki 2015; Lahtinen & Lehtimäki 2007; Mäkelä 2008, 2009, 2011; Neilson 2015; Ramstedt 2015; Tervo 2014; Tolvanen 2006).

Our study also exemplifies the enduring significance of the *Kalevala* in Finnish society. The epic was used for the formation of Finnish national identity in the 1800s and continues to play an essential role in the construction of that national identity (Fewster 2008: 190; Harvilahti 2002; Karkama 2001: 9). Kalevauva.fi celebrate this heritage and keep it alive by consciously collecting and reworking discourse from online sources and comparing this to Lönnrot's process in creating the epic.[5] The music by Kalevauva.fi can be placed within a greater movement of reworking of the folk epic. Honko (1985: 16; 1990: 183) writes about the *Kalevala* process. It started when the poetry was first sung and continued with the collection of the poetry by Lönnrot and his contemporaries. Honko argues that the process is ongoing because the epic is still read and referred to.

We find that the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi, alongside the numerous works of art inspired by the *Kalevala*, from Akseli Gallen-Kallela's paintings and Jean Sibelius' compositions to Mauri Kunnas' *Koirien Kalevala* (The Canine Kalevala) and the lyrics by metal bands such as Amorphis, should all be included in the *Kalevala* process as these reworkings make the epic visible in everyday life for Finnish people and can inspire them to (re)acquaint themselves with the stories of the *Kalevala*. DuBois (1997: 27) also notes in the case of folk group Värttinä that many similarities exist between the use of folk poetic material by Lönnrot and the group, arguing: "Värttinä has become the Lönnrot of the 1990s" (ibid.: 34). A similar argument will be made in this study for the group Kalevauva.fi, through the presentation of their method and the similarities they share with the *Kalevala*'s compiler, Elias Lönnrot, and a similarity in the themes of the source material in the form of taboo subjects, gender roles, and use of humour.

There are several insightful studies on Finnish humour (e.g., Kerkkänen & Kuiper & Martin 2004; Ridanpää 2009; Huuki & Manninen & Sunnari 2010; Tervo & Ridanpää 2016; Janhonen 2017). It has been described as "dark/heavy, boorish, forthright, weird and self-ironic, with jokes often capitalising on well-known (gender specific) stereotypes of the Finnish character" (Tervo & Ridanpää 2016: 619; see section 3.3).

In the light of previous studies, our research questions are: 1) How do the themes in the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi relate to the name of the band, folklore, and modern music making? 2) What does an analysis of gender and humour in the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi reveal about modern Finnish society?

We have chosen to analyse the three interlinked themes (folklore, gender, and humour) because this is the first study on the phenomenon of Kalevauva.fi, and the band is at the intersection between the three. The band members are male but the perspective in the lyrics is more often than not female, and men are made fun of from this female perspective (see Papenburg 2017 on the convergence of humour and gender in all its complexity). The themes in songs are universal and relate to everyday life, which is typical of folklore (Dorson 2011 [1978]). The taboos and other difficult subject matter are approached and dealt with humour (Narvaez 2003). It has been noted that humour in the form of jokes and memes is one of the key manifestations of digital folklore, such as newslore (e.g., Frank 2011) and online comments (Laineste 2013). The jokes and memes often relate to gender roles (e.g., Takovski 2019). Subsequent studies on Kalevauva.fi could explore each related topic in more detail.

We will firstly account for our theoretical background and concepts, and our method and data. This introductory section is followed by a survey of the lyrical themes of the band. We will then analyse the following three aspects of the band's production separately: modern folklore, humour, and gender. The final section contains a summary and discussion, as well as ideas for further study.

1.3 Theory, method, and data

The method employed in this study is qualitative content analysis (e.g., Altheide & Schneider 2013 [1996]; Krippendorff 2013 [2004]). In other words, we identify categories in the song lyrics and then analyse their significance in the context of the textual genre of women's online forums and other online sources. Our data contains the songs written and released by Kalevauva.fi during the period 2016–2020.

Theoretically, our paper represents cultural studies in as much as it seeks to understand how meaning is created in a certain context through texts, and how underlying social structures are represented through language (Barker 2011 [2000]). In other words, it attempts to decode the way in which "the world is socially constructed and represented by us in meaningful ways" (ibid.: 8).

We adhere to Klein's (2015: 280) definition of folklore: folklore is "oral narration, rituals, crafts, music making, and other forms of vernacular expressive culture". Kalevauva.fi's use of social media discourse and posts on discussion

forums could be seen as a novel artistic way to tap into a collective psyche and make sense of the ordinary, which is also typical of folklore (Lomborg 2014).

Media discourse and representations show us what the dichotomous notions of femininity and masculinity are according to the prevalent discourse at that particular place and point in time (Krijnen & Bauwel 2015: 42); they adhere to preconceived gender and cultural stereotypes (ibid.: 44–45). Humour in the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi can also be seen as a cultural construct where the knowledge and understanding of certain stereotypes and preconceptions are essential (e.g., section 3.2). We acknowledge the complicated subject positions and viewpoints in our data (see section 3.3), and our own roles as Western women in consuming and interpreting these gender representations.

LYRICAL THEMES OF KALEVAUVA.FI

The 37 Kalevauva.fi lyrics analysed by us can be thematically grouped in the following categories: 1) sexual/taboo/bodily situations, 2) topical, 3) relationships, 4) Finnish places, 5) meta, and 6) animals. The proportions of the themes can be found in Figure 1.

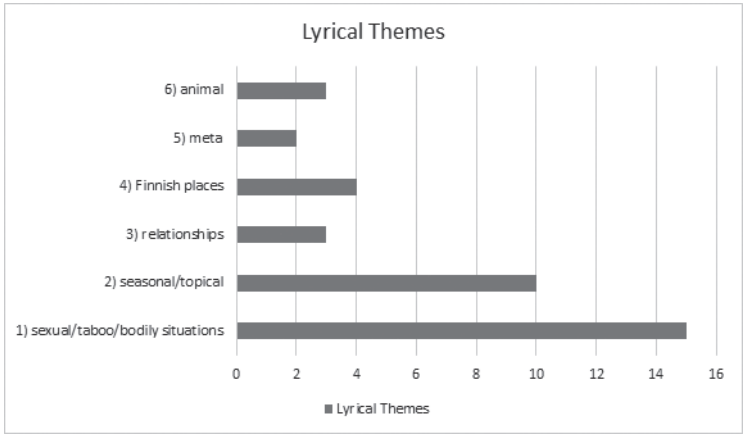


***Figure 1**. Themes of Kalevauva.fi lyrics.*

The largest category, sexual/taboo/bodily situations, contains lyrics that mostly discuss embarrassing situations that occur in everyday life. For example, the lyrics of the song "Apua! Mies[6] luulee että paskoin lakanat!!" (Help! My husband thinks I shat on the sheets!) (2020) speak about someone who has eaten chocolate in bed. The person accidentally stained the bedsheets with chocolate.

The husband interprets the brown stains for something else than chocolate. The wife takes revenge on her husband and his insinuations by smearing chocolate on his side of the bed too.

The second category contains lyrics of songs that are released during a time at which they are relevant. Many of these songs, such as "Joulustressi" (Christmas stress) (2019) and "Juhannussimaa" (Midsummer mead / Fucked by Juha)[7] (2019) were released just before the public holiday in question. Other songs, such as "Käsienpesulaulu" (The hand-washing song) was released at the start of the COVID-19 crisis, in spring 2020, and "Muistakaa äänestää" (Remember to vote) was performed on television before the parliamentary elections of 2019. These kinds of songs are released at a time when they make sense.

Songs about relationships, the third category, often chronicle the difficulties of romance, such as dating or jealousy. This category overlaps partly with the largest category of sexual/taboo/bodily situations. The song "Tinder – Horror Story" (2017) features several accounts of Tinder dates gone wrong (see section 3.3).

The lyrics about Finnish places usually contain stereotypical aspects of a certain city or village as found in online comments. The song about the largest city of central Finland, Jyväskylä, includes lines about the city's public transport being the most expensive of the country and how its residents hate the citizens of Helsinki.

Those lyrics categorised as meta are "Oletteko jo kuulleet Kalevauva.fi:stä?" (Have you heard of Kalevauva.fi yet?) (2017) and "Nykymusiikki on niin kamalaa" (Modern music is so terrible) (2018), and both play either lyrically or musically with the song's title. The lyrics for the first song are taken from a thread under the same name and feature comments made by several users of the website vauva.fi about the band Kalevauva.fi. The second song is musically far removed from Kalevauva.fi's normal troubadour sound as it has a reggaeton melody. At the start of the music video of the song, the band's 'agent' asks the members of Kalevauva.fi *heitätte ne banjot pois* 'to throw those banjo's away'. Even though a banjo can still be heard in the song, its sound has been tweaked and it is combined with a beat, to give the song a more danceable vibe. The lyrics discuss how *ennen oli kaikki paremmin* 'everything used to be better before', and gives examples of there only being two TV channels and referring to a time people wore their underwear underneath their clothes (instead of on top). Though the song "Nykymusiikki on niin kamalaa" seems far removed from the world of Finnish folk poetry, the *Kalevala*'s sister collection, the *Kanteletar* (Lönnrot 2005 [1840]) features poems named "Muinaiset ajat paremmat" (Ancient times better) (Kanteletar 1: 32)[8] and "Oli ennen parempi" (It used to be better) (1:40). These show that the notion that things used to be better is certainly not novel.

The final category, animals, contains three songs, two about cats and one about a dog, respectively. "Kuorsaava kissa. Ei tätä kestä" (Snoring cat. I can't cope) (2017) is about a cat that wakes up its owner during the night due to its loud snoring.

A number of the songs listed in the above categories are made in collaboration with several charities or companies. Usually, the message of these songs is to improve behaviour and raise awareness for certain concerns, such as "Uskotko kaiken mitä luet netistä?" (Do you believe everything you read online?) or "Omat kassit mukana" (Bring your own bags) (both 2018). The song "Lupaa ettet hylkää mua #kissakriisi" (Promise that you won't abandon me #catcrisis) was released on World Animal Day on Sunday, 4 October 2020. The song was made for SEY Animal Welfare Finland and highlighted the fact that over 20,000 cats are abandoned in Finland every year. The song "Joulustressi" (Christmas stress) (2019) was made in collaboration with Finn Church Aid to promote their alternative Christmas gift campaign.

ANALYSIS: FOLKLORE, HUMOUR, AND GENDER

3.1 Kalevauva.fi lyrics as modern folklore

A striking similarity exists between the work of the *Kalevala*'s compiler, Elias Lönnrot, and the two members of Kalevauva.fi. This similarity is threefold. Firstly, the collection of the material is conducted in a similar manner. Secondly, an editorial role is taken on by both Lönnrot and Kalevauva.fi. Finally, the material presented by both is a reflection of the lives lived by those who originally submitted the texts. To better understand these similarities, we will first explain these aspects in Lönnrot's context before moving on to Kalevauva.fi.

Lönnrot collected the poems for the epic and its sister collection *The Kanteletar* (Lönnrot 2005 [1840]) in the 1800s by travelling throughout Finland, Lapland, Ingria, and Karelia. The folk poetry that he collected is estimated to be between 3000 and 3500 years old (Pentikäinen 1987: 111). Those who sang the poetry had a rural lifestyle, living in remote villages. It was partly because of the small size of the population and the distances between the villages that there was limited contact between different groups of people, and this allowed the poems to develop quite distinctly in each community.

Influences from outside, both cross-historical and cross-geographical, reached different communities (DuBois 1995: 3; Pentikäinen 1987: 107–110). Over the years, cross-historical sources, such as foreign mythologies, Viking adventure narratives, Christian lore, and medieval legendry were adopted into the folk poetry. These influences are also cross-geographical because travellers from

both the east and the west reached Finnish settlements. The new themes and stories brought by these travellers changed the folk poetry as it was used to explain changing cultural, social, and political contexts.

Through the limited contact between the population and the influences from the outside, the poetry that Lönnrot collected was a treasure-trove of knowledge about the longstanding traditions of these communities (Siikala 2002: 16). But it was also about their present circumstances, as certain poems were forgotten over time or changed to fit the current way of living. The poetry that ended up in the *Kalevala* and the *Kanteletar* therefore shone a light on how the slowly disappearing peasant communities of Finland, Lapland, Ingria, and Karelia were living at the time. This was especially the case with the *Kanteletar*, which gave a glimpse into their everyday lives, how these people lived, loved, mourned, and taught poetry to their children.

The influence of the changing seasons was an important aspect of life, as people did not have the modern conveniences, such as central heating and refrigerators, that we have now. This is reflected in songs about the weather and the seasons, such as "Vilu viimeinki tulevi" (The cold is finally coming) (Kanteletar 1: 74). The agricultural lifestyle, which is closely connected to the weather – knowing the correct time to sow and harvest is paramount to having food on the table – is also reflected in the collection with a special section dedicated to songs sung by shepherds, "Paimenlauluja" (Shepherd songs) (Kanteletar 1: 170–206).

Another recurring theme in many of the poems is based on the roles different people take in these traditional societies. The poems set out what is expected of the members in the communities. The poems "Hyvä isäntä" (The good master) and "Hyvä emäntä" (The good mistress) (Kanteletar 1: 112, 113; see Timonen 1998) say that a good master of the house will greet his guests and that the mistress will weave her own cloth, among other things. At weddings, it was traditional to sing poems that included advice for both the groom and the bride, such as "Neuvo, sulho, neitoasi" (Groom, give advice to your maiden) (1: 134) or "Luulitko huolten loppuvan?" (Did you think your cares would be over?) (1: 141), which were aimed at the bride. Women at the time had a rich lament tradition: emotional songs were sung collectively in an act of ritual weeping (Utriainen 1998).

Some poems discuss taboo subjects, often sex or violence. The incestuous relationship between brother and sister found in poem 36 of the *Kalevala*, in which Kullervo unwittingly seduces his own sister, is probably the most well-known. Both in the *Kalevala* and in the other poems on this subject the incest is heavily criticised. The function of these poems was, in all likelihood, to warn others and make them conform to societal expectations (Kupiainen 2002: 276).

Another poem on a taboo subject is known as "Kojosen pojan kosinta" (The courtship of Kojonen's son), in which the main character, Kojonen, kills his wife and gives a present of her breasts to his mother-in-law (Kiuru 1994).

Many of the poems that were sung also dealt with everyday matters, such as "Rahansa menettänyt" (The one who lost their money) (2: 253) or "Laulan lasta nukkumahan" (I sing the child to sleep) (2: 174). Some poems gave advice to younger members of the community, such as "Laulu laiskana pitävi" (The song keeps you lazy) (2: 212), which was sung by women to girls.

Unlike his predecessors, Lönnrot did not copy the poetry he had gathered wholesale into his collections (Honko 1990: 187). He did not want his work to end up in some dusty, old archive. Instead, he wanted it to be accessible and read by a wide audience (ibid.: 197). Editorial changes made by Lönnrot include: reordering poems, omitting lines, inserting lines, removing traces of Christianity, changing character and place names to create coherence, and writing his own lines if necessary (Kaukonen 1979: 72; Pentikäinen 1987: 12).

Thanks to modern technology, the members of Kalevauva.fi do not have to travel throughout Finland to gather their material. Through the use of the website vauva.fi, members from different parts of the country can easily communicate with each other, and their posts are visible for the whole world to see. As noted in section 2, the topics discussed on the forum are mainly those that concern parenting, especially new motherhood, but topics on wider subjects are also frequently discussed. As with the folk poetry, several songs discuss love, gender, sex or taboo subjects. For example, the song "Seksitön Jalasjärvi" (Sexless Jalasjärvi) (2019)is centred on the small town Jalasjärvi in southern Ostrobothnia. The lyrics, taken from vauva.fi, discuss how it is impossible to have sex in Jalasjärvi and how the friend of one of the commenters moved elsewhere to have intercourse. This anonymous description of a dire and frustrating situation is reminiscent of the Finnic collective ritual weeping of the lament tradition (Utriainen 1998). The material gathered by Kalevauva.fi reflects the everyday life of these people, what they find important, what they need help with, and what they find funny.

When comparing the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi with the original texts found online, it became clear that the members of the band also took on an editorial role. The texts are not taken over word for word, instead a similar method to that of Lönnrot can be observed. The order of lines is sometimes changed, some lines are omitted or repeated. In all likelihood, these changes are made to better fit the melody of the song but also for comic effect. The song "Tuijottava koira" (The staring dog) (2020) mainly features the text taken from the person who started the thread "Tuijottava koira, mitä meinaa?" (Staring dog, what does it mean?) on vauva.fi.[9] The editorial changes made by Kalevauva.fi can be seen

in Table 1. The first change is that the text that appears later in the original thread on vauva.fi is inserted after the second line. A part of this line, namely where the original writer asks whether staring is a characteristic of the breed, is omitted in the song. The fourth line of the lyrics is taken from the beginning of the thread again, but part of the text is omitted. The fifth and sixth lines are quite similar to the source text, except for the omission of the words *vaan* 'but' in line five and *koira* 'dog' and *jatkuvasti* 'continuously' in line six.

Table 1. *A sample comparison between the discussion on vauva.fi forum and in Kalevauva.fi's song "Tuijottava koira" (The staring dog)*

LYRICS		FORUM	
Tuijottava koira (Kalevauva.fi 2020)	**The staring dog** (translation of lyrics)	**Tuijottava koira, mitä meinaa**	**Staring dog, what does it mean?** (Translation of forum)
Hei, mulla hoidossa tuttavan koira	Hey, I'm taking care of a friend's dog	*Hei, mulla hoidossa tuttavan koira*	Hey, I'm taking care of a friend's dog
Nyt 4 päivän ajan	For four days	*Nyt 4 päivän ajan*	For four days
Pitkäkarvainen mäyräkoira kyseessä	The dog in question is a long-haired dachshund	[from later in the thread] *Pitkäkarvainen mäyräkoira on kyseessä, onko joku rotuominaisuus tuo tuijotus?*	The dog in question is a long-haired dachshund, is the staring some type of characteristic of the breed?
En ole oikein koiraihminen	I'm not really a dog-person	[from the start of the threat] *En ole oikein koiraihminen, mutta halusin auttaa kun eivät löytäneet koiralle hoitopaikka matkansa ajaksi nuo koiran omistajat*	I'm not really a dog-person, but I wanted to help, because the dog's owners couldn't find a place for him during the time of their journey
Jotenkin nyt hermostuttaa	I'm starting to feel nervous	*Jotenkin vaan nyt hermostuttaa*	But I'm starting to feel nervous
Kun tuolla on tapana tuijottaa	As it [the dog] has a habit of staring	*Kun tuolla koiralla on tapana tuijottaa jatkuvasti*	As that dog has a habit of staring continuously

Because of the similarity in the gathering of the material from ordinary people, how it represents their daily life and through the editorial roles taken on by Lönnrot and Kalevauva.fi, the use of terms by the band, such as 'modern troubadours' and 'modern folklore', seems justified. Our analysis is further supported by previous studies on the internet and social media as a source for folklore. For example, Blank (2009: 9) calls the internet "an ideal channel for the transmission of folk narratives, due to its anonymity and efficiency in the speedy dissemination of ideas". Blank (ibid.) continues by stating that traditional oral folklore as well as modern internet folklore are "evocative of society's fears, hopes, anxieties, and prejudices". He specifically mentions the communal folk wisdom of online discussion groups (ibid.), which matches the production of Kalevauva.fi perfectly.

One could also argue that the anonymous comments and extracts selected and sung by Kalevauva.fi become memes, the ultimate modern folklore product. Memes can be defined as digital cultural products that are created with awareness of each other and then circulated and imitated via internet (e.g., Shifman 2014). Both Shifman (ibid.) and Wiggins (2019) highlight intertextuality as one of the key features of memes. In memes, like in Kalevauva.fi's lyrics, texts, or images are indeed recycled and modified with the purpose to entertain and to comment on aspects of human experience. Burgess (2007) describes memes as instances of vernacular creativity in which the private is made public. This matches Kalevauva.fi's lyrics in which intimate and private discussions from internet forums become hit songs available for everyone. The songs spread online, and entertain while highlighting modern Finns' concerns, embarrassing moments, prejudices, etc. Communal wisdom about husbands' and pets' behaviour, sex, and dating is sought and offered in the lyrics. The meme-like quality is at is most obvious in the following extract from the song "Lomalle lompsis #kiitollinensiunattuonnellinen" (On holiday hop #gratefulblessedhappy) (2019), which is a collection of short quotes, hashtags, and phrases. The duo says on their Facebook page that this particular song is a collection of annoying phrases.[10]

Lomalle lompsis	On holiday hop
Ai jumaleissön	Omg
Ei se väärin oo	It's not wrong
Lomalle lompsis	On holiday hop
Nyssaa naattii	Now you can enjoy
#kiitollinensiunattuonnellinen	#gratefulblessedhappy
Juurikin näin tsaijaijai	Exactly like this ahhhh

"Lomalle lompsis #kiitollinensiunattuonnellinen" (On holiday hop #gratefulblessedhappy) (Kalevauva.fi 2019)

The song mocks overused phrases by inserting them into one list-like song that becomes like a musical long-form meme. Hashtags and memes are ideal for the charity collaborations described in section 2 as well. Catchy tunes and viral funny lyrics help to spread the word and raise money for a charity and awareness of more serious issues.

3.2 Humour in the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi

This section focuses on what makes the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi funny. We also explore the potential functions of humour in the songs. Firstly, we argue that the humour in the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi rises mainly from incongruity. Eagleton (2019: 67) has defined incongruity as "a sudden shift of perspective, an unexpected slippage of meaning, an arresting dissonance or discrepancy, a momentary defamiliarizing of the familiar and so on". One could say this incongruity and consequent experience of being amused takes place when people are confronted with concepts which are unexpectedly not in line with their expectations (e.g., McGhee 1979). We acknowledge the subjectivity of our interpretations of humour and irony in the analysis and the fact that the original contribution to the vauva.fi forum was not always intended to be humorous. The humour and irony arise from the intentions of the musicians and the listeners' understanding of these intentions (cf. Hutcheon 2003 [1994]: 111–134).

An example of the shift in perspective in the case of Kalevauva.fi is the fact that the texts from women's discussion forums mostly from a woman's point of view are sung by two men. For example, in the song "Panohanskat" (Gloves for getting laid) (2018) the wife talks about her husband who insists on wearing driving gloves during sex and then takes these to a work seminar, which makes the wife suspect him of cheating on her. One could see this incongruity creating understanding between genders (see below and 3.3). In "Tuijottava koira" (The staring dog) (2019) someone is looking after a friend's dog and this ordinary activity is turned into a gothic horror story in which the person fears the almost superhuman dog's stare (see also section 3.1).

Furthermore, there is a stark contrast or discrepancy between the sometimes vulgar or mundane topics on the one hand, and the elaborate and catchy melodies as well as the professional musical performances. For example, in the song "Pitääkö synnytyksessä todellakin olla alapää paljaana" (Does your bottom really have to be naked when in labour) (2016) a banjo and a guitar are combined with coordinated harmonies and serious faces. In "Annatteko lastenne leikkiä vuokratalojen lasten kanssa?" (Do you let your children play with council-house children?) (2020) a classical-sounding orchestra accompanies the sensitive and provocative topic.

The unfamiliar is familiarised in the lyrics when someone asks for advice from fellow discussion forum participants, but it is then often flipped and defamiliarized again by absurd or unhelpful explanations, filtered through the band's editorial choices and reproduced in each live performance, viewing of the YouTube videos, or listening to the songs on streaming services. For example, in the following example from the song "Mieheni kertoi telakoituneensa" (My husband told me he had docked) (2017) a woman is shocked after finding out that her husband has had a sexual experience with another man at a work party. The lines after are various pieces of more or less helpful advice by different voices, as the following example shows.

Olen järkyttynyt, olen järkyttynyt	I am shocked, I am shocked
Mitä tästä pitäisi ajatella?	What should I think about this?
Ei mitään syytä huolestua	There's no reason to worry
Varmasti suurin osa miehistä harrastaa tuota	Probably most men do that
Voi olla muodostunut alueellisia eroja	There may be local differences
Käytä miehesi sukupuolitesteissä	Take your husband to STD tests
Ja vaadi saada kuulla kyseisen kaverin tulokset kanssa	And demand to get the results of the friend as well
Kysys nyt mieheltäs oliko niillä katsekontaktia	Ask your husband if they had eye contact
ja koskiko kivekset toisiansa	And if their testicles touched each other

Kalevauva.fi (2017) "Mieheni kertoi telakoituneensa" (My husband told me he had docked)

Jokes and humour are used to build consensus, create solidarity, and hold a group together (e.g., Coser 1959; Terrion & Ashford 2002; Janhonen 2017). This is most clearly the case with Kalevauva.fi's songs about different Finnish cities: humour defines and divides in-groups and out-groups very clearly to the ones that are from the city and the ones that are not. For example, the duo sings that Kouvola, a small town in southern Finland, is no New York but it is okay for a Finnish city. Vantaa, a part of greater Helsinki, is a town without its own identity, where you can choose to live if you cannot afford to live in Helsinki. The university town Jyväskylä in central Finland is where girls flock to study 'hooey' humanities. The playful mockery extracted from songs with positive twists is funny both for locals and for outsiders. The seasonal songs about public holidays also create a sense of unity. For example, the bossa nova style song "Joulustressi" (Christmas stress) (2018) asks whether we always

have to celebrate Christmas or go to the mother-in-law's, and highlights the fact that we get to go back to work to rest after the holidays. It lists all the unnecessary Christmas presents (including a laminated BMI chart and a grave plot for a 17-year old) and laments the fact that the fleece socks in the shop are the wrong colour. The listener can relate to this experience of Christmas. A similar but nostalgic in-group solidarity effect is achieved by "Nykymusiikki on niin kamala" (Modern music is so terrible) (2018). The lyrics state that everything used to be better, there was no auto-tune and people had perfect pitch and healthy self-criticism instead.

Humour is also used to mitigate failure, one's inferior position and the loss of face, as well as to manage the fear of the unknown or to deal with traumatic experiences (Kerkkänen & Kuiper & Martin 2004; Vucetic 2004). In other words, humour serves as a therapeutic coping tool. This aspect is not only evident in the seasonal songs about Christmas woes, it is also prominent in the critical or disappointed voices on the forum. For example, in the song "Meneekö nuoruus hukkaan jos ei pane" (Is your youth wasted if you don't have sex) (2017) the original poster of the thread on vauva.fi wonders whether she will lose her youth because she only sleeps with someone once a year. The song "Noloin asia mitä sinulle on tapahtunut kyläpaikassa" (What is the most embarrassing thing that has ever happened to you while visiting someone?) (2017) also deals with losing face as different people retell their most awkward experiences when visiting someone. For instance, one person talks about how they tried to sit on the toilet in such a way that their urine did not burble against the toilet's porcelain. By accident, the urine splashed on the little mat in front of the toilet instead of going into the toilet.

Furthermore, humour is used to manage power relations, either as a subversive expression of resistance (Dubberley 1988) or to maintain the status of the ones already in power (e.g., Billig 2005: 201–202; also Janhonen 2017). Humour can also be used to mock and humiliate others (Barbe 1995) or to gain status (Huuki & Manninen & Sunnari 2010). One could analyse Kalevauva.fi's choice of lyrics from this perspective: the singers raise themselves above human experience and trivialise the concerns of people and residents in certain towns. However, the popularity of the duo shows that this negative interpretation is unlikely and the more probable function of humour is performative, aesthetic, and playful (Oring 2016). For example, the song "Sohva haisee perseeltä" (The sofa stinks of ass) (2018) does not appear to have a deeper meaning although it ends with the philosophical question *haiseeko sohva perseeltä vai perse sohvalta?* 'does the sofa smell of ass or the ass of the sofa?' Our analysis is supported by the fact that Kimmo Numminen stated in an interview that they write and

perform the songs with respect, not to mock, and that they want to be objective messengers of the people.[11]

A question arises: Is the humour in the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi specifically Finnish? Its premise is definitely Finnish: the national epic *Kalevala* was critical in the national romantic movement and essential in the creation of Finnish national identity (Harvilahti 2002: 278; Piela & Knuuttila & Laaksonen 2008). The name of the band and their branding as modern folklore is an in-group joke for those who know Finnish. The focus here is not on performing and creating a national identity (cf. Kärki 2020). We believe that what ultimately makes the songs Finnish is the fact that they follow the Finnish tradition of humorous parody music that was especially popular in the 1980s and 1990s (Tervo & Ridanpää 2016). Parody has remained a feature of Finnish rap videos (ibid.) and it appears in other humorous lyrics today (e.g., Valijärvi 2017). For example, the Finnish heavy metal group Lordi won the Eurovision song contest while the band members were dressed up as monsters to honour comic book style imaginary horror rock, such as the band Kiss[12] (Maglov 2016: 64–65). This could also be interpreted as a way to ridicule both the whole genre of Eurovision and heavy metal music. The dark Finnish self-irony mentioned by Tervo & Ridanpää (2016: 619) is not present in the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi but gender stereotypes are (see section 3.3).

3.3 Gender in the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi

Masculinity in Finland is, to a certain extent, constructed on a national level (Valkonen & Hänninen 2013), informed by other identities, such as femininity (Lehtonen 1999: 74, 76), and changes over time (Simonen 2012: 386). Originally taking shape in the early nineteenth century, the stereotypical Finn was a serious, trustworthy, honest, quiet, and reserved peasant (Fewster 2008: 191; Honko 1996: 41). The Finnish soldiers who fought in the Second World War were hailed as ideal and patriotic (Peltonen 2000: 267). However, an aspect of wilderness was also included in this image, as these soldiers were skilled in fighting in the forest, able to endure the cold, and traverse the harsh landscape on skis. To a certain extent, this identity of seriousness and patriotism still pervades in modern Finnish society (Ollila 1998: 130).

However, perceptions of Finnish masculinity have adjusted considerably and are changing. The rather idealised physically fit and invincible version of the Finnish male is contrasted by a completely opposite view of men as violent, alcoholic, full of shame, and self-destructive at times (Jokinen 2000: 11–12; Oksanen 2011: 358; Simonen 2012). This anti-hero view on masculin-

ity is supported by the fact that Finnish men are more likely to die by suicide, have alcohol problems, or suffer from homelessness (Hearn & Lattu 2002: 54; Jokinen 1999: 17). Alcoholism in Finnish males has more or less reached the level of national stereotype, according to Simonen (2012: 386).

Like alcoholism, violence is also seen as typical of Finnish masculinity, as violent females are very much the exception both culturally and socially (Jokinen 2000: 12). Jokinen (ibid.: 51–103) traces the connection between violence and Finnish masculinity back to the heroes of the *Kalevala*. From Jokinen's analysis, it becomes clear that several characteristics of two of the epic's main heroes, the vain ladies' man Lemminkäinen and the self-destructive orphan Kullervo, are also those usually associated with Finnish masculinity. These traits are, amongst others, the inability to regulate feelings, violence, self-destructiveness, and a sense of shame. Jokinen (ibid.: 100–101) also notes that the stories of Lemminkäinen and Kullervo contain a sense of bitter humour and ingredients of parody targeted at traditional masculinity. We would argue that the dark humour and parodical ingredients are also present in the story of the epic's main hero, the shaman Väinämöinen, who has a strong desire to get married but is refused by every woman. In one of the poems Väinämöinen's masculinity is directly ridiculed as follows: "Oi on hullu hulluuttasi, mieletön mielesi vähyyttä" (You fool in your foolishness, feeble-minded in your manliness) (Tarkka 1994: 254). This dark sense of humour at the expense of men seems to be a recurring theme throughout Finnish culture (Valijärvi 2017: 288–289). The 1998 sketch from the comedy show of Studio Julmahuvi called "Roudasta Rospuuttoon" (From ground frost to mud season) features the same mocking attitude towards Finnish men. The main character comes home drunk and ashamed and, after a while, is resolute to make amends but only makes things worse.[13]

Similar humoristic attitudes towards Finnish men's flaws and their desire for alcohol can also be found in music. In the metal scene, the songs "Lemminkäisen laulu" (The song of Lemminkäinen) (2009) and "Mahtisanat" (Words of power) (2009) by Kotiteollisuus[14] (Doesburg 2021) and the video for "Pakkolasku" (Crash landing / The bill that has to be paid) (2010) by Stam1na[15] all play with ideas on Finnish masculinity, from alcohol abuse to their inability to effect change. In hip-hop, the song "Selvä päivä" (Sober day) (2011) by Petri Nygård and Lord Est also parodies men's drinking (Valijärvi 2017: 288–289, see also Tervo & Ridanpää 2016: 627–628).

These humorous attitudes towards masculinity and at the expense of it, which can be traced back to the *Kalevala*, can also be found in some of the lyrics of Kalevauva.fi. The song "Mies syö lapsen vanukkaat" (My husband eats the children's puddings) (2017) relates the stories of several women who complain that their husbands keep eating food clearly meant for their children, such as

the small cartons of juice when there is a one litre carton of juice available. Towards the end of the song, one of the speakers mentions that she has hidden the children's desserts in the vegetable drawer of the refrigerator because her husband will never look there. In the song, men are described as slightly incapable because they are unable to tell the difference between food meant for children and for the grown-ups of the household. They are also seen as unable to control themselves. The song "Tinder – Horror Story" (2017) also features several accounts of men that highlight their wild nature. There is the story of the person who started the thread, who speaks about her male one-night stand who urinated in the wardrobe. Another user comments that her one-night stand put up his hands in the 'devil's horns' sign during the act. Even here the humour is in the performance's intention and the audience's interpretation: the original post may not have been humorous and not everyone understands the irony (cf. Hutcheon 2003 [1994]: 111–134).

The lyrics of Kalevauva.fi do, however, reveal an alternative, more sensitive and vulnerable type of masculinity that is neither a physically strong war hero, nor an alcoholic and useless anti-hero. An example of this is the song "Nainen johon olen ihastunut vihaa minua!" (The woman I have fallen in love with hates me!) (2017). The protagonist in the song is male. He reveals his vulnerable side and in the original thread[16] asks the women on the vauva.fi forum for advice. In the following extract from "Te, ketkä ette harrasta usein seksiä" (You who don't have sex often) the man sums up his life and how he longs for intimacy with his wife.

Pappi sanoi aamen, lapset tehty ja minä rakensin perheelle talon. Nyt ei ilmeisesti enää tarvita seksiä. Ainakaan vaimon mielestä.	The priest said amen, we've had the children and I built a house for the family. Now apparently you don't need sex anymore. At least that's what my wife thinks.

"Te, ketkä ette harrasta usein seksiä" (You who don't have sex often) (Kalevauva.fi 2017)

In the song "Mies mustasukkainen kun lähden laivalle" (My husband is jealous when I go on a cruise) (2017) the man stays at home worrying about what might happen and it is the woman's turn to be the active and adventurous one. The advice from the forum is 'don't go, you won't be able to control your emotions, you will cheat on your man'. Traditional masculinity and heteronormativity are challenged by the song "Mieheni kertoi telakoituneensa" (My husband told me he had docked) (2016), in which the husband has a sexual experience with another man. This same-sex encounter further illustrates changing masculinities and the acceptance of or the openness to discuss queer identity in Finland, also

exemplified by the popularisation of the artist known as Tom of Finland, who drew homoerotic images of men, which are now available in the form of various merchandise such as coffee, vodka, bedlinen, and towels (see, e.g., Lahti 1998). The fact that the wife in the song complains about her husband's behaviour could be seen as an expression of a anti-gay sentiment, or she is simply upset about the fact that he had sexual relations with someone else.

The act of hiding certain food items in the refrigerator's vegetable drawer or the questionable behaviour of men on dates seems more humorous if we consider the fact that the songs are sung by two men instead of the women who initially comment on the various threads on vauva.fi. The mocking attitudes towards men in these songs, characteristic of Finnish culture, are amplified by the self-irony shown by Kalevauva.fi's male singers. The inclusion of alternative masculinities in the songs make them more contemporary and more representative of Finnish masculinities today.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Our study identified the lyrical themes in Kalevauva.fi's production until 2020. They include Finnish places, animals, sexual/taboo and other embarrassing situations, relationships, seasonal or otherwise topical themes, and meta themes, i.e., songs about Kalevauva.fi and modern music. The duo's lyrical output is retrieved form the forum vauva.fi, and more recently they have experimented with using other online sources and social media.

We analysed the similarities between Kalevauva.fi and the nineteenth-century folklorist Lönnrot: both sampled texts created by other people and used their own creativity and editorial choices to form a distinct piece of work. They both represented the concerns and wishes of the people and included taboo subjects in their works. We drew parallels between Kalevauva.fi's lyrics and internet memes and described the lyrics as instances of modern folklore. Humour in the lyrics stems from different types of incongruity, e.g., the one between the beautiful instrumental and musical output and the sometimes explicit or mundane lyrical content, or the unexpected responses or ways of sampling from the vauva.fi discussion forum. The functions of humour in Kalevauva.fi vary: it creates group coherence, mitigates difficult situations having a therapeutic function, entertains creatively, and plays with the Finnish gender roles.

The case of Kalevauva.fi is one of the myriad examples in which the ancient folk poetry of the Finns is kept alive through adaptation. What is different in the reworking of the epic in the case of Kalevauva.fi is how the material is

adapted. Other artists mentioned are often inspired by specific stories from the epic or the folk poetry that they translate into music or visuals or other products. To our knowledge, Kalevauva.fi is the first to apply the method that Lönnrot used to create the *Kalevala* to the creation of new lyrics. This method includes the collection of material, either in villages or online, and the editing of that material to fit it with the purpose; creating the epic or lyrics. The method used by the Kalevauva.fi challenges traditional and historical notions and our understanding of what folk music is and how it is transmitted and created (cf. Keegan-Phipps & Wright 2020). Our study demonstrates the way in which the creation and dissemination of folk music is evolving in the digital age.

Furthermore, our study on Kalevauva.fi illustrates changes in music production in general. While the duo plays traditional analogue instruments and their voices are not altered by, e.g., autotune, the way they disseminate, produce, and promote their music is predominantly digital: the duo's tracks are released on YouTube and Spotify, they started out without a record label, they sample lyrics from digital sources, their interviews appear in digital newspapers, and they are active on social media themselves. Money comes from live performances and advertising on YouTube, and streams. This is not surprising, considering Finland is a digital superpower where internet access is a basic human right (Statistics Finland 2020; European Commission 2020). The digital format gives the band power over their own output and makes them entrepreneurs, while fans can take part in the creative process and the production of the music commodity, which in turn may create a complicated situation where different interests may clash (see Morris 2014, 2015). For example, when Kalevauva.fi first released their songs, there was a lively discussion about who the royalties should go to as the texts have originally been written by others; some people said they felt proud that their comments had been used.[17] In this context, it is also worth noting that Kalevauva.fi donated money to the Federation of Mother and Child Homes and Shelters in Finland in 2017.[18]

Kalevauva.fi counteracts this complex relationship between the audience and the artist by using their popularity for charity projects, such as a recent collaboration with the SEY Animal Welfare Finland to solve the crisis of abandoned cats[19] or the Christmas campaign song that was commissioned by the Finn Church Aid to raise money for developing countries.[20] The band members can thus be seen as entrepreneurs engaging in cause-related marketing where they contribute to charitable causes to flag their societal and corporate responsibility and achieve their own commercial, and perhaps artistic, objectives at the same time (Varadarajan & Menon 1988: 60). This is in line with the trend of millennial consumers placing value in corporate social responsibility, which

has led to more firms entering partnerships with non-profit organisations to appeal to this ethically conscious generation (see Cosgrave & O'Dwyer 2020 for a detailed discussion of this trend).

A study about the reception of the songs and the phenomenon of Kalevauva.fi would complement the present one well. Interviewing listeners and fans would further illustrate the function and effectiveness of the humour in the lyrics. A reception study would also add to our analysis of gender roles as they are portrayed in the songs: it would be interesting to know if men and women perceive the lyrics differently. We would welcome further studies that focus on song writing by method of sampling from internet forums and social media. Studies on the meme-like quality and folkloric elements of popular music are also worth of further study.

NOTES

[1] See https://www.iltalehti.fi/viihdeuutiset/a/201706012200176004, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[2] Note that *some* is the Finnish abbreviation for 'social media'.

[3] See https://www.kalevauva.fi/, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[4] See https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-9042665, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[5] See https://yle.fi/uutiset/3-9042665, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[6] The Finnish word *mies* can mean 'man' or 'husband, co-habiting male partner'. We have translated the latter as 'husband' throughout but it can also refer to a common-law spouse.

[7] *Sima* is a traditional home-made mead-like non-alcoholic drink usually drunk on May Day; the word play is inspired by the comic Fingerpori and is a collaboration between Kalevauva.fi and the hip-hop group Teflon Brothers; see https://www.hs.fi/nyt/art-2000006134724.html, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[8] As per tradition, we will refer to poems in Lönnrot (2005 [1840]) as (*Kanteletar* part number: poem number) to facilitate finding the poems in different editions.

[9] See https://www.vauva.fi/keskustelu/1520242/ketju/tuijottava_koira_mita_meinaa, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[10] See https://www.facebook.com/kalevauva.fi/videos/lomalle-lompsis-kiitollinensiunattuonnellinen/443991073096864/, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[11] See https://www.ess.fi/teemat/720566, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[12] See http://rockandrollgarage.com/lordi-singer-talks-about-ghost-and-kiss-influence/, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[13] The sketch is available on YouTube with English subtitles at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nUyFg9xoPKk, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[14] Finnish hard rock and heavy metal band.

[15] Finnish heavy metal music group.

[16] See https://www.vauva.fi/keskustelu/2824095/nainen-johon-olen-ihastunut-vihaa-minua, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[17] See https://www.radionova.fi/ohjelmat/radio-novan-iltapaiva/a-124753We, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[18] See https://www.ess.fi/teemat/720566, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[19] See https://sey.fi/kalevauva-fi-julkaisi-hylatyille-kissoille-omistetun-kappaleen-kalevauva-fi-on-seyn-kissakriisi-kampanjan-suojelija/, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

[20] See https://www.kirkonulkomaanapu.fi/ajankohtaista/uutiset/toisenlaisen-lahjan-ja-kalevauva-fin-yhteistyosta-syntyi-kappale-joulustressi/, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

REFERENCES

Aho, Marko & Kärjä, Antti-Ville (eds.) 2007. *Populaarimusiikin tutkimus*. [The Study of Popular Music.] Tampere: Vastapaino.

Altheide, David L. & Schneider, Christopher J. 2013 [1996]. *Qualitative Media Analysis*. 2nd edition. Los Angeles: SAGE.

Barbe, Katharina 1995. *Irony in Context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Barker, Chris 2011 [2000]. *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice*. 4th edition. London: SAGE.

Billig, Michael 2005. *Laughter and Ridicule: Towards a Social Critique of Humour*. London: SAGE.

Blank, Trevor J. 2009. Introduction: Toward a Conceptual Framework for the Study of Folklore and the Internet. In: Trevor Blank (ed.) *Folklore and the Internet: Vernacular Expression in a Digital World*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, pp. 1–20.

Burgess, Jean Elizabeth 2007. *Vernacular Creativity and New Media.* Diss. (PhD Thesis). Queensland University of Technology, Australia. Available at https://eprints.qut.edu.au/16378/, last accessed on 16 January 2023.

Coser, Rose Laub 1959. Some Social Functions of Laughter: A Study of Humor in a Hospital Setting. *Human Relations*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 171–182. https://doi.org/10.1177/001872675901200205.

Cosgrave, David & O'Dwyer, Michele 2020. Ethical Standards and Perceptions of CRM among Millennial Consumers. *International Marketing Review*, Vol. 37, No. 5, pp. 863–884. https://doi.org/10.1108/IMR-05-2019-0125.

Doesburg, Charlotte 2021. Of Heroes, Maidens and Squirrels: Reimagining Traditional Finnish Folk Poetry in Metal Lyrics. *Metal Music Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 317–333. https://doi.org/10.1386/mms_00051_1.

Dorson, Richard M. (ed.) 2011 [1978]. *Folklore in the Modern World*. The Hague: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110803099.

Dubberley, W. S. 1988. Humor as Resistance. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 109–123. https://doi.org/10.1080/0951839880010201.

DuBois, Thomas Andrew 1995. *Finnish Folk Poetry and the* Kalevala. New York: Garland Publishing.

DuBois, Thomas Andrew 1997. Lönnrot and Värttinä: (Re)presenting Oral Tradition to a Willing Audience. *Journal of Finnish Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 27–36.

Eagleton, Terry 2019. *Humour*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

European Commission 2020 = Digital Economy and Society Index (DESI) 2020. Finland. Available at https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/policies/desi-finland#:~:text=Finland%20ranks%202nd%20in%20Digital,member%20states%20with%20some%20distance, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

Fewster, Derek 2008. Kalevala ja muinaisuuden politisoituminen. [Kalevala and the Politicisation of Ancient Time.] In: Ulla Piela & Seppo Knuuttila & Pekka Laaksonen (eds.) *Kalevalan kulttuurihistoria*. [Cultural History of the Kalevala.] Helsinki: SKS, pp. 190–205.

Frank, Russell 2011. *Newslore: Contemporary Folklore on the Internet*. Jackson, Miss.: University Press of Mississippi.

Harvilahti, Lauri 2002. Eepostutkimus 2000: Maailman eeposten moninaisuus ja uudet haasteet. [Epic Research 2000: World's Epic's Diversity and New Challenges.] *Kalevalaseuran vuosikirja*, Vol. 79–80, pp. 278–283.

Hearn, Jeff & Lattu, Emmi 2002. The Recent Development of Finnish Studies on Men: A Selective Review and a Critique of a Neglected Field. *NORA – Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 49–60. https://doi.org/10.1080/080387402317533880.

Honko, Lauri 1985. The Kalevala Process. In: *Kalevala 1835–1985: The National Epic of Finland*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Library, pp. 16–24.

Honko, Lauri (ed.) 1990. *Religion, Myth, and Folklore in the World's Epics: The Kalevala and Its Predecessors*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Honko, Lauri 1996. Changing National Identities: Finland. *Anthropological Journal on European Cultures*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 35–63. Available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/43234804, last accessed on 16 January 2023.

Hutcheon, Linda 2003 [1994]. *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony*. London: Routledge.

Huuki, Tuija & Manninen, Sari & Sunnari, Vappu 2010. Humour as a Resource and Strategy for Boys to Gain Status in the Field of Informal School. *Gender and Education*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 369–383. https://doi.org/10.1080/09540250903352317.

Jaakkola, Jutta & Toivonen, Aarne 2005. *Inspired by Tradition: Kalevala Poetry in Finnish Music*. Jyväskylä: Gummerus.

Jalkanen, Pekka & Kurkela, Vesa 2003. *Suomen musiikin historia: Populaarimusiikki*. [The History of Finnish Music: Popular Music.] Helsinki: WSOY.

Janhonen, Kristiina 2017. The Roles of Humour and Laughter in Youth Focus Groups on School Food. *Journal of Youth Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 9, pp. 1127–1142. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2017.1311404.

Jokinen, Arto 1999. Suomalainen miestutkimus ja -liike: Muutoksen mahdollisuus? [Finnish Masculinity Research and Movement: Opportunity for Change.] In: Arto Jokinen (ed.) *Mies ja muutos: Kriittisen miestutkimuksen teemoja*. [Man and Change: Themes in Critical Studies of Masculinity.] Tampere: Tampere University Press, pp. 15–51. Available at https://trepo.tuni.fi/handle/10024/68101, last accessed on 16 January 2023.

Jokinen, Arto 2000. *Panssaroitu maskuliinisuus: Mies, väkivalta ja kulttuuri*. [Armoured Masculinity: Man, Violence, and Culture.] Tampere: Tampere University Press. Available at https://trepo.tuni.fi/handle/10024/68040, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Kallioniemi, Kari & Kärki, Kimi 2009. The *Kalevala*, Popular Music, and National Culture. *Journal of Finnish Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 61–72. Available at https://www.academia.edu/630952/, last accessed on 16 January 2023.

Kärjä, Antti-Ville 2017. A Metahistorical Inquiry into Historiography of Nordic Popular Music. In: Fabian Holt & Antti-Ville Kärjä (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Popular Music in the Nordic Countries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 185–202. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190603908.013.0010.

Karjalainen, Toni-Matti & Kärki, Kimi (eds.) 2020. *Made in Finland*: *Studies in Popular Music*. London: Routledge.

Karkama, Pertti 2001. *Kansakunnan asialla: Elias Lönnrot ja ajan aatteet.* [For the Nation: Elias Lönnrot and Ideology of the Time.] Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Kärki, Kimi 2015. Forging Metal: The *Kalevala* in the Finnish Heavy Metal Performance. In: Toni-Matti Karjalainen & Kimi Kärki (eds.) *Modern Heavy Metal: Markets, Practices and Cultures.* International Academic Research Conference, 8–12 June 2015, Helsinki, Finland. Conference Proceedings. Helsinki: Aalto University, pp. 131–137.

Kärki, Kimi 2020. Performing National Identities. In: Toni-Matti Karjalainen & Kimi Kärki (eds.) *Made in Finland: Studies in Popular Music*. London: Routledge, pp. 201–216.

Kaukonen, Väinö 1979. *Lönnrot ja Kalevala*. [Lönnrot and the *Kalevala.*] Helsinki: SKS.

Kaukonen, Väinö 1990. The Kalevala as Epic. In: Lauri Honko (ed.) *Religion, Myth, and Folklore in the World's Epics: The Kalevala and Its Predecessors*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 157–179.

Keegan-Phipps, Simon & Wright, Lucy 2020. "Tradition", Vernacularism, and Learning to Be a Folk Musician with Social Media. In: Janice L. Waldron & Stephanie Horsley & Kari K. Veblen (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Social Media and Music Learning*. New York: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190660772.013.26.

Kerkkänen, Paavo & Kuiper, Nicholas A. & Martin, Rod A. 2004. Sense of Humor, Physical Health, and Well-Being at Work: A Three-Year Longitudinal Study of Finnish Police Officers. *Humor – International Journal of Humor Research,* Vol. 17, No. 1/2, pp. 21–35. https://doi.org/10.1515/humr.2004.006.

Kiuru, Eino 1994. The Wife-Killer Theme in Karelian and Russian Songs. In: Anna-Leena Siikala & Sinikka Vakimo (eds.) *Songs Beyond the* Kalevala*: Transformations of Oral Poetry*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, pp. 220–235.

Klein, Barbro 2015. Folklore. In: James D. Wright (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 280–284. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.12074-4.

Krijnen, Tonny & Bauwel, Sofie van 2015. *Gender and Media: Representing, Producing, Consuming*. London: Routledge.

Krippendorff, Klaus 2013 [2004]. *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. 3rd edition. London: SAGE.

Kupiainen, Tarja 2002. The Forbidden Love of Sister and Brother: The Incest Theme in Archangel Karelian Kalevala Meter Epic. In: Anna-Leena Siikala (ed.) *Myth and Mentality: Studies in Folklore and Popular Thought*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, pp. 272–300.

Lahti, Martti 1998. Dressing Up in Power: Tom of Finland and Gay Male Body Politics. *Journal of Homosexuality*, Vol. 35, No. 3/4, pp. 185–205. https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v35n03_08.

Lahtinen, Toni & Lehtimäki, Markku 2007. *Roll over Runeberg: Kirjallisuustieteellisiä esseitä rocklyriikasta.* [Roll over Runeberg: Literary Criticism Essays about Rock Lyrics.] Tampere: Tampereen yliopisto.

Laineste, Liisi 2013. Funny or Aggressive: Failed Humour in Internet Comments. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Vol. 53, pp. 29–46. https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2013.53.laineste.

Lehtonen, Mikko 1999. Maskuliinisuus, kansallisuus, identiteetti. [Masculinity, Nationality, Identity.] In: Arto Jokinen (ed.) *Mies ja muutos: Kriittisen miestutkimuksen teemoja*. [Man and Change: Themes in Critical Studies of Masculinity.] Tampere: Tampere University Press, pp. 74–88. Available at https://trepo.tuni.fi/handle/10024/68101, last accessed on 16 January 2023.

Linkoheimo, Eveliina 2015. *Yhteisöllisyyden keinot keskustelupalstoilla: Miten vauva.fi:n äityiskeskustelupalstoja voidaan kehittää?* [Ways to Create a Community on Discussion Forums: How Can Motherhood Discussion Forums on vauva.fi Be Developed?] Diss. (PhD Thesis). Haaga-Helia ammattikorkeakoulu. Available at https://www.theseus.fi/handle/10024/91896, last accessed on 27 January 2023.

Lomborg, Stine 2014. *Social Media, Social Genres: Making Sense of the Ordinary*. New York & London: Routledge.

Lönnrot, Elias 2005 [1840]. *Kanteletar, elikkä Suomen kansan vanhoja lauluja ja virsiä*. [Kanteletar, Or the Old Songs and Poems of the Finnish People.] Helsinki: SKS.

Maglov, Marija 2016. Musical Genre as an Indicator of the Unity in Diversity Concept: Case Study of the ESC's Winning Song *Hard Rock Hallelujah. ART+MEDIA Journal of Art and Media Studies*, Vol. 10, pp. 59–65. http://dx.doi.org/10.25038/am.v0i10.134.

Mäkelä, Janne 2008. The State of Rock: A History of Finland's Cultural Policy and Music Export. *Popular Music*, Vol. 27, No. 2, pp. 257–269. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143008004054.

Mäkelä, Janne 2009. Alternations: The Case of International Success in Finnish Popular Music. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 367–382. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549409105369.

Mäkelä, Janne 2011. *Kansainvälisen populaarimusiikin historiaa.* [History of International Popular Music.] Helsinki: Suomen Jazz & Pop Arkisto.

McGhee, Paul E. 1979. *Humor: Its Origin and Development.* San Francisco: Freeman.

Morris, Jeremy Wade 2015. *Selling Digital Music, Formatting Culture.* Oakland, California: University of California Press.

Morris, Jeremy Wade 2014. Artists as Entrepreneurs, Fans as Workers. *Popular Music and Society*, Vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 273–290. https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2013.778534.

Narvaez, Peter 2003. *Of Corpse: Death and Humor in Folklore and Popular Culture*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press. Available at https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/usupress_pubs/52/, last accessed on 16 January 2023.

Neilson, Tai 2015. Where Metal and Myth Collide – Finnish Folk Metal. In: Scott A. Wilson (ed.) *Music at the Extremes: Essays on Sounds Outside the Mainstream*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., pp. 129–142.

Oksanen, Atte 2011. Drinking to Death: Traditional Masculinity, Alcohol and Shame in Finnish Metal Lyrics. *Nordic Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 357–372. https://doi.org/10.2478/v10199-011-0030-3.

Ollila, Anne 1998. Perspectives to Finnish Identity. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Vol. 23, No. 3/4, pp. 127–137. https://doi.org/10.1080/03468759850115918.

Oring, Elliott 2016. *Joking Asides: The Theory, Analysis, and Aesthetics of Humor*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press.

Papenburg, Bettina (ed.) 2017. *Gender: Laughter*. Farmington Hills, Mich.: Macmillan Reference.

Peltonen, Matti 2000. Between Landscape and Language: The Finnish National Self-Image in Transition. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, Vol, 25, No. 4, pp. 265–280. https://doi.org/10.1080/034687500750046924.

Pentikäinen, Juha 1987. *Kalevalan mytologia*. [Kalevala Mythology.] Helsinki: Gaudeamus.

Piela, Ulla & Knuuttila, Seppo & Laaksonen, Pekka (eds.) 2008. *Kalevalan kulttuurihistoria*. [Cultural History of the Kalevala.] Helsinki: SKS.

Ramstedt, Kim 2015. Chase Sound Boys out of Earth: The Aura of Dubplate Specials in Finnish Reggae Sound System Culture. *Dancecult: Journal of Electronic Dance Music Culture*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 25–42. http://dx.doi.org/10.12801/1947-5403.2015.07.02.02.

Ridanpää, Juha 2009. Geopolitics of Humour: The Muhammed Cartoon Crisis and the *Kaltio* Comic Strip Episode in Finland. *Geopolitics*, Vol. 14, No. 4, pp. 729–749. https://doi.org/10.1080/14650040903141372.

Shifman, Limor 2014. *Memes in Digital Culture*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Siikala, Anna-Leena 2002. What Myths Tell about Past Finno-Ugric Modes of Thinking. In: Anna-Leena Siikala (ed.) *Myth and Mentality: Studies in Folklore and Popular Thought*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, pp. 15–32.

Simonen, Jenni 2012. Miehet ja alkoholi: Ikä, koulutustausta ja juomisen maskuliinisuus. [Men and Alcohol: Age, Education Background, and Masculinity of Drinking.] *Yhteiskuntapolitiikka*, Vol. 77, No. 4, pp. 386–402. Available at https://www.julkari.fi/handle/10024/102991, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

SKVR 1908 = Niemi, Robert Aukusti (ed.). *Suomen kansan vanhat runot 1*. [The Old Poems of the Finnish People 1.] Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society.

Statistics Finland 2020 = Use of the Internet for Following the Media and for Communication Has Increased. *Statistics Finland*, 10 November. Available at https://www.stat.fi/til/sutivi/2020/sutivi_2020_2020-11-10_tie_001_en.html, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

Takovski, Aleksandar 2019. Representing Sexuality through Folklore: Erotic Folktales and Online Jokes As 'Mirrors' of Gender Hierarchies. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Vol. 75, pp. 149–172. https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2019.75.takovski.

Tarkka, Lotte 1994. Other Worlds: Symbolism, Dialogue and Gender in Karelian Oral Poetry. In: Anna-Leena Siikala & Sinikka Vakimo (eds.) *Songs Beyond the Kalevala: Transformations of Oral Poetry*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, pp. 250–298.

Terrion, Jenepher Lennox & Ashforth, Blake E. 2002. From 'I' to 'We': The Role of Putdown Humor and Identity in the Development of a Temporary Group. *Human Relations*, Vol. 55, No. 1, pp. 55–88. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0018726702055001606.

Tervo, Mervi 2014. From Appropriation to Translation: Localizing Rap Music in Finland. *Popular Music and Society*, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 169–186. https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2012.740819.

Tervo, Mervi & Ridanpää, Juha 2016. Humor and Parody in Finnish Rap Music Videos. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 6, pp. 616–636. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367549416632006.

Timonen, Senni 1998. "Every Tree Bites Me": North Karelian Lyric Poetry. In: Satu Apo & Aili Nenola & Laura Stark-Arola (eds.) *Gender and Folklore: Perspectives on Finnish and Karelian Culture*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, pp. 201–235.

Tolvanen, Hannu 2006. The Quiet Past and the Loud Present: The Kalevala and Heavy Metal. *Volume! La revue des musiques populaires*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 75–89. https://doi.org/10.4000/volume.498.

Utriainen, Terhi 1998. Feminine and Masculine in the Study of Balto-Finnic Laments. In: Satu Apo & Aili Nenola & Laura Stark-Arola (eds.) *Gender and Folklore: Perspectives on Finnish and Karelian Culture*. Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, pp. 175–200.

Valijärvi, Riitta-Liisa 2017. Representations of Finland in Contemporary Finnish Popular Music. In: Ulla Tuomarla & Iwona Piechnik & Bernadett Bíró (eds.) *Finland Suomi 100: Language, Culture, History*. Helsinki: University of Helsinki, pp. 283–303. Available at https://tuhat.helsinki.fi/ws/portalfiles/portal/97036135/Finland_Suomi_100_final.pdf, last accessed on 17 January 2023.

Valkonen, Jukka & Hänninen, Vilma 2013. Narratives of Masculinity and Depression. *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 160–180. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X12464377.

Varadarajan, Rajan P. & Menon, Anil 1988. Cause Related Marketing: A Coalignment of Marketing Strategy and Corporate Philanthropy. *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 52, No. 3, pp. 58–74. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/002224298805200306.

Vucetic, Srđjan 2004. Identity is a Joking Matter: Intergroup Humor in Bosnia. *Spaces of Identity*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 7–34.

Wiggins, Bradley E. 2019. *The Discursive Power of Memes in Digital Culture: Ideology, Semiotics, and Intertextuality*. London: Routledge.

Charlotte Doesburg received her PhD from University College London, United Kingdom, in 2022. For her PhD, she researched the adaptation of the *Kalevala* and other folk poetry in Finnish metal music and its connections to Finnish national identity.

charlotte.doesburg.16@ucl.ac.uk

Riitta-Liisa Valijärvi is Associate Professor of Finnish and Minority Languages at University College London, United Kingdom, and Senior Lecturer of Finnish at Uppsala University, Sweden. She has previously studied Finnish pop music and Estonian heavy metal.

r.valijarvi@ucl.ac.uk

https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2023.88.latinyte

MESSAGES BEHIND SELF-GIFTING PRACTICES: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL-ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACH

Rūta Latinytė
Lecturer
Institute of Communication
Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius, Lithuania
r.latinyte@gmail.com

Abstract: Using the tools of phenomenological anthropology and the means of research into everyday practices, the article discusses contemporary gift-giving practices, focusing on the special cases of gift giving, revealed through the narratives of respondents who were interviewed for the research conducted in Lithuania – a country on the borders of Western, Eastern, and Northern Europe. The analyzed special cases are self-gifts – the ones purchased by the respondents and originally called "a gift to myself" by them, whereas they emphasize that it was not an ordinary purchase but certainly a gift. This phenomenon is analyzed through a deeper insight into three cases: excerpts of qualitative unstructured interviews conducted for the research and a description of the author's personal experience. In this article, they are presented along with the comments of the author as is characteristic of the phenomenological research. The analysis seeks to reveal how the experiences with self-gifts occur, acquire meaning and place in memory, and how this affects a person's relationship with themselves and those around them. Although the self-gifting practice sounds like a paradox, it exists in the language and everyday practices, so this analysis aims to look for a deeper message encoded behind the words of individual stories.

Keywords: exchange, gift, phenomenological anthropology, research of everyday practices, social relations

INTRODUCTION

Talking about gifts has been one of the most complex topics in the humanities since the famous essay of Marcel Mauss, first published nearly a hundred years ago. Since then many sociological, anthropological, and philosophical discourses around the gift have resulted in mind-opening theories, and this topic is still actual and surprising today, especially in light of different cultures and changing

practices. For example, popular Christmas gifts are showed as important objects in the permanent exhibition "Encounters" at the Estonian National Museum in Tartu. Popular gifts from the nineties to nowadays help to talk about the regular Estonian people and their daily lives. My study was made in the context of a culture with a close historical background – Lithuania, and it also aims to look deeper into daily practices (gifts in particular) and experiences of simple everyday life, which tend to be the most hidden and taken for granted.

I discovered the phenomenon of self-gifts by studying the gifts circulating in modern Lithuanian society. I examined how people experience and value gifts, seek to leave an impression, or, on the contrary, to ignore the obligation of gift giving by avoiding them in every way they can. Among the different experiences and approaches, I noticed a behavior characteristic of some (but not all) respondents – to give gifts to themselves, as they explained it in their own words. Such a practice was not widespread or visibly recorded in the traditional Lithuanian culture. Gift giving was quite common during family or annual holiday celebrations, but traditional presents were always given to someone else. Self-gifting is a specific modern behavior that allows us to grasp and reflect on the changes in society as well as on the emerging and deepening division between the Self and the Other Self in our self-perception.

This study is integral to the extensive debate in the humanities on the topic of gift giving. Beginning with Malinowski (1922), gift exchange has been examined structurally (Lévi-Strauss 1963; Mauss 1923–1924), linguistically (Benveniste 1997; Mauss 1997), socially (Caillé 1994, 2007), economically and politically (Bourdieu 1980, 2017; Sahlins 1997). It also caught the eye of existential and phenomenological philosophy (Schutz 1962; Merleau-Ponty 1964; Jackson 1998) and its critique (Derrida 1991, 1992a, 1992b). Modern authors looked at the phenomenon of the gift as a tool for a broader understanding of social, religious, and creative life (Godbout & Caillé 2000; Marion 2002, 2011; Hyde 2012; Pyyhtinen 2016).

In theory, the notion of a self-gift is a complicated one. According to the classical structure revealed by Mauss, gift giving always involves the obligation to give, to receive, and to reciprocate. Yet, Syvain Dzimira together with Alain Caillé in the famous *Revue du MAUSS* divided all the theorists debating about the gift into four groups (Dzimira 2006). The first one involves the economic concept of gift exchange, based on material, pragmatic interests, such as in the works of Franz Boas or Pierre Bourdieu. The second group could be called "the inexistentialists", such as Marcel Gauchet or Jacques Derrida, who prove that the gift itself is impossible, or only recognizes the existence of giving in very limited regions or time periods (Caillé 2021: 59). For example, in Derrida's deconstruction, a gift ceases to exist as soon as it is given (Derrida 1991: 27).

The third group deals with theories describing the complexity of the gift that always links to something else, as revealed by Claude Lévi-Strauss. The fourth group gathers the concept similar to the opinion of the members of the *Revue du MAUSS*, where the gift can fulfill various functions (economic, social, political, and more), but it may not be reduced to anything else than the gift itself. This might be perceived as a moral middle or a sign uniting different oppositions: between war and peace, life and death, interest and indifference, and so on.

In my study, I chose to start from a phenomenological standpoint, demanding to abandon all preliminary attitudes and beliefs. I chose to lean on the language, or the Saussurean *langage*, to be precise, as the self-gifts appear in the use of the vocabulary. So, the analyzed self-gift is a situation described in the words of respondents when the purchased item is named as a gift and allocated that precise meaning of a gift, not a common thing. This concept includes handicrafts and goods as well as non-material goods like services that a person purchases or acquires to give them as a gift to himself/herself, and it is different from ordinary purchases. I take the usage of a language as an anthropological fact without questioning it – if it exists in the language, it is true. And if it contradicts what the "gift" is meant to be from a theoretical point of view, then we really need to take a more attentive look at this phenomenon to understand it.

A self-gift as a special occasion to acquire an expensive object could be seen as typical of post-socialist countries where things were not available for many years; however, I can see such manner of vocabulary use also in other cultures and languages. For example, in contemporary sociology and anthropology, "gifts to oneself" or "self-gifting" are also examined in the context of marketing theories (Pusaksrikit & Kang 2016; Howland 2010; Luomala & Laaksonen 1999; Mick & DeMoss 1990; Sherry & McGrath & Levy 1995; Park 2018). In communication, anthropology has acquired an applied mission to help understand customer behavior and design an attractive offer. In psychology the "self-gratifier" is seen as a way to compensate the deprivation of recognition from others and to survive in a non-intimate community (Schwartz 1967).

Marketing communication uses self-gifts to grab consumers' attention and encourage them to buy by conveying a message about self-rewarding or the therapeutic effect of the provided comfort (Weisfeld-Spolter & Rippé & Gould 2015). The complex of an individual's thoughts and feelings, which determines the decision making – the purchasing of an item (gift giving) – is essential for the marketing interests.

The motive behind my research is slightly different. Marketing specialists have tried to design or reinforce the phenomenon of self-gifting to manipulate consumer behavior; I, on the other hand, view it in my research as an experiential and expressive behavior and do not seek to change it. I was interested in

cultural nuances and personal experiences – structurally identical but unique in terms of meaning – that remain a bit further from the picture of theoretically generalized phenomenon of gift giving. The personal factor of the experience of gift giving has not yet been touched upon in the works of Lithuanian ethnologists and anthropologists. Only traditional gift-giving customs have been studied, yet in a completely different aspect – by describing and categorizing them, and by stating the practices of gift giving or donation as a historical fact.

From the researcher's perspective we can understand how phenomena work only in the conditions in which they exist as human experience – "here and now", through the practices and impressions of the living people. Therefore, the goal of my research is to listen carefully to individual stories and see how things that are happening take place and what exactly is being experienced. Viewing gift giving as a daily practice, I look for what gifts provide. How does the experience of this event occur? How is it given meaning and how this meaning changes in the face of time and new actions? It was also important for me to grasp the observed dual relationship that the self-gifting people have with themselves and the surrounding world.

METHODOLOGY

The study began with qualitative unstructured interviews with various respondents and descriptions of my own experiences. More than 40 interviews were carried out about the topic with over 40 hours of registered records and stenography. The main remarks and repeatedly mentioned attitudes (such as the preference either to give or to receive gifts, the practice of giving gifts to oneself or to ask for charity donations to someone else instead of a gift, and more) were then formed as a questionnaire for a quantitative study – a representative opinion survey with 1,013 respondents from all over Lithuania (aged between 18 and 75, including all demographic layers). The survey was conducted in January 2021.

In this article I selected three typical situations from the qualitative part of the research – the excerpts from the interviews to expand a deeper analysis. The three cases (two women and one man) are different but characterized by the intensity of experience: (1) childhood memory about the first gift to oneself and the following feeling of hesitation and guilt; (2) a guaranteed and unquestionable self-gift, when, even after the failure of the first idea, it is still fulfilled; and (3) a self-gift bought on a trip and taken home. These interviews and the experiences described are stored in my personal archive. At the request of the respondents, their names have been changed, only their age and gender are indicated.

The chosen methodological basis is an anthropological study of everyday practices, as a branch of ethnography and anthropology, designed to understand how the experiences that we encounter take place. Therefore, the focus of the study is on the totality of the experience, which goes beyond the text as a part of the phenomenological description.

This method of including sensitive daily and personal practices, inseparable from the researcher's participation, has been used by Michel de Certeau and Luce Giard (Certeau 1990; Certeau & Giard & Mayol 1998: 149–155). Elizabeth Behnke (2010) and also some other authors apply personal experience, which is preferred in a phenomenological study, in their works. The use of phenomenological philosophy to analyze personal experiences and stories is especially significant in the whole scope of writings by Alphonso Lingis (2001) and Algis Mickunas (Mickūnas & Jonkus 2014). The methods used for the research of everyday practices have been described in more detail by M. de Certeau (Certeau 1990; Certeau & Giard & Mayol 1998), Ben Highmore (2002), Éric Chauvier (2014, 2017), and, in the context of Lithuanian culture, by Giedrė Šmitienė (2000, 2014, 2017, 2018) and Jurga Jonutytė (2011, 2017).

In the course of this study, we will see how each experience is unique and personal, but at the same time characteristic of today's society. Therefore, each in-depth description can help understand the relationship processes of an individual as well as of the changing society.

CASE 1: A GIFT TO ONESELF AND A SENSE OF GUILT

This memory was aroused by the researcher's curiosity. After establishing that people give gifts to themselves and that this is a surprising, research-worthy phenomenon, I asked myself thoughtlessly "And do you give gifts to yourself?" I must admit that I do. "What is the first one that comes to mind?" And then I remembered a schoolgirl splashing her way through the sleet and the slushy Old Town of Vilnius, carrying a few shopping bags of knick-knacks for the upcoming Christmas.

> *I remember my childhood Christmas and the preparations for it differently – one year more vividly while others disappeared among the subsequent impressions. One of the most striking memories was when I was perhaps in the fifth grade, already quite independent – it happened around 1995. At that time, my sister and I, we already knew the real thing about the Santa Claus. For the first time in our lives we decided*

that we would also buy gifts for parents and friends during the holidays. Therefore, for a good month, we carefully saved our daily allowance. It was a good opportunity to ask Mom for as many metal coins as possible (Mom won't let us stay without lunch at school anyways) and because of that, my sister and I would ostentatiously sing the English "Jingle Bells" every evening. That is why in our family the savings for Christmas were given the name of "Jingle Bells".

The holidays were approaching, and I had probably saved the largest amount of money I had ever had in my life. Walking around the old town, I was looking for nice little gifts for all the family members. A Nivea deodorant for dad, sparkly keychains for Mom and sister, some candy and other trinkets for my friends from school. Among all these gifts there was one item that I had my eye on, worth almost half the savings. At the UNICEF office, where they sold Christmas cards, calendars, and other souvenirs decorated with drawings from children and artists around the world, they would also sell a palm-sized foldable triple notebook with a tiny pen inside. I couldn't take my eyes off it. The whole life could fit into that pretty notebook: notes, calendar, and an alphabetically organized phone book. I wanted it so bad, but I could not give it to anyone else, I fancied it for myself. That desire overcame me, and it became a gift to myself for Christmas, secretly packed at night and put under the Christmas tree with the other presents. Of course, it was the most expensive gift from all the "Jingle Bells" savings.

That notebook was extremely dear to me, so I did not even dare to use it right away; I kept it in a drawer as a treasure for at least a couple of years. I knew that as soon as I started writing, its days would be numbered – there would be enough pages for exactly one year, as many as there are empty days in the calendar.

Finally, I was writing in the notebook very carefully, enjoying it every day. And yet, to this day, I remember a tiny little inner voice saying: how could you do this? After all, you bought yourself the most expensive gift with the daily allowance you scrounged off your mom to save for others.

Strangely, only now, reflecting on this story and already being a mother myself, I thought that the notebook was a symbolic gift from my mother, which she enjoyed with me. After all, it was not for herself that she was dispensing the coins for our piggybanks. That thought helped me. I started to feel gratitude for my mother and finally found comfort.

What does this experience show? Is it a transition from childhood (when gifts are received) to adulthood (giving gifts to children) where the narrator is still

a child and therefore finds herself in the role of both a giver and a recipient? Is it vanity, greed, and selfishness, or maybe a lack of attention that the girl of the time was trying to compensate for? Or perhaps it was a search for a connection with her mother, which was triggered by a much later exchange of roles?

The feeling that characterizes this experience is hesitation. Was the most expensive gift bought for oneself the right move or should the sense of guilt be acknowledged? Sherry and colleagues argue that self-gifts interfere with the conflicting ideals inherent in modern Western society, such as "sociability and self-denial" and "narcissism and pride in one's accomplishments" (Sherry & McGrath & Levy 1995: 403). Teresa Heath, Caroline Tynan and Christine Ennew found a change in self-perception: "there is some immediate 'therapeutic' effect of self-gift giving. Most participants described feeling 'better' or 'satisfied' (Heath & Tynan & Ennew 2015: 23), but afterwards, the therapeutic effect of buying a self-gift (associated with unfavorable contexts) tends to diminish. Equally, negative emotions such as guilt tend to grow, as the individual realizes that the purchase did not really help (Heath & Tynan & Ennew 2015). This is exactly what happened to the heroine of the story with her notebook.

The anxiety and a feeling of discomfort brought back the memory of the event and raised the need to get to know something that is incomprehensible, even though that something is part of the Self. This internal conflict is a necessary condition for self-reflection. In the memory the experience splits into two Selves: the acting Self (the one who acted) and the reflecting, evaluating, judging Self (the one who sees the whole situation from a certain distance). According to Waldenfels, "the act of drawing a boundary can thus be compared to the act of making a contract, an act which does not become a part of the contract itself, yet which becomes tangible indirectly through a change in one's responsibilities". Here Waldenfels emphasizes that "the self-referentiality of drawing boundaries consists in its self-withdrawal" (Waldenfels 2011: 15).

The conflict with oneself described in this life-story excerpt finds itself on the axis of the one who creates the value of the gift object. As a popular joke says – a good gift is the one you want to keep for yourself. The value attributed to the described item is the highest in terms of the price as to the money the child had in her pocket, and at the same time the object is unsurpassed in its splendor. It is impossible to renounce the desired object – it must be bought. It is also impossible to give it to someone else because the gift is just too good.

Therefore, the Self becomes that Other, who is addressed with all the ceremonies necessary for gift giving: "secretly packed at night and put under the Christmas tree". Moreover, even the Self as the Other Self turns out not to be worthy of such a gift, at least not immediately ("I kept it in a drawer as a treasure for at least a couple of years"). This gift was too precious to give it

away so that not even the Self was able to accept it immediately (or to bypass the feeling of shame), and that effort was later accompanied by the thoroughness of the daily notes.

Certainly, the ceremony of wrapping the gift could also be held as a performance made for others (i.e., family members). This brings back the notion of guilt, for it might be too daring to simply take the object, but now it is officially (secretly) given by the "Santa Claus" as all other gifts under the Christmas tree.

This kind of Other Self becomes inaccessible, non-identical, different, alien Self. In his phenomenological discourse Waldenfels distinguishes between the terms Other and Alien. Alien is not like the dual Self and Other, it requires a complete separation from Ownness, which "arises when something withdraws from it, and exactly that which withdraws from what we experience as alien or heterogeneous" (Waldenfels 2011: 11).

In this situation the gift-giving Self and the receiving Self, as well as the event-experiencing Self and the remembering Self, are irreconcilably different subjects (but not persons). The first one to introduce and "legalize" such a division of the Self was Sigmund Freud with *id, ego,* and *superego*. With this most radical form of separation, we are never entirely present to ourselves as embodied beings: "The body is unlike any other object in that, though its five senses, and thus in multiple ways, it is both observer and observed" (Friesen 2014: 71).

A gift, like a poison (named *pharmakon* by Derrida), requires the mutuality of two subjects and a relationship. When it is missing, a conflict ensues – the division and alienation of the Self, the inability to forgive oneself (*pardonner* in French and *forgive* in English); in other words, the inability to accept oneself because of the separation of the Self and the Other Self is necessary to carry out the action.

It seems that with this hesitation and guilt, the pinnacle of cultural change was touched upon when giving the best thing to the Other turned into giving it to oneself. The resulting conflict and the rejection and alienation of the Self are resolved by a third party – the mother's figure. By exchanging places with the gift-giving Self and by embodying the gift-giving person, the mother becomes the real Other. In this way, the giving and the receiving of a gift at the perceptive level is finally no longer opposed and can heal the guilt by creating a new world order – a consolation.

CASE 2: A WELL-DESERVED GIFT

Another story takes us back to Christmas again. And while it looks remarkably similar to the childhood memory about the UNICEF notebook, a different aspect is of great importance here – the certainty about giving a gift to oneself, contrary to the doubt in the first story.

The story of Mr. Edvinas (aged 48) reads as follows:

> *– As the Russians say, sebe liubimomu* [to the beloved self]*, I always give something on my birthday and on Christmas Day. To myself. Well, I buy something, and I call it a Christmas present. For instance, as it was Christmas, I thought there was an opportunity to buy something, so I thought this would be a Christmas present for me* [points to a smart bracelet on his hand]. *Although, you know, I wanted to buy it a long time ago, but now I had the right opportunity.*
> *– And what feeling do you get when you buy yourself a present?*
> *– Like buying any other item for myself* [laughs]. *Nothing special. But it's just shopping, it is not the same as giving or receiving gifts. It gives pleasure. So, this is just pure shopping, just with a tint of a gift.* [pause] *Somehow this year I was even determined ... I simply saw an advertisement that there was a discount in a Mitsubishi showroom ... I went in, pressed* [on the banner ad] *and it said, "Give your old car back and get a new one," and I got interested. I was already excited that I was going to buy a new car. Basically, it would be a gift to myself, that's what I thought, that in the end, I am worthy of this gift* [we both laugh]*, worthy of doing something nice for myself, and I was really into it. Then they asked me to write down the details of my car and promised to contact me. Unfortunately, the car seller said that since my car was from the US, they were unable to change it for a new one. So, this is how my gift failed ... I remained without a gift and then I bought myself this* [smart bracelet].
> *– Right after?*
> *– Yes, I thought, no, I won't buy a car, I will get that* [bracelet].

This story testifies to an established value that cannot be avoided and eliminated; otherwise, it would be a loss. The way it was created and executed lines up into a whole narrative structure.

Value creation starts with car advertising. The interlocutor admits about feeling proud, saying, "I deserve it". The journey to the destination is interrupted by a challenge – various conditions and the need to fill out documents. A negative answer means that the car cannot become that dream "gift to oneself" but

the occasion (Christmas) and the need to give oneself a gift that is valuable enough ("because I am worth it") remain. Moreover, the failure to do so results in a state of lack. This desired value is replaced by another type of gift – a smart bracelet. At the same time, it restores the sense of being able to control the world. You cannot affect the occurring circumstances, but you can change the conditions of your gift and choose a different object to accommodate the same meaning and value – just like in a fairy tale!

Here we can notice how a simple everyday practice of self-gifting behavior becomes a tool for unconscious self-evaluation. The material way to express self-value is encoded in the Indo-European language way deeper and in former times than it might look. According to the linguistic analysis of Émile Benveniste, "the value attributed to somebody is measured by the offerings of which he is judged worthy" (Benveniste 1973). He elaborated this idea in another famous article, where he analyzed the terms related to the notions of the gift, giving, and receiving in Indo-European languages. In his conclusions, he directly linked the notions of exchange, value, and meaning fairly widespread in Indo-European vocabularies: "'Value' is characterized, in its ancient expression, as a 'value of exchange' in the most material sense. … This 'value' assumes its meaning for whoever disposes of a human body, whether it is a daughter to marry or a prisoner to sell" (Benveniste 1997: 42). But then with whom and how does the exchange take place when you participate in it with yourself? Could this be related to one's own duties and efforts demanding a moral reward?

In marketing research, one aspect of giving gifts to oneself is the illusion of an ideal perceived individuality. Mick and Demoss note that in a situation of giving gifts to oneself, a well-disciplined ideal Self congratulates and rewards the real Self (often quite lazy) for perseverance in pursuing a personal goal (Mick & Demoss 1990: 328). According to Christine Ennew (n.d.), various marketing research results indicate that, although the usual term is "self-gift *giving*", it is the symbolic value of *receiving* that matters to consumers.

In phenomenological philosophy, in the texts of different authors, from Husserl, Sartre, and Merleau-Ponty to contemporary authors, further developing their ideas (e.g. Waldenfels), the intersubjectivity is explained by the connections between the elements of the Self, the Other, and the World. The intertwined and different ideas on this topic reveal the complexity of the phenomenon itself. To apply a phenomenological approach in anthropology that looks at a particular experience and the manifestation of otherness that takes place in it, I will not cling to one theory but try to look at where the text of experience leads.

In Edvinas' story about the gift, the construct of perceiving the presence of the Ideal Self and the Real Self requires separating oneself and the Other not only externally but again within the Self. Without thinking about it, he calls

it *sebe liubimomu* [to the beloved self], by drawing the Self's relationship with itself as a bond of love and grace. Thus, if the Self sees itself as the Other, the direct relationship of the Self with the Other becomes impossible – it is constantly overshadowed by the relationship with the image of the Other – in this case, the image of the Other Self, as an object observed or imagined from the outside. The Other Self, imagined by the Self, is not real. It is an illusion created to get to know and build relationships with oneself, seen as a relation between the Self and the Other Self. In other words, we could explain that calling a purchase a gift makes it morally legitimate and gives the feeling that the man is worthy of it. So, this imaginative distance is precisely what makes the transaction legitimate.

Therefore, the identity of the subject, the closeness to oneself also becomes impossible. The efforts of the Self to build a relationship with the Other Self are insufficient because their existence is not enough – one needs to know and feel what that relationship is, i.e., what it is worth, what is the meaning of its existence. This means that being *per se* is not enough; being needs its supplement – a meaning, a value, which at the same time becomes a substitute. And the individual can only receive this meaning of being from a supposed Other, in a way to create value, as mentioned by Benveniste – through an exchange (Benveniste 1997). This brings us to the Saussurean notion of meaning for it can only be possible through the difference (from other meanings). So the value can also be perceived through comparison – presuming *how* valuable it is.

In order for the respondent Self's favor to oneself – *sebe liubimomu* [the beloved self] – to be fulfilled, the Other is needed; and for the exchange to happen, even more – a constantly recurring chain of exchange is established ("I always give something on my birthday and on Christmas. To myself"). Edvinas is sure about the legitimacy of such an exchange between "I am worthy" and "I receive a gift". It is common sense in his world. Therefore, the failure of such a chain, the ritual repetition of the gifts to oneself, is impossible. It would deny the unnamed existence of the Self's relationship with oneself and its value, constantly repeated through non-verbal experience.

CASE 3: A SELF-GIFT THAT A TRAVELING SELF BRINGS TO THE OTHER SELF AT HOME

I witnessed the third story about the "gift to oneself" on a trip to Bratislava. A fellow passenger Lidija was incredibly careful in collecting souvenirs for all her relatives and co-workers back at home and she was especially pleased with the cute little thing that she chose for herself. While demonstrating her

purchase, she explicitly called it a gift to herself, then carefully unwrapped the object out of paper to show it and then wrapped it again and put it back in her handbag. As we walked around the city and went to a cafe for some pie, she agreed to tell me what she thought about gifts.

Mrs. Lidija (aged 62):

> *When I give a gift, I always want it to be lovely for me too. I do not agree it's enough to choose any gift. I need to like the gift first; I want to like it enough to be able to buy the same one for myself and be happy about it. That is why I think about the person but also about myself, about what I would like and what would be as good for others as for myself. Then I go and give a gift with pleasure because I know that I like it too.*
>
> *You would say, a gift is such a small thing, but it contains so many facets. Sometimes it happens that I am given an expensive gift. It is costly but does not warm me up. And then, on the other hand, someone brings me a tiny little thing, or a small present when they return from a journey* [it's quite different].
>
> *I sometimes say to myself that we are living in the era of globalism and who needs all those little knick-knacks, they are everywhere, already too many of them. But I feel the opposite. You see, there are many such little things in my house: stones, little trinkets from the places I have visited, or someone has gifted them to me. I cannot throw them away and I am not that modern. Others tell me – why do you hoard, they collect dust. But I say that is life, that is how it is, some people throw everything away and don't have anything, they live in a sterile environment, there are no things surrounding them. But when I see an object and remember that person or how I was in a place, it gives me pleasure. So, I look at that thing and it seems so cute, so nice. It reminds me of that person, that moment, when I received it or when I was somewhere. That object contains plenty of information. And all these have been given as gifts, sometimes even to myself. And when you give a gift to yourself, it simply happens that you are going somewhere and you think – I want that, there is that wish. And I think, why do I need it, I am already criticized for that particular behavior of mine and attachment to all these little things. Others ask, "Why do you need it?" My children ask, "Mom, why do you need that?" And I tell them, "You know, that is my character. That thing characterizes my state for me." People sometimes say, "Your kitchen is full of things," and I answer, "Yes, my kitchen has character, that's how it is." ...*
>
> *For me, things carry information, they are not that empty. Someone made them, they were bought with intention. Evelina* [older daughter],

> *she is artsy, so, she says that she likes, she likes my* [collected] *samovars but sometimes she says, "Mom, you have no style." And I don't care about style, I don't live for style. What matters to me is not how the things look, how they are put together but what they carry inside them. I say, think what you want, but that is how I am and that's it.*

The respondent's words reminded me about the lesson that anthropological science took from archeology: material culture is a vehicle for meaning and at the same time the culture itself is not possible without this material infrastructure (Engelke 2017: 41). For the woman, her things are an important part of the process of creating meaning in the world around her.

I would like to pay attention to the moment when the lady explained how precious various gifts were to her, and, without being asked, mentioned her own gifts to herself. The respondent did exactly the same thing in practice: she bought a little decoration that she saw in the street of a city we both visited and called it "a gift to herself" – not a souvenir, not a purchase, but a gift. In the respondent's story, an inexpensive trinket with no practical value, even a pebble, after becoming a gift, becomes a fully valuable thing because it provides pleasure, creates a possibility of memory, thus making the trip meaningful, and gives us an opportunity to bring the experienced moment home.

For the woman, the gift simultaneously materializes many layers of meanings: impression, feeling, memory, and geographic location. At the same time, she allows herself to exchange all these "goods" with herself too. Consequently, if you award yourself with the impressions, journeys, feelings, and moods you experience, you can also reward yourself for that and be grateful.

One of the fields of meaning that Lidija's gift to herself embodies in her story is belonging to a particular social group. The woman sees herself as a member of a community (family, the circle of friends), and without distinguishing herself from others, provides everyone, including herself, with gifts. Such an action attaches the same importance and value to herself as to the surrounding loved ones. And vice versa, Lidija loves her friends and family as much as she loves herself when she says that even if the gift is intended for someone else, she has to like the gift herself first.

Another particularly important aspect is that she has mentioned memory more than once. In the respondent's words, the gift given to oneself "carries that information", reminds of the journey, the moment, the feeling, and it constantly recurs "when you look at that thing". For Lidija, this memory is sensual, it is inseparable from the state of experience, as she says, "That thing characterizes the state for me"; in other words, it materializes and captures the impressions she had during the experience.

The material form given to experience signifies the process of giving meaning, which is existentially important to this lady. The respondent was pleased (which did not make it to the recording) that after finding a gift for herself, she could finally relax because she had purchased it. While enjoying the object, she felt like she had achieved the purpose of the trip, thus at the same time establishing and acquiring the signifier of the trip, referring to the journey as meaning.

This transformation illustrates the difference between meaning and significance. Having found the signifier of the travel experience, in her own words "a trinket", a "little thing", the narrator experiences a sense of completeness and fruition. Her experience and her own intention thus become preserved "full of information" and can therefore continue. The opposite of this would be the anxiety of oblivion. The experience without given meaning would pass in vain and disappear.

The process of creating and providing meaning in the respondent's story is very important. We should remember that in both French and English a gift is also called a present (like the present tense, or the one that is present). The moment of "here and now" in French is also given, provided – *moment donné*. Lidija's act of giving meaning, as if it were a given moment of the present, signifies a constitutive act – nothing can simply exist by itself if it is not provided, given, or simply gifted.

Lidija's "gift to herself" equally constitutes the world and its elements: thoughts, memories, state, being, and the sudden, unstoppable desire to acquire all that (when "you are going somewhere and you think – I want that, there is that wish"). Such constitutive (gifting) power becomes almost mythological. Anne Salmond, recalling the Maori Hou phenomenon popularized by Mauss (the need to pass on the good as a gift) recognized it in the Polynesian cosmogonic hymn recorded in Rangiroa in 1854. In the hymn, the knowing Self – the thought, the memory, the feeling, the knowledge, and the desire – exists before the whole real world (Salmond 2000: 40). Lidija's gift surprisingly covers the same areas of existence.

However, in experience, as in speech, there are no givens, nothing is ever given "as such", nothing is given in being, in present, but everything manifests as references of some elements to others. Such a transition from the linguistic to the experiential sphere is based on the premise that human experience is not the experience of things, empirical givens, but the experience of meanings. That is why for Lidija as well, "all the little things" "are not so empty".

At this point, we can recall Derrida's insight that a gift ceases to exist as soon as it is given and therefore is not an object but a process (Derrida 1991: 27). The objecthood of the gift represents the corporeality of the process, it embodies what is intangible and indescribable, and becomes a sensual (bodily)

expression of the transformation of the relationship between the subjects. This makes it possible to talk about the fact that a gift, being a part of the action (ritual, celebration or, as in this example, a journey), corresponds to the moment of culmination – a transformation (of relationship and state). By purchasing all the necessary souvenirs and giving presents to everyone (including herself) the goal of the trip is achieved for Lidija. From this point onward, the goal of the journey turns backward – toward home, where it will be possible to remember the experienced impressions, to talk about them, and to give out all the goodies to those who were on her mind when she was far away from home.

Moreover, the ritual of memory is continuously recurring, which is why the mentioned items at home, so important to this woman, are arranged in a visible spot, no matter the "style". The pleasure received every time she sees her little treasures shows the exchange chain that starts working from the very moment of the constitution – what is given, comes back later. The given attention returns as obtainable pleasure under the principle of reciprocity.

Paradoxically, until the goal (to return to the loved ones) is achieved, the gifts purchased for them become a substitute, a signifier not of the trip but of the loved ones' being somewhere far away at home. The gift, acquired but not yet delivered, acts as a link that brings you closer to what you want to belong. Then where does the Self of the person, who buys a gift for themselves, end up, when the gift has already been bought?

The answer can be captured in the detail of how Lidija keeps a carefully wrapped gift for herself in her handbag. The traveling Self will give a self-gift only at home – to that other Self remaining there. And this opens up more dualities of the Self: the self-perception as if looking from the outside but also in terms of time – a look at yourself in the present versus in the future as well as in the past and even geographically – looking at yourself here and yourself at home.

The Other Self, distant in time, was the first story's main character's object of desire as well. The heroine with her notebook was able to build a relationship with the Self of the past only two decades later, with the help of memory and self-reflection – the relationship of the Self with the Other Self, the most radical other, Alien Self. The Self on the journey is also alien, distant in time, space, and social space to which they will have to be accepted again on their return.

It is worth asking why the Self and the Alien Self in the first story about the expensive notebook caused conflict and suffering, and in Lidija's story she radiates nothing but joy. Waldenfels associates the opposition of alienation with rationality, "Generally speaking, all human beings have the same logos as their common logos, and the more rational we are, the less alien we are to each other" (Waldenfels 2007: 3). The narrator cannot directly reclaim the past,

and absence, distance, or inaccessibility constitute alienness or otherness as such (ibid.: 9). However, the past can be reached through its consequences or recollection. So, the constantly recurring focus on meaningful objects is precisely the act of remembrance, a recollection that solves the problem of alienness.

One more aspect: giving gifts to oneself implies the need to make oneself meaningful, significant, i.e., valuable. And value, as already mentioned, can only be expressed in the form of an exchange. In other words, self-gifting implicates the need to make the Self meaningful, and the attributed meaning can then be evaluated and made valuable.

A gift, like a multilayered text, can contain value that is transferred regardless of what separates one subject from the other. It can be awareness, time, distance, belonging to a group, and other possible aspects that separate the existing Self from the perceived Other Self, but this separation is inevitable, just like the gift, which is the only thing that can ensure continuity of connection.

Listening to Lidija's words, it is difficult not to notice that society is interwoven in her ritual of giving gifts to herself. People around her judge her behavior as she repeats it several times: "They ask, why do you need it? My children ask, "Mom, why do you need that?", "Your kitchen is full of things."

Peter Howland, researching the tourists' habit of "giving themselves pleasure" and tasting wine, highlights the need for identity, belonging to a certain group in society (for example, the middle class). It is accompanied by the purchase of emphatically unnecessary but expensive items, wasteful behavior (Howland 2010: 53–74).

Gifts and the issue of their value are an important part of Lidija's identity too: "that is my character", "that is how I am and that's it". She does not base the acquisition of seemingly unnecessary items on belonging to a social group but attributes it to personality traits: character, imagination. Contrary to the need for belonging, described by Howland (2010), the desire to stand out from others and striving for individuality can be noticed here. And it is determined not only by the meanings of identity but also by the perception of value – what others see as worthless things, "collecting dust" without style, are not "so empty" for the respondent. For her, they carry "plenty of information" and "give pleasure". This value, based on individuality and identity traits, becomes a true material expression of self-worth.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

While researching the phenomenon of gift giving to oneself, three reviewed situations touched on different, though not finite aspects of this phenomenon. The first situation was about the desire for a self-gift and guilt. The second was about the necessity and inevitability of the self-gift for self-esteem as a reward, and the third was about the desire and pleasure as well as a ritualistic return to the moment of experience, acting as an endless chain of exchange.

This shows how complex, ambiguous, and at the same time individual a behavior pattern can be. Such practices of giving self-gifts stay unnoticed in everyday life without causing surprise. It can often be seen in commercials as if it were part of an integral self-evident behavior, and yet it is not.

The episode of childhood memories, featuring the personal struggle of hesitation as to whether the action was justified or not, as well as Lidija's efforts to justify her liking for gifts to her family and friends, raises another issue of changing public attitudes. The gift giving to oneself, in the stories of both women, is received ambiguously. It is devalued by oneself or others and at the same time legitimized, justified, and therefore continued.

It turns out that giving something to yourself, especially on special occasions and holidays, is an increasingly popular trend. *Business Insider* has published a study by the NPD Group, an American market research company, that shoppers are "self-gifting" more from year to year. This means that as shoppers go about their holiday gift-buying duties, they are also buying a few not-so-little things for themselves. This study shows that more people plan to buy more for themselves for the upcoming holiday. Nineteen percent of respondents said they would definitely spend more on themselves, while 40% said they might. Often this is a ritual behavior: many customers wait until the holidays to buy for themselves the thing they have had their eye on all year. There are also plenty of more advertised sales during the holidays, which can influence shoppers to pull the trigger (Green 2017).

The NPD Group's study reveals a trend without explaining its reasons, but the analysis of my interviews and memories suggests this phenomenon could be related to individuality and a sort of person's splitting in two. In the first story, the one who is buying the notebook establishes herself not only as a receiver but also as a giving subject. Lidija experiences her individuality through the value that exists only for her. Edvinas, on the contrary, has no doubts; he does not think things could be otherwise – for him gift giving for himself is a normal and unquestionable thing, therefore unstoppable, even in case of failure.

Moreover, research conducted in Lithuania (in January 2021) among 1,013 respondents, with the help of "Spinter tyrimai", a Lithuanian public opinion

research company, revealed that 21% of interviewees are sometimes giving gifts to themselves, especially women and respondents with the highest level of education. This proves the new practice is widely known, yet requires an intellectual approach and self-consideration to be examined more attentively.

Here we could raise a broader question: did the concept of self-perception of the Self, the duality of the Self, and the accompanying philosophy in society serve the economic idea of over-consumption, or, on the contrary, did the economic development stimulate a certain philosophy revealed in the experience? After all, the traditions of gift giving, which inspired the first works of anthropologists, were also emphatically extravagant, such as the exchange of *Kula* necklaces or *potlatch* feasts.[1]

In the contemporary narratives studied, meaning took precedence over value; in other words, it is a value-creating meaning. However, unlike historically perceived collective behavior, in these experiences, the intention to act is completely individualistic and even separates the subject from the surrounding society (Lidija describes such attitude by saying: "Think of it as you like").

This marks a change in the relationship with oneself. It is not the society but the Self; more precisely, the Ideal Self is acting like a self-establishing subject. The relationship with the Other is transposed to a dualistic Self: the Self can be the Other to itself and even the Alien, and the Other remains either non-existent (in Edvinas' case) or opposed (Lidija's loved ones), or disadvantaged (feeling guilty about a gift that was given to oneself instead of others). These could be the examples of how people perceive themselves or even live in modern society alone and integrate into it not through collectivity but through emphasized individuality and uniqueness, which is the basis of the value created through the exchange with oneself. That is how a gift becomes an opportunity and a measure to build a relationship not just with others but with yourself.

Finally let us get back to the contradiction or the paradox of the self-gift named in the very beginning – is it even possible? For Marcell Mauss it was the obligation to give, to receive, and to reciprocate, so it presupposes two participants: the giver and the receiver. Marcel Hénaff, French philosopher and anthropologist, in his book *The Philosophers' Gift* affirms that a gift requires otherness, and this must include real and autonomous persons: otherness "can never result from a combination of solitary operations" (Hénaff 2020: 148). The possibility of giving presupposes a personal difference or distance between the giver and the recipient, and therefore, according to Hénaff, there can be no such things as self-gifts. He arguments it by quoting Wittgenstein in *Philosophical Investigations* (§ 268):

> *Why can't my right hand give my left hand money? My right hand can put it into my left hand. My right hand can write a deed of gift and my left hand a receipt. But the further practical consequences would not be those of a gift.* (Wittgenstein 1997: 94)

But with this example Wittgenstein continues: "And the same could be asked if a person had given himself a private definition of a word. I mean, if he has said the word to himself and at the same time has directed his attention to a sensation." I would suggest a self-gift, evidently used in the vocabulary, is more a tool of communication, a word, a statement, a form to express the sensation. So, it is not the reciprocity it produces, but the consciousness, the possibility to reconsider oneself in a particular context (in the analyzed cases: the Christmas of a child becoming an adult, the reward for hard work or the experience of a journey).

I would like to get back to Derrida, for whom the gift itself is impossible. For if ontologically the gift is gratuitous, not motivated, and disinterested (Sartre 1992 [1983]: 390), then practically it never is.

One of the most fruitful discussions about the gift was developed by Derrida and his former student Jean Luc Marion, who revealed the concept of givenness by extending *being* to *being given*. In order to appear to oneself, "I must discover myself as a given and gifted phenomenon" (Marion 2007: 22). José Santana Wellington followed the link between Derrida and Marion to inquire whether love can or cannot follow the same gift pattern: "A person only gets a sense of his own existence and happiness when he meets the other as an equal and capable of sharing life" (Wellington 2016: 443). For him, vanity is opposed to love, and a person is endangered to be entrapped in "a selfish lifestyle in which exchanging becomes impossible" (ibid.: 444).

But can a gift to myself be treated as pure vanity? I would rather link it to the repetition or imitation of the outer world within the experience of solitude. In the first story, the self-gift (the notebook) appears as a milestone of perception that, as an adult caring for others, one should pass from the receiver's role to become the giver, yet the childhood still holds the little girl, so she feels the guilt until the gift is perceived as a gift from her mother. In the second story the man buys himself an electronic bracelet as a reward and a reward is a sign of culturally established recognition. In his case self-esteem and self-reward then require the culturally established model of gaining a prize. And in the third story a woman was traveling back home with a souvenir; as she bought treats to all the people she loved, she unwittingly included herself in this circle of beloved ones she cared about.

So, if we take Marion's concept, in which the givenness is as a substitute for creation (Marion 2011: 20), then the gift may be seen not (just) as a sign of relation, but a model of self-establishment: a statement of existence in which I am for the world and the world is for me. This way the self-gift could be seen not just as a relation to the inner-self but a relation to the whole surrounding world – everything and no one at the same time, like an open significant, ready to be linked to any meaning.

This way a self-gift can prompt us a hypothesis that the very existence is intersubjective – it is always existence for someone. Here I would like to distinguish the difference between the concepts of the subject and the person. In this case the personal understanding of the existence introduces two distant subjects, two variations of myself: the one I am and the one I perceive. And this perception is impossible without the distance between these two subjects and without the concept of what a distance is.

"What you are regarding as a gift is a problem for you to solve," wrote Wittgenstein in his personal writings (Wittgenstein 2013: 99). Let us stay with this proposition, as self-gifts could be in the middle between the following oppositions (perhaps the members of the *Revue du MAUSS* would agree with them): between a problem and a solution; solitude and selfishness; inferiority and vanity; and finally – love to yourself and to others. And then love to yourself is only possible along with love to others.

NOTES

[1] *Kula* is known as a ritualic gift exchange system by the people of the Trobriand Islands of southeast Melanesia. It was first described by Malinowski (1922). The red shell necklaces and white shell bracelets were traveling hundreds of miles in opposite directions around a geographic ring of islands. These objects could not stay with the owner forever and had to travel as a precious gift and a sign of prestige, and the efforts of the kin group of the host were exerted to maximize the generosity. *Potlatch* is another tradition, practiced by the American Indians of the Northwest Pacific coast, especially among the Kwakiutl. It comprises ceremonial gatherings and great feasts with guests, gifts and distribution of property dedicated to establishing a social status (Augustyn 2020). This way the prestige was gained not by accumulating goods but on the contrary – by the ability to give out as much as possible.

MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

Interview and questionnaire materials from 2021 in possession of the author.

REFERENCES

Augustyn, Adam (ed.) 2020. Potlatch. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 10 March. Available at https://www.britannica.com/topic/potlatch, last accessed on 24 January 2023.

Behnke, Elizabeth A. 2010. The Socially Shaped Body and the Critique of Corporeal Experience. In: Katherine J. Morris (ed.) *Sartre on the Body*. Dordrecht: Springer, pp. 231–255. DOI: 10.1057/9780230248519_15.

Benveniste, Émile 1973. Giving and Taking in Indo-European Society. In: Émile Benveniste. *Indo-European Language and Society*. Miami: University of Miami Press. Available at https://brewminate.com/giving-and-taking-in-indo-european-society/, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Benveniste, Émile 1997. Gift and Exchange in the Indo-European Vocabulary. Transl. by Mary Elisabeth Meek. In: Alan D. Schrift (ed.) *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 33–42.

Bourdieu, Pierre 1980. *Le sens pratique*. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.

Bourdieu, Pierre 2017. *Anthropologie Economique. Cours au Collège de France 1992–1993*. Paris: Seuil.

Caillé, Alain 1994. *Don, intérêt et désintéressement, Bourdieu, Mauss, Platon et quelques autres*. Paris: La Découverte / Mauss.

Caillé, Alain 2007. *Anthropologie du don*. Paris: La Découverte.

Caillé, Alain 2021. Preface to the Chinese Translation of *The Gift*. *MAUSS International*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 62–74. Available at https://www.cairn-int.info/journal-mauss-international-2021-1.htm, last accessed on 24 January 2023.

Certeau, Michel de 1990. *L'invention du quotidien*. Vol. 1: *Arts de faire*. Paris: Gallimard.

Certeau, Michel de & Giard, Luce & Mayol, Pierre 1998. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Vol. 2: *Living and Cooking*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Available at https://monoskop.org/images/b/be/De_Certeau_Giard_Mayol_The_Practice_of_Everyday_Life_Vol_2_Living_and_Cooking.pdf, last accessed on 24 January 2023.

Chauvier, Éric 2014. L'impression de familiarité rompue en anthropologie: de l'initiation au savoir. L'exemple d'un atelier de théâtre en Seine Saint-Denis. *revue ¿ Interrogations ?*, No. 18: *Implication et réflexivité – I. Entre composante de recherche et injonction statutaire*. Available at http://www.revue-interrogations.org/L-impression-de-familiarite-rompue, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Chauvier, Éric 2017. *Anthropologie de l'ordinaire: Une conversation du regard*. Toulouse: Anarcharsis.

Derrida, Jacques 1991. *Donner le temps*. Vol. 1: *La fausse monnaie*. Paris: Editions Galilée.

Derrida, Jacques 1992a. Donner la mort. In: Jean-Michel Rabaté (ed.) *L'Ethique du don: Jacques Derrida et la pensée du don*. Paris: Métailié-Transition, pp. 11–108.

Derrida, Jacques 1992b. *Points de suspension*. Paris: Galilée.

Dzimira, Sylvain 2006. Une vision du paradigme du don: Don, juste milieu et prudence. *La Revue du MAUSS*, Vol. 28, No. 2, p. 355. Available at https://www.revuedumauss.com.fr/media/Paradigmedudon.pdf, last accessed on 20 December 2022.

Engelke, Matthew 2017. *Think Like an Anthropologist*. London: Pelican Books.

Ennew, Christine T. n.d. *Receiving A Self-Gift: The Nature, Contexts and Emotions of Self-Gift Experiences*. Available at https://www.academia.edu/28768623/, last accessed on 20 December 2022.

Friesen, Norm 2014. Waldenfels' Responsive Phenomenology of the Alien: An Introduction. *Phenomenology & Practice*, Vol. 7, No. 2, pp. 68–77.

Godbout, Jacques T. & Caillé, Alain 2000. *L'esprit du don*. Paris: La Découverte / Poche.

Green, Dennis 2017. Holiday Shoppers Have a New Habit – and It's Good News For Retailers. *Business Insider*, 5 December. Available at https://www.businessinsider.com/shoppers-buying-gifts-for-themselves-2017-12, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Heath, Teresa & Tynan, Caroline & Ennew, Christine 2015. Accounts of Self-Gift Giving: Nature, Contexts and Emotions. *European Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 49, No. 7/8, pp. 1067–1086. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/EJM-03-2014-0153.

Hénaff, Marcel 2020. *The Philosophers' Gift: Reexamining Reciprocity*. Transl. by Jean-Louis Morhange. New York: Fordham University Press.

Highmore, Ben (ed.) 2002. *The Everyday Life Reader*. London & New York: Routledge.

Howland, Peter 2010. Self-gifting and the Metro-Rural Idyll: An Illusio of Ideal Reflexive Individualism. *New Zealand Sociology*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 53–74. Available at https://search.informit.org/toc/nzs/25/1, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Hyde, Lewis 2012. *The Gift: How the Creative Spirit Transforms the World*. Edinburgh: Canongate Books.

Jackson, Michael 1998. *Minima Ethnographica*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Jonutytė, Jurga 2011. *Tradicijos sąvokos kaita: monografija*. [Changes in the Concept of Tradition: Monograph.] Vilnius: Vilniaus Universitetas.

Jonutytė, Jurga 2017. Tapatumas be stokos: trijų atminties vaizdinių apmąstymas. [Identity Without Lack: Reflecting on Three Memory Images.] *Tautosakos darbai*, Vol. 53, pp. 31–46. Available at http://www.llti.lt/lt/TD53/, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude 1963. *Structural Anthropology*. Transl. by Claire Jacobson & Brooke Grundfest Schoepf. New York: Basic Books. Available at https://monoskop.org/images/e/e8/Levi-Strauss_Claude_Structural_Anthropology_1963.pdf, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Lingis, Alphonso 2001. The Return to, the Return of, Peoples of Long Ago and Far Away. *Angelaki: Journal of the Political Humanities*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp.165–176. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/713650418.

Luomala, Harri T. & Laaksonen, Martti 1999. A Qualitative Exploration of Mood-Regulatory Self-gift Behaviors. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 147–182. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0167-4870(99)00003-3.

Malinowski, Bronisław 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. With a Preface by Sir James George Frazer. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

Marion, Jean-Luc 2002. *Being Given: Toward a Phenomenology of Givenness*. Transl. by Jeffrey L. Kosky. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Marion, Jean-Luc 2007. *The Erotic Phenomenon*. Transl. by Stephen E. Lewis. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Marion, Jean-Luc 2011. *The Reason of the Gift*. Transl. by Stephen E. Lewis. Chicago: University of Virginia Press.

Mauss, Marcel 1997. Gift, Gift. In: Alan D. Schrift (ed.) *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity.* New York & London: Routledge, pp. 28–32.

Mauss, Marcel 1923–1924. Essai sur le don: Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques. *L'Année Sociologique (1896 / 1897-1924 / 1925)*, Vol. 1, pp. 30–186. Available at http://www.jstor.org/stable/27883721, last accessed on 24 January 2023.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice 1964. *Signs*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. Available at https://archive.org/details/20200305northwesternuniversitystudiesinphenomenologyexis, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Mick, David G. & DeMoss, Michelle 1990. Self-Gifts: Phenomenological Insights from Four Contexts. *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 17, No. 3, pp. 322–332. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/208560.

Mickūnas, Algis & Jonkus, Dalius 2014. *Fenomenologinė filosofija ir jos šešėlis.* [Phenomenological Philosophy and Its Shadow.] Vilnius: Baltos lankos.

Park, Jihye 2018. Self-gifting as a Therapeutic Reward: Motivational Approach for Self-Gifting Promotions. *Journal of Marketing Communications*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 17–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/13527266.2015.1072576.

Pusaksrikit, Theeranuch & Kang, Jikyeong 2016. The Impact of Self-construal and Ethnicity on Self-gifting Behaviors. *Journal of Consumer Psychology*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 524–534. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jcps.2016.02.001.

Pyyhtinen, Olli 2016. *The Gift and Its Paradoxes: Beyond Mauss*. New York: Routledge.

Sahlins, Marshall 1997. The Spirit of the Gift. In: Alen D. Schrift (ed.) *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity*. New York & London: Routledge, pp. 70–99.

Salmond, Anne 2000. Maori and Modernity: Ruatara's Dying. In: Anthony P. Cohen (ed.) *Signifying Identities: Anthropological Perspectives on Boundaries and Contested Values*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 37–58. DOI: 10.4324/9780203006917-3.

Sartre, Jean Paul 1992 [1983]. *Notebooks for an Ethics*. Transl. by David Pellauer. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Schutz, Alfred 1962. On Multiple Realities. In: Maurice Natanson (ed.) *Collected Papers.* Vol. 1: *The Problem of Social Reality*. The Hague: Nijhoff, pp. 207–259.

Schwartz, Barry 1967. The Social Psychology of the Gift. *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 73, No. 1, pp. 1–11. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/224432.

Sherry, John F. & McGrath, Mary Ann & Levy, Sidney J. 1995. Monadic Giving: Anatomy of Gifts Given to the Self. In: John F. Sherry (ed.) *Contemporary Marketing and Consumer Behavior: An Anthropological Sourcebook.* Thousand Oaks & London & New Delhi: SAGE, pp. 399–432.

Šmitienė, Giedrė 2000. Palankumo laikysena. [The Attitude of Favor.] *Tautosakos darbai*, Vol. XII (XIX), pp. 179–188.

Šmitienė, Giedrė 2014. Neakivaizdinis pokalbis su Maurice'u Merleau-Ponty: Tradicinės kultūros tyrimas juslinio suvokimo plotmėje. [Virtual Dialog with Maurice Merleau-Ponty: Examining the Traditional Culture in Terms of Perception.] *Tautosakos darbai*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 15–42. Available at http://www.llti.lt/lt/td47/, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Šmitienė, Giedrė 2017. "Man visa lengva": Etnologinis sąmonės tyrimas. ["Everything is easy for me…": Ethnological Research of Consciousness.] *Tautosakos darbai*, Vol. 53, pp. 62–93. Available at http://www.llti.lt/lt/TD53/, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Šmitienė, Giedrė 2018. Paprasti laiškai: kontekstinio tyrimo metodika. [Ordinary Letters: Contextual Research Method.] *Tautosakos darbai*, Vol. 55, pp. 134–154. Available at http://www.llti.lt/lt/TD55/, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Waldenfels, Bernhard 2007. *The Question of the Other*. Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press.

Waldenfels, Bernhard 2011. *Phenomenology of the Alien: Basic Concepts*. Transl. by Tanja Stähler & Alexander Kozin. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.

Weisfeld-Spolter, Suri & Rippé, Cindy B. & Gould, Stephen 2015. Impact of Giving on Self and Impact of Self on Giving. *Psychology and Marketing*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 1–14. https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.20760.

Wellington, José Santana 2016. Is Love a Gift? A Philosophical Inquiry About Givenness. *Kriterion: Revista de Filosofia*, Vol. 57, No. 134, pp. 441–454. Available at https://www.scielo.br/j/kr/a/bJfLWmhTbdyVXZp77Y3kvwQ/?lang=en, last accessed on 21 December 2022.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig 2013. *Kultūra ir vertė.* [Culture and Value.] Transl. by Saulenė Pučiliauskaitė. Vilnius: Kitos knygos.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig 1997. *Philosophical Investigations*. Oxford, UK: Wiley-Blackwell.

Rūta Latinytė, PhD, is Lecturer at Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius Gediminas Technical University, and Vilnius University, where she teaches courses in the fields of communication and creative industries. With 20 years of professional experience as a communication practitioner she is currently working as a teacher, an author, and a researcher. Her fields of interest are modern ethnology, cultural anthropology, and everyday practice research.

r.latinyte@gmail.com

https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2023.88.frank

THE EUROPEAN BEAR'S SON TALE: ITS RECEPTION AND INFLUENCE ON INDIGENOUS ORAL TRADITIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

Roslyn M. Frank
Professor Emeritus
Department of Spanish and Portuguese
University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, USA
roz-frank@uiowa.edu

Abstract: The primary purpose of this article is to explore the way that the Bear's Son tale, a wide-spread European folktale, came to be incorporated into the oral storytelling traditions of Native Americans. The work is divided into three parts. In the first section the reasons that led me to begin to investigate the European tale are discussed. The second part is dedicated to a discussion of the European tale itself, its plotline and geographical diffusion within Europe and North America. In the third section, I reflect on how and why versions of the European tale came to attract the attention of Native American storytellers, as well as the time frame that might be assigned to the transfer of these oral traditions.

Keywords: ontological turn, new animism, ursine ancestors, Euskara (Basque), French folktales, Native American storytelling traditions, human-animal divide, culture-nature dichotomy, other-than-human persons, Jean de l'Ours

1. INTRODUCTION

This article examines the way that a wide-spread European folktale, often called "The Bear's Son Tale", became incorporated into the storytelling traditions of Native Americans. The work is divided into three parts. In the first part I review the reasons that led me to begin my investigation of the European tale, an effort that has spanned more than four decades. The second part is dedicated to a discussion of the European tale itself, its plotline and geographical diffusion within Europe. In the third section North American versions of the tale are addressed. In doing so, I reflect on how and why versions of the European tale came to attract the attention of the Native storytellers of North America, as well as the time frame that might be assigned to the transfer of oral traditions that took place.

For the past four decades I have explored the ramifications of an archaic belief that I encountered while doing fieldwork among the Basque people in the early 1980s, namely, that Basques used to believe humans descended from bears. Although my informants had alluded to aspects of this belief indirectly, it was not until the late 1980s that a report documenting the belief was published. Up until that time it had been passed down orally from one generation of Basque speakers to the next, who, in the process, were always careful not to share the information with non-Basque speakers. Soon after I discovered the existence of this ursine genealogy, other bits and pieces of ethnographic evidence began to fall into place, among them folktales that speak of a young woman who mates with a bear and gives birth to a child, a half-human, half-bear offspring.

Once the ursine origin of humans was plugged into the interpretive frame of these stories, the adventures of the main character who was half-bear and half-human, took on a new significance. As a result, I began to process other European ethnographic and ethnohistoric data through a different lens, one that was no longer purely anthropocentric in nature, but rather more animist. From this vantage point, the human-animal divide, so typical of Western thought, becomes blurred or dissolves entirely. This interpretive framework challenges the belief in 'human exceptionalism', a topic that has received far more attention from researchers in recent years than in the past (Porr & Matthews 2016; T. Thompson 2019). It has been subsumed into discussions of relational ontologies and categorized as the "new animism" (Bird-David 1999; Harvey 2006).

***Figure 1**. The seven provinces of Euskal Herria, the historical Basque Country. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basque_Country_(historical_territory).*

Whereas evidence for the belief that bears are ancestors and therefore kin has been well documented among North American and Eurasian indigenous peoples (Berres & Stothers & Mather 2004; Hallowell 1926; Lapham & Waselkow 2020; Rockwell 1991), that such a belief once informed the daily lives and social practices of Europeans had not been contemplated until relatively recently (Bertolotti 1992, 1994; Edsman 1996; Lajoux 1996; Pauvert 2014; Shepard 1999, 2007; Shepard & Sanders 1992). Yet there are many folkloric traces pointing to the veneration of bears, particularly in the Pyrenean region and even more concretely in Euskal Herria, the historical Basque Country (Fig. 1).

It was not until the end of the twentieth century when the Basque anthropologist Txomin Peillen (1986) published his interview with the last two Basque-speaking bear hunters of Zuberoa (Soule) – an elderly father and his son – that we had concrete written evidence of the mindset that accompanied this archaic belief in bear ancestors. There is reason to believe that it had been circulating orally for a long time even though it was never mentioned when talking to non-Basque speakers (Frank 2008b). In that interview, after the tape-recorder had been turned off, Petiri Prébende, the father, started talking about bears, namely, European brown bears (*Ursus arctos*). And when he did, he stated the following: "Lehenagoko eüskaldünek gizona hartzetik jiten zela sinhesten zizien" (Basques used to believe that humans descended from bears). He went on to talk about the power of bear paws and how "the bear had created human beings" (Peillen 1986: 173).

Hence, evidence emanating from the Pyrenean zone, most especially from zones in which Euskara (Basque), a language classed as pre-Indo-European, was once or still is spoken, should be examined with care. Moreover, there is substantial evidence that bears also played a special role in the belief system of Europeans; that the veneration and respect paid to bears may well have been grounded in a similar understanding, one that allowed bears to be viewed as ancestors and kin as well as being attributed supernatural powers (Frank 2008a, 2009; Lajoux 1996; Pastoureau 2011).

2. OVERVIEW OF THE EUROPEAN FOLKTALE

Over the past twenty years I have endeavored to lay out the possible implications of a group of European folktales in which the main protagonist is portrayed as having an ursine genealogy. His father is a bear and his mother a human female. The tale is known as "The Bear's Son" and along with its variants it is probably the most widely disseminated European folktale ever recorded. The

title utilized here, that is, "The Bear's Son", is an informal one, used in conjunction with "John the Bear", to refer to a set of related narratives, categorized formally by folklorists as tale type ATU 301. The Bear's Son is also a term used to refer particularly to versions of the tales that have been compared to northern sagas, such as *Beowulf*. In other instances, the same set of tales is assigned a title that highlights the name of the protagonist in that language: *John the Bear* in English, *Juan el Osito* in Spanish, *Jan de l'Os* in Catalan, *Jan l'Ourset* in Gascon, *Jean de l'Ours* in French, *Giovanni l'Orso* in Italian, *Hans Bär* in German and *Ivanuska* as well as *Ivanko Medvedko* in Slavic languages.

The worldview reflected in the storyline with its half-human, half-bear protagonist has never been the subject of serious investigation. Questions have never been asked concerning the reason that the hero was assigned this genealogy in the beginning. Nor has there been a concerted attempt to study the European tale taking into consideration the hunter-gatherer mentality and animist cosmology implicit in stories found among Native Americans and Siberian groups where bears are considered ancestors and therefore kin. In those tales a woman often marries or mates with a bear and has offspring, a plotline that incorporates not only the concept of an ursine genealogy but also the fluid notion of identity and personhood that regularly goes along with this relational ontology (Barbeau 1946; Rockwell 1991; Shepard & Sanders 1992; Wallace 1949).

Some of the most well-preserved versions of the European tales, including those evidencing the most archaic structural elements and most undisturbed plotline, emanate from former Basque-speaking zones of France and Spain and from the current Basque-speaking region itself. This is the same region, as noted, in which the belief that humans descended from bears continued to circulate well into the twentieth century. Indeed, some of the most remarkable variants of the tale itself have been collected in the westernmost part of Europe, especially in the Pyrenean zone and its immediate environs. This is the same zone where elaborate *fêtes de l'ours* which feature ritualized bear hunts are still celebrated each year (Gastou 1987; Gual 2017; Pauvert 2014; Truffaut 1988, 2010).

Further research concerning this core belief points to the strong possibility that it was once present across much of Europe. Even though explicit references to the ursine genealogy of humans have not been documented in the rest of Europe, there are many cultural practices and beliefs that point to the previous veneration of bears and the belief in bear-ancestors (Frank 2008a, 2008b, 2009; Pastoureau 2011).

When bears are viewed as kin as well as ancestors, a fluidity of being is produced that ruptures the asymmetric dichotomies so firmly entrenched in

SAE (Standard Average European) languages and, hence, our familiar ways of thinking (Whorf 1941). Indeed, two of the most pervasive dichotomies have been the culture vs. nature split and the apparently insurmountable human-animal divide. In contrast, we have the terms used by Hallowell (1960) to describe the concept of personhood in Ojibwe ontology and worldview, that is, "human persons" and "other-than-human persons". The Ojibwe, also referred to as Ojibwa, Saulteaux or Chippewa, are an Anishinaabe people residing in what is currently southern Canada, the northern Midwest of the United States, and the Northern Plains. Their language is a branch of the Algonquian language family (Fig. 2).

***Figure 2**. Pre-contact distribution of Algonquian languages. Source: By Noahedits – Own work, CC BY-SA 4.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=84009704.*

The expression "other-than-human persons" calls into question the human exceptionalism associated with Western thought. Moreover, as McNiven has shown:

> *Anthropological theorizing informs us that the human-animal duality of Western thought is limited in scope for most of humanity and most of human history, where the human-animal divide was more commonly seen as ontologically fluid and permeable and understood in terms of overlapping personhood…* (McNiven 2013: 97)

Also, as is well known, although rarely kept in mind, the terms *culture* and *nature* are concepts of recent coinage, each having evolved out of quite different conceptual frames of understanding than those currently associated with them. Indeed, asymmetric polarities, such as that of culture vs. nature, which currently sit at the center of debates on the so-called "ontological turn" in ethnography, anthropology, and archaeology are themselves in need of serious reflection, not simply because of what they stand for today, but also because until recently little attention has been paid to the processes that led to the current discursive instantiation of these polarities in Indo-European languages, and most especially in English (Paleček & Risjord 2013).

In a certain sense, debates focused on the so-called "ontological turn", which have been taking place in some corners, center on a semantically instantiated polarity that evolved out of much earlier philosophical discussions that were taking place during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The contemporary meanings attached to each member of the culture-nature polarity are often treated unreflectively as if they always had the same meanings assigned to them (Latimer & Miele 2013). Even though they are deeply entrenched in modern philosophical and anthropological conceptual frames of thought, as they currently stand, they are simply the most recent iterations of the meanings assigned to the two words themselves, i.e., culture and nature (Hadyn 1950: 461–554; Lovejoy & Boas 1935; Williams 1978: 11–20, 1980: 67–85).

Speaking of the ontological turn that is sweeping through other disciplines, at the center of the debates is the notion of relational ontologies, a concept that will be brought to bear in the present analysis (Hill 2011). Moreover, it is this attention to relational ontologies that has given strength to the ontological turn that has been taking place in ethnographic, anthropologic, and archaeological circles over the past twenty years, impacting both theory and practice (Rodseth 2015; Swancutt & Mazard 2018; Watts 2013). It is a movement that calls into question the foundational tenets of modernity and that was given impetus initially by Latour's earlier work, *We Have Never Been Modern* (1993).

The new framework can be expressed in two ways. One way is to recognize that other societies, past and present, experience life in different ways, that they have access to different life-worlds. It follows, therefore, that a key to understanding such non-Western societies is to reconstruct their ontologies, for the latter are a fundamental component of their underlying cosmology and, hence, overall worldview (Haber 2009; Nadasdy 2007). A somewhat different approach is to recognize the ontological turn as a theoretical tool that requires us to assume a more reflexive attitude concerning the core beliefs of Western thought, especially the dualisms that are so deeply engrained in that world view, for example, the human-animal divide, the mind-body opposition, and

the stark culture-nature dichotomy. And this requires a major conceptual re-orientation that is not easily accomplished since many of these core beliefs are held without reflection. They form the background of unarticulated convictions which the holder may not even recognize are operating.

It has long been recognized that other cultures, past and present, do not necessarily share the same worldview that is dominant in the West. With the ontological turn emphasis is now being placed on understanding such societies by reconstructing the ontological commitments inherent in them, including the concept of animism. That approach also speaks of engaging with indigenous ontological commitments as a legitimate way of reconfiguring Western concepts and social practices. At the same time, however, this approach demands taking up a new position vis-à-vis one's own discipline and belief system. And this in turn requires a more reflexive attitude concerning one's own core beliefs. In 2016, Alberti expressed this conundrum in a kind of third-person neutral manner: "the difference between the two [expressions of the ontological turn] lies in the degree to which an approach is willing to do ontology to itself, how much critique it is willing to direct at its own ontological assumptions" (Alberti 2016: 174).

The question, therefore, comes down to the degree to which researchers can become aware of the 'core beliefs' affecting and constraining their own ontological assumptions and hence acting as an interpretative filter for the data under investigation, data that is otherwise often considered to be objective and quite self-explanatory. This is the same problem that Hallowell confronted when he tried to communicate his findings concerning the ontology, behavior, and worldview of the Ojibwe to his Western acculturated readers. He began by offering a definition of the concept of worldview, saying that it is "that outlook upon the universe that is characteristic of a people" (Hallowell 1960: 19). He went on to write:

> *Human beings in whatever culture are provided with cognitive orientation in a cosmos: there is 'order' and 'reason' rather than chaos. There are basic premises and principles implied even if these do not happen to be consciously formulated and articulated by the people themselves. We are confronted with the philosophical implications of their thought, the nature of the world of being as they conceive it. If we pursue the problem deeply enough we soon come face to face with a relatively unexplored territory—ethno-metaphysics. Can we penetrate this realm in other cultures? … The problem is a complex and difficult one, but this should not preclude its exploration*. (ibid.: 20)

When discussing the European materials and the remnants of bear ceremonialism encountered in them, there is an associated limitation that needs to be addressed. Implicit in the interpretative framework often utilized by researchers, albeit unreflectively, is the assumption that agency should be assigned only to humans. In cultures where non-human entities are regularly assigned agency, there has been a tendency to define this as "animism" and set that belief apart from Western thought. When doing this, however, one fails to recognize the fact that Western culture itself is not monolithic. It has multiple ontological spaces and regularly assigns agency to non-human entities, often ritual objects or things having less official religious recognition, such as a lucky rabbit's foot or a badger paw (Frank 2017a). Moreover, it follows that the resulting anthropocentric framework of agency is colored by assumptions deriving from the prevailing set of Western asymmetric dualisms, the foremost among them being the human-animal divide and the concept of human exceptionalism that accompanies it (Frank 2005, 2018).

3. THE BEAR'S SON TALE IN EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA

At this juncture we will look at processes of cultural appropriation and assimilation from a different angle; concretely, the way that the same European folktale ended up being appropriated and craftily assimilated by Native American tribes. As I have noted elsewhere (Frank 2008a), initially my fieldwork and archival research focused almost exclusively on the Basque region of the Pyrenees. As time passed, I discovered that variants of the Bear's Son stories were common throughout Europe (Barakat 1965, 1967; Claudel 1952; Cosquin 1887; Espinosa 1946, 1947, 1951). Much earlier and without fully recognizing its significance as an ethnographic signature of a pan-European cosmology and the belief that humans descended from bears, the surprisingly widespread distribution of the Bear's Son tale had already caught the attention of researchers and was an object of serious investigation by ethnographers in the 1880s (Cosquin 1887: 1–27). By 1910, Panzer had documented 221 European variants of the ATU 301 story type, the descent of the Bear's Son hero to the underworld (Panzer 1910). In a study published in 1959, 57 Hungarian versions of the tale are mentioned (Kiss 1959). In 1992, Stitt, in his study *Beowulf and the Bear's Son: Epic, Saga, and Fairytale in Northern Germanic Tradition*, recorded 120 variants of the Bear's Son story for Scandinavia alone (Stitt 1992).

In addition, variants of the Bear's Son tales, carried to the New World only a few centuries ago, have been found in Louisiana, New Mexico, and Missouri, as well as in various parts of Mexico and the French-, English-, and Spanish-

speaking areas of the Caribbean (Carrière 1937; Colgrave 1951; Espinosa 1914, 1946, 1947, 1951, 1952; Parsons 1933, 1936). More remarkably, the Bear's Son tales have passed into the indigenous languages of North America for they have been recorded among the Mi'kmaq, Shoshoni, Assiniboin, Ojibwe, as well as the Thompson River Indians, the Chilcotin Indians of British Columbia and the Zapotec Indians of Tehuantepec in Mexico (Boas 1912, 1925; Deans 1889; Lowie 1909a: 147–150, 246; 1909b: 298–299; Mason 1914; Teit 1909: 702–707; 1912: 292–294, 393–395; S. Thompson 1946: 86, 1966 [1929]; Wheeler 1943).

According to research conducted by Boas at the beginning of the past century, "apparently there is such a vast array of tales [among Native Americans] containing parallel elements, probably of greater age in America than that of 'John the Bear', that their presence seems to have facilitated the introduction of this [European] tale" (Boas 1912: 258 ff.). Although Boas does not explicitly mention the central role played by the bear in the cosmology of these Native American peoples, this much more archaic belief system probably contributed to the positive reception of the European Bear's Son tales and their assimilation to such a degree that they became viewed as part of Native American oral traditions, as Boas and others have documented (Brown 1993; Ewers 1955; Rockwell 1991; Teit 1909, 1912). While Native American adaptations of the Bear's Son cycle have often blended with indigenous motifs, they are, nonetheless, easily recognized as versions of the European story.

Some thirty years ago, when I published the first article in the series of papers entitled "Hunting the European Sky Bears" (Frank 1996), I included a brief section on the distribution of the Bear's Son tales, both inside and outside of Europe. Ever since that time, I have continued to be intrigued by the way that the European Bear's Son folktale was appropriated, how it was adopted, adapted, and modified by Native American storytellers. For instance, there is evidence that when the Native Americans heard the stories told by Europeans, they were struck by that fact that embedded in the tales was an initial episode where the half-human, half-bear hero acquired his spirit helper animals, each of which in turn would give the protagonist a talisman. When he touched it, he got the ability to shapeshift and take on the form of each of the animal helpers. Subsequently, once transformed into one of the spirit animals, ritual battles would take place pitting a predator animal against an opponent who was prey. As will be discussed in more detail, the backdrop was that of a hunting culture. Naturally, the Native story tellers and their audiences would have been struck by the hero's own mixed parentage – that his mother was a human and his father a bear.

Clearly, in the process of establishing themselves as part of the oral repertoire of the Indians of North America, the tales were reanalyzed so that they

reflected indigenous cultural norms more closely. That is, once translated into the indigenous language, the European materials were reworked by the native storytellers and assimilated directly into the indigenous oral repertoire. Moreover, the plot of the Bear's Son tale would have seemed quite familiar to them since in their repertoire of oral narrative marriages between bears and humans were relatively commonplace (Barbeau 1946; Rockwell 1991). In other words, the European tale would have resonated strongly with the preexisting cultural conceptualizations concerning bears and humans. That orientation would have contextualized the tales for them, but in a manner that was no longer accessible to a European audience. For this reason, a more detailed study of these New World versions of the stories could provide valuable insights into the motivations behind their reception and transformation.

In 1912, Boas indicated that he wanted to carry out such an investigation, but it was never completed (Boas 1912). Nonetheless, we can see that among Native American groups the figure of the Bear's Son reappears as *Ladi ri quicha huini* (Little Hairy Body) among the Zapotec Indians of Mexico; as Plenty-of-Hair among the Assiniboin; as *Sna'naz* in the stories of the Thompson River Indians, that is, among the Salish, also known as Nlaka'pamux or Nlakapamuk of southern British Columbia. That the Bear's Son hero shows up related to a character called *Sna'naz*, also called Redcap, was recorded by Teit (1912) in the lower part of the canyon of the Fraser River in British Columbia. He appears as *Buchetsa* among the Shuswap of British Columbia.

It is probably not a coincidence that this is the same zone in which the tale called "The Woman who Married a Bear" played such a major role in the cultural life of the people, as has been exhaustively documented by Barbeau (1946). "This tale, in so far as we know it, belongs to the Tsimsyan, the Haida, the Tlingit, and other neighboring tribes of the North Pacific Coast and northern Rockies of America, and the bears concerned are grizzlies" (Barbeau 1946: 2). Furthermore, the ancestry of these Native peoples is traced back to the grizzlies that appear in the sacred story. The implications of the Bear Mother story have been addressed by Shepard and Sanders (1992: 59–60). It has also been retold and interpreted by many other investigators (Barbeau 1946; Bieder 2006; Deans 1889; Edsman 1956; Henderson 2020; McClellan 1970; Rockwell 1991: 116–121). While the central theme clearly continues to be the affirmation of the kinship between bears and humans, other aspects of the tale might not be as readily grasped by a contemporary European, such as the resulting profound fluidity of being, human identity, and personhood.

In the case of the ethnographers and folklorists who collected the Bear's Son tales in North America, I have found only one instance in which there was an attempt to elicit additional contextual information directly from the informant,

the native storyteller who provided the story of "John the Bear". In 1939, Hallowell published an article about several myths and folktales of European derivation that he had collected among a branch of the Ojibwe Nations in Canada and, more concretely, among the Saulteaux of the Berens River, Manitoba (Hallowell 1939). One of the stories was a very changed version of "John the Bear". In it there is no mention of the hero's extraordinary birth, even though the character's name would have communicated his ursine nature to the teller's audience. Curiously, the story begins with the hero having to guard a farmer's garden from a kind of bird that attempts to steal food from it. Eventually the bird becomes his friend, and the hero acquires several wives.

The plot of the tale is quite convoluted, and as Hallowell observes, "farming, except for raising a few potatoes, is totally outside the experience of these northern hunters". Nonetheless, Hallowell provides these details about his informant. First, the narrator of the tale was one of the oldest Indians of the Grand Rapids Band and son of Pazagwí'gabo, a famous headman of the Midewiwin. And second, Ki'wí'tc, the storyteller, remarked "after telling the story, that the hero was one of the most powerful guardian spirits, the 'boss of farming'" (Hallowell 1939: 179).

This comment brings us to two ways in which Native Americans may have approached the Bear's Son narratives. The distinction between them, taken from research on oral traditions of the Lenape Delaware, which is another Algonquian-speaking group, will help us contrast the standard European way of reading of the tales with the way in which they might have been received by Native American audiences. The contrast has to do with two basic classes of narrations: those "which pass among the Delawares as epics having a mythological explanatory origin and those which are mere chronicles of happenings in past or present experiences of life. … The distinction between these categories is something like what differentiates a saga from a narrative. The former is a legend concerning characters and events which do not change in the telling, partaking of the nature of gospels" (Speck 1937: 12).

In a similar line, Hallowell states that the Ojibwe distinguish two general types of traditional oral stories. One type is that of "news or tidings", consisting of anecdotes or stories referring to events in the lives of human beings. Thus, "narratives of this class range from everyday occurrences, through more exceptional experiences, to those that verge on the legendary" (Hallowell 1960: 26). The second type are what Hallowell refers to as myths, defining them as "sacred stories, which are not only traditional and formalized, their narration is seasonally restricted and is somewhat ritualized" (ibid.). He continues explaining that the "significant thing about these stories is that the characters are regarded as living entities who have existed from time immemorial. … Whether human or

animal in form or name, the major characters in the myths behave like people, though many of their activities are depicted in a spatiotemporal framework of cosmic, rather than mundane, dimensions" (ibid.: 27).[1]

Narrations belonging to the second category, as described by Hallowell, are viewed as containing important teachings and comprising a body of sacred learning, whereas the former can be understood primarily as entertainment, although the boundary between the two types can be blurred. Moreover, the nature of the interpretative template depends on the cultural conceptualizations of the audience, that is, on the cognitive orientation of the perceiver which in turn is culturally constituted. In the former case the stories become repositories of information concerning the order of the universe and the human morality appropriate therein. Yet given the nature of the Native American versions of the Bear's Son tale that have survived and have been collected, they would seem to fall primarily into the category of entertainment. At the same time, the ursine connections of the hero were probably a detail that caught the attention of the storyteller and the members of the audience.

3.1 Examining versions of the European tale

While we cannot determine how the original European story was received and understood by Native Americans, the early versions undoubtedly continued to reflect aspects of the plotline that were retained in versions of the tale recorded by Carrière in the state of Missouri among French-Canadian speakers. These contain striking details found also in versions collected in the Pyrenees as well as northern Spain (Frank 2017b, 2019, 2022, forthcoming). And these details include the appearance of four spirit animal helpers, a lion or wild cat, a hunting dog, an eagle and an ant, who each gives the hero a talisman. These talismans allow him to acquire the powers of each of the animals when needed and the ability to take on the shape of the animal in question. In other words, he acquires the ability to shapeshift.

Upon closer examination of the tale, it becomes clear that the talismans the half-bear, half-human protagonist receives have a purpose. He obtains them initially from the animals for having helped them divide up a dead beast that they want to eat and have been arguing over. Later, when the magic formula that will allow the hero to overcome his adversary is revealed, it becomes clear that the talismans he has gotten from the spirit animals are precisely the ones which will now allow him to shapeshift, taking on the form of one animal after another. As an aside, when he is given the talismans, he is advised to keep them so that he can use their shapeshifting abilities in the future, although

the listener does not yet know just how important they will become. In certain respects, the animal talismans are reminiscent of the objects acquired in a Native American vision quest which are safeguarded in a medicine bundle. Hence, considered collectively, the talismans could be seen as the European equivalent of a medicine bundle (Lokensgard 2010; Whitley 2014). Indeed, as has been pointed out by others, the scenario recalls the age-old vision quest, known as *hanbleceya* among the Plains Indians of North America. This ritual has been a focal point in the religious life of most Native Americans (Brown 1990, 1993; McGaa 1990: 75–83). Among the Cree who are Algonquian-speakers as are the Ojibwe, the vision quest is focused on the acquisition of one's personal spirit animal helper or *powakan* who is sought through fasting and sometimes appears in a dream (Waugh 1996: 56–60).

From another angle, the adventures of the Bear's Son could be analogized to those of a young shaman apprentice whose ursine ancestry is quite evident. The encounter with the four spirit animal helpers is a key element in the plot. As will become evident in the following summary of the storyline, it is precisely this encounter that makes possible the rest of the actions in the story and the final successful outcome on the part of the hero. As has been noted, early on the hero has an encounter that allows him to acquire his four spirit animal helpers. Walking along a path in the woods, he spies four animals ahead of him standing next to a dead beast. They are, as mentioned, a lion or wild cat, a hunting dog, an eagle, and an ant. Lion calls out to him: "We're hungry and have been arguing about how to divide up the meat. Can you help us?" The hero responds saying that he will try. "Lion, I'll give you the haunch which is what you like best." And to Hunting Dog, he gives the ribs. Addressing Eagle, he says: "To you I'll give the innards and intestines because you don't have any teeth, and this is what you like best." Finally, to the tiny Ant, he says, "To you I'll give the skin and bones and when you've eaten the marrow from the bones you can use them for your house when it rains." With that, Lion responds: "You've done so well with the division that we want to reward you." And each of them gives him a talisman, telling him that when he needs their help all he has to do is touch the object and call out the animal's name. That way he will gain the animal's innate abilities: he will be able to take on the shape of the animal in question. Lion gives him a tuff of fur, Hunting Dog another tuff; Eagle a feather, and little Ant a leg because she has several.

Time passes, and the Bear's Son finds himself at a farmstead where he meets a young woman who lives there with an old man who might be her father or her master. Naturally, since all good stories need a romantic twist, the hero falls in love and wants to run off with the young woman. But she explains to him that she cannot leave because she must care for the old man who happens

to be immortal. The hero insists that there must be a way to get the old man to die so she will be free to leave.

At this point the first example of shapeshifting takes place. The young woman tells him to come back the next day to the garden where she will be combing the old man's hair and removing his lice. The hero is to climb up into a tree located next to them and hide in its branches while she asks the old fellow what will make him die. So, the Bear's Son shows up, shapeshifted into an ant, and climbs silently up into the tree from where he overhears the old man's response: "For me to die, the challenger will have to do battle with my brother who is a shapeshifter, too. He will appear as a porcupine and the challenger must show up as a lion and engage in battle with him. If he triumphs, a hare will appear, and then the challenger must turn into a dog and catch it." The old man continues explaining: "Once the hare is caught, a pigeon will fly up and my opponent must turn into an eagle, snatch the pigeon, open it, remove the egg inside, take the egg and break it on the forehead of my brother who by then will appear as a snake (or dragon). When that happens, the egg inside my head will break and I will become mortal and die." In other versions of the tale, the old man has no brother, and it is the old man himself who shapeshifts into each of the prey animals. That the old man is a shapeshifter, too, suggests that there was shamanic frame operating in the background of the tale.

Naturally, since the hero has been pre-equipped by his four helper animals, he is able to follow these instructions successfully, shapeshifting into one animal after another, while his opponent does the same. In the end the shapeshifted snake (or dragon) is defeated, and the Bear's Son's opponent is no longer immortal. And, hence, the young woman is now free to leave. Yet the identity of the antagonist is vague. Even though he might be understood as the old father of the young woman, the exact nature of the relationship between the two is never made explicit in any of the variants of the tale. Nevertheless, the fact that the young woman says she cannot leave the old man might be interpreted as him keeping her captive against her will. Other Basque versions of the tale link the figure of the old man to the Herensuge, the serpent or dragon in Basque mythology, who is killed by a blow to his forehead with a magical egg (Satrústegui 1975: 18–21).

When interpreted on a deeper level, what we find in the tale is a series of purely ritual battles between two shapeshifters, one of whom is already half-bear, and his older adversary. From this perspective, the role of the four spirit animal helpers is of fundamental importance to the hero, beginning with the smallest one, Ant. Moreover, there is a pattern to the ritual confrontations: they are all encounters between a predator animal and its prey, except for the last where it is a pigeon egg that becomes the vehicle for making the Old Man/Snake mortal.

Table 1. *The Predator-Prey pattern in the Bear's Son Tale*

Predator	Prey
Lion	Porcupine
Hunting Dog	Hare
Eagle	Pigeon
[Pigeon Egg]	Snake

Viewed from this perspective, the backdrop of the tale is nature itself. Plus, in times past, the narration would have taken place in a landscape where witnessing such predator-prey encounters would have been a commonplace occurrence. In this respect, the ritual battles portrayed in the tale could be understood as mapping onto scenes regularly witnessed by members of the audience in which real predator animals were hunting for their lunch. By extension, a child, upon seeing an eagle swoop down on a pigeon, might have connected the corresponding scene in the Bear's Son narrative to what was taking place in the sky above. And that process could have led to a kind of mythologizing of nature that would have coincided with a hunter-gatherer mentality.

3.2 The role of research on tale types in obscuring the plotline linkages

Most European folklorists are primarily focused on versions of "John the Bear" in which his helpers are extraordinarily large human males with superhuman strength. As a result, little attention has been paid to the fact that the anthropomorphic nature of the helpers is an overlay on the older animist template, more in consonance with a hunter-gatherer worldview, in which the helpers were all animals. The lack of attention concerning this point can be explained by the fact that over the past century, one of the primary concerns of researchers working in the field of folkloristics has been the creation of *tale types* that permit the classification of the stories and, in theory, allow for cross-cultural comparisons.

For instance, in tales categorized as "John the Bear", the hero is often portrayed as descending to the underworld to rescue up to three captive princesses. This is a plot line that has elicited many different scholarly labels (Cosquin 1887: 1–27). The most well-known is that of Aarne-Thompson (Aarne & Thompson 1961: 90–93), who refer to the story as "The Three Stolen Princesses" (ATU 301) with the following variants: "Quest for a Vanished Princess" (ATU 301A),

"The Strong Man and His Companions Journey to the Land of Gold" (ATU 301B), "The Magic Objects" (ATU 301C), and "The Dragons Ravish Princesses" (ATU 301D). Hansen (1957: 24–25, 75–77) classified the tale similarly, with some modifications. But he also saw that ATU 301 combined quite often with "Strong John" ("Der Starke Hans") (ATU 650A).

Furthermore, no particular significance has been attributed by folklorists to the fact that in ATU 301 and its variants the hero is regularly portrayed as having a human mother and an ursine father, even when the hero is described as very hairy or having bear ears. At times, he is described as a human from the waist up and a bear from the waist down. In the case of ATU 650A, "Strong John", his ursine paternity is not mentioned. The hero of that tale type is merely described as extraordinarily strong without any explanation for why this is so. However, at times he is described as having the strength of fourteen men or eating as much as fourteen men, but again, without any reason being given for why this is so or why the number fourteen plays a role. In the Basque language variants of the tale classed collectively as ATU 650A, the main character is called *Hamalau*, a term that translates literally as the number fourteen (Frank 2008b). Consequently, discovering tales in Romance languages, for example, in Spanish, Catalan, and Italian versions of ATU 650A, where the hero is called Fourteen, suggests that the ultimate source of those tales was probably the Basque-language version itself and that at some point a form of bilingualism played a role in the transmission of the tales.

We need to remember that the label "The Bear's Son" is a broad one for it encompasses ATU 301 and all its variants and, as has been mentioned, this tale type has been linked to ATU 650A, "Strong John". A key element in the plotline of ATU 301 is the fact, as mentioned, that the protagonist acquires two or more unusually strong and fully anthropomorphic companions. When the plotline is compared and viewed diachronically, we can see that over time these fully anthropomorphic helpers replaced the four spirit animal helpers found in older variants. This realignment, however, did not eliminate the earlier version. Instead, the version that kept the animal helpers ended up relegated by folklorists to a totally separate and supposedly unrelated tale type, ATU 554, called "The Grateful Animals". And, to complicate matters even more, garbled up versions of the episode of the four spirit animal helpers resurfaced in many languages in a tale type referred to as "The Ogre's (Devil's) Heart in the Egg" (ATU 302). A myriad of variants of ATU 302 have been documented in depth by Frazer (1913: 95–141) and these come from all across Europe.

Little attention has been paid to this latter tale type or the fact that the episodes making up the storyline of ATU 554 and ATU 302 overlap in remarkable ways. One of the few studies addressing this topic is that of Vinson who

in his collection of Basque folktales talks about a tale called "Les Dons des Trois Animaux" (The Gifts of the Three Animals) (Vinson 1883: I, 166–177; II, 129–131). There are several Spanish-language tales with a melding of motifs from ATU 301, ATU 302, ATU 650A, and ATU 554, including two versions of a story called "La princesa encantada" (The Enchanted Princess) (Espinosa 1946: 321–337; 1947: 9–55), another called "La serpiente de siete cabezas" (The Seven-Headed Serpent) and two versions of "El cuerpo sin alma" (The Body/Corpse without a Soul) collected by Wheeler (1943: 317–339).

To summarize, over time the plot of the European tale broke into pieces, each of which realigned itself in ways that reflect the changing cultural conceptualizations of the times. Hence, we find that narratives associated with the expression the Bear's Son include ATU 301, plus ATU 301a, b, c, and d, variants globally referred to by folklorists as "The Three Princesses", a reference to the three princesses that are rescued by the hero. At the same time there are other tale types that form part of the same narrative tradition, the same phylogenetic narrative linage: ATU 650A "Strong John", ATU 554 "The Grateful Animals", and ATU 302, now shortened to "Soul in an Egg". In sum, over time the storyline and episodes associated with the earlier version of the tale became fragmented and, as a result, were classified as different tale types (ATU 650A, ATU 554, ATU 302, and ATU 301, plus at least four subtypes of ATU 301).

4. RETURNING TO THE NATIVE AMERICAN TALES

Keeping all of this in mind, as well as considering the prominent role played by the bear among Native Americans, it would be quite logical to expect that the Bear's Son tale with its half-human, half-bear protagonist received a warm reception when it arrived in North America. In Spanish versions of these tales the hero regularly appeared bearing the name of *Juan el Osito* (John Little Bear) or *Juanito el Oso* (Little John, the Bear), while in French versions we find him as *Jean l'Ours* (John of the Bear) and *P'tit Jean* (Little John). Hence, it is not surprising to find Boas (1925) pointing out that among North American Indians one of the most widely disseminated types of French tales consisted of stories describing the adventures of a young hero called *P'tit Jean* (Little John). Narratives featuring *P'tit Jean* include many that go back to European versions of "The Bear's Son" (ATU 301), "The Grateful Animals" (ATU 554) and "Soul in an Egg" (ATU 302), while many others are trickster and noodle tales (Carrière 1937: 19–80).

The French versions of these stories were bought into the region quite early. For example, there is little question that the exploits of their hero, *P'tit Jean*, entered the state of Missouri early on, disseminated by a group of French-

Canadian immigrants who settled in an area called La Veille Mine after crossing the Mississippi from Illinois in the 1790s. Migration patterns like these undoubtedly helped to spread the European tales among the local inhabitants, including Native American groups. Moreover, the fact that French versions of the tale were the source of the versions that ended up in these Native languages is evidenced by the way that the name of the hero was transmitted. Boas (1925: 199–200) writes that *P'tit Jean* (Little John) was the name taken over by Native Americans. In the French-Canadian dialect spoken by the inhabitants of La Veille Mine the name of the hero shows up as *P'tsit Jean*.

More interesting perhaps is the fact that the same name appears in a phonologically distorted and abbreviated form in the folktales collected by Hallowell among the Berens River Saulteaux, namely, as *Tci'ja* and as *Tci'jas* (diminutive) (Hallowell 1939: 173–174). In the Salteaux stories *Tci'ja* or *Tci'jas* is a hero of forlorn or ragged appearance. In other words, according to Hallowell, he is portrayed as a powerful individual who looks like a "nobody" and this was "an idea congenial to native psychology. The multiple titles to these stories are a key to the occurrence of similar episodes in European prototypes that do not necessarily have *P'tit Jean* as their hero. The connecting link evidently is in French-Canadian folklore in which the episodes have become attached to this character" (Hallowell 1939: 173).[2] Stated differently, the character who started out as the Bear's Son, took on a life of his own as a trickster once the tales passed into Native languages.

In summary, Espinosa (1952) cites the existence of forty-seven versions of the Bear's Son tale from the Western Hemisphere; thirty-three of these were collected in Spanish America and nine from North American Indians. However, there are probably many more, but they simply have not been identified. Furthermore, to my knowledge, the examples collected among Native American groups have never been subjected to detailed study to see, for example, what elements from the European tale were kept, what elements were changed and, more importantly, what features of the stories are additions that allowed the tales to take on characteristics that would ring culturally true to members of their audience. In this sense, there are elements that reflect the way that the Native storytellers incorporated Native conceptual frames of reference, reshaping and adjusting the tales to better fit the understandings of their audience. The process of acculturating the tales was brought about by modifying aspects of the storyline and characters. At times these changes are significant. At others the modifications are relatively minor. But taken collectively, they allowed the original story to be adapted and acclimatized to a new audience and culture.

Another aspect of the tales that has not been fully addressed has to do with the reasons why Native storytellers might have felt such a strong affinity with

versions of the Bear's Son tale. There seems to have been a fondness for the main character, enough that he went on to take on a life of his own. Another consideration is the question of how the story ended up housed in these Native languages. Obviously, the process that brought about this result was one that probably took place in three stages. First, there would have been a stage that involved interactions between European storytellers who were probably monolingual, and Native Americans who were bilingual. After having heard the tale enough times, the next step would have been taken: the translation of the tale into the Native language by bilingual individuals. The third stage concerns what happened to the story once it was translated and was being retold to Native audiences. It would have been at this point that the main character would have taken on distinctive characteristics and further details from the Native culture would have been introduced. It was only long after that process of acculturation had taken place that folklorists would go about collecting the stories, fieldwork that for the most part did not take place until the beginning of the twentieth century or even later (Boas 1912, 1925; Deans 1889; Lowie 1909a: 147–150, 246; 1909b: 298–299; Mason 1914; Teit 1909: 702–707; 1912: 292–294, 393–395; S. Thompson 1946: 86; 1966 [1929]; Wheeler 1943).

5. FINAL OBSERVATIONS

Although we cannot precisely date when the Bear's Son tale first arrived at these shores, versions of the tale have been identified in Europe dating to the 1600s. The earliest recorded example is a literary version of the tale from 1634 (Blécourt 2012: 179–181). Another version appears in Topsell's popular work, *The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents and Insects* (Topsell 1967 [1658]: 29).[3] As for the topic of how the tale reached America and spread around, there is good reason to believe that French fur traders played a major role in introducing the story to Native Americans.

Speaking of the early French settlers and the oral traditions they brought with them, Boas remarks that as employees of the Hudson's Bay Company and as independent fur traders, the newcomers carried their lore over extended areas of the continent and, as a result, quite a variety of French material became part of Native American lore. Folktales like the story of "John the Bear" are found wherever the French fur traders went.

> *Generally these tales retain so much of their European setting that they may be readily recognized as foreign elements, although there are cases in which the assimilation has progressed so far that we might be doubtful in*

> *regard to their origin, if the plot did not show so clearly their European connections*. (Boas 1925: 200)

The story seems to have begun circulating in Canada and later in locations to the south where these European trappers and woodsmen traveled and, in some cases, eventually settled. Along the way there would have been many opportunities for the exchange of goods and for storytelling. Clues such as the name given to the hero in the Ojibwe versions of the tale lead us to conclude that the transmission process involved relatively extensive contacts between French speakers and Natives. For the transfer to have taken place would have required enough knowledge of the language of these newcomers, namely, French, that the locals were able to listen and understand the stories being told and later take them home with them, where they could be retold in that storyteller's native tongue. And that storytelling process and resulting transfer of oral tradition probably happened many times over.

As to how the tales circulated after they were translated, for example, into one or more of the Algonquian languages (Fig. 2), such as Objiwe, is a question that remains to be investigated. It could also be that a second level channel of transmission developed in which the story passed from one Native language to another without any need for further intervention on the part of French speakers. Obviously for the European tale to be reshaped and to take on so many features of the Indigenous cultures required time. Those modifications require us to imagine scenarios in which it was being retold over and over. This complex process of oral transmission allowed it to pass from one generation to the next until finally folklorists became aware of the stories at the end of the nineteenth century.

In the previous sections of this study, briefly explored some of the factors intrinsic to the cosmology of Algonquian-speaking peoples and other Native groups, including the role of bears, which might have helped to bring about the adoption of the Bear's Son as one of their own. Although the reasons that led to this tale and its variants surviving across some three centuries are probably numerous and overlapping, that the tale served some purpose is clear while its survival underscores the importance of the role of storytelling in maintaining social cohesion (T. Thompson 2010).

To conclude, the current investigation has only touched the surface of what could be gleaned from the study of the Native American versions of the tales. Whereas we have a general idea of how the European stories were structured when they reached the New World in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the changes that were made to the stories in the process of retelling them in the indigenous languages of North America is a topic that has not been investigated.

That task must fall to someone with a far better grasp of Native American worldviews and ontologies than I have, someone with detailed knowledge of the frames of reference that Native storytellers and their audiences had in mind, and which motivated changes to the European versions. Although it is beyond my ability to carry out such an investigation, I am convinced that if an in-depth study of the Native versions of the tales is carried out, it will demonstrate the remarkable creativity of these unsung storytellers who successfully transmitted these narratives orally from one generation to the next in their Native languages.

NOTES

[1] For a more in-depth discussion of the content of these sacred narratives, see Hallowell (1960: 26–30).

[2] For several examples of these tales, see Hallowell (1939: 173–179).

[3] A curious story reminiscent of the Bear's Son tale, recorded in 1555 in a work by Olaus Magnus (1998: 712–713), is treated in a monograph currently under preparation.

REFERENCES

Aarne, Antti & Thompson, Stith 1961. *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*. Folklore Fellow Communications 184. 2nd ed. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, Academia Scientiarum Fennica. Available at https://www.academia.edu/74439866/, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Alberti, Benjamin 2016. Archaeologies of Ontology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 45, pp. 163–179. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-anthro-102215-095858.

Barakat, Robert A. 1965. The Bear Son's Tale in Northern Mexico. *Journal of American Folklore,* Vol. 78, No. 310, pp. 330–336. https://doi.org/10.2307/538440.

Barakat, Robert A. 1967. John of the Bear and "Beowulf". *Western Folklore*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 1–11. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/1498482.

Barbeau, Marius 1946. Bear Mother. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 59, No. 231, pp. 1–12. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/536553.

Berres, Thomas E. & Stothers, David M. & Mather, David 2004. Bear Imagery and Ritual in Northeast North America: An Update and Assessment of A. Irving Hallowell's Work. *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology,* Vol. 29, No. 1, pp. 5–42. http://dx.doi.org/10.1179/mca.2004.002.

Bertolotti, Maurizio 1992. *Carnevale di Massa 1950*. Torino: Guilio Einaudi Editore.

Bertolotti, Maurizio 1994. La fiaba del figlio dell'orso e le culture siberiane dell'orso. *Quaderni di Semantica*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 39–56.

Bieder, Robert E. 2006. The Imagined Bear. *Current Writing: Text and Reception in Southern Africa*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 163–173. Available at https://www.ajol.info/index.php/cw/article/view/59621, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Bird-David, Nurit 1999. "Animism" Revisited: Personhood, Environment, and Relational Epistemology. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 40, No. S1, pp. 67–91. http://dx.doi.org/10.1086/200061.

Blécourt, Willem de 2012. *Tales of Magic, Tales in Print: On the Genealogy of Fairy Tales and the Brothers Grimm*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Boas, Franz 1912. Notes on Mexican Folk-lore. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 25, No. 97, pp. 204–260. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/534821.

Boas, Franz 1925. Romance Folk-Lore among American Indians. *Romanic Review,* Vol. XVI, No. 3, pp. 199–207. Available at https://www.proquest.com/docview/1290882112?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true&imgSeq=1, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Brown, Joseph Epes 1990. *The Spiritual Legacy of the American Indian*. New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company.

Brown, Joseph Epes 1993. *Animals of the Soul: Sacred Animals of the Oglala Sioux*. Rockport, Mass.: Element Books.

Carrière, Joseph M. 1937. *Tales from French Folk-Lore of Missouri*. Evanston & Chicago: Northwestern University Press.

Claudel, Calvin 1952. Some Comments on the Bear's Son Tale. *Southern Folklore Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, pp. 186–191.

Colgrave, Bertram 1951. A Mexican Version of the "Bear's Son" Folktale. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 64, No. 254, pp. 409–413. https://doi.org/10.2307/537011.

Cosquin, Emmanuel 1887. *Contes populaires de Lorraine comparés avec les Contes des autres Provinces de France et des Pays étrangers*. Paris: Vieweg. Available at http://www.gutenberg.org/files/57892/57892-h/57892-h.htm, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Deans, James 1889. The Story of the Bear and His Indian Wife. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 2, No. 7, pp. 255–260. Available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/534036.pdf, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Edsman, Carl-Martin 1956. The Story of the Bear Wife in Nordic Tradition. *Ethnos: Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 21, No. 1–2, pp. 36–56. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00141844.1956.9980812.

Edsman, Carl-Martin 1996. La fête de l'ours chez les Lapons: Sources anciennes et recherches récentes sur certain rites de chasse aux confins septentrionaux de la Scandinave. *Proxima Thulé: Revue d'études nordiques*, Vol. 2, pp. 11–49.

Espinosa, Aurelio M. 1914. Comparative Notes on New-Mexican and Mexican Spanish Folk-Tales. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 27, No. 104, pp. 211–231. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/534598.

Espinosa, Aurelio M. 1946. *Cuentos populares españoles, recogidos de la tradición oral de España. Tomo I. Textos.* Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto "Antonio de Nebrija" de Filología.

Espinosa, Aurelio M. 1947. *Cuentos populares españoles, recogidos de la tradición oral de España. Tomo III. Notas comparativas*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Instituto "Antonio de Nebrija" de Filología.

Espinosa, Aurelio M. 1951. Spanish and Spanish-American Folk Tales. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 64, No. 252, pp. 151–162. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/536633.

Espinosa, Aurelio M. 1952. Western Hemisphere Versions of Aarne-Thompson 301. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 65, No. 256, p. 187. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/536891.

Ewers, John C. 1955. The Bear Cult among the Assiniboin and Their Neighbors of the Northern Plains. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 1–14. Available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/3628993, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Frank, Roslyn M. 1996. Hunting the European Sky Bears: When Bears Ruled the Earth and Guarded the Gate of Heaven. In: Vesselina Koleva & Dimiter Kolev (eds.) *Astronomical Traditions in Past Cultures*. Proceedings of the First Annual General Meeting of the European Society for Astronomy in Culture. Smolyan, Bulgaria, 31 August – 2 September 1993. Sofia: Institute of Astronomy, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and National Astronomical Observatory Rozhen, pp. 116–142.

Frank, Roslyn M. 2005. Shifting Identities: A Comparative Study of Basque and Western Cultural Conceptualisations. *Cahiers of the Association for French Language Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 1–54. Available at https://afls.net/cahiers/11.2/frank.pdf, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Frank, Roslyn M. 2008a. Evidence in Favor of the Palaeolithic Continuity Refugium Theory (PCRT): *Hamalau* and Its Linguistic and Cultural Relatives. Part 1. *Insula: Quaderno di Cultura Sarda*, Vol. 4, pp. 91–131. Available at https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=3623011, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Frank, Roslyn M. 2008b. Recovering European Ritual Bear Hunts: A Comparative Study of Basque and Sardinian Ursine Carnival Performances. *Insula: Quaderno di Cultura Sarda*, Vol. 3, pp. 41–97. Available at https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=3621975, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Frank, Roslyn M. 2009. Evidence in Favor of the Palaeolithic Continuity Refugium Theory (PCRT): Hamalau and Its Linguistic and Cultural Relatives. Part 2. *Insula: Quaderno di Cultura Sarda*, Vol. 5, pp. 89–133. Available at https://dialnet.unirioja.es/ejemplar/277329, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Frank, Roslyn M. 2017a. *Shamanism in Europe? Part 2. An Essay in Collective Memory and Cognition: Bears and Badgers, Basque and Celtic.* Available at https://www.academia.edu/35091642/, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Frank, Roslyn M. 2017b. Introducing Diachronic Cultural Linguistics. Translating the "Bear's Son Tale" in the Longue Durée: Interpreting its Animistic Cosmovision and Slavic Connections. Presentation at the conference "Languages – Cultures – Worldviews: Translations and Comparative Perspectives", November 16–18, 2017, Lublin, Poland. Available at https://www.academia.edu/36606555/, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Frank, Roslyn M. 2018. Looking at Europe through a Basque Lens: Ethnolinguistic Considerations of Two Worldviews. *Etnolingwistyka: Problemy Języka i Kultury*, Vol. 30, pp. 189–213. https://doi.org/10.17951/et.2018.30.189.

Frank, Roslyn M. 2019. Translating a Worldview in the *longue durée*: The Tale of "The Bear's Son". In: Adam Głaz (ed.) *Languages – Cultures – Worldviews: Focus on Translation*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 53–80.

Frank, Roslyn M. 2022. *Exploring the Indigenous Face of Europe: Rethinking Fairytales, the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and Glass Mountain before Cinderella.* Iowa Research Online. University of Iowa. Available at https://www.academia.edu/79329538/, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Frank, Roslyn M. forthcoming. "The Bear's Son Tale": Traces of an Ursine Genealogy and Bear Ceremonialism in a Pan-European Oral Tradition. In: Oliver Grimm (ed.) in cooperation with Daniel Groß & Alexandra Pesch & Olof Sundqvist & Andreas Zedrosser. *Bear and Human – Facets of a Multi-layered Relationship from Past to Recent Times with an Emphasis on Northern Europe*. Neumünster, Germany: Wachholtz.

Frazer, James George 1913. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, Vol. 11. New York & London: The Macmillan Company. Available at http://www.gutenberg.org/files/43433/43433-h/43433-h.html#noteref_370, last accessed on 20 January 2023.

Gastou, François R. 1987. *Sur les Traces des Montreurs d'Ours des Pyrénées et d'Ailleurs*. Toulouse: Loubatiers.

Gual, Oriol Lluis 2017. *Les derniers Ours: Une Histoire des Fêtes de l'Ours*. *Quaderns del Costumari de Catalunya Nord*, Vol. 1. Prats-de-Mollo: Costumari de Catalunya Nord.

Haber, Alejandro F. 2009. Animism, Relatedness, Life: Post-Western Perspectives. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 418–430. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0959774309000602.

Hadyn, Hiram Collins1950. *The Counter-Renaissance*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.

Hallowell, A. Irving. 1926. Bear Ceremonialism in the Northern Hemisphere. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 1–175. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/aa.1926.28.1.02a00020.

Hallowell, A. Irving 1939. Some European Folktales of the Berens River Saulteaux. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 52, No. 204, pp. 155–179. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/535470.

Hallowell, A. Irving 1960. Ojibwa Ontology, Behavior, and World View. In: Stanley Diamond (ed.) *Culture in History: Essays in Honor of Paul Radin.* New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 19–52.

Hansen, Terrence L. 1957. *The Types of the Folktale in Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic and Spanish America*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Harvey, Graham 2006. *Animism: Respecting the Living World*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Henderson, Lizanne 2020. Bear Tales: Ways of Seeing Polar Bears in Mythology, Traditional Folktales and Modern-Day Children's Literature. In: Auba Llompart & Lydia Brugué (eds.) *Contemporary Fairy-Tale Magic: Subverting Gender and Genre*. Leiden & Boston: Brill / Rodopi, pp. 250–262.

Hill, Erica 2011. Animals As Agents: Hunting Ritual and Relational Ontologies in Prehistoric Alaska and Chukotka. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 407–426. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0959774311000448.

Kiss, Gabriela 1959. A 301-es mesetípus magyar redakciói. [Hungarian Editions of Story Type 301]. *Ethnographia (Budapest)*, Vol. LXX, pp. 253–268.

Lajoux, Jean-Dominique 1996. *L'homme et l'ours*. Grenoble: Glénat.

Lapham, Heather A. & Waselkow, Gregory A. 2020. *Bears: Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Perspectives in Native Eastern North America*. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvx06xv6.

Latimer, Joanna & Miele, Mara 2013. Naturecultures? Science, Affect and the Non-human. *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 30, No. 7/8, pp. 5–31. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0263276413502088.

Latour, Bruno 1993. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Transl. by Catherine Porter. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Lokensgard, Kenneth H. 2010. *Blackfoot Religions and the Consequences of Cultural Commoditization*. Farmhan, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Lovejoy, Arthur O. & Boas, George (eds.) 1935. *A Documentary History of Primitivism and Related Ideas. Vol. 1. Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

Lowie, Robert H. 1909a. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 4, Part 1. *The Assiniboine.* New York: Published by Order of the Trustees. Available at https://digitallibrary.amnh.org/handle/2246/192, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Lowie, Robert H. 1909b. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 2. Part 2. *The Northern Shoshone*. New York: Published by Order of the Trustees. Available at https://digitallibrary.amnh.org/handle/2246/202, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Magnus, Olaus 1998. *Description of the Northern Peoples 1955.* Vol. III. Edited by P.G. Foote. London: Hakluyt Society.

Mason, J. Alden 1914. Folk-Tales of the Tepecanos. *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 27, No. 104, pp. 148–210. http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/534597.

McClellan, Catherine 1970. *The Girl Who Married the Bear*. Publications in Ethnology, No. 2. National Museum of Man. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada. Available at https://www.historymuseum.ca/cmc/exhibitions/tresors/ethno/etp1202e.html, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

McGaa, Ed 1990. *Mother Earth Spirituality*. New York: HarperSanFrancisco.

McNiven, Ian J. 2013. Between the Living and the Dead: Relational Ontologies and the Ritual Dimension of Dugong Hunting across Torres Strait. In: Christopher Watts (ed.) *Relational Archaeologies: Humans, Animals, Things*. New York: Routledge, pp. 97–116. DOI: 10.4324/9780203553138-5.

Nadasdy, Paul 2007. The Gift in the Animal: The Ontology of Hunting and Human-Animal Sociality. *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 25–43. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/ae.2007.34.1.25.

Paleček, Martin & Risjord, Mark 2013. Relativism and the Ontological Turn Within Anthropology. *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 3–23. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0048393112463335.

Panzer, Friedrich 1910. *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte. I. Beowulf*. München: C. H. Beck. Available at https://archive.org/details/studienzurgerman01panz/mode/2up, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Parsons, Elsie Clews 1933. *Folk-Lore of the Antilles, French and English. Part I*. Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society. New York: American Folk-Lore Society & G. E. Stechert and Co.

Parsons, Elsie Clews 1936. *Folk-Lore of the Antilles, French and English. Part II*. Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society. New York: American Folk-Lore Society & G. E. Stechert and Co.

Pastoureau, Michel 2011. *The Bear: History of a Fallen King*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press / Belknap.

Pauvert, Dominique 2014. Le rituel de l'ours des Pyrénées aux steppes. In: Société des études euro-asiatiques (ed.) *Traditions en devenir: Coutumes et croyances d'Europe et d'Asie face au monde moderne. EURASIE N°. 2.* Paris: L'Harmattan, pp. 17–51.

Peillen, Txomin 1986. Le culte de l'ours chez les anciens basques. In: Claude Dendaletche (ed.) *L'ours brun: Pyrénées, Agruzzes, Monts. Cantabriques, Alpes du Trentin*. Acta Biologica Montana, pp. 171–173.

Porr, Martin, & Matthews, Jacqueline 2016. Thinking Through Story: Archaeology and Narratives. *Hunter Gatherer Research*, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 249–274. http://dx.doi.org/10.3828/hgr.2016.20.

Rockwell, David 1991. *Giving Voice to Bear: North American Indian Myths, Rituals and Images of the Bear*. Niwot, Colorado: Roberts Rinehart Publishers.

Rodseth, Lars 2015. Back to Boas, Forth to Latour: An Anthropological Model for the Ontological Turn. *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 56, No. 6, pp. 865–992. https://doi.org/10.1086/683681.

Satrústegui, José María 1975. La leyenda del dragón en las tradiciones de Urdiain. *Cuadernos de Etnografía y Etnografía de Navarra*, Vol. 19, pp. 13–30. Available at https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=144541, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Shepard, Paul 1999. The Significance of Bears. In: Florence R. Shepard (ed.) *Encounters with Nature: Essays by Paul Shepard*. Washington, DC & Covelo, California: Island Press & Shearwater Books, pp. 92–97.

Shepard, Paul 2007. The Biological Bases of Bear Mythology and Ceremonialism. *The Trumpeter: Journal of Ecosophy*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 74–79. Available at http://trumpeter.athabascau.ca/index.php/trumpet/article/view/973, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Shepard, Paul & Sanders, Barry 1992. *The Sacred Paw: The Bear in Nature, Myth, and Literature*. New York, NY: Arkana.

Speck, Frank G. 1937. *Oklahoma Delaware Ceremonies, Feasts and Dances*. Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Vol. 7. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The American Philosophical Society.

Stitt, J. Michael 1992. *Beowulf and the Bear's Son: Epic, Saga, and Fairytale in Northern Germanic Tradition*. New York & London: Garland Publishing Inc.

Swancutt, Katherine A. & Mazard, Mireille (eds.) 2018. *Animism Beyond the Soul: Ontology, Reflexivity, and the Making of Anthropological Knowledge*. New York & London: Berghahn Books.

Teit, James A. 1909. *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 2, Part 7. *The Shuswap*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. Available at https://digitallibrary.amnh.org/handle/2246/38, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Teit, James A. 1912. *The Jesup North Pacific Expedition. Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 8, Part 2. *Mythology of the Thompson Indians*. Leiden: E. J. Brill. Available at https://digitallibrary.amnh.org/handle/2246/37, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Thompson, Stith 1946. *The Folktale*. New York: The Dryden Press.

Thompson, Stith (ed.) 1966 [1929]. *Tales of North American Indians: Selected and Annotated*. Cambridge, Mass: Indiana University.

Thompson, Tok 2010. The Ape That Captured Time: Folklore, Narrative, and the Human-Animal Divide. *Western Folklore*, Vol. 69, No. 3/4, pp. 395–420. Available at https://www.jstor.org/stable/27896361, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Thompson, Tok 2019. Listening to the Elder Brothers: Animals, Agents, and Posthumanism in Native Versus Non-Native American Myths and Worldviews. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Vol. 77, pp. 159–180. http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2019.77.thompson.

Topsell, Edward (ed.) 1967 [1658]. *The History of Four-footed Beasts and Serpents and Insects. Vol. 1. The History of Four-footed Beasts.* New York: Da Capo Press.

Truffaut, Thierry 1988. Apports des carnavals ruraux en Pays Basque pour l'étude de la mythologie: Le cas du "Basa-Jaun". *Eusko-Ikaskuntza. Sociedad de Estudios Vascos. Cuadernos de Sección: Antropología-Etnología*, Vol. 6, pp. 71–82. Available at http://www.carnivalkingofeurope.it/pdf/carnavalpaysbsque.pdf, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Truffaut, Thierry 2010. Contribution à la connaissance de la permanence ursine dans les diverses manifestations culturelles, culturelles et festives dans le périmètre de l'ancienne province romain de Novempopulanie. *Munibe Antropologia-Arkeologia*, Vol. 61, pp. 407–434. Available at www.aranzadi.eus/fileadmin/docs/Munibe/2010407434AA.pdf, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Vinson, Julien 1883. *Le Folk-lore du Pays Basque*. Paris: Maisonneuve. Available at https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k940238g/f14.item.texteImage, last accessed on 23 January 2023.

Wallace, Anthony 1949. The Role of the Bear in Delaware Society. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, Vol. 19, No. 1/2, pp. 37–46.

Watts, Christopher (ed.) 2013. *Relational Archaeologies: Humans, Animals, Things*. London & New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Waugh, Earle H. 1996. *Dissonant Worlds: Roger Vandersteene among the Cree*. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Wheeler, Howard T. 1943. *Tales from Jalisco Mexico*. Philadelphia: American Folk-Lore Society.

Whitley, David S. 2014. Hunter-Gatherer Religion and Ritual. In: Vicki Cummings & Peter Jordan & Marek Zvelebil (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology and Anthropology of Hunter-Gatherers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1221–1242. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199551224.013.022.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee 1941. The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language. In: Leslie Spier (ed.) *Language, Culture, and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir*. Menasha, Wisconsin: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, pp. 75–93.

Williams, Raymond 1978. *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, Raymond 1980. *Problems in Materialism and Culture*. London: Verso Editions.

Roslyn M. Frank (PhD) is Professor Emeritus in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of Iowa. She serves on the Advisory Board of numerous academic journals dedicated to the study of language and culture and has published widely in her other fields of interest which include European and Native American ethnology, folklore and performance art, cultural linguistics, Basque language and culture as well as ethnomathematics and ethnoastronomy.

roz-frank@uiowa.edu

https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2023.88.sakalli

MELTING IN THE MELTING POT: THE ACCULTURATION EXPERIENCE OF THE AHISKA TURKS IN THE US

Erol Sakallı
Associate Professor
Department of Modern Turkic Dialects and Literatures
Usak University, Turkey
erol.sakalli@usak.edu.tr

Abstract: This study investigates the acculturation levels of the Ahıska Turks living in the US. The sample of the survey consisted of 124 Ahıska Turks (n_{female} = 61 and n_{male} = 63). The Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS-ZABB) was employed to measure the significance of age, marital status, education, employment, length of stay, and language competence in the acculturation process. The findings revealed that, similar to literature data, age, marital status, and language competence were significant, but education, employment, and length of stay were not significant among the Ahıska Turks in contrast with the literature data. The findings were discussed within the framework of the existing literature and suggestions for future research were put forward.

Keywords: acculturation, adaptation, Ahıska Turks, integration, migration

INTRODUCTION

In 2015, the total number of the international migrants rose to 243 million, from 84 million in 1970 all over the world (McAuliffe & Ruhs 2018). People migrate for many reasons; however, it is not only people that migrate but also their languages, life styles, behaviors and, indeed, their culture. This is the reason why and how languages and cultures contact and intermingle. The contact of cultures as a result of migration leads to acculturation. "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield & Linton & Herskovits 1936: 149). However, acculturation does not result only from migration, but also from globalization (Arnett 2002; Chen & Benet-Martínez & Bond 2008; Berry 2008). Globalization, as defined by James & Steger (2014:

418), "mediates and frames how we understand our increasingly interconnected world". As a consequence of the interconnection, it is possible to see cultural changes also in people who are not migrants (Ozer & Schwartz 2016: 2). Popular culture through the media makes up a big part of the globalization-based acculturation (Ferguson & Bornstein 2015; Sakallı 2014).

It is not surprising that individuals and communities are influenced by one another as they interact and, as a result, cultural changes occur. "Although these changes can take place as a result of almost any intercultural contact acculturation is most often studied in individuals living in countries or regions other than where they were born" (Schwartz et al. 2010). This research also studies acculturation in individuals, the Ahıska Turks, who live in the US, and most of whom were born outside the US. The Ahıska Turks, one of the minority groups in the US, seem to have adapted to the way of life in America and the American, that is, the host culture, as well as maintain their own Turkish culture. Their acculturation process is largely affected, both positively and negatively, by their previous experience in Russia and other countries.

Adaptation to the new culture may vary in individuals. Berry (1992) categorizes what he calls acculturation options into four groups: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalization. Each one is a reaction to acculturation, and these options are adopted on an individual or communal level. The Ahıska Turks could be included in Berry's integration category as they seem to have adapted to the American culture and maintained their own culture alike (Sakallı & Özcan 2016).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE AHISKA TURKS IN THE US

The Ahıska Turks, also known as the Meskhetian Turks, got their name from the geography they used to live in. The region, in present-day Georgia, is called Ahıska or Meskhetia. The region was a part of the Ottoman Empire until 1829, when it became a part of Russia, and then the former Soviet Union. The Ahıska Turks lived in Ahıska until 1944, when they were deported to the countries of Central Asia by order of Stalin. Though there has been no conclusive evidence as to the motive of the deportation, Khazanov (1992: 3) states that Stalin was planning to invade Turkey and he wanted to clear the region of Ahıska Turks, who, although they were on the other side of the border, still felt as part of Turkey. Approximately 100,000 Ahıska Turks (though the number varies in different sources) were removed from their homes by force by the Soviet troops, "confiscating their belongings and placing them in cattle cars destined for the Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. … Many thousands

of Meskhetian Turks perished during the initial deportation to Central Asia, while more died from cold or hunger in their first years of displacement. Within 4 years after the deportation, the Meskhetian Turks had lost between 15% to 20% of their total population" (Aydıngün et al. 2006: 6).

The conditions that the Ahıska Turks endured in these countries and especially in Uzbekistan were much worse than what they experienced on the one-month journey. They had to work under inhumane conditions on the cotton fields or in the factories as they had to meet the needs of the war. There was hardly any food and many of them died as a result of starvation and workload (Ray 2000). After so many tragedies, following World War II and liberalization in the post-Stalin period, the Ahıska Turks were able to lead normal lives until 1989, when a pogrom started in Uzbekistan and many Ahıska Turks had to be evacuated to different parts of Russia, Kazakhstan or Kyrgyzstan (Veyseloğlu 1999; Zeyrek 2001; Taşdemir 2005; Buntürk 2007; Aydıngün & Aydıngün 2014; Sakallı 2016).

The problems did not cease for the Ahıska Turks who settled in Krasnodar Krai of Russia after fleeing Uzbekistan. They faced discrimination and were not given their *propiska*, a residence permit, without which the Ahıska Turks were deprived of nearly all the basic rights from accessing education and health services as well as employment and retirement services, and so on (Osipov 2007). "As of 2002, their legal status has been defined as stateless people and temporary residents" (Koriouchkina 2009: 41). Since the repatriation demands of the Ahıska Turks were not met by Georgia and the situation in Krasnodar Krai was getting worse, a third option – third-country resettlement – was the solution (Swerdlow 2006: 1831). Therefore, for the fiscal year 2004, the Ahıska Turks were added to the P-2 category, groups of special humanitarian concern, to be resettled in the US (see State.gov). Today, more than 12,000 Ahıska Turks live in different states across the US. Since they arrived in the US, some 14 years ago, the Ahıska Turks have done well at integrating to the American society. As they are well-versed in adjusting to different living conditions, they seem to have adapted to the life in the US in many ways. Linguistically, they have all learned English, although the level of proficiency varies; socio-culturally they have learned the social norms and cultural values which they respect and have adapted to in varying degrees. Meanwhile, they have maintained their own linguistic and cultural values; that is, they have taught their language and culture to the new generation.

METHOD

This article aims to determine Turkish-American acculturation levels and to establish the differences and effects between sub-dimensions of acculturation and some demographic variables. To this end, the below hypotheses were tested:

H1: The gender is significant for all sub-dimensions of the scale.
H2: The marital status is significant for all sub-dimensions of the scale.
H3: The American acculturation among those who work is significant as compared to those who do not work.
H4: The level of education is significant for all the sub-dimensions of the acculturation scale.
H5: The age is significant for all the sub-dimensions of the acculturation scale.
H6: The relations between all the sub-dimensions of American acculturation and all the sub-dimensions of Turkish acculturation are significant.
H7: The language competence exerts influence on acculturation.

The hypotheses were determined after a comprehensive examination of the literature on acculturation. For example, Tang and Dion (1999), Archuleta (2015), Gorman, Read and Krueger (2010), and Kulis et al. (2007) studied gender, gender roles, and gender differences in terms of acculturation. Similarly, Tharp et al. (1968), Spiegler, Leyendecker and Kohl (2015), and Im, Lee and Lee (2014) studied such topics as acculturation, marital status, and marriage roles. There have been studies that investigate the different dimensions of acculturation. Therefore, the hypotheses of this article were meant to be similar to those of previous studies so that we could compare and contrast the findings.

The Ahıska Turks living in Dayton, Ohio, form the core of the present survey. Though in many parts of the US, there is an Ahıska Turkish population with varying numbers, the largest population of the Ahıska Turks live in Dayton. Therefore, the survey was conducted in Dayton. There is no database to present the exact population of the Ahıska Turks there; however, according to Mr. Islom Shakhbandarov, the CEO of the Ahıska Turkish American Community Center, there are about 800 Ahıska Turkish families in Dayton. In order to carry out the survey, I met with Mr. Shakhbandarov and asked for his support and permission to get in contact with the Ahıska Turkish population. The respondents were met through appointments in their homes, their workplaces, or at the community center together with personnel from the center. The sample of the survey was determined using the purposive sampling because according to Fraenkel and

Wallen (2006 [1990]: 100) "based on previous knowledge of a population and the specific purpose of the research, investigators use personal judgement to select a sample. Researchers assume they can use their knowledge of the population to judge whether or not a particular sample will be representative". As I have previous knowledge about the population and the CEO of the Ahıska Turkish American Community Center gave a detailed picture of it, purposive sampling was thought to be the most appropriate sampling method. 124 Ahıska Turks (n_{female} = 61 and n_{male} = 63) make up the sample of the survey.

The necessary meetings and preliminary studies were made in October 2018 and the surveys were implemented in February-June 2019. For this study a quantitative research technique was used. I informed the respondents about the confidentiality and the scientific value of the study. The respondents answered the questions on the scale on a voluntary and one-to-one basis.

The respondents were, first of all, asked demographic questions to find out their ages, marital status, gender, level of education, and employment.

Acculturation has been studied intensively as a result of increasing migrating population, and so many models and measurement instruments have been proposed and developed (Kang 2006; Celenk & Van de Vijver 2011). For this study, the Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AMAS-ZABB), a bilinear and multidimensional one, developed by Zea et al. (2003) was used. There are 42 items with 4-point Likert type, 1 means 'strongly disagree' or 'not at all', while 4 means 'strongly agree' or 'extremely well'. The scale consists of three sub-dimensions: cultural identity, language competence, and cultural competence. As the original language of the instrument was English, I translated it into Turkish. The Turkish translation was checked by a linguist and meanwhile the instrument was reverse translated into English by another linguist. Only item 5, "I have a strong sense of being U.S.-American", and item 11, "I have a strong sense of being (culture of origin)", had to be discussed and the sentence which was decided on was put in the Turkish version. However, in the Turkish version of the scale the statement 'culture of origin' was changed to 'Turkish' as all the respondents were from one culture of origin.

The data were obtained from 124 questionnaires and analyzed using the SPSS 23.0. First of all, reliability analyses for each dimension were conducted. Later, the averages of the sub-dimensions were found and the mean, standard deviation, and Kolmogorov-Smirnov values were determined. Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics.

Table 1. *Descriptive statistics*

Scale	No. of items	Mean	St. dv.	Kolmogorov-Smirnov		α
				statistic	P (df:124)	
Cultural identity US	6	2.31	0.592	.107	.001	.905
Language competence English	9	2.94	0.846	.218	.000	.950
Cultural competence US	6	2.36	0.631	.160	.000	.866
Total US acculturation	21	2.59	0.613	.120	.000	.941
Cultural identity TR	6	3.86	0.316	.473	.000	.850
Language competence TR	9	3.67	0.538	.341	.000	.952
Cultural competence TR	6	2.96	0.515	.086	.025	.811
Total TR acculturation	21	3.52	0.362	.200	.000	.881

n=124

In order to test the normality of sub-dimensions and total scores, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was employed. As far as the analysis results are concerned, not all sub-dimensions and total scores yielded normal distribution. Therefore, non-parametric tests (Kruskal Wallis, Mann-Whitney U, Spearman Brown Correlation) were used and the significance values were evaluated with the Bonferroni Correction.

In order to determine the reliability of the scale, the Cronbach alpha value was calculated. According to Nunnally (1978 [1967]), if the alpha coefficient is equal to or bigger than 0.70, the result is acceptable. Our findings showed that the reliability values were between 0.811 and 0.952 and these values were within the limits of reliability. Besides, these findings were compatible with the values found by Zea et al. (2003: 114), the developers of the scale.

The fact that the Turkish cultural identity was not within the levels suggested could be explained by the respondents' commitment to their Turkish identity as they were all alienated in Russia and their Turkish identity and language were the sole factors that helped them defend themselves against alienation and assimilation. This will be discussed in detail below.

The means of the variables in the scale ranged between 2.31 and 3.86, the standard deviations being between 0.316 and 0.846. As far as the means of the variables in Table 1 are concerned, the means of the dimensions of the US acculturation ranged between 2 and 3. The English language competence dimension was higher than the total US mean. This could be the result of a need to use English in an environment where the majority language was English. The younger respondents use English at school, while most of the older respondents use English at work. On the other hand, with regard to the dimensions of Turkish acculturation, the Turkish cultural competence had the lowest value. This could be explained by the fact that nearly none of the respondents had lived in Turkey before, nor had they had any formal education in Turkey. Almost all the respondents go to, or have been to, Turkey just to visit some family members for a short time during their vacation. The only source of information for the respondents to learn about Turkey is television or internet. The values for the Turkish identity and the Turkish language competence dimensions were, however, higher than the mean, which meant the respondents were committed to their Turkish identity and their language even though they had never lived in Turkey before.

The demographic characteristics of the respondents are given in Table 2 and Table 3. Most of the respondents were married and had jobs. Their length of stay in the US was mostly 13 or 14 years. This is because the Ahıska Turks, as mentioned above, started to come to the US in 2004. The respondents whose length of stay was 12 years or less were mainly the ones who came to the US as a result of marriage and in some rare cases joined their family there at a later stage. The distribution of the respondents in terms of gender and age was homogenous.

Table 2. *Demographic information*

Gender	**N**	**Percent (%)**
Female	61	49.2
Male	63	50.8
Marital status	**N**	**Percent (%)**
Married	97	78.2
Single	27	21.8
Do you work?	**N**	**Percent (%)**
Yes	71	57.3
No	53	42.7

Age	**N**	**Percent (%)**
25&under	26	21.0
26–35	34	27.4
36–45	16	12.9
46&over	48	38.7
Length of stay in the US	**N**	**Percent (%)**
12&under years	7	5.6
13 years	57	46.0
14 years	60	48.4

In order to better explain the relationship between the level of education and the age (as the minimum age of the respondents was 14), a cross-tabulation analysis was conducted. According to the cross-tabulation findings in Table 3, most of the respondents were high school or university graduates. The university graduates in the age group of 46&over studied in Uzbekistan, while the respondents in the age group of 26–34 studied in the US. The fact that most of the respondents in the age group of 36–45 were not university graduates could be explained by their not being able to attend university due to the reasons mentioned above, such as being denied their citizenship in Russia.

Table 3. *Cross-tabulation results of the level of education and age*

Elementary		Level of education				
		High school	Unfinished higher education	University	Total	
Age	25&under	5	16	2	3	26
	26–35	1	10	3	20	34
	36–45	5	8	0	3	16
	46&over	3	24	0	21	48
	Total	14	58	5	47	124

The analysis of variance was conducted to determine the statistical differences between socio-demographic variables and the acculturation scale. The independent t-test was conducted for the variables consisting of two groups, and the Kruskal-Wallis H test was conducted for the variables consisting of more than two groups so as to examine the differences between the scale and the socio-demographic characteristics. The post-hoc tests were conducted and the results of the Tukey analysis were given.

The gender was not significant in terms of acculturation and all the dimensions were above the significance level 0.05. Therefore, hypothesis 1 was refuted. The fact that acculturation was not significant in terms of gender may result from the equality between females and males in the Ahıska Turkish community.

The marital status of the respondents was statistically significant in terms of acculturation (Sig<0.05). The mean of the married respondents' acculturation was, according to the findings, higher for Turkish acculturation, while the mean of the single respondents' acculturation was higher for American acculturation. Therefore, hypothesis 2 was validated. Table 4 presents the findings that show whether the marital status was significant in terms of acculturation.

Table 4. *Mann-Whitney U test results to determine whether the marital status of the respondents is significant in terms of acculturation*

	Marital status		N	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	U	Z	p
Cultural identity US	Dimension1	Married	97	55.10	5345.00	592.000	-4.369	.000
		Single	27	89.07	2405.00			
		Total	124					
Language competence English	Dimension1	Married	97	52.45	5088.00	335.000	-6.040	.000
		Single	27	98.59	2662.00			
		Total	124					
Cultural competence US	Dimension1	Married	97	52.91	5132.00	379.000	-5.659	.000
		Single	27	96.96	2618.00			
		Total	124					
Total acculturation US	Dimension1	Married	97	51.69	5014.00	261.000	-6.352	.000
		Single	27	101.33	2736.00			
		Total	124					
Cultural identity Turkish	Dimension1	Married	97	67.54	6551.50	820.500	-4.294	.000
		Single	27	44.39	1198.50			
		Total	124					
Language competence Turkish	Dimension1	Married	97	73.11	7091.50	280.500	-7.070	.000
		Single	27	24.39	658.50			
		Total	124					
Cultural competence Turkish	Dimension1	Married	97	69.14	6706.50	665.500	-3.920	.000
		Single	27	38.65	1043.50			
		Total	124					
Total acculturation Turkish	Dimension1	Married	97	73.26	7106.50	265.500	-6.341	.000
		Single	27	23.83	643.50			
		Total	124					

As far as the acculturation levels of the respondents who work and those who do not are concerned, the English language competence turned out to be the only significant dimension (Sig.<0.05) among these respondents. According to the findings, the English language competence among the respondents who work was higher than that of the respondents who do not work. Therefore, hypothesis 3 was partially validated. Table 5 presents the relationship between the variable "Do you work?" and the language competence dimension.

Table 5. *Mann-Whitney U test results to determine whether the employment of the respondents is significant in terms of the English language competence*

	Do you work?		N	Mean rank	Sum of ranks	U	Z	p
Language competence English	Dimension 1	Yes	71	69.38	4926.00	1393.000	-2.526	.012
		No	53	53.28	2824.00			
		Total	124					

According to the results of the Kruskal-Wallis analysis, the length of stay in the US and the level of education were not significant for any of the sub-dimensions of the scale. This could be explained by the fact that the length of stay in the US was almost the same for all respondents, with only a few exceptions. Besides, the fact that the level of education was not significant could be explained by the respondents mainly attending school or university in Uzbekistan or Russia. Therefore, hypotheses 4 and 5 were refuted. However, the new generation, who were born in the US or came to the US at a very young age, could be more inclined to US acculturation because the respondents in the group of 25&under had higher values for all sub-dimensions of US acculturation than all the other groups.

To test the significance of the age group variable in terms of acculturation, the Kruskal-Wallis H test was conducted. After Bonferroni Correction procedure, 0.008 (0.05/6) value was determined.

As shown in Table 6, age was significant for all sub-dimensions of the acculturation scale ($p<0.008$). The differences between the groups were determined with the Mann-Whitney U test.

Table 6. *Kruskal-Wallis H results to determine whether the age groups of the respondents are significant in terms of acculturation*

	Age	N	Mean rank	χ^2	p	Variance
Cultural identity US	25&under (1)	26	87.92	21.863	.000	1>2 1>3 1>4 2>3 2>4 3>4
	26–35 (2)	34	66.50			
	36–45 (3)	16	55.56			
	46&over (4)	48	48.21			
	Total	124				
Language competence English	25&under (1)	26	101.42	97.281	.000	1>2 1>3 1>4 2>3 2>4 3>4
	26–35 (2)	34	82.78			
	36–45 (3)	16	67.50			
	46&over (4)	48	25.39			
	Total	124				

Cultural competence US	25&under (1)	26	98.71	61.716	.000	1>2 1>3 1>4 2>3 2>4 3>4
	26–35 (2)	34	74.22			
	36–45 (3)	16	65.47			
	46&over (4)	48	33.59			
	Total	124				
Total acculturation US	25&under (1)	26	103.69	89.978	.000	1>2 1>3 1>4 2>3 2>4 3>4
	26–35 (2)	34	79.63			
	36–45 (3)	16	66.72			
	46&over (4)	48	26.65			
	Total	124				
Cultural identity TR	25&under (1)	26	36.00	42.801	.000	1<2 1<3 1<4 2<3 2<4 3<4
	26–35 (2)	34	61.93			
	36–45 (3)	16	70.78			
	46&over (4)	48	74.50			
	Total	124				
Language competence Turkish	25&under (1)	26	15.92	74.080	.000	1<2 1<3 1<4 2<3 2<4 4<3
	26–35 (2)	34	67.44			
	36–45 (3)	16	80.41			
	46&over (4)	48	78.26			
	Total	124				
Cultural competence TR	25&under (1)	26	38.42	15.560	.001	1<2 1<3 1<4 2<3 2<4 4<3
	26–35 (2)	34	65.62			
	36–45 (3)	16	74.06			
	46&over (4)	48	69.48			
	Total	124				
Total acculturation TR	25&under (1)	26	16.21	58.789	.000	1<2 1<3 1<4 2<3 2<4 4<3
	26–35 (2)	34	65.06			
	36–45 (3)	16	81.47			
	46&over (4)	48	79.44			
	Total	124				

According to these results, the levels of the US cultural identity, the English language competence, the US cultural competence, and the total US acculturation among the age group of 25&under were higher than those of all other age groups, while among the age groups of 26–35, 36–45, and 45&over, the levels of Turkish cultural identity, the Turkish language competence, and the Turkish cultural competence as well as the total Turkish acculturation were higher. This suggests that the respondents in the age group of 25&under were more inclined to the American culture than in other groups. Therefore, hypothesis 6 was validated.

The Spearman correlation analysis was conducted to see whether the sub-dimensions of the US acculturation and the sub-dimensions of Turkish acculturation were related significantly. Table 7 shows the levels of relation and significance between the variables.

Table 7. *The results of the Spearman correlation analysis*

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)	(E)	(F)	(G)	(H)
Cultural identity US (A)	1							
Language competence English (B)	0.44**	1						
Cultural competence US (C)	0.52**	0.72**	1					
Total acculturation US (D)	0.70**	0.92**	0.86**	1				
Cultural identity TR (E)	-0.18*	–0.47**	–0.38**	–0.45**	1			
Language competence Turkish (F)	–0.34**	–0.57**	–0.47**	–0.57**	0.50**	1		
Cultural competence TR (G)	-0.22*	–0.22**	-0.05	-0.21*	0.22*	0.30**	1	
Total acculturation TR (H)	–0.33**	–0.53**	–0.36**	–0.51**	0.56**	0.77**	0.74**	1

n=124, *p<0.05, **p<0.01

According to the results of the correlation analysis, the sub-dimensions of the US acculturation had positive relationships between themselves and negative relationships with the sub-dimensions of Turkish acculturation. Likewise, the sub-dimensions of Turkish acculturation had positive relationships between themselves, while they had negative relationships with the sub-dimensions of the US acculturation. While the US acculturation levels of the respondents increased, the Turkish acculturation levels decreased, and vice versa. In other words, there was an inverse relationship between the US acculturation and the Turkish acculturation. This suggests that hypothesis 7 was validated.

Lastly, the multiple regression analysis was conducted to see whether the language competence was significant in terms of acculturation, and the results are given in Table 8.

***Table 8**. The results of regression analysis*

	St. Beta	R^2	R^2 adjusted	F	p	T	P
Language competence English [a]		0.871	0.870	825.592	0.000		
Total acculturation US [b]	0.933					28.733	0.000*
Language competence English [a]		0.368	0.363	71.169	0.000		
Total acculturation TR [b]	-0.607					-8.436	0.000*
Language competence Turkish [a]		0.798	0.796	480.909	0.000		
Total acculturation TR [b]	0.893					21.930	0.000*
Language competence Turkish [a]		0.427	0.422	90.836	0.000		
Total acculturation US [b]	-0.653					-9.531	0.000*

N=124, [a] independent variable, [b] dependent variable, * $p<0.05$

According to the results of the regression analysis, the model constituted by the US acculturation, the dependent variable, and the English language competence, the independent variable, was significant as a whole ($F=825.592$, $p<0.001$), and the English language competence affected the total US acculturation on a 5% significance level ($t=28.733$, $p<0.05$). The English language competence accounted for 87.1% of the change in the US acculturation. This result suggests that, as the English language competence increased, so did the US acculturation.

The model constituted by the Turkish acculturation, the dependent variable, and the English language competence, the independent variable, was significant as a whole ($F=480.909$, $p<0.001$) and the Turkish language competence affected the total Turkish acculturation on a 5% significance level ($t=21.930$, $p<0.05$). The Turkish language competence accounted for 36.8% of the change in the Turkish acculturation. This result suggests that as the English language competence increased, the total Turkish acculturation would decrease. However, this result was not as strong as it was for the US acculturation. In other

words, the language competence had an effect on acculturation but the effect was more modest on decreasing the Turkish acculturation.

The model constituted by the Turkish acculturation, the dependent variable, and the Turkish language competence, the independent variable, was significant as a whole ($F=71.169$, $p<0.001$) and the English language competence affected the total Turkish acculturation on a 5% significance level ($t=-8.436$, $p<0.05$). The English language competence accounted for 79.8% of change in the total Turkish acculturation. This suggests that as the Turkish language competence of the respondents increased, so did their total Turkish acculturation.

The model constituted by the total US acculturation, the dependent variable, and the Turkish language competence, the independent variable, was significant as a whole ($F=90.836$, $p<0.001$) and the Turkish language competence affected the total US acculturation on a 5% significance level ($t=-9.531$, $p<0.05$). The Turkish language competence accounted for 42.7% of change in the total US acculturation. This result suggests that as the Turkish language competence of the respondents increased, the total US acculturation decreased.

DISCUSSION

The US and Turkish acculturation among the Ahıska Turks was found to be correlated with some variables, as the findings above suggest.

Padilla and Peres (2003) state that gender is one of the various factors that affect the way in which individuals acculturate. However, the gender was not significant for acculturation in this study. In other words, the acculturation levels for both female and male respondents were close to each other. This contradicts the findings of some of the previous researchers (Berry 1997; Chen & Benet-Martínez & Bond 2008; Lorenzo-Blanco et al. 2012; Yoon et al. 2013), who found that gender was significant in their studies. However, this could be explained by the number of male and female respondents; that is, there were 61 female and 63 male respondents. The number of respondents in terms of gender was almost equal, which could affect the result. It could, on the other hand, be explained by the way in which the Ahıska Turks regard women. Namely, women in the Ahıska Turkish community have always been equal to men, unlike in several communities where women usually stay at home with almost no interaction with outsiders. Therefore, it was not different in the US. As they migrated to the US, the women started to work as the men did, so their exposure to the American culture was the same and, as a result, the gender was not significant for the US acculturation.

The marital status of the respondents was also significant in terms of acculturation. The US acculturation levels of the single respondents were high, and so were the Turkish acculturation levels of the married respondents. This finding, however, is also associated with the age of the respondents. In other words, the single respondents were mostly the younger ones who were still at school. However, the married respondents were the older ones who had limited interaction with the home culture unlike the younger ones. Since the younger respondents had the opportunity to interact with their American peers, they were more inclined to the US culture. Conversely, the married respondents, not all of them though, kept more to their own, Turkish culture. This is because most of the Ahıska Turks, who had been alienated in the past both in Uzbekistan and Russia, are still afraid of losing their Turkish identity, language, and culture. Therefore, most of them try to keep their interaction with the American culture limited. On the other hand, married individuals might find it easier to adapt to new cultures. Poyrazli & Kavanaugh (2006) found that married international students had lower levels of adaptation difficulties compared to single international students. Likewise, Knyshevytska & Hill (2007) concluded that being married and having a family helped acculturation.

The respondents who worked were expected to be more US-acculturated. However, there was no difference between those who worked and those who did not. The only difference between these two groups was that the level of English language competence was higher among the respondents who worked than that of the respondents who did not. This is not surprising if the language use at work is taken into consideration. Most of the respondents who work make business with others using English. Therefore, they are expected to be more competent in English. The fact that there was no difference between these two groups is not compatible with the literature. Lu, Samaratunge and Härtel (2011: 144) found that "Chinese immigrants adopting assimilation attitude have significantly higher level of work engagement than those who adopt separation and marginalization". Yijälä and Luoma (2019) also stated that the employment of the Iraqi immigrants contributed to their acculturation process.

The length of stay was not found to be significant in terms of acculturation. On average the length of stay of the respondents in the US was 13 years, with only a few exceptions. This could be the reason for my findings. However, further research could be conducted among those with varying lengths of stay in order to reach a solid conclusion as to the role of the length of residence with regard to acculturation. After all, individuals who stay in a new culture longer are supposed be more acculturated, which was also supported by the previous research. Ward and Kennedy (1996), Zhang and Rentz (1996), and Wilton and

Constantine (2003) found in their studies that the length of residence played an important role in the acculturation of individuals.

The age of the respondents was significant in terms of acculturation. While the younger respondents were more inclined to the US acculturation, the older ones tended to incline to the Turkish acculturation. This suggests that age is an important factor in the acculturation of individuals. This result is compatible with the literature data. Furnham and Bochner (1982) state that age is one of the individual differences that affects the culture shock and that younger people are expected to adjust faster to the host culture than the older ones. Similarly, Schwartz et al. (2010) state that "individuals who migrate as young children are more likely to acquire receiving-culture practices, values, and identifications easily and fluidly than those who migrate at older ages". The older respondents might be more resistant to the US acculturation due to their understanding and commitment to the social clock. Different cultures have different time preferences for the important events in a person's life, such as marriage, leaving home, having kids, and so on. For example, the older respondents are still of the opinion that people should marry at a young age, which is about between 18 and 22 for the Ahıska Turks, so they expect their children to marry within this age range. However, for the younger respondents it is too early to marry at the age of 18. Most younger and single respondents stated that the ideal age for them to marry was in their late twenties. This suggests that the social clock for the younger respondents is changing from the Turkish to the American style, which is the very result of American acculturation.

According to Young and Gardner (1990: 59), "how one acculturates may well influence how well one acquires the dominant language and vice-versa". Similarly, Clément (1986: 285) argues that "language proficiency has a direct impact on acculturation". Likewise, Kmiotek and Boski (2017: 193) suggest that acquiring a second language means the involvement of an individual in a second culture, and add that the use of a language by one is an implication of one's being a member of a certain group. In this research, the younger respondents were found to be more competent in English, which results from the fact that they were still in school and that they were more exposed to English. The more individuals are exposed to a language, the more proficient or dominant they tend to be in that language (Grosjean 1982; Flege & MacKay & Piske 2002; Bonfieni et al. 2019). The relationship between language proficiency and acculturation is a topic that has been studied by many researchers. We can find extensive research that suggests the interrelation between acculturation and language proficiency; that is, second-language proficiency has a positive impact on acculturation and vice versa (Jia et al. 2016; Graham & Brown 1996; Choi 2014). The findings of this research are compatible with literature data. A high

level of proficiency in English means higher US acculturation. The respondents with a higher level of proficiency in English displayed a higher level of US acculturation. Namely, as the English language competence increased, the total Turkish acculturation decreased. However, this result was not as impressive as it was for the US acculturation. In other words, the language competence had an effect on acculturation but the effect was more modest on decreasing the Turkish acculturation. This could be explained by the fact that enculturation among the Ahıska Turks is as strong as acculturation. Although the young generation is more US-acculturated, this does not mean the attrition of the Turkish language and culture. This is mostly due to the alienation of the Ahıska Turks in Uzbekistan and especially in Russia in the past.

CONCLUSION

The acculturation process and experience of the Ahıska Turks in the US were investigated. The findings revealed that the Ahıska Turks were in Berry's integration category as expected. However, some of the variables – gender, employment, and length of stay – were not found significant, which contradicts the literature and suggests that the acculturation process of the Ahıska Turks was different from that of most minorities. The possible explanation for that is their previous experience in Russia, especially in Krasnodar Krai. Since they were alienated and marginalized as they were denied citizenship in the post-Soviet period, they were more engaged with their Turkish identity. The younger generation, on the other hand, who had not faced the discrimination and alienation before, were found to be more inclined to the US acculturation. Therefore, new research as to the acculturation experience of the Ahıska Turks in the US should be implemented in the coming years and the findings should be compared and contrasted with the findings of the current research. Besides, the acculturation experience of the Ahıska Turks in other countries such as Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia should be assessed and evaluated in order to get a complete picture of the acculturation experience of the Ahıska Turks. Moreover, the findings of this study could be compared and contrasted with those from the studies investigating the acculturation of other minorities who, similar to Ahıska Turks, were forcibly displaced.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was supported by TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) grant 2219. I would like to express my special words of gratitude to TÜBİTAK as well as to Prof. Dr. Jaklin Kornfilt, who invited me to Syracuse University to carry out this research, and to Mr. Islom Shakhbandarov, the CEO of Ahıska Turkish American Community Center, for his help in the implementation of this study.

REFERENCES

Archuleta, Adrian J. 2015. Gender Differences in Social Acculturation and Social Capital in Determining Marital and Parental Role Expectations Among People of Mexican Descent. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, Vol. 25, No. 6, pp. 697–712. https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2015.1020243.

Arnett, Jeffrey Jensen 2002. The Psychology of Globalization. *American Psychologist*, Vol. 57, No. 10, pp. 774–783. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0003-066X.57.10.774.

Aydıngün, Ayşegül & Balim, Cigdem & Hoover, Matthew & Kuznetsov, Igor & Swerdlow, Steve 2006. *Meskhetian Turks: An Introduction to Their History, Culture and Resettlement Experiences*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/45666400, last accessed on 14 February 2023.

Aydıngün, Ayşegül & Aydıngün, İsmail 2014. *Ahıska Türkleri: Ulusötesi bir Topluluk – Ulusötesi Aileler.* [Ahıska Turks: A Transnational Community – Transnational Families.] Ankara: Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Uluslararası Türk-Kazak Üniversitesi.

Berry, John Widdup 1992. Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society. *International Migration Special Issue: Migration and Health in the 1990s.* Vol. 30, No. s1, pp. 69–85. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2435.1992.tb00776.x.

Berry, John Widdup 1997. Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, Vol. 46, No. 1, pp. 5–34. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x.

Berry, John Widdup 2008. Globalisation and Acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 328–336. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2008.04.001.

Bonfieni, Michela & Branigan, Holly P. & Pickering, Martin J. & Sorace, Antonella 2019. Language Experience Modulates Bilingual Language Control: The Effect of Proficiency, Age of Acquisition, and Exposure on Language Switching. *Acta Psychologica*, No. 193, pp. 160–170. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.actpsy.2018.11.004.

Buntürk, Seyfeddin 2007. *Rus Türk Mücadelesi'nde Ahıska Türkleri.* [The Ahıska Turks in the Russian-Turkish Struggle.] Ankara: Berikan Yayınevi.

Celenk, Ozgur & Van de Vijver, Fons J.R. 2011. Assessment of Acculturation: Issues and Overview of Measures. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 1–22. https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1105.

Chen, Sylvia Xiaohua & Benet-Martínez, Verónica & Bond, Michael Harris 2008. Bicultural Identity, Bilingualism, and Psychological Adjustment in Multicultural Societies: Immigration-Based and Globalization-Based Acculturation. *Journal of Personality*, Vol. 76, No. 4, pp. 803–838. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-6494.2008.00505.x.

Choi, Young-Mi 2014. A Study on Language Acculturation of Korean Descendants in Germany. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (1), pp. 116–124. Available at https://nanopdf.com/download/5b0061314d377_pdf, last accessed on 16 February 2023.

Clément, Richard 1986. Second Language Proficiency and Acculturation: An Investigation of the Effects of Language Status and Individual Characteristics. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 271–290. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0261927X8600500403.

Ferguson, Gail M. & Bornstein, Marc H. 2015. Remote Acculturation of Early Adolescents in Jamaica towards European American Culture: A Replication and Extension. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 45, pp. 24–35. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2014.12.007.

Flege, James Emil & MacKay, Ian R.A. & Piske, Thorsten 2002. Assessing Bilingual Dominance. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, Vol. 23, No. 4, pp. 567–598. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716402004046.

Fraenkel, Jack R. & Wallen, Norman E. 2006 [1990]. *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education.* 6th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill Companies.

Furnham, Adrian & Bochner, Stephen 1982. Social Difficulty in a Foreign Culture: An Empirical Analysis of Culture Shock. In: Stephen Bochner (ed.) *Cultures in Contact: Studies in Cross-Cultural Interaction*. Oxford & New York: Pergamon Press, pp. 161–198.

Gorman, Bridget K. & Read, Jen'nan G. & Krueger, Patrick M. 2010. Gender, Acculturation, and Health among Mexican Americans. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, Vol. 51, No. 4, pp. 440–457. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022146510386792.

Graham, C. Ray & Brown, Cheryl 1996. The Effects of Acculturation on Second Language Proficiency in a Community with a Two-Way Bilingual Program. *Bilingual Research Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 2, pp. 235–260. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.1996.10668629.

Grosjean, François 1982. *Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism.* Cambridge, MA & London: Harvard University Press.

Im, Hyuk & Lee, Ki Young & Lee, Hyo Young 2014. Acculturation Stress and Mental Health among the Marriage Migrant Women in Busan, South Korea. *Community Mental Health Journal*, No. 50, pp. 497–503. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10597-013-9663-x.

James, Paul & Steger, Manfred B. 2014. A Genealogy of 'Globalization': The Career of a Concept. *Globalizations*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 417–434. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2014.951186.

Jia, Fanli & Gottardo, Alexandra & Chen, Xi & Koh, Pohwee & Pasquarella, Adrian 2016. English Proficiency and Acculturation Among Chinese Immigrant Youth in Canada: A Reciprocal Relationship. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, Vol. 37, No. 8, pp. 774–782. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2015.1133630.

Kang, Sun-Mee 2006. Measurement of Acculturation, Scale Formats, and Language Competence: Their Implications for Adjustment. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 37, No. 6, pp. 669–693. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0022022106292077.

Khazanov, Anatoly M. 1992. Meskhetian Turks in Search of Self-Identity. *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 1–16. https://doi.org/10.1080/02634939208400787.

Kmiotek, Łukasz K. & Boski, Paweł 2017. Language Proficiency and Cultural Identity as Two Facets of the Acculturation Process. *Psychology of Language and Communication*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 192–214. https://doi.org/10.1515/plc-2017-0010.

Knyshevytska, Liliya & Hill, Jonnie 2007. Using Marriage and Family as an Aid in Acculturation. *Simulation & Gaming: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Theory, Practice and Research*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 323–331. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1046878106298269.

Koriouchkina, Lisa 2009. Meskhetian Turks and the Regime of Citizenship in Russia. *Ethnology: An International Journal of Cultural and Social Anthropology*, Vol. 48, No. 1, pp. 39–52.

Kulis, Stephen & Yabiku, Scott T. & Marsiglia, Flavio F. & Nieri, Tanya & Crossman, Ashley 2007. Differences by Gender, Ethnicity, and Acculturation in the Efficacy of the Keepin' It Real Model Prevention Program. *Journal of Drug Education*, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 123–144. https://doi.org/10.2190/C467-16T1-HV11-3V80.

Lorenzo-Blanco, Elma I. & Unger, Jennifer B. & Baezconde-Garbanati, Lourdes & Ritt-Olson, Anamara & Soto, Daniel 2012. Acculturation, Enculturation, and Symptoms of Depression in Hispanic Youth: The Roles of Gender, Hispanic Cultural Values, and Family Functioning. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, No. 41, pp. 1350–1365. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-012-9774-7.

Lu, Ying & Samaratunge, Ramanie & Härtel, Charmine E.J. 2011. Acculturation Attitude and Its Effect on Work Engagement: A Case of Professional Chinese Immigrants in Australia. *2011 2nd International Conference on Education and Management Technology IPEDR*, Vol. 13, pp. 144–149. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/266210913, last accessed on 16 February 2023.

McAuliffe, Marie & Ruhs, Martin (eds.) 2018. *World Migration Report*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration. Available at https://www.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl486/files/country/docs/china/r5_world_migration_report_2018_en.pdf, last accessed on 14 February 2023.

Nunnally, Jum C. 1978 [1967]. *Psychometric Theory*. 2nd ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Osipov, Alexander 2007. *Recent Developments Concerning the Meskhetian Turks in Krasnodar Krai*. Human Rights Centre "Memorial". Available at https://minelres.lv/mailing_archive/2007-August/005226.html, last accessed on 16 February 2023.

Ozer, Simon & Schwartz, Seth. J. 2016. Measuring Globalization-Based Acculturation in Ladakh: Investigating Possible Advantages of a Tridimensional Acculturation Scale. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, Vol. 53, pp. 1–15. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2016.05.002.

Padilla, Amado M. & William Perez 2003. Acculturation, Social Identity, and Social Cognition: A New Perspective. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 35–55. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0739986303251694.

Poyrazli, Senel & Kavanaugh, Philip R. 2006. Marital Status, Ethnicity, Academic Achievement, and Adjustment Strains: The Case of Graduate International

Students. *College Student Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 767–780. Available at https://www.academia.edu/12385034/, last accessed on 17 February 2023.

Ray, Kakoli 2000. Repatriation and De-territorialization: Meskhetian Turks' Conception of Home. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 391–414. https://doi.org/10.1093/jrs/13.4.391.

Redfield, Robert & Linton, Ralph & Herskovits, Melville J. 1936. Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation. *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp. 149–152. http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/aa.1936.38.1.02a00330.

Sakallı, Erol 2014. Türkçe Popüler Kültür. [Popular Culture in Turkish.] *Uluslararası Türkçe Edebiyat Kültür Eğitim Dergisi*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 307–317. http://dx.doi.org/10.7884/teke.290.

Sakallı, Erol 2016. *Ahıska Edebiyatının* Çınarı *Mircevat Ahıskalı.* [Mircevat Ahıskalı the Sycamore of Ahıska Literature.] Ankara: Gazi Kitabevi. Available at https://www.academia.edu/30310879/, last accessed on 17 February 2023.

Sakallı, Erol & Özcan, Derya 2016. Amerika'da Yaşayan Ahıska Türklerinin Evlenme Adetleri Üzerine. [On the Marriage Traditions of the Ahıska (Meskhetian) Turks in the USA.] *Milli Folklor*, No. 109, pp. 233–240. Available at https://www.millifolklor.com/Yayin/109, last accessed on 17 February 2023.

Schwartz, Seth J. & Unger, Jennifer B. & Zamboanga, Byron L. & Szapocznik, José 2010. Rethinking the Concept of Acculturation: Implications for Theory and Research. *American Psychologist*, Vol. 65, No. 4, pp. 237–251. https://doi.apa.org/doi/10.1037/a0019330.

Spiegler, Olivia & Leyendecker, Birgit & Kohl, Katharina 2015. Acculturation Gaps Between Turkish Immigrant Marriage Partners: Resource or Source of Distress? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, Vol. 46, No. 5, pp. 667–683. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022115578686.

State.gov = Proposed Refugee Admissions for FY 2004. *U.S. Department of State*. Available at https://2001-2009.state.gov/g/prm/asst/rl/rpts/25691.htm, last accessed on 22 February 2023.

Swerdlow, Steve 2006. Understanding Post-Soviet Ethnic Discrimination and the Effective Use of U.S. Refugee Resettlement: The Case of the Meskhetian Turks of Krasnodar Krai. *California Law Review*, Vol. 94, No. 6, pp. 1827–1878. https://doi.org/10.2307/20439082.

Tang, Taryn N. & Dion, Kenneth L. 1999. Gender and Acculturation in Relation to Traditionalism: Perceptions of Self and Parents Among Chinese Students. *Sex Roles*, Vol. 41, pp. 17–29. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018881523745.

Taşdemir, Tekin 2005. *Türkiye'nin Kafkasya Politikasında Ahıska ve Sürgün Halk Ahıskalılar.* [Ahıska and the Exiled People of Ahıska in the Caucasian Policy of Turkey.] İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık.

Tharp, Roland G. & Meadow, Arnold & Lennhoff, Susan G. & Satterfield, Donna 1968. Changes in Marriage Roles Accompanying the Acculturation of the Mexican-American Wife. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 404–412. https://doi.org/10.2307/349908.

Veyseloğlu, Ali Paşa 1999. *Ahıska Türkleri'nin Dramı.* [The Tragedy of the Ahıska Turks.] Ankara: Ocak Yayınları.

Ward, Colleen A. & Kennedy, Antony 1996. Crossing Cultures: The Relationship between Psychological and Socio-Cultural Dimensions of Cross-Cultural Adjustment. In: Janak Pandey & Durganand Sinha & Dharm P.S. Bhawuk (eds.) *Asian Contributions to Cross- Cultural Psychology*. New Delhi, India: SAGE, pp. 289–306.

Wilton, Leo & Constantine, Madonna G. 2003. Length of Residence, Cultural Adjustment Difficulties, and Psychological Distress Symptoms in Asian and Latin American International College Students. *Journal of College Counseling*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 177–186. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1882.2003.tb00238.x.

Yijälä, Anu & Luoma, Tiina 2019. The Importance of Employment in the Acculturation Process of Well-Educated Iraqis in Finland: A Qualitative Follow-up Study. *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 314–340. https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdz009.

Yoon, Eunju & Chang, Chih-Ting & Kim, Soyeon & Clawson, Angela & Cleary, Sarah Elizabeth & Hansen, Meghan & Bruner, John P. & Chan, Theresa K. & Gomes, Alexandrina M. 2013. A Meta-Analysis of Acculturation/Enculturation and Mental Health. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, Vol. 60, No. 1, pp. 15–30. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030652.

Young, Michael Y. & Gardner, Robert C. 1990. Modes of Acculturation and Second Language Proficiency. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 59–71. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/h0078932.

Zea, Maria Cecillia & Asner-Self, Kimberly K. & Birman, Dina & Buki, Lydia P. 2003. The Abbreviated Multidimensional Acculturation Scale: Empirical Validation with Two Latino/Latina Samples. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 107–126. https://psycnet.apa.org/doi/10.1037/1099-9809.9.2.107.

Zeyrek, Yunus 2001. *Ahıska Bölgesi ve Ahıska Türkleri.* [The Ahıska Region and the Ahıska Turks.] Ankara: Pozitif Matbaacılık.

Zhang, Naijian & Rentz, Audrey L. 1996. Intercultural Adaptation among Graduate Students from the People's Republic of China. *College Student Journal*, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 321–328.

Erol Sakallı (PhD) is the chair of the Department of Modern Turkic Dialects and Literatures at Uşak University, Turkey, where he teaches Azerbaijani, Turkmen, and Gagauz languages and literatures as well as culture. He is also the director of the Center for Turkic Studies. His research interests are Turkic studies, sociolinguistics, bilingualism, biculturalism, and language variation.

erol.sakalli@usak.edu.tr

https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2023.88.turkish

THE STATUS AND ROLES OF WOMEN IN TERMS OF GENDER IN ANCIENT TURKISH HISTORY AND CULTURE BASED ON THE *DĪWĀN LUGHĀT AL-TURK* – THE FIRST TURKISH DICTIONARY

Nesrin Akıncı Çötok
Associate Professor, PhD
Department of Journalism, Faculty of Communication
Sakarya University, Turkey
nakinci@sakarya.edu.tr

Ender Büyüközkara
Assistant Professor, PhD
Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Sakarya University, Turkey
ebuyukozkara@sakarya.edu.tr

Tufan Çötok
Associate Professor, PhD
Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
Sakarya University, Turkey
tcotok@sakarya.edu.tr

Abstract: In this paper, based on the *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* – the first Turkish dictionary – the female gender is analysed through the categories of 'women and their social status', 'perception of women from the perspective of gender', 'woman-man relationships and family structure', 'responsibilities of women', and 'clothes and belongings of women'. These categories are determined in the context of the data provided by the definitions of the words related to women in the dictionary. It can be seen from the dictionary that women are classified in terms of social status and that they are part of a hierarchical structure. On the other hand, a woman is perceived as the representative of beauty and aesthetics by being described in terms of physical and inner beauty. In addition, a woman is also described as being coquettish, flirtatious, and crafty. In the dictionary, where it seems that a woman is respected as a wife and mother, it was discovered that marriage and family were highly esteemed, that many cultural rituals were practised in the processes of becoming a bride, that having and raising children was considered important, and that there were relations between spouses based on mutual rights

and responsibilities. When the dictionary is analysed in terms of women's clothing and belongings, it can be seen that a great number of things and ways of adornment are mentioned and that being beautiful is highly esteemed.

Keywords: *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, family, gender, marriage, social status, woman-man relations

INTRODUCTION

The elements of culture might show properties that vary from one society to another or even based on time in the same society. For this reason, the expectations of women and men might differ, depending on the culture. Both genders try to realise these expectations and carry out their social roles to provide continuity in the social order. In this sense, how genders are perceived by society, the expectations of society about their roles, and the values and responsibilities given by society to women and men, are features of the concept of gender. Gender is a part of a culture, and it can be described as the woman-man interaction and its results in the context of the personal characteristics and social positions attached by members of a society to being female or male (Macionis 2018 [1987]: 347). In addition, the perception of gender is learnt during socialisation involving gender as a social acknowledgement on the part of the members of both sexes, depending on the roles acted out by them in social life.

Describing historically or culturally, especially the role, social relationships, interactions, and responsibilities of the female gender within gender perception are significant in understanding culture and the sustainability of social order and organisation. In addition, the element of 'language' can be expressed as the most critical determinant of the social construction of culture and gender. Consequently, the expression of culture and gender perception has correspondence and can be interpreted in language. Opportunities provided by a language are unlimited, and such opportunities cannot be expressed entirely in a single work. However, a well-prepared dictionary contains a large part of the opportunities for language. Such a dictionary is like a work that perfectly shelters cultural elements. Within this framework, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, the first Turkish dictionary to be known, is used as the primary source of this paper. This book is like a Turkish-Arabic encyclopaedic dictionary belonging to the Qarakhanid era. Mahmud Al-Kashgari began compiling it in 1072, and it was completed in 1074 or, according to some historians, 1077. However, *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* is a comprehensive work that is more than a dictionary. It is a book that sheds light on the Turkish culture of the time, together with grammatical explanations, information about the Turkish tribes and their dialects, the names of

places belonging to the Turkish region, personal names, cultural data, medicinal information, proverbs, poems, and historical data (Ercilasun & Akkoyunlu 2015: xvii–xx; Atalay 1985: ix–xv; Kaçalin 1994: 446–448).[1] Consequently, the dictionary is the primary source for women's studies in Turkish history and culture. As a result, it is essential to analyse this resource from the point of view of women's position in Turkish society, their roles and responsibilities, the perception of women, and any other determinants about women.

In addition to *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, there are other historical Turkish sources related to the dictionary, including supportive information about women. One of them is *Kutadgu Bilig*, a book written by Yusuf Has Hâcib, which also belongs to the Qarakhanid era. This book was the product of eighteen months of study and was completed in 1069 or 1070. *Kutadgu Bilig* is a work in verse, in which the ideal state order and social structure are explained, and the knowledge of being blessed in the world and the afterlife is presented (Arat 1979: xx–xxviii; DİA 2002: 478). In addition to these sources, *Atabat al-Haqa'iq* is another source that proved beneficial. It is a work in verse written by Adib Ahmad al-Yugnaki, who lived at the end of the eleventh century and in the first half of the twelfth century. It is an example of Qarakhanid Turkish, and in it morality is studied (Çakan 2017: v–vi; Gülensoy 1991: 50–51). Another source referred to in this paper is the *Orkhon Inscriptions*. These monuments contain inscriptions from the Kok Turks era and are products of the Bilge Kaghan era. The first inscription was made for Kul Tigin by his brother Bilge Kaghan in 732. The second one was made for Bilge Kaghan by his son in 735, and the third one for Tonyukuk by himself between 720 and 725 (or 716–734) (Ergin 2016: 15–17; Kaçalin 2007: 390–391). The *Orkhon Inscriptions* include information about Turkish history and the structure of the state and society in those days. The sources mentioned above are referred to in the article to give similar information and examples about some views and points related to women in the dictionary.

Concerning other relevant works related to the topic of this paper, we were able to find only two articles that directly focus on the concepts related to women in *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*. In her article, Özdarıcı classifies the words related to women under several titles. Her classification includes a comprehensive list of words. However, her study is not very systematically accomplished in terms of analysis and interpretation, and it largely presents a vocabulary list including the definitions given by the dictionary (Özdarıcı 2011). Similarly, Erdoğan mentions many words related to women under different titles. However, he gives the definitions from the dictionary and hardly ever presents analysis and interpretation (Erdoğan 2016). Apart from these articles, Alkan just considers the qualificative adjectives used for women, men, both genders, and children

in *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* (Alkan 2013). All these articles are works in which the dictionary is studied in terms of Turkish vocabulary.

In this paper, women and their place in social processes are considered in various aspects that *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* focused on, and all words directly relatable to women are considered.[2] In this context, it is tried to interpret these words differently to show the perception of women in ancient Turkish society based upon the sources mentioned above. For this purpose, the words are classified in terms of their relationship and content integrity.[3] The categories subject to examination are determined through this classification, and women and processes about women are analysed and evaluated in the light of these categories. In this sense, it can be said that all data that might be obtained from the dictionary can be expressed through these categories. They can be listed as follows:

- Women and their social status;
- Perception of women from the perspective of gender;
- Woman-man relationships and family structure;
- Responsibilities of women;
- Clothes and belongings of women.

The findings in every category are examined as systematically as possible, and integrity is provided by partly linking these categories with the findings in other categories. In this sense, it can be said that the work consists of analysis, synthesis, interpretation, and evaluation. Within this framework, similar elements are identified through subject-oriented partial comparison, and an attempt has been made to provide deep, detailed, and proven findings concerning the subject matter with the help of other works.

In the paper, contemporary discussions, problems of gender, and women's studies are touched upon in a limited way. This limitation is a conscious decision not to become disconnected from the context of the era in which the work was written. As far as the conclusion is concerned, the present-day Turkish society is considered by offering a contemporary interpretation of the findings. Consequently, partial comparisons concerning the perception of women are offered in this part.

This work can be evaluated within the scope of historical and cultural studies. Such an approach involves handling the understanding of gender in Turkish culture by analysing *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* – one of the major works of Turkish culture – and other sources. In this way, it is possible to form a basis for contributing to contemporary concepts and discussions related to gender by referring to data about the historical structure of an ancient Turkish culture as the main elements which underlie the importance of the work. Thus, through

this paper, the historical and cultural roots of the gender perceptions of the present Turkish society are set forth by considering the works in question, and the relationality between past and present is described.

FINDINGS RELATING TO FEMALE GENDER

The findings obtained from the dictionary, classified according to the categories mentioned above, are explained and analysed as follows.

Women and their social status

When *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* is analysed in terms of women's social status, it can be seen that women are referred to in various ways, depending on the particular conditions the individual is facing and on her social status. In Table 1, primary names and their meanings are given.

Table 1. *Names concerning women's status in* Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk *(Mahmud 2015: 37–38, 51, 157, 171, 205–206, 218, 319, 416, 443, 445, 449).*

Name	Meaning
Uragut	A common term for a woman
İşler	Woman, lady (singular and plural)
Kişi	Woman, wife
Ās	Handmaiden
Kırna.k	Handmaiden
Altun tarım	The title of a Sultana
Kaça.ç	Handmaiden
Ekek[4]*/ersek*[5] *işler*	Prostitute(s)
Tayak	Handmaiden or slave who helps bride dismount from a horse
Koḍuz[6]*/Tugsa.k*	Widow
Karaba.ş	The name given to male or female slaves
Küni	Second wife
Kunçuy	Noblewoman, lower than khatun[9]
Yinçge kız[7]	Purchased odalisque, handmaiden
Kapaklıg kı.z[8]	Maiden

In the dictionary, it can be seen that the name *uragut* is extensively used for designating the female gender in general. However, the word *işler*, meaning 'woman', is also frequently used. These names seem to have been common expressions when defining the female gender, and they do not indicate any special status difference. When the complete work is analysed, it can also be seen that the names defining women are differentiated, depending on a woman's special status. The essential qualifications determining such differentiation can be classified as follows:

- Being married, single, or divorced;
- Being noble or not;
- Being free or a slave;
- Being a prostitute.

Depending on these essential qualifications, women's social status can differ, and a hierarchical ordering can be made based on the analysis and interpretation of the meanings of the words listed above. Accordingly, the highest-ranking ones are khatuns, also entitled *altun tarım*.[10] It should be noted that a woman being noble does not preclude her from marrying a man who is not a member of the nobility. It can be seen that a woman's nobility comes from her family and continues during her marriage; even to the extent that, if the man whom she has married is not of the nobility, their child is called *ınal*[11] (child of a noble woman and a non-noble man) (Mahmud 2015: 61). It might be the case that this name is based on the mother being noble, given that in the case where both parents are commoners, there is no separate and special name for their child.

When nobility is regarded as a fundamental determinant, a woman called *kunçu.y* is ranked below khatun (Mahmud 2015: 451). Free female commoners follow khatun and *kunçu.y* in terms of rank. There is no special name peculiar to free female commoners in the dictionary.

On the other hand, slave women follow free ones in terms of social status. In this sense, it can be seen that handmaidens are included in the slave class. Handmaidens can be bought and sold, and it is possible to establish extramarital affairs with them. Due to these characteristics, they are hierarchically lower than free women.

Another factor determining the social status of women is prostitution. Prostitutes are called *ekek / ersek işler*, and *ekeklik* is defined as looseness and shamelessness. Within this framework, a woman's lusting after a man and engaging in prostitution is called *erseklenme* (Mahmud 2015: 78, 137). The women with these characteristics are regarded as lower than those engaging in extramarital affairs.[12] On the other hand, there are three other types of women in terms of marital status. These types are expressed by the words *kapaklıg kız* (maiden),

koḍuz/tugsa.k (widow) and *küni* (second wife). This situation shows that maidenhood, widowhood, and being a second wife had different statuses in terms of sexual life in ancient Turkish society. On the other hand, although khatun is highest in the context of a woman's hierarchical social status, khan is regarded as being higher than khatun in this society. This situation is clearly expressed in the dictionary entry *kātu.n*: 'When there is khan's work, a khatun's work is not done' (Mahmud 2015: 177). It means that khan is served first.

Perception of women from the perspective of gender

When the dictionary is analysed, it is seen that there are several words about the female gender. This section tries to present the perception of women from the perspective of gender through all related words that were detected in the dictionary.

One of the features of the perception of women in the dictionary is that women are evaluated in terms of 'body and beauty image' and 'inner beauty'. Accordingly, there are various words concerning the importance of a woman's beauty. The word *özök*[13] is the most important and means 'the purity of the essence/soul'. Apart from this, physical beauty is also essential. Within this framework, the word *ertini özök*[14] is used to indicate a woman possessing a body similar to a unique pearl. Possessing such a body is of great importance. In the context of physical beauty, qualities such as slimness and lankiness (*tāl bo.ḍluk*) and having a beautiful nose (*kıwa.l burun*) are also found (Mahmud 2015: 33, 178, 412). However, physical beauty is also dangerous, in such a way that a woman with a beautiful and bright face is talked about extensively, and such a woman should consequently defend herself. On the other hand, beauty also poses a danger for men.[15] Accordingly, a beautiful woman is described as a 'trap' for men (Mahmud 2015: 140, 163). Specifically, it emphasises that a woman can bewitch and trick a man by using her beauty and attractiveness.[16]

Apart from beauty, there exist other qualities concerning women. These are coquettishness and flirtatiousness (*kılınç*), coyness (*tilkü*), and weakness and softness (*çanaçla*[17]) (Mahmud 2015: 500, 186, 482).[18] These names show that women are considered differently from men. Although the word *tilkü* (fox) reminds one of craftiness, it does not have this meaning, and it is used from the point of girls' being coy and mysterious. These qualifications enable girls and women to be seen as weak, sensitive, and soft by using the word *çanaçlamak*. On the other hand, a boy may be referred to as 'wolf' through the word *börü*. These expressions crop up in the process of childbearing. A newborn baby's sex is learned by asking the question, 'Is it a fox or a wolf?' (Mahmud 2015: 186). Giving birth to a wolf, that is, a boy, was widely desirable.

Together with these qualities imputed to women, it can be said that a maiden attracted more attention than other women. Even, it is stated, in terms of money called *kalıŋ*,[19] that is the bridewealth given to a woman on marriage, that more *kalıŋ* is given to a maiden. One of the factors leading to this situation is that maidens are regarded as young and strong. The saying 'Do not wrestle with a girl, do not compete with a mare' clearly supports this view (Mahmud 2015: 498, 207).

On the other hand, being a widow is also a definitive feature peculiar to a woman in ancient Turkish society. The use of the statement *er koḍuzlandı* for indicating a man's marrying a widow indicates that being a widow is a distinctive qualification. Contrariwise, there is no term relating to a woman marrying a widower. Besides, in the dictionary, it is stated that it is better for a woman to be a widow than to have an always swearing husband (Mahmud 2015: 311, 402). Within this framework, it can be said that no negative meaning is attributed to widowhood. However, maidenhood is preferable.

On the other hand, it can be seen that bad attitudes and behaviours towards women are also found in the perceptions of the women of the era from gender. These negative attitudes are as follows (Mahmud 2015: 71, 134, 445, 236, 460, 95, 207, 297):

- The metaphor of a toy as a nickname given to a woman (*oxşa.gu*);
- To discredit women concerning certain aspects (*ekeklemek*);
- To beat women, commit violence (*emiglemek*);
- To capture a woman as a spoil of war in order to make her a wife (*kişi*);[20]
- Rape (*küçemek*, *bas*);
- Regarding the periods of menstruation and puerpera as being a bad situation for women (*alık*);
- Using the title 'slut' as insult (*kançık*);
- Betting handmaidens on games (*kızlaşmak*).

It can be seen that there are various forms of violence against women in terms of the bad attitudes and behaviours mentioned above. These can be regarded as bad practices directed towards the female gender.[21] However, the words about bad attitudes and behaviours are very few in the dictionary.

Woman-man relationships and family structure

Even though various words describe women as family members and relatives, the definitions of these words do not provide enough data concerning the woman-man relationships. The relations detailed in the dictionary can be explained

essentially in terms of two processes, the process of marriage and extramarital woman-man relationships.

The process of marriage and woman-man relationships

Marriage is a valuable state, and it involves many rituals and practices. Various names concerning the place of women in this process can be enumerated as follows.

Table 2. *Names related to the process of marriage in* Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk *(Mahmud 2015: 139, 171, 175, 199, 204, 216, 230, 353, 449).*

Name	Meaning
Didim	The crown the bride wears on her wedding night
Di.dek	The cover of the palanquin of the bride
Mandırı	The place where the bride and groom sit during the wedding
Tolwır	The curtain of the bride's arbour
Bogmak	Gorget, necklace; worn on the wedding night
Yöwüş	The gifts that are given when the bride enters the bridal chamber
Mamu	Name of the woman who accompanies a bride on her wedding night
Sep	The dowry of the bride that she owns
Mundaru	Silken bride's room

When the terms above are analysed, it can be seen that great importance is given to marriage and the wedding night and that rituals are sustained by making preparations. It can be said that being a bride is essential in society in terms of the woman's role. Yusuf Has Hâcib (1998 [1959]: 177, 326) also mentions that girls should be married as soon as possible and that wedding nights are the most joyful moments for brides. Matters such as supporting brides financially, giving them jewellery, clothes, and a dowry, appointing assistants during marriage preparation, are aspects that support the importance of becoming a bride. These include the fact that a woman's dowry belonged to the woman and that the existence of a bride price builds up a woman's confidence.[22] Thus, a woman also has the opportunity to divorce (*yulundı*) her husband in a bad marriage. For such a divorce, the wife desists from bride price (Mahmud 2015: 377, 384, 398).

Another element in the process of marriage is the tradition of intermarriage. In this tradition, we find continuing intermarriage involving two families (*beriş*, *biriş*, *koluş*).[23] It can be evaluated as a situation that strengthens relationships between families (Mahmud 2015: 259, 263). Even though the idiom *kız alıp verme* (to take and give a girl as a bride) is interpreted as a result of a male-dominant perception, when it is examined in general, the fact of getting married is not only a fact defined in terms of the man during the process of marriage. Even though the husband in a marriage is likened to a governor/amir, marriage is also stated in terms of the woman's gender, and it is emphasised that a woman owns her husband through the idiom *kadın beglendi* (a woman became a woman with a husband) (Mahmud 2015: 411, 302, 307). Within this framework, it can be said that the belongingness which exists in married life is of interest to both genders.

Another critical issue in a marital relationship is children. In this context, as mentioned before, a woman giving birth to a child is seen as one of her main tasks and is regarded as an essential process.[24] Pregnancy is recognised as a difficult process, and it is emphasised that a mother is disburdened when the baby is born. During the postpartum period, the woman eats special meals called *ka.vu.t* and *ka.gut* (Mahmud 2015: 415, 174).[25] Whether a girl or a boy, a woman's first child is called *tūn ogul*. The fact that the first child is bestowed with such a separate name shows the importance of the first child. In addition, speaking of a woman's first child in such a special way indicates the strength and the uniqueness of the tie between mother and child. This tie is also emphasised when speaking of the relationship between siblings. Namely, in the dictionary, there are expressions concerning how the maternal half-siblings get on with each other, while paternal half-siblings fight (*kaŋdaş*[26]) (Mahmud 2015: 403, 503). This context makes one think that the tie between mother and child develops from the mother raising her child and educating him or her. On the other hand, a similar case is cited in *Kutadgu Bilig* (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998 [1959]: 74, 420) through the act of bearing a child and engaging in lactation, on the subject of the relationship of mother and child. According to this, the human character takes shape in the mother's womb, is transferred from the mother biologically, and continues till death.[27]

It can be seen in the dictionary that adoption also existed in ancient Turkish society. There are different expressions about the adoption of both boys and girls. In addition, it is also possible to bring up handmaidens and stepdaughters at home; these are called *öge.y kı.z* and *baldır kīz* respectively (Mahmud 2015: 306–307, 61, 199). The tradition of taking a wet nurse is also seen concerning the process of child care and nourishment (*awurta*) (Mahmud 2015: 274). Also, in *Kutadgu Bilig* (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998 [1959]: 326), there is a statement about

the need to find a good and clean woman as a wet nurse. In addition, a woman can hire a maid to help her with the marital process (*egetlen*, *tutuklan*) (Mahmud 2015: 129, 310).

Extramarital situations and women-men relationships

The word 'handmaiden' or 'odalisque (*odalık kız*)' primarily indicates a bondwoman, a female slave. However, these words also describe a woman in an extramarital situation. Some handmaidens serve their master in terms of his sexual needs.[28] In terms of status, handmaidens are below khatuns and other married women. They serve the house and provide entertainment in the home. It is indicated in the dictionary that they should be able to dance, compete with each other in playing *qopuz* (a type of Turkic fretless string instrument), and play various games (*kīz büḍi.di*[29], *kopzaş, yalŋu*[30]) (Mahmud 2015: 296, 460, 502).

Another group of women involved in extramarital relations is prostitutes. They prostitute themselves (*kiçin*[31]) and have sexual relations with someone unlawfully. These persons are called *oyna.ş*[32] (Mahmud 2015: 278, 59). Without any doubt, having unlawful sexual relations corresponds to adultery, and it is regarded as an improper act. Indeed, it is often emphasised in *Kutadgu Bilig* (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998 [1959]: 105–106, 319) that one should not be involved in adultery.

Responsibilities of women

When *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* is analysed, a few words about the responsibilities peculiar to women are found. According to all words detected in the dictionary, it can be stated that women seem busily engaged in affairs dealing with necessities associated with daily life. Among these, there is whipping felt (*sırıt*), sewing the felt walls of tents in which they live (*sırış*), spinning yarn (*tawrat*),[33] and pulling and giving shape to wool (*çöjme.k*[34]). The basic responsibility of women in terms of meeting nutrition requirements is to sift flour (*elgen*) and bake bread in a tandoor. Women also seem busy with adornment. In this context, stitching pictures to silk fabrics by using golden thread (*çigin çiğne.di*[35]) means that they adorn them (Mahmud 2015: 328, 235, 259, 336, 116, 375, 473). On the other hand, childcare is the leading responsibility of women. In other words, the central role of women is motherhood. Within this framework, felt dolls called *koḍurçuk* were commonly played with by girls (Mahmud 2015: 220). Therefore, it can be asserted that girls of a young age grew up thinking of themselves as future mothers.

Clothes and the belongings of women

It can be seen in the dictionary that several items of clothing and belongings peculiar to women are mentioned. It is understood from these belongings that, concerning women, beauty and adornment are considered important. The main belongings can be enumerated as follows.

Table 3. *Names for the clothes and belongings of women in* Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk *(Mahmud 2015: 51, 170, 212, 220, 223, 320, 396, 397).*

Name	Meaning
Ügmeg[36]	Golden or silver link
Öngig[37]	Earlock made by women from goat hair
Büküm etük	Women's shoes
Tolga.g[38]	Women's earrings
Būt	Big chalcocite set in forelocks
To.ḍ monçuk[39]	Beads that handmaidens wear
Sara.guç	Scarf
Bilezük	Bracelet
Bagırdak	Woman's plastron
Bürünçük[40]	Face veil[41]
Terinçek	Thin burqa
Kaçaç	A type of Chinese silk fabric

In the dictionary, there are different types of adornment peculiar to women in addition to the clothes mentioned above and belongings. The women of that era often made braiding. In addition to this, it can be seen that making forelocks and curling was also widespread. Besides, it can be seen that women pinned jewellery to their clothing and hair for adornment. Besides wearing bracelets and earrings, having jewellery such as beads is called *monçaklanmak*/*monçuklanmak*. Another adornment material was pearl. In this context, it is mentioned that women strung pearls together, made them into shapes, and beautified themselves. Again, information about the importance of adornment and the beautification of women is acquired from the word *kozan* (Mahmud 2015: 46, 434, 314, 275, 277). This word means 'to beautify, put on makeup, pin jewellery and pearls'.

It can also be seen that women undertook body care to become beautiful apart from adornment with materials such as jewellery and pearls. Although the word *yalrıt*[42] refers to an action that means 'shine', it is also used in the meaning of 'woman looking after herself using the depilatory plant (*kirşan*)'. Again, it is

mentioned that women epilated the hair on their faces (Mahmud 2015: 343–344, 389). Even though adornment and beautification of women are essential, the presence of women with excessive adornments was also remarkable. To refer to this kind of woman, the phrase *yaldırık*[43] *eşle.r* is used. Interestingly, the essential meaning of the word *yaldırık* is 'tinned object' (Mahmud 2015: 526). On the other hand, the clothes of khatuns are different from that of other women due to their higher social status. The word *kātu.nlanma.k*[44], which means 'to wear the clothes of khatun', is a sign of this situation (Mahmud 2015: 435).

In the dictionary, a remarkable tool peculiar to women is also found. This tool is a kind of small knife carried by women under their caftans, and it is called *kezlik* (Mahmud 2015: 209). It seems that women carried such a knife for self-defence.

CONCLUSION

The first finding to be emphasised concerning this paper, in which the *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* is analysed in terms of the female gender, is the variety of concepts about women. On the one hand, this situation shows the wealth of vocabulary that makes up the Turkish language; on the other hand, it can reflect the importance of women in language.[45]

When the dictionary is analysed, it can be seen that women are classified in terms of social status and are accorded status based on these classifications. In this context, it can be said that women are not valued qua women. Instead, their status and perceived value depend on determinants such as nobility, freedom, and marital status, which similarly applies to men. These determinants are the basic elements of the social structure described in the dictionary. It can be observed that the distinction relating to marriage and extramarital relations is significant in terms of differences of status. While khatuns and free women have marital relationships, the others are women whose status is mentioned in terms of extramarital relationships. It can be seen in the dictionary that marriage and family are of great importance. Accordingly, this situation can be seen in the preparations for weddings and wedding nights. Everyone esteems the bride and her demands during these preparations. At this point, it can be seen that there exist many rituals and traditions concerning these processes, and they are commonly practised. It is mentioned within the framework of extramarital relationships that concubinage and prostitution exist. Handmaiden can be captured during times of war. As for prostitution, although it is within the bounds of possibility, it indicates a bad situation.

In the dictionary, where marriage and family are seen to be of great importance, it can be seen that the woman is also in a position of decision-maker in her relationship with the man in the context of marital relations. Specifically, the woman can get divorced by giving the man her bride price. In addition, it can be seen that the woman has a dowry and some goods that belong to her. These situations show that there is relative equality between partners and mutual rights. However, there is not complete equality in terms of the social positions of women and men, and it is understood that a man is in a superior position. The expression 'while there is khan's work, the khatun's work is not done' verifies this. Again, the importance given to the birth of a boy is another sign of this situation.

Another point in woman-man relations is the provision of a division of labour to share social roles and responsibilities. Within this framework, a woman's responsibilities are associated with private space (domestic life), and the primary domestic responsibilities of a woman consist of maintaining daily life within the home, with motherhood occupying an important place in terms of these responsibilities. Craftwork such as stitching, spinning yarn, and making adornments are also responsibilities ascribed to women. It can be stated that these responsibilities are widely valid today.[46] However, apart from domestic responsibilities, it can be seen that noble khatuns have a share in public life and, especially, have a relatively important voice in the government.

The main point of view deduced from the dictionary concerning how women were perceived in terms of gender is that women were seen as the representative of beauty and aesthetics. However, this emphasis on beauty includes not only physical beauty but also inner beauty. It is possible to ascertain the importance placed on beauty in terms of the numerous belongings and clothes noted in the dictionary used by women for adornment. There are also other skills and characteristics peculiar to a woman in addition to the aspect of beauty. In this sense, the dictionary emphasised that women are crafty, coquettish, and flirtatious. It is seen that, in the context of both beauty and these aspects, women are regarded as being dangerous in terms of setting a 'trap', and it is stated that men have to be careful in this respect.

Women's gender differences allow them to gain recognition and value, and the social environment of the time paves the way for this. Within this framework, women are positively perceived, especially regarding their status as wives and mothers. As stated before, women obtain a position in married life that is relatively equal to that of the man, regarding her rights and responsibilities. However, bad attitudes on the part of men are also displayed concerning women. These include giving bad nicknames and holding the periods of menstruation

and puerperant in contempt. In addition to these, women might also be exposed to actions involving physical violence, while women may be captured during a war, and handmaidens may be bet on in games.

When the findings obtained from an analysis of the dictionary are considered in terms of present-day Turkish society, it can be seen that the hierarchical structuring of women has been removed and that there is not such a differentiation between women.

From the past to the present, family and marriage are still crucial in Turkish society. Within this framework, the value of the woman's role in terms of motherhood is still preserved. In particular, it can be said that maidenhood is still preferred in today's marriages. It can be pointed out that, compared with the past, there has not been a change in these matters. On the other hand, women and men have equal financial opportunities and rights when it comes to divorce at present, and women's rights, as seen in the dictionary, can be regarded as archaic and favourable features of the Turkish social structure in the past.

Women's responsibilities in maintaining daily life today would appear to be one issue that corresponds with the past. It can be said that women's natural place being associated with domesticity rather than external activities is also valid at present.

Another point that can be made concerning the perception of women in today's society in Turkey is their attitude towards physical beauty and adornment. It is possible to say that women tend to be commodified in this respect today. The physical beauty and adornment that was expressed in *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* was only a part of the roles of the female gender, not a consumption-oriented practice. In terms of the data concerning other bad aspects, that is, the various psychological and physical violence elements that can be seen in the dictionary, it is a fact that these negative features continue to exist at present.

The appearance of the perception of women in terms of gender in *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* shows similarities with the perceptions of today's society in general terms. Therefore, in this context, it is possible to identify some degree of historical and cultural continuity from the past to the present in terms of the female gender's social standing.

NOTES

[1] Several analyses on *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* have been made from different perspectives. In recent years, Ersoy (2016) analysed the different uses of the word 'face', Rustamiy (2016) the linguistic and rhetoric aspects, Gömeç (2016) the types of Turkish food and beverages, Ergene (2018) the Turkish forms of onomatopoeic reduplications, Maralbek & Koçak (2018) the unities of measurement, Aripov (2018) the music terms, Atlı (2019) the Turkish proverbs, Yıldız-Altın (2019) the remedy practices in Turkish culture, Özbek (2020) an example of ellipsis, Hunutlu (2020) the similarities and differences in voice types, and Taşdelen (2020) the philosophical contents.

[2] There are words directly related to women or men in the dictionary. In addition, certain words refer to human beings without indicating a particular gender. This paper refers to words directly related to women.

[3] Naturally, some words are eliminated within the framework of the relationship between the main subject of the paper and particular words. Not all the words identified are included in the paper.

[4] 'Woman available to all' (Mahmud 1985a: 78).

[5] 'Horny woman available to all' (Mahmud 1985a: 104).

[6] '*Kudhuz'* (Mahmud 1985a: 365). (There are different editions of *Kutadgu Bilig* according to the manuscripts. Therefore, we have given hereinafter the different spellings of the words in different Turkish editions.)

[7] It is read as *Yinçke kız*. It means 'adult handmaiden who gets into bed' (Mahmud 1985a: 326).

[8] '*Kapıklığ'* (Mahmud 1985a: 496).

[9] 'Khatun' is a word of Persian or Turkish origin that means, in the general sense, a lady, matron. Peculiarly, it is a title given to the wife of a Turkish sovereign, that is, a Khan (Steingass 1963 [1892]: 437; Özcan 1997: 499).

[10] Khatun is also considered as a higher-order woman in *Orkhon Inscriptions*. It is mentioned that God charges mother khatun with state governance, even if just temporarily. In other words, God can give *kut* (happiness) to a khatun (Ergin 2016: 53, 75).

[11] '*İnal'* (Mahmud 1985a: 122).

[12] As Özdarıcı remarks, why some women are in this position is not determined in the dictionary. It is possible to say that some prostitutes might have chosen such an occupation willingly, in consideration of the words *ekeklik* (woman's freeness and shamelessness) and *erseklenmek* (to lust after a man with desire and passion) (Özdarıcı 2011: 129).

[13] '*Özük'* (Mahmud 1985a: 71).

[14] '*Ertini özük'* (Mahmud 1985a: 71).

[15] At this point, a woman's physical beauty and, accordingly, her danger, is mentioned in *Kutadgu Bilig*. Namely, it is remarked that men would like to marry a wealthy, beautiful, noble, or pious woman, but it is hard and hazardous to protect the beautiful. As for other features, it is emphasised that one should not get married for only richness or nobility, for this might cause a man to be at a lower level than a woman. Piousness is the feature to be preferred in an ideal marriage, for the other features are included in being pious (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998: 324–325).

[16] Similarly, while negative aspects of possessions are referred to in *Kutadgu Bilig*, an adorned bride's quality of setting a trap is mentioned. Besides, a claim that women are unreliable and changeable is also included. It is mentioned that women can be unfaithful, and many men become miserable because of women. A fickle world is likened to a coquettish and capricious girl, and women are considered through the narrative of that world (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998: 260, 39, 258, 327, 367, 438).

[17] In Atalay's translation, only leanness and looseness are included. Women are not referred to (Mahmud 1986: 330).

[18] The quality of cowardice from *Kutadgu Bilig* can be added to these (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998: 171).

[19] It is read as *kalınğ* and means 'dowery' (Mahmud 1986: 371).

[20] The fact that a woman might be captured as a handmaiden is a situation mentioned often in *Orkhon Inscriptions*. The reason is that nations may have been without a khan, and *töre* (morals) may have fallen into disuse. This situation of surrendering to the enemy results in daughters becoming handmaidens (Ergin 2016: 43, 45, 47, 49, 59, 67, 69, 73, 111). Therefore, it can be stated that women's freedom and the protection of their pudicity occurs by the practice and conservancy of *töre* through a khan's existence and success. On the other hand, a nation's women and girls being captured as handmaidens is undesirable. However, capturing women as handmaidens from an enemy was a fact of life. Even though capturing women was a desirable situation, it is emphasised in *'Atabat al-Haqa'iq* that desiring many goods and handmaidens is inappropriate (Yüknekî 2017: 21).

[21] It is mentioned in *Kutadgu Bilig* that women should not be given free rein to go outside and should be protected and hidden at home because otherwise they can cause an inappropriate situation (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998: 104, 326–327).

[22] It should be noted that the dowry consists of the things that are given to the bride by her family and relatives and that belong to her, whereas the bridegroom or his family pays the bride price as financial support for the bride.

[23] However, there is no statement about whether these intermarriages continue throughout several generations.

[24] Similarly, a woman's fertility is emphasised in *Kutadgu Bilig* (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998: 247).

[25] The dictionary also mentions that women eat glandular meat (*yuŋ*), which is not peculiar to the period of puerpera (Mahmud 2015: 494).

[26] '*Kanğdaş*' (Mahmud 1986: 382).

[27] In *Kutadgu Bilig*, the father is also regarded as responsible for educating the child and ensuring that they have good manners. The father can beat the child for discipline purposes (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998: 94, 98, 116, 248, 326).

[28] For detailed information, see Aydın & Hamîdullah 2002: 237–246.

[29] '*Büdhi-di*' (Mahmud 1986: 259).

[30] '*Yalnğu*' (Mahmud 1986: 380).

[31] Atalay gives the meaning of 'she became a prostitute' (Mahmud 1985b: 156).

[32] 'The woman who makes love with someone else' (Mahmud 1985a: 120).

[33] Producing and sewing felt are the responsibilities of women. A spinner is called an *egirgen* (Mahmud 2015: 81).

[34] '*Çüj-di*' (Mahmud 1985b: 9).

[35] '*Çikne-di*' (Mahmud 1986: 301).

[36] '*Ökmek*' (Mahmud 1985a: 105).

[37] '*Önğik*' (Mahmud 1985a: 135).

[38] '*Tolgağ*' (Mahmud 1985b: 288).

[39] '*Bodh monçuk*' (Mahmud 1986: 121).

[40] It is read as *bürünçük* and means 'scarf' (Mahmud 1985a: 510).

[41] There is no clear statement about the necessity of covering the face in *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*. However, it is implied in *Kutadgu Bilig* that women have to cover the face, establishing a relationship between covering and chastity (Yusuf Has Hâcib 1998: 464).

[42] '*Yolrat-tı*' (Mahmud 1985b: 253).

[43] '*Yaldruk*' (Mahmud 1986: 432).

[44] 'Wife became khatun, took after khan's wife' (Mahmud 1986: 206).

[45] Özdarıcı similarly counts the way of elaboration through the usage of the word *kız* (girl) in several forms as proof of the importance of issues about the woman at a high level of Turkish society (Özdarıcı 2011: 130).

[46] According to recent research made by Kadir Has University in Turkey, the rate of men who help their wives with domestic responsibilities reaches only 15% as the level of education increases. It is 6% in the male profile with a low education level. The rate of men taking care of their children is 51% (O'Neil & Çarkoğlu 2020).

REFERENCES

Alkan, Hanife 2013. Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk'te İnsanlar İçin Kullanılan Niteleyiciler. [Qualifiers Used for People in *Divan Lugat At-Turk*.] *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 9, pp. 561–577. Available at https://www.acarindex.com/pdfler/acarindex-4cf11f28-e0c8.pdf, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Arat, Reşid Rahmeti 1979. Giriş. [Introduction.] In: Yusuf Has Hâcib. *Kutadgu Bilig.* Vol. I. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, pp. vii–lix.

Aripov, Zakircan 2018. Kaşgarlı Mahmut'un 'Divanu Lugati't-Türk' Adlı Eserinde Müzik Terimleri. [Music Terms in *Diwan Lughat at-Turk* by Mahmut of Kashgar.] *Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi / Atatürk University Journal of Faculty of Letters*, No. 60, pp. 309–312. Available at https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/499124, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Atalay, Besim 1985. Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk ve Tercümesi Üzerine Notlar. [Notes on *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk* and Its Translation.] In: Kâşgarlı Mahmud. *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi.* Vol I. Transl. by Besim Atalay. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, pp. vii–xxxvi.

Atlı, Sagıp 2019. Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk'teki Atasözleri Üzerine Yapılan Bir Çalışma: Abdülahad Nûrî ve 'Atalar sözü'. [A Study on Proverbs in Divanu Lugati't Turk: Abdulahad Nuri and 'Atalar sozu'.] *MANAS Sosyal Arastirmalar Dergisi*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 2243–2279. http://dx.doi.org/10.33206/mjss.528134.

Aydın, Mehmet Âkif & Hamîdullah, Muhammed 2002. Köle. [Slave.] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 26. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 237–246.

Çakan, Ayşegül 2017. Sunuş. [Preface.] In: Edip Ahmed Yüknekî. *Atebetü'l-Hakayık*. Transl. by Ayşegül Çakan. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, pp. v–vii.

DİA 2002 = Kutadgu Bilig. [Wisdom of Royal Glory.] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 26. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 478–480. Available at https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/kutadgu-bilig, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Ercilasun, Ahmet B. & Akkoyunlu, Ziyat 2015. Giriş. [Introduction.] In: Kâşgarlı Mahmud. *Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk*. Compiled by Ahmet B. Ercilasun & Ziyat Akkoyunlu. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, pp. xvii–cxix.

Erdoğan, İsmail 2016. Divanu Lugati't-Türk'te Kadın ile İlgili Kavramlar. [Conceptions Related to 'Woman' in "Dīvānu Lugat al-Turk".] *Dini Araştırmalar / The Journal of Religious Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 49, pp. 197–207. https://doi.org/10.15745/da.267270.

Ergene, Oğuz 2018. Kavram Alanı Bağlamında Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk'teki Ses Yansımalı İkilemelerin Türkiye Türkçesindeki Biçimleri. [Turkey Turkish Forms of Onomatopoeic Reduplications in *Divánu Lugát at-Turk* in the Context of Conceptual Field.] *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi / Journal of Turkish Research Institute*, No. 63, pp. 135–160. http://dx.doi.org/10.14222/Turkiyat3833.

Ergin, Muharrem 2016. *Orhun Âbideleri.* [Orkhon Inscriptions.] İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları.

Ersoy, Asu 2016. Kaşgarlı Mahmud'un 'Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk' Adlı Eserinde Yüzün Kullanımı. [The Use of Face in Kasgarlı Mahmud's Work Called *Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk.*] *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 15, pp. 173–188. http://dx.doi.org/10.7827/TurkishStudies.9907.

Gömeç, Saadettin Yağmur 2016. Kök Türk Yazıtları ve Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk'te Yiyecek ve İçecekler. [Foods and Beverages in Kok Turk Inscriptions and *Divan-i Lugati-it-Turk.*] *Türkiyat Mecmuası / Journal of Turkology*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 187–195. Available at https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/264803, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Gülensoy, Tuncer 1991. Atebetü'l-Hakāyık. [The Threshold of Truths.] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 4. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 50–51. Available at https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/atebetul-hakayik, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Hunutlu, Ümit 2020. Dîvânu Lugâti't Türk'ten Günümüze Çatı Türlerinde Benzerlikler ve Farklılıklar. [Similarities and Differences in Voice Types from *Dīwān Lughāt*

al-Turk to the Present.] *Karadeniz Araştırmaları / Journal of the Black Sea Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 68, pp. 1035–1074. Available at http://www.karamdergisi.com/Makaleler/413115384_12.%20%c3%9cmit%20HUNUTLU%20TM.pdf, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Kaçalin, Mustafa S. 1994. Dîvânü Lugāti't-Türk. [The Compendium of the Turkic Languages.] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 9. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 446–449. Available at https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/divanu-lugatit-turk, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Kaçalin, Mustafa S. 2007. Orhon Yazıtları. [Orkhon Inscriptions.] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 33. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 390–393. Available at https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/orhon-yazitlari, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Macionis, John J. 2018 [1987]. *Sociology*. 17th ed. Harlow: Pearson.

Mahmud, Kâşgarlı 1985a. *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi.* [Translation of the Compendium of the Turkic Languages.] Vol. I. Transl. by Besim Atalay. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

Mahmud, Kâşgarlı 1985b. *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi.* [Translation of the Compendium of the Turkic Languages.] Vol. II. Transl. by Besim Atalay. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

Mahmud, Kâşgarlı 1986. *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk Tercümesi*. [Translation of the Compendium of the Turkic Languages.] Vol. III. Transl. by Besim Atalay. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

Mahmud, Kâşgarlı 2015. *Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk.* [The Compendium of the Turkic Languages.] Compiled by Ahmet B. Ercilasun & Ziyat Akkoyunlu. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları.

Maralbek, Yermukhamet & Koçak, Muhammet 2018. Kaşgarlı Mahmut'un Divanu Lügâti't-Türk Adlı Eserinde Yer Alan Ölçü Birimleri. [Unities of Measurement in Kaşgarlı Mahmuts *Divanu Lugati't-Turk*.] *Türk Kültürü ve Hacı Bektaş Velî Araştırma Dergisi / Turkish Culture and Haci Bektash Veli Research Quarterly*, No. 88, pp. 187–199. Available at https://hbvdergisi.hacibayram.edu.tr/index.php/TKHBVD/article/view/2366, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

O'Neil, Mary Lou & Çarkoğlu, Aslı 2020. The Perception of Gender and Women in Turkey 2020. Kadir Has University Gender and Women's Studies Research Center. Available at https://gender.khas.edu.tr/sites/gender.khas.edu.tr/files/inline-files/TTCKAA2020ENG%20%281%29.pdf, last accessed on 10 January 2023.

Özbek, Emin Erdem 2020. Oğuzlar 'Kattı Kardı"ya Sadece "Kardı" mı Derler(di)? Dîvânu Lugâti't-Türk'ten Anadolu Ağızlarına Bir Eksiltme Örneği: Kat-. [Have the Oghuz Said Only "Kardı" Instead of "Kattı Kardı"? An Example of Ellipsis from *Divan Lugat at-Turk* to Anatolian Dialects: Kat.] *Osmanlı Mirası Araştırmaları Dergisi / Journal of Ottoman Legacy Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 17, pp. 69–74. Available at https://dspace.balikesir.edu.tr/xmlui/handle/20.500.12462/11891, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Özcan, Abdülkadir 1997. Hatun. [Khatun.] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 16. İstanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, pp. 499–500. Available at https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/hatun, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Özdarıcı, Öznur 2011. Dîvânü Lûgat-it-Türk'te Kadın ve Kadına İlişkin Unsurlar. [Woman and the Elements Related to Woman in *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*.] *Kırıkkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 127–156.

Rustamiy, Salimakhon 2016. 'Esasu-l-Belaga' ve 'Divan-u Lugat-it-Türk' Eserlerinin Dil Bilimi ve Belagat Bilimiyle İlgili Yönleri. [Linguistic and Literary Aspects of *Esasu-l-Belaga* and *Divan-u Lugat-it-Türk*.] *Turkish Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 20, pp. 503–522. http://dx.doi.org/10.7827/TurkishStudies.10066.

Steingass, Francis Joseph 1963 [1892]. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Limited.

Taşdelen, Vefa 2020. The Philosophical Contents of *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*. *Hitit Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi / Journal of Divinity Faculty of Hitit University*, Vol. 19, No. 1, pp. 151–172. Available at https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/1179030, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Yıldız Altın, Kübra 2019. İşlevleri Açısından Türk Kültüründe Sağaltma: Divanü Lûgat-it Türk'ten Günümüze. [The Treat in Terms of Its Functions in the Turkish Culture: From *Divanü Lûgat-it-Türk* to Today.] *Avrasya Uluslararası Araştırmalar Dergisi / Eurasian Journal of International Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 16, pp. 114–133. Available at http://acikerisim.nevsehir.edu.tr/handle/20.500.11787/2034, last accessed on 11 January 2023.

Yüknekî, Edib Ahmed 2017. *Atebetü'l-Hakayık*. [The Threshold of Truths.] Transl. by Ayşegül Çakan. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Yusuf, Has Hâcib 1998 [1959]. *Kutadgu Bilig*. [Wisdom of Royal Glory.] Vol. II. Transl. by Reşid Rahmeti Arat. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları.

Nesrin Akıncı Çötok is Associate Professor at the Faculty of Communication, Sakarya University, Turkey. Also, she is the co-head of the Journalism Department in her faculty. She received her PhD in sociology from Sakarya University in 2010. Her main research interests are the sociology of communication, woman and media, cultural studies, and multiculturalism.

nakinci@sakarya.edu.tr

Ender Büyüközkara (Istanbul, Turkey, 1983) has been Assistant Professor at the Department of Philosophy at Sakarya University since 2022. He graduated in philosophy (Sakarya, 2005) and obtained his master's degree (Sakarya, 2010) and PhD (Sakarya, 2018) in philosophy. He maintains research interests in Turkish-Islamic philosophy, Sufism, and theoretical and practical ethical issues.

ebuyukozkara@sakarya.edu.tr

Tufan Çötok has been Associate Professor at the Department of Philosophy at Sakarya University since 2018 and head of the same department. He graduated in sociology and obtained his master's degree and PhD in philosophy. He maintains research interests in Ancient Greek philosophy, Aristotle, and ethics.

tcotok@sakarya.edu.tr

https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2023.88.abali

FOLKLORIC MANIFESTATION OF PRIMITIVE IMPULSES: FOLK RIDDLES

İsmail Abalı
Assistant Professor
Department of Turkish Language and Literature
Faculty of Science and Literature
Iğdır University, Iğdır, Turkey
the_hoca0986@hotmail.com.tr

Abstract: It is known that factors stemming from human nature play an active role in the emergence of riddles, which are one of the oral products. It is obvious that the riddle as a genre, which is thought to have been born and developed for purposes such as having fun, having a good time, arousing curiosity, and solving the unknown, has deep traces of the psychological structure of the human being. In this study, the effect of basic impulses on riddles is discussed with different dimensions. The research is based on document analysis and it was conducted on Turkish riddles that were established with obscene associations with a decent answer, creating a threatening perception and containing insult and cursing, and the samples belonging to the genre were analyzed from a psychoanalytic perspective. At the end of the study, some inferences were made such as the one to the effect that sexuality and aggression impulses can be satisfied without being subjected to any censorship thanks to the peculiar structure and characteristics of riddles.

Keywords: aggression, primitive impulses, psychoanalytic folklore, sexuality, Turkish folk riddles

INTRODUCTION

Being one of the most common products of anonymous folk literature, the riddle is a genre used by all members of society both in verse and prose. This type, which is an indispensable entertainment tool for both children and adults, is also very functional in terms of mental reasoning and of developing thinking ability. The riddles performed within the presence of at least two people, one asking and the other answering, constitute a social interaction field in terms of individual-individual and individual-society relations. Riddles, which have a long history in the culture of societies and have an active place in both folkloric

texts and socio-cultural life, have started to lose their vitality, especially in today's world. It was inevitable that the riddles would disappear or assume a new form with some variations due to the change in the cultural needs of people, the emergence of different entertainment activities, and a variety of visual-virtual activity areas that started to replace this genre. However, riddles will continue to exist, albeit in a new form, as long as humankind's inclination towards mystery, and its need to ask and answer within a cultural and artistic context, remain valid. That is because in the formation of riddles there are some fundamental factors stemming from human nature.

In the emergence of riddles, the desire of man to solve the unknown, his tendency to the mystery, and his sense of curiosity are dominant. These feelings played an active role in the literary works of human beings and in their daily life. Trying to solve the mystery or to arouse curiosity in someone else by playing hide-and-seek in childhood, the individual maintains similar type of curiosities in various stages of their later life wherein riddles become like a game of hide-and-seek. In the game, the pleasure of rendering void the judgment of the seeker of the hiding person is similar to the question-answer relationship in riddles. The asker of the riddle – just like the child in hiding – aims to negate the guess of the person answering by hiding the abstract-concrete objects or by depicting them in a way to invoke curiosity (Karademir 2007: 9–10). As Tezel (1969: V) states, riddles are not products created for or by children. They only attract their attention.

For some others, the origin of riddles is based on magic, taboos, secret language and various ceremonies existing in the primitive thought system. The taboos stemming from the animist belief and the secret languages that developed around them lost their magical nature over time and became riddles (Bekki 2013: 343). According to the animist way of thinking, primitive people in ancient times thought that all the elements in nature were alive and had a soul. Especially people who failed during hunting came to the conclusion that the animals could feel the hunters' presence and they therefore developed some words that describe the game animals by considering their various characteristics without directly uttering their names in order to prevent them from fleeing. In time, this became the case for other beings, and people did not mention their names for reasons such as not to anger the spiritual beings they believed to exist and not to humiliate their holiness. Thus, this practice has led to the emergence of riddles in the historical process (İçel 2005: 193). So, it is very likely that in the researches in the Western world, riddles have been used as a key to unlock perceptions of culture (Green & Pepicello 1979: 6).

The relationship of riddles with the concept of hidden language in ancient times and the description of objects based on the principle of analogy indicates

that the genre in question may have originated from the same source as poetry. Indeed, the riddle is a paradise of poetry, and it has the same spirit as poetry that speaks by analogy. Just as poetry is an expression of admiration for beauty, riddles are made up of the individual's expression of new things for the same purpose. That is because when a person looks at the world he lives in with a restful soul, he sees everything as it is, but when a soul, kneaded with wonder and admiration, comes into play, all the elements related to the object in question come together, and that object reminds the perceiver of the things that are similar to it (Güney 1971: 159–162). The fact that it uses connotations, as in poetry, ensures that the genre in question has a literary value, and thus it is preserved and passed on to the next generations with its poetical quality (Boratav 2000 [1969]: 109). The closeness of the riddle to poetry is not only due to its content or use of similies but also to its formal and structural characteristics. Being mostly in poetic form, this genre has a formal quality that resembles poetry. As a matter of fact, according to Banarlı (1956: 2282), the folk riddle has a more aesthetic style compared to many colorful, flamboyant, and harmonious poems.

In the context of its poetic character, most of the riddles are set up with aesthetic and elegant words, but a considerable number of riddles, on the contrary, contain vulgar and obscene words. In fact, slang and vulgar expressions are used more than elegant words. That is because the language used in riddles is uncensored. The reason for this is the people's lack of boundaries in humor and ridicule. Where the riddle is used as an element of entertainment, the concept of shame is removed and replaced by tolerance. The vulgar and obscene expressions are an ordinary part of public life and have an important place in the vocabulary of the public (Karademir 2007: 335–336).

Although forms of expression conveying eroticism are used abundantly in riddles, direct words about sexuality are not often included. This is because the way the question is asked already expresses sexuality. According to Kaivola-Bregenhøj (2017: 198), riddles differ from other folklore products due to the fact that they are performed in the home environment by employing a language that should be constructed in a way that children should hear. Bolding (1992: 5), on the other hand, approaches the subject of suggestive language from a different angle. According to the researcher, the purpose of posing riddles in an indirect language is to make sexuality concrete and to render the sexual issues more intelligible.

As can be seen, there are many factors that affect the emergence of the riddle and the style in which it is excecuted. The common feature of these factors is that each is based on the spiritual world of man. Psychic processes peculiar to the human species have taken over in riddles as in other folkloric products,

playing an important role in the perception of riddles as a cultural element in the context of formation, creation, and implementation.

THE METHOD AND DATA

In this study, primitive drives are added to the psychological factors that are effective in the emergence of the riddle. These drives, which are accepted by many psychoanalysts, especially Freud, and evaluated in a theoretical framework, are the life and death instincts. While these psychic powers, which form the basis of sexuality and aggression, are pushed out of consciousness with some censorship in daily life, they come to light in folkloric life as camouflaged within the aesthetic identity of riddles.

In this context, riddles existing in Turkish folk literature and having the following features were chosen as samples:

- Riddles implying all the processes of sex and what it is associated with;
- Riddles depicting female and male genitalia;
- Riddles involving perversion and various fantasies;
- Riddles intended to embarrass and humiliate through sexual overtones;
- Riddles with swear words and insults;
- Riddles containing threats and death wish.

Riddles with names of genitals and words directly related to sex are not encountered in Turkish folklore. Therefore, as there are no words expressing sexuality in the review part of the article, the censorship problem encountered in such riddles is not applicable to this article. This quality of Turkish riddles is compatible with the basic arguments of psychoanalysis. This is because primitive impulses that cannot be expressed in real life manifest in dreams and can be satisfied, albeit indirectly.

Within the scope of Turkish folklore studies, riddles with these features have not previously been subjected to any research and examination to the best of our knowledge, although they are still alive among people and can be found in Turkish written sources. In addition to approaching the genre in question from a psychoanalytic perspective, this article is unique in that it is the first research on Turkish riddles about sexuality and aggression. The reason for the emergence of such riddles, in which researchers have not shown much interest because they are both about sexuality and include rude words, is an important problem. While there are more decent and appropriate descriptions, why did the public seek to use sexual descriptions in addressing some events? Why did people always feel the need to compare certain objects to sexual organs? When

asking a riddle, for what reason does the individual construct the premise with an insult? What is the real meaning of the death wish contained in the riddles? It is certain that the answers to such questions will have a significant impact on finding the reason why such riddles under question emerge.

Aiming to make universal psychoanalytic evaluations about the genre based on Turkish riddles, the data examined in this study were collected from previously compiled sources and analyses based on document analysis were made on these data. The riddles, all of which were obtained from printed sources, were chosen from among the examples that best reflect the Turkish tradition of asking riddles. These preferred examples largely reflect and represent other similar examples in the Turkish riddle literature in terms of being suitable for the purpose of the article. As a matter of fact, Turkish riddles containing sexuality and aggression are included in written sources as they are classified in this study. Being peculiar to the geography of Turkey, the Turkish riddles are a cultural phenomenon with a very old origin as a genre that preserves certain syntactic characteristics with its stereotypical structure. Therefore, Turkish riddles, in every environment in which they appear, are able to preserve some of their distinctive features with the formal quality of being stereotyped. That is to say that the riddles remain the same in different environments and contexts and that their texts have not deteriorated for many years without undergoing extensive changes, hence they can be evaluated with reliable results in text-centered studies.

DISCUSSION

Different meanings are attributed to individuals' life, thought systems, religions, or various social structures. According to some, life in this world is a preparation for the life to come after death, while others think that it is a phenomenon that occurred by chance. According to the famous psychoanalyst Freud (2011: 56), life is a battleground of the drives inherent in living things. Being the scene of the struggle between the life instinct (Eros) originating from sexuality and the death instinct (Thanatos), which drags life to death, life is shaped by the individual's various defense mechanisms. As a result of the interaction of the spiritual layers known as the id, ego, and superego, the life instinct, which is reflected in daily life, comes to light as sexuality, while the death instinct manifests itself as aggression.

The individual, who is a social being and has to live in a community at every stage of life, is obliged to suppress the primitive impulses stored in the id by the imposition of the superego. In order to survive in the society and not

to be isolated from social groups, a person who tries to crush the unlimited energy accumulation with ruthlessness can only find a balance between the id and the superego with the help of the ego. Thus, the ego both harnesses the lustful desires of the id and fulfills its conscientious responsibility towards the superego (Freud 2020a [1923]: 64–65). However, the ego can reflect primitive impulses that are not approved by conscience, morality, and social norms to the outside world through different channels such as dreams, slips, and jokes. This interaction that takes place in the psychic system of the individual is also applicable to the community. Societies can also reveal the various wild impulses that exist in the subconscious in cultural products like myths, tales, and other folkloric products (Abraham 2017: 46). In other words, oral culture products belonging to societies are a reflection of the collective social ego just like the dreams of the individual.

RIDDLES CONTAINING SEXUALITY

The riddle is a genre that is quite suitable for the sexual drive to emerge in cultural/artistic dimensions. The humans having this primitive impulse in their nature encounter the prohibitions brought by social norms and sanctions under the banner of shame, sin, and crime, and respond to their psychic needs by reflecting the said impulse to riddles. It is possible to see traces of lust, perversion, and other things that are considered shameful, especially in riddles created with obscene reconciliations, for some features peculiar to the genre allow this.

For example, it is essential to create internal contrasts and confusion in riddles formed through the False Gestalt technique. With this method, the image (Gestalt) asked in the puzzle is made ambiguous and the details are arranged in order to allude to something else. Therefore, it suggests a certain answer. However, the answer given to the riddle is wrong. Although the actual answer is often the product of an embarrassing, obscene and yet misleading reference, it is extremely innocent (Abrahams & Dundes 2009: 300–301). Therefore, within the framework of this technique, all kinds of concepts related to sexuality can be embedded in the fictional patterns of the riddle. Thus, even if the impulse in question is censored, both the wild desires of the id will come to light and the individual's exposure to social sanctions is prevented. As a matter of fact, as Havryliuk (2019: 143) states, such riddles are a perfect language game in which the answer is no less important than the question. For example, in the riddle *"Eğrice kiren, kızlara giren – küpe"* (A curvy cranberry, entering the missy – earring) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 450), the earring element is depicted within such a usage framework. Although the phrases "curvy" and "entering

the missy" in the riddle were constructed in a way to bring to mind the male genitalia, the answer is extremely decent and simple. However, while there are many descriptive phrases and ways of associative images that can describe the earring, there may be only one explanation for the formation of the puzzle with sexual images. This explanation maintains in a folkloric form the manifestation of lust, which cannot be expressed in daily life. Thus, the individual can easily express their desires thanks to the magnificent camouflaging feature of the riddle and can easily bypass the censorship mechanism in their spiritual nature. Thanks to the latent language of expression belonging to the genre in question, the sexual drive can be camouflaged between the lines. For this reason, it is possible to evaluate the riddles created by the influence of sexual drives under three headings.

Riddles suggestive of sexual intercourse

Sex drive, also known as libido, appears as an effective instinct at every stage of an individual's life from infancy. According to Freud, this impulse is the instinct to reach pleasure that enables the relief of inner tensions. Sexuality that concentrates in the pleasure areas of the body is achieved through some chemical changes in the body. Thus, a person who searches for a sexual object begins to establish close relationships with the opposite sex in order to satisfy the need for pleasure (Fromm 2019 [1980]: 152). In cases where the need in question is not met, dreams and fantasies come into play. The unbridled desires of the id, which is a great repository of the libido (Freud 2020a [1923]: 30), find expression through these channels that include also folkloric creations such as riddles. In short, while it depicts another action or situation, the text of the riddle may incorporate sexual acts or other fantasies about sexuality. This is because knowing that the answer is not related to sexuality but will be extremely decent and innocent gives this opportunity to the person asking.

As a matter of fact, in the riddle[1] *"Ananın büküp büküp attığı, babanın sokup sokup çıkarttığı – mantı"* (That which the mother twists and throws, the father pulls out and puts in – ravioli) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 474), the way of preparing ravioli, a Turkish dish, is likened to the movements of the woman to harden the penis before sex, for ravioli is a dish prepared by women for men, and the process of shaping ravioli is done in a way similar to the hand movements that provide pleasure to the penis (see Fig. 1). In addition, in the context of this riddle, it is noteworthy that eating and the pleasures of sexual intercourse are associated. A similar situation is also present in the riddle *"Başı kalın beli ince, mübarek deliğine girince, rahat edersin bir gece – kaşık"* (A thick head, a thin

neck, and a happy night upon entering the blessed hole – spoon) (Kaya 1999: 511). In the text, the spoon is likened to the penis, while the mouth – to the vagina. When the spoon enters the mouth, the person is relieved by satisfying their hunger. This process is associated with sex in the riddle, and the people who created the riddle have implicitly emphasized that eating and sex give the same comfort and pleasure.

Figure 1. *Ravioli. Source: https://www.haberturk.com/manti-tarifi-nasil-yapilir-hbrt-2527400.*

Providing pleasure, another physiological act that is associated with sex is sleep. The riddle *"Et ete bitişir, kıl kıla yapışır; ne kadar yaparsan o kadar hoşlaşır – uyku"* (The flesh sticks to the flesh, the hair sticks to the hair; the more you do, the happier you get – sleep) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 629) emphasizes that sleep and sex are based on a common source of pleasure. While sleeping, the eyelids of the person are closed and thus the eyelashes made of fine hairs come into contact with each other. In the riddle, the closing of the eyelids is likened to the contact of the male and female organs during sex, and the joining of the eyelashes is likened to the coming together of the genital hairs. As a matter of fact, both actions (sleeping and sex) are actions that give pleasure as long as they are performed.

The satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual results in pleasure. This makes it clear that the basis of pleasures is based on a common psychic source. The desire to meet the needs inherent in human nature is a phenomenon that constantly affects daily life. However, while meeting some needs is not subject

to any censorship, even the voicing of some other needs can be met with harsh sanctions. The riddles above describe the basic needs of sleeping and eating. As it is known, these needs can be met without any prohibition or obstacle. Although sexuality is one of the basic needs such as sleep and food, the satisfaction of it can be subjected to various sanctions. So, this impulse is hidden between the lines of riddles to avoid social sanctions. The fact that these lines, which seek sleeping and eating as an answer, contain images related to sexuality, which is another basic need, is due to the fact that all these needs and pleasures come from the same psychic root.

The most important feature that distinguishes riddles from other folklore products is that it is based on the relationship of asking and answering questions and while doing this, it employs misleading images. This feature enables the sexual drive to manifest itself in the literary and aesthetic form of the riddle. That is to say, no matter how strong the sexual image and associations are in the question, the person who asks it is well aware that the answer to it is a different object or concept. Sexuality, which is highly censored in daily life, also takes extensive advantage of the opportunities offered by this technique of employing misleading images. Powered by the complacency of the answer being linked to a non-obscene conclusion, various fantasies that cannot be expressed in ordinary conversations become freely expressible and this is rendered possible through making the classifications accepted in the cultural mind a subject of discussion and shake them with the power of imagination (Şaul 1974: 85). As a matter of fact, the world of meaning in the riddles is so wide that it is possible to make new additions to the subconscious sexual fantasies. The person asking the riddle can describe situations related to sexuality in detail and at length, thanks to the imaginative narration technique.

For example, while the riddle *"Soktum kustu, çektim küstü – cezve"* (I inserted, it vomited, I pulled out, it turned sulky – coffee pot) (Kaya 1999: 478) describes sex, the answer to it has nothing to do with sex. Namely, the coffee pot used to cook Turkish coffee has the feature of overflowing immediately when placed in the oven with coffee and water in it. The overflow of the coffee pot in the oven is associated with the discharge of the penis into the vagina during sex. Taking the coffee pot out of the oven after it overflowed and allowing it to calm down was thought to be the loss of the hardness of the penis after sex.

The analogy of some features specific to things to sex is also found in the riddle *"Uzundur boyu kertiktir başı, sürttükçe dürttükçe akıtır yaşı, gidip geldikçe bitirir işi-divit – dolma kalem"* (Long it is with a notch on his head, it sheds as it rubs and pokes, it finishes the work as it moves along – fountain pen) (Kaya 1999: 511). In the text, the pen is likened to a penis because of its length and notched shape. At the same time, the pen also has the feature of ink flowing

as it moves, just like the penis can ejaculate during sex. Thus, while the penis ejaculates, the pen ends the writing process with its ink. Another process considered as sex is the use of mortar to crush the grains like wheat. It is expressed in the riddle "*Anam yayılıp yatar, babam sallayıp sokar – dibek*" (My mother lies down, my father shakes and inserts – mortar) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 245); the mortar stone with a hole in the middle is compared to the vagina, and the long object that goes into the hole is likened to the penis (see Fig. 2). Pushing the long object into the hole repeatedly to crush the wheat in the hole was also likened to sexual intercourse.

Figure 2. *Mortar. Source: https://www.milliyet.com.tr/yemek/tarif/dibek-kahvesi-nasil-yapilir-2569010.*

Riddles containing perversion

Another dimension of sexuality is perversion. Although perversion is a concept that is highly debated and whose boundaries cannot be determined with certainty, it is an impulse that exceeds normal sexual satisfaction, willing to have more or different pleasure. According to Freud (2019a [1905]: 68), perversion is innate and found in all humans. The person who asks the riddle can express their subconscious desires with the camouflaging feature of this genre, revealing the inherent perversity by fulfilling his or her needs by undermining the privacy of sexuality.

For example, "*Elle beni belle beni, iskelede bekle beni; ben hanımım, ben kadınım, şekerlerle besle beni – baklava*" (Hand me, call me, wait for me at the pier; I am a lady, I am a woman, feed me with sweets – baklava) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 151), a Turkish dessert, baklava, is considered as a woman, taking into account the pleasure that the man feels during sex. It is not an ordinary situation for a woman to want to be touched and to express her desires

openly in daily life. But in the wide fantasy world of riddles, this supposedly perverted behavior of women is commonplace. Since the knowledge that the answer to the riddle will be extremely innocent allows the questioner to express his seemingly perverted thoughts in a suggestive way. These kinds of riddles, which associate sweet foods with sexuality, are very functional in that they contain extreme and different examples of sexual pleasure.

A situation that is met with harsh sanctions in terms of social norms for a man is to allow his daughter to be kissed by unrelated men. Yet, in the riddle "*Benim bir kızım var; gelen öper, giden öper – su bardağı*" (I have a daughter; kissed by the incoming and the outgoing – water glass) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 584), the opposite is the case. The primitive perversion impulse can be clearly seen in the riddle, in which the kissing of the daughter by everyone is expressed as extremely normal. The glass is likened to a girl because of its hollow inside feature, and considering the habit of using only one glass to drink water in every house, and the fact that people's mouths come into contact with this glass, hence it is thought that the daughter is kissed by everyone. This action, which makes human beings uneasy even if it is thought of or verbalized, let alone being practiced, constitutes an example of excessive sexuality, that is, perversion. The drive for perversion can manifest by hiding behind the camouflaging feature of the riddle. A similar case is seen also in the riddle *"Yol üstünde gelin diklenir, gelen geçen ağzını öper – çeşme"* (The bride stands on the road, the passerby kisses her lips – fountain) (Kaya 1999: 484). Especially in the rural areas of Turkey, many fountains have been built on the roadsides for passengers to drink water. In this riddle, the fountain is imagined as a bride waiting by the roadside for people to kiss her. As it is known, the bride is the wife of a man, and showing sexual interest in her is forbidden by society. But this prohibition is not an obstacle to lust for a married woman. As a matter of fact, the perverse impulse can emerge through the riddle and satisfy the person without being attached to social norms. Finally, it is not wrong to say that there are also group sex desires and dreams in riddles, considering that the glass and the fountain are objects of common use.

One of the perverse impulses that tends to be excessive or demands different forms of sexual pleasure is the attitude of exposing nudity and another is removing the secrecy of sexuality. Fromm (2017 [1951]: 92), who argues that exhibitionism is one of the tendencies of human nature, considers the dreams of being naked in the middle of the crowd and without sanctions and a sense of shame as a manifestation of this tendency. In other words, an individual who cannot clearly display their nakedness and sexual acts in social life can easily realize this desire in their dreams. In this context, riddles are just like dreams. For example, a male individual can, through riddles, easily satisfy this

desire by describing his genitals, which he cannot show to girls in daily life. In the premise of the question, the man, who can describe his genitals down to the smallest detail, is both able to avoid the sanctions of social norms and satisfy the irrepressible desires of his primitive impulses, with the complacency of the very decent answer. As a matter of fact, in the riddle *"Dibi kıllıdır, ucu sallanır – biber"* (The bottom is hairy, the tip swings – pepper) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 270), pepper is identified with the male organ (see Fig. 3). Before being plucked from the plant in which it grows, pepper is a vegetable with hairs at the bottom and swinging. Considering that the penis with the genital hair looks the same as the pepper, it will not be difficult to guess that the male individual who asks this riddle to the girls takes pleasure as though he is displaying his organ. This is because, thanks to the implicational feature of the riddle, the man, in a way, chooses to show his own organ to the girls by describing it in detail.

Figure 3. *Pepper. Source: https://tarfin.com/blog/biber-yetistiriciligi-nasil-yapilir.*

Being able to see the nudity of individuals of the opposite sex as well as exhibiting their own nudity gives a person a different pleasure. As a matter of fact, the riddle *"Yol üstünde çıplak bacak – eğreti otu"* (Bare legs on the road – fern) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 267) was created with the desire to expose nudity. Sexuality and nudity are phenomena that are not usually displayed in public. But the public display of lust-inducing organs is a fitting example of the manifestation of the perverse drive. In the riddle, the fern is likened to a woman

showing her bare leg by the roadside. The desire to see the legs of a woman, which is unlikely to be well satisfied in daily life, can be expressed thanks to the functional feature of the puzzle, and the perverse impulse manifests itself in the riddle.

Riddles with implications of sexual organs

Though it is a phenomenon that protects and maintains species, sexuality is an impulse that cannot be expressed explicitly. Despite this, the human mind has been constantly preoccupied with sexuality and has been able to express the concept with various symbols through psychic censorship mechanisms. In fact, as Abraham (2017: 24) relates, human beings associate everything with sexuality, and this association appears with various symbols in dreams and folkloric products. Especially the sexual organs are identified with objects that can be associated with them. In this context, riddles under the domination of sexual impulses also help to grasp the phenomenon of symbolization, which is one of the main pillars of psychoanalysis. Freud (2016 [1917]: 166–168) argues that any object resembling a male sexual organ represents this phenomenon in dreams (and hence in folkloric products). Thus, objects that are long, raised, that can penetrate into anything, that have the property of injuring and that can pour fluid through, are a symbol of the male sexual organ. On the same logical plane, objects that can contain things and appear as a closed space are also symbols of the female sexual organ. Many myths, fairy tales and similar folkloric creations have been analyzed considering these assumptions and a large body of literature has been created within the scope of psychoanalytic folklore research. In fact, according to Brunvand's (2009: 297) observation, it has been revealed that some British and Anglo-American riddles have some implicit sexual symbolization, albeit weakly. The same is true for Turkish riddles, which are virtually a material for the verification of psychoanalytic theories in folklore research.

For example, in the riddle *"Don içinde başı sallanır – uçkur"* (That which shakes his head in the underwear – *uçkur* (the name given to the tip of a waistbelt-like accessory which is inserted into the panties)) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 626), *uçkur* is likened to the penis (see Fig. 4). It is a pendulum-like end of a sort of waistbelt used in the past in order to prevent the trousers from falling off. Indeed, this item would hang in the trousers or panties, just like the phallus. Another item that is compatible with this physical and qualitative analogy is the flute. *"Kuru girdi, yaş çıktı; ağlar gözlü baş çıktı – kaval"* (That which enters dry and comes out wet with a weeping eye – flute) (Kaya 1999:

511), the flute is thought of as a penis. As described in the riddle, the flute is dry before it enters the mouth and gets wet after it leaves the mouth, which is associated with the penis before and after sex. Another riddle that describes the condition of the male and female organs during sex is *"Hanım yatar, bey sokar çıkarır, çarşafa siler – mürekkep kalemi, hokka, kâğıt"* (The lady lies down, the gentleman stabs her, wipes it on the sheet – inkwell, ink pen, and the paper) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 721). In the riddle, the pen is compared to the penis, the inkwell to the vagina, the ink to the semen, and the paper to the napkin. The pen enters into and comes out of a hollow object, just like a penis, and its tip is cleaned by wiping on a piece of paper.

Figure 4. *Old Turkish pants with* uçkur. *Source: https://www.osmanlidunyasi.com/silebezi-salvar-09.*

In another riddle alluding to the genitals, obscenity is there by reminding us of the genital hairs. As a matter of fact, in the riddle *"Kıllı ağzını açtı, çıplak içine kaçtı – çorap, ayak"* (The hairy opened her mouth, the bare escaped into it – socks and foot) (Kaya 1999: 511), socks were thought of as a vagina with hairs because of its wool and holes. The foot, on the other hand, is both bare and long, like the penis, and can be inserted into the socks that contain a closed space. The same situation is in the riddle *"Oturdum önüne, soktum deliğine – sandık, anahtar"* (I sat in front of it, I inserted into its hole – the chest, the key) (Kaya 1999: 511). The key is likened to the penis in that it is long and hard, and the chest is likened to the vagina with its keyhole.

Obviously, in other folkloric products, the people who associate the male and female genitals with similar objects admit in their own words how they created this symbolism in riddles and almost approve the phenomenon of sexual symbolism, which is one of the basic assumptions of psychoanalysis. Accordingly, in riddles – as Freud describes – a pencil, foot, flute, and key and similar other objects are likened to the male genitalia in view of their length, and quality to enter into an object. The inkwell, socks, and chest hole, which can hold objects

and contain a closed space, represent the female sexual organ. Obviously, the objects in question are depicted by likening the sexual organs, which fully confirms the basic premise of sexual symbolism.

The female genitalia can also be represented by fruit symbolism. Considering that the garden image represents the female body in folkloric creations (Freud 2016 [1917]: 170), it will be seen that some fruits grown in the garden are symbolized as sexual organs. The most famous of these fruits that we encounter in many folk literature products is pomegranate. For example, in *"Var git, var git, var getir; ellenmemiş bahçeden dikilmemiş nar getir – gelin"* (Go, go further and bring; bring an untasted pomegranate from an untouched garden – bride) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 290), the virgin body of the newly married bride is expressed with the image of "the untouched garden", her genitals are thought of as a pomegranate. In the riddle *"Çarşıya git, al getir, vermez ise yalvar getir; satılmadık çarşıdan tadılmadık kız getir – nar"* (Go to the bazaar to fetch it, if not given beg for it; Bring an untasted girl from the newly set market – pomegranate) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 503), it is seen that the answer pomegranate to the riddle is described as a virgin girl. It is already known that the pomegranate symbolizes the feminine gender and even represents the woman having sexual intercourse (Karabaş 1981: 272). The riddles above provide evidence for this situation and confirm the sexual organ / fruit relationship so much so that while the pomegranate depicted in the premise of the first riddle symbolizes the female reproductive organ, it appears as the answer to the description of a virgin woman in the second riddle. In other words, the identification between the pomegranate and the female genitalia is already associated in the world of meaning peculiar to riddles. Thus, riddles alone, through the associations created with the fruit element, can explain the concept of sexual symbolism without the need for comparison with any other public creation.

RIDDLES CONTAINING AGGRESSION

Aggression arises from the death instinct inherent in human nature, according to Freud. As with biological structures, psychic powers also tend to return to the oldest, primary form. All living things made up of inanimate matter die due to internal causes and turn back into inanimate matter. Thus, the main purpose of life is death; that is, living beings live to die (Freud 2011: 45–46). But the death instinct is in conflict with the life instinct. Although the psychic structure of the creature tends to die, its life instinct, on the contrary, keeps the organism alive. Thus, the death instinct directs its destructive effect towards different objects other than the organism itself, and it manifests itself as agression, targeting

other living things in the outside world. Trying to prevent aggression, which is an unavoidable impulse, is like clogging the mouth of a boiler that contains steam and whose steam temperature is constantly increasing. The most effective method of aggression is to direct this impulse and transfer it to another convenient object (Yavuzer 2013: 46). In this respect, human beings are not a kind and loving species that defends itself only when attacked. It strongly nurtures aggression as part of its instinctive trait. In other words, for the individual who is forced to establish social relationships by civilization, other people are not only helpful and sexual objects, but also creatures to satisfy the need for aggression, to exploit and to be made to suffer. Therefore, the perception and discourse that other people should also be loved is against human nature (Freud 2020b [1929]: 54–55). In this context, riddles containing the impulse of aggression can be examined under three headings.

Riddles of sarcasm aiming to embarrass

Riddles created with sexual images aim also to embarrass the person asked, and in this respect, they can serve for the impulses of aggression and hatred. This is because the purpose of such expressions in the structure of the riddle is to sexually humiliate the person being asked, rather than implying sexuality. The sexual images are constructed in such a way that the question premise of the riddle seems to point to only one concept. This is because depictions of the images contain obscene concepts and objects in the finest detail, including perfectly all the features that most people shun from using directly due to being shy. Thus, the person answering the riddle is left with no choice but to make a guess about sexuality. But, as stated before, the answer to the riddle is rather decent and has nothing to do with the obscene guess put forward. The deliberately guided false prediction will create a moral layer between the person answering the riddle and the person asking it, and even for the other individuals in the environment, for the individual who gives obscene answers to the riddle will assume an identity that is immoral in the eyes of others, with a mind full of sexuality and rudeness, and this will humiliate him or her. In this respect, one of the purposes of riddles that are created with sexual images but whose answers are not obscene is to embarrass and humiliate other people. In other words, such riddles are a folkloric manifestation of the individual's striving for superiority over other people.

According to Koestler (1997: 54–55), one way to discharge the innate impulse of aggression is to make fun of other people. While there are many ways to relieve softened aggression, laughter is a physiological response. As the human brain

developed during the evolutionary process, the individual began to express the inherent aggressive impulse in different ways compared to other living things. The impulse is manifested in the form of mockery and laughter. In other words, the main reason for individuals to mock and laugh is to harm other people. Therefore, it is not wrong to say that the same purpose is pursued in riddles that aim to make others come up with obscene predictions by distorting the image. For when the person who replies with a nasty concept for the answer, they will be punished by being condemned and ridiculed by other individuals who witness it. In other words, the individual will be psychologically damaged by being exposed to laughter, which is a manifestation of the aggressive drive in human nature.

Some of these riddles are examples of the kind that boys ask to the girls. Especially young boys and girls of school age plan to give an obscene answer by posing these riddles to each other. An obscene answer to these questions, in which the sexual element can be described in all its aspects without mentioning its name, will cause humiliation and ridicule of the respondent. As a matter of fact, foreplay and oral sex are described in the following riddle which is asked to the girls: "*Bacaklarını gereyim, arasına gireyim, şapur şupur edeyim – elek*" (Let me stretch your legs, get in between them, smack them – sieve) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 271). The sieve, which is the answer to the riddle, has two long sticks resembling a human leg, and by swinging it from side to side, the grains are separated from stones, grass, etc. It is a tool for cleaning foreign objects (see Fig. 5). In the riddle, the opening of the sticks is compared to the opening of the legs of the woman and the sound during the shaking of the sieve is likened to the licking sound that occurs in oral sex. In this context, the depiction of love-making is expected to mislead the responding girl, make her give an obscene answer, and cause men to make fun of her.

Figure 5. *Sieve. Source: https://www.hepsiburada.com/dk-kalbur-elek-no-10-pm-HB000003LG40.*

It is known that most men have the habit of humiliating the opposite sex through riddles (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 2001: 82). However, it is not only men who use the

genre to embarrass and ridicule the opposite sex, thanks to its camouflaging feature. Girls can lure boys into the same trap in a similar way. For example, in the riddle "*Fatih Sultan Mehmet'in iki bacağı arasındaki kıllı şey nedir? – at*" (What is the hairy thing between the two legs of Fatih Sultan Mehmet? – horse) (Riddles n.d.), the girls have established a similarity between the horse and the penis. This is because when the horse is ridden, it stays between the two legs of a human just like the penis. Men who hear the premise of the question will first think of the penis. But when the real answer comes out, the boys will be humiliated and ridiculed by the girls as it is not the answer to the riddle.

In Turkish folklore, there are also riddles that men ask each other, and the purpose of these riddles is to embarrass and humiliate the addressee. These riddles, which also cause the emergence of humor, bear the traces of both aggression and sarcasm. As a matter of fact, the riddle "*Beyaz kızı parmakladım – yoğurt*" (I fingered the white girl – yogurt) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 652) is quite common among men. As it is known, yogurt is white and tasted with fingers after fermentation. The act of sticking a finger into yogurt has been likened to the fantasy of using fingers during sex in the riddle. The person asked will also think about this fantasy and come up with the response, "Who is the white girl?" This answer will be enough for the owner of the riddle and other men in the environment to laugh and make fun of the person who answered it, as the answerer will think of a girl being fingered, not yogurt.

Some riddles that are asked among men and whose purpose is to embarrass are for younger children who are to recognize sexuality yet. The askers of such riddles, which are asked to children who do not yet have the ability to think abstractly and who do not know the terms related to sexuality, are usually young men who have completed their adolescence. In these riddles that adults ask young children, the humiliation occurs not because the riddle is answered incorrectly, but because it cannot be answered. This is because when the younger child hears an obscene riddle, their inability to make sense of it and their confusion will cause older boys to feel superior, for they are not little children anymore; they know very well about sexuality, sex, and the female body. For example, in the riddle "*Ananınki yapışık, babanınki dört parmak – kadın ve erkeğin namaza duruş şekli*" (That of the mother is attached, the father's is four fingers – the way men and women stand during prayer) (Kaya 1999: 511), an allusion is made to the male and female organs. But this picture is quite complex. In Islam, women's fingers should touch each other while worshiping. Men, on the other hand, should keep four fingers apart. This has led to the identification of the positions of the fingers of men and women during worship with the genitals. Both the fact that the riddle is constructed with a complex description and the child's inability to recognize the genitals make it almost

impossible to answer the riddle. The helpless and meaningless gaze of the little boy creates an opportunity for young men to make fun of him.

Considering the implicative feature of the riddle type and looking at the examples above, it is noteworthy that the premises were constructed by depicting both the object in the answer, and the male and female sexual organs. However, obscuring the image in the text of the question, and even directing it to the obscene organs causes the answerer to make the wrong guess and to be embarrassed as stated earlier. Falling into this situation results in being exposed to shame and mockery by other people, which serves as a powerful social sanction.

Riddles with swear words and insults

The most common verbal form of aggression is swearing. Swearing as a form of verbal violence against the honor or dignity of a person has emerged with the transformation of the physiological aggression drive into a verbal action in the human species. In other words, unlike other living things, human beings try to respond to this instinctual need by inflicting psychological damage on their addressee by transferring their destructive urges to linguistic forms. But the social superego has also curbed verbal insult in parallel with the development of civilization. As a result, verbal insults, which replaced physical violence, were suppressed by the mechanism of social censorship. It is inevitable that this suppression will reflect on folkloric products. Thus, swearing has become a phenomenon that is suppressed in daily life and manifested in riddles, but has turned into an artistic expression of the aggressive drive existing in the subconscious of the individual. In other words, riddles enable the individual to engage in destructive activities towards the honor and dignity of other people.

The riddle is a genre formed by the feeling of superiority in itself. In environments where the tradition of asking riddles is practiced and is perceived not only as a means of entertainment but also as an important and serious issue, albeit softly, the anxiety of superiority becomes more evident. With the comfort of asking questions and the tension of having to guess the correct answer, individuals try to win a war against each other. According to Boratav (2000 [1969]: 113–114), this struggle for superiority in riddles was felt more strictly in the old times. The riddles that emerged with the replacement of bloody wars by word and knowledge competitions enabled societies to defeat each other without using weapons. Today, in the environments where the tradition of asking riddles is practiced, the donation is expected by the person who cannot give the correct answer, even if symbolically, or the virtual sale of their body in parts

bears the traces of this practice.[2] The riddles that the flagbearers[3] asked each other at the weddings and the enigmas of the bards[4] still preserve the primitive functions of this genre (Başgöz 1986: 248–249). In addition, the effectiveness of the aggressive impulse is clearly seen in some riddles containing insults, humiliation, and swearing. Thanks to the riddles in question, the individual is able to convey their inherent feelings of aggression and hatred to someone else in a literary manner and thus, while satisfying their primitive impulses stored in their id, they avoid the sanctions of their superego.

In the riddles with insults and swears, the clue in the premise of the question is deliberately chosen from obscure, complex or meaningless words. This is because the answerer must be misled so that the aggressive instincts of the asker of the riddle can be satisfied. For example, in the riddle "*Çıt pıt, bunu bilmeyen it – kibrit*" (Hit click, you are the dog if you can't answer it – matchstick) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 420), the word "click" defines the sound that comes out when a match is lit. But it is impossible to guess. As a matter of fact, the word click can be used for many other situations, as it does not fully correspond to the sound in question. The person asking the riddle is aware of this uncertainty, and it leads the addressee to the wrong answer. This is because if the person being asked gives the wrong answer, the asker will be able to insult them.[5] A similar situation is also present in the riddle "*Bir bacada lak lak, bunu bilmeyen ahmak – leylek*" (Lak Lak on the chimney, idiots to fail to answer – stork) (Kaya 1999: 508). However, this riddle is more meaningful than the previous one, and its answer is more predictable. The interjection "*lak lak*" was preferred because it resembles the sound of storks. The biggest clue in the riddle is the chimney, for the storks mostly nest on the chimneys of buildings. Those who cannot answer the riddle correctly despite all these clues are described as idiots. Thus, the insulting desire of the person asking the riddle originating from the aggressive impulse is realized.

In many societies, the most destructive abusing words are those that target sacred values. These values may consist of religious and national elements as well as elements deemed sacred by the individual. Among individuals who belong to the same nation and who mostly believe in the same religion, swearing is undoubtedly a matter of conflict between individuals. In this context, riddles are expected to contain destructive words against personal sanctity when used as a tool of blaspheme by members of the same ethnic group and religion. As a matter of fact, this situation can be mentioned in the ensuing riddles. For example, in the riddle "*Bir kara hindi, anana bindi – çarşaf*" (A black turkey got on your mother – burqa) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 207), the black burqa was worn by women to cover their backs in the old Turkish society and it was used as a tool of insult by being likened to a turkey. This is because the word "get

on" in Turkish is also used in the sense of a man having sex with a woman. Therefore, the person asking the riddle replaces the female figure with the mother of the addressee and can satisfy the aggressive impulse whether the answer is correct or not. Therefore, it does not matter whether the answer is guessed incorrectly or correctly in riddles constructed with sexual images of the mother. The asker of the riddle fulfills the purpose in the premise of the riddle and is able to verbally decipher the destructive instincts towards the addressee.

In Turkish, it is quite common for many verbs to allude to sexual acts or to be used in a sexually suggestive way. Even though it has nothing to do with sexuality, any verb can refer to something completely obscene depending on its use in the sentence. For example, although the expression "to hand over" means "to put something in someone else's hand", when used alone it corresponds to a great insult, meaning "to hold the penis". For example, in the riddle of "*Bizim eve gel de eline vereyim – ekmek*" (Come to our house and I will hand it over to you – bread) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 268), the premise is designed as offering bread to the guest who comes to the house, but actually carries a sexual overtone and aims to insult the addressee. Another riddle that is constructed based on this semantic feature of Turkish verbs and carries the purpose of insult is as follows: "*Gelme evime, korum dibine – iskemle*" (Don't come to my house, lest I will place it in your deep – chair) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 557). The verb "place" in the Turkish language is also considered a sexual insult and is used to mean "to insert as in sex". The word "dip (deep)" is used in the sense of the human defecation organ. Thus, although it is constructed in the sense of "giving a chair to the guest to sit", this riddle contains an insult focused on sexual action and serves the aggressive impulses of the person asking. A similar method is also found in the following riddle: "*Ağrıtmadan, acıtmadan ananın eline kıpkırmızı giren nedir? – kına*" (What is it that goes into your mother's hand red without pain or hurt? – henna) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 414). Henna is a functional substance in Turkish society. On special or ordinary days, women want to look beautiful by applying this red-colored substance to their hands (see Fig. 6). In the riddle, henna is associated with the penis because of its color. This is because the penis also takes on a reddish color upon erection. Henna is also a substance found on women's hands, and its likeness to a penis has the effect of being identified with a fantasy that occurs during sex. This fantasy is for the penis to orgasm with the woman's hands. But in the riddle, the mother of the interlocutor is targeted, and the reason for this must be sought in the subconscious of the person asking. The asker of the riddle, who expresses his harmful words towards his interlocutor in an aesthetic form, that is, with the mask of a riddle, has satisfied his motivation regardless of the answer to it.

Figure 6. *Henna. Source: https://pratikyontemler.com/kina-lekesi-nasil-cikar/.*

The mother is sacred to all in the Turkish culture, and swearing at one's mother is equivalent to the greatest psychological destruction that can be done to that person. In other words, the highest point that the aggression and destructive desire in the individual's instincts can reach in the verbal context is through the cursing at the "sacred" mother figure. When the riddles above are approached from a psychoanalytic perspective, it is seen that the words and associations preferred for the description of the image in the answer are created to remind one of sexual intercourse. That is because, as Freud (2014 [1901]: 84–86) also states, the associations that a person unconsciously makes or the things they say reveal a wide range of thought content that they have made a great effort to conceal, the content that even they themselves are not aware of. Implying things that are forbidden and reflecting the subconscious, the only purpose of these words is to refer to what is shameful through a seemingly innocent medium. In this context, blasphemous depictions of the mothers in riddles, which are the sociocultural equivalents of the slips and jokes that we encounter in daily life, could well be considered as the reflection of the social subconscious. Although the riddles in question were created by making sexual implications, the way they are perceived by the addressee is insulting and cursing, as a result of the fact that Turkish verbs also benefit from the meaning of insulting with a hint of sexuality. In other words, riddles implying having sex with a person's mother mean a severe insult rather than sexuality in the collective perception of Turkish society. Therefore, the riddles with this feature were evaluated among examples of aggression and insults in the study.

Riddles of aggression containing death wish

Aggression is a manifestation of the death instinct inherent in human nature. Suppressing the destructive impulse towards its own body, a human being's psyche directs it towards another target. Therefore, death is a natural phenomenon that can be willed for even the closest relations or friends. While the human subconscious cannot even imagine its own death, it can easily accept the death of another. The reason for this is that the death of other people is insignificant to the individual, even a demanded situation. Even at the roots of the sincerest love, there is a desire for death. This is because nature has placed the feeling of hate right after the feeling of love in order to keep the latter alive and awake (Freud 2019b [1915]: 51–57). However, the expression of words and behaviors that are reflective of the desire for other people's death is prohibited by various social norms. In this case, riddles step in and it becomes possible to express the desire to kill and the hatred felt since the primitives, albeit censored.

For example, "*Erguvan yaprağı, hazret toprağı; ya bunu bileceksin ya bu gece öleceksin – kına*" (The Judas tree leaf, the earth of the Hadrat; either you will know this or you will die tonight – henna) (Kaya 1999: 508) contains the expression that death will occur if the correct answer is not given. Henna is an ornamental material that is accepted as a religious element in Turkish society and believed to be the earth of paradise. As a matter of fact, this religious sanctity is implied by the word "hadrat" (close to excellency in meaning but used usually to address the prophets, caliphs, and other religious leaders) in the riddle. Therefore, according to the logic of the riddle, not being able to guess the holy henna figure correctly, no matter how complex it is, is a great crime and the penalty for this crime is death. A similar situation exists in the riddle "*Minare minare, minarenin üstünde bir ocak, bunu bilmeyen bu sene ölecek – bulut*" (Minaret, minaret, there is a hearth on the minaret, whoever does not know this will die this year – cloud) (Başgöz & Tietze 1999: 181). Although the answer to this riddle is not sacred or religious, the premise of the riddle contains elements of belief. The minaret, which is the highest part of the mosques, is a religious element and is associated with the cloud as it is close to the sky. The sanction of not correctly predicting the cloud, which is associated with a religious and holy building, is death. As can be seen, in both riddles the urge to kill has been tried to be expressed through religious elements that the society considers sacred, in order to establish a logical and sound reason.

The desire to kill, directed at the respondent, is perceived through the implied image/answer association in the riddles. However, as can be seen in the examples, it is almost impossible to solve this association, that is, to guess the answer to the riddle correctly. The descriptive words that form the first part of

the question premise are so mysteriously established that they virtually set the stage for the realization of the conditional action expressed in the second part. This action, on the other hand, is aimed at the death of the person answering the riddle and is deliberately constructed by the person asking. In other words, the main reason underlying the questioner to create the puzzle in a complex and unpredictable way is to make the responder face death, albeit symbolically, by making them fail to give the correct answer. This undoubtedly satisfies the urge to kill to some extent.

CONCLUSION

Various aspects of human psychology were instrumental in the emergence of the riddle. Its potential to maintain the mystery and a point of angle that sees objects and events through different glasses, along with having sexual and aggressive drives in its essence, are the main factors that play a role in the emergence of this genre. As a reflection of the life and death instincts inherent in human nature, these drives are particularly prominent in riddles that contain obscene associations and threatening words and express insults and blasphemy. Sexuality, which constantly occupies the human mind, can freely navigate between the lines with the method known as image deflection or False Gestalt. In this way, sexual fantasy and perversions can be expressed in detail in riddles and new additions can be made to this vast world of imagination. In short, riddles are a manifestation of the human pursuit of sexual pleasure. The riddles are also proof and verification of the phenomenon of sexual symbolism, one of the basic assumptions of psychoanalysis. Although sexual symbolism has been criticized since the time it was put forward, the cultural products of the societies confirm the claims of psychoanalysts, as can be seen in the riddles questioned.

One of the functions that riddles have is to serve the aggressive drive. An individual who has the impulse of aggression drive along with sexuality can have superiority over other people thanks to this genre as they satisfy their destructive urges by humiliating and embarrassing them. They can even mock the answerer and laugh at the wrong answers to the riddle, making the destructive effect of laughter a servant to their own instincts. A person who camouflages the desire to perform harmful actions that they cannot perform in daily life can, by the aesthetic feature of riddles, insult and swear at other people. In other words, they satisfy the need for aggression. In addition, riddles that contain statements that the respondent will die if the correct answer is not given bear the traces of the desire to kill, which is inherent in human nature. In short,

primitive impulses known as sexuality and aggression open to the outside world by finding an open door in the human mind through the riddle-asking activity. Thus, the individual satisfies the wild desires without being blocked by both mental and social censorship mechanisms.

Although Turkish riddles have been examined as samples, the findings and interpretations made in this article bear a universal character. That is because sexuality and aggression are one of the common psychic traits of all humanity, regardless of nationality. However, riddles containing obscenity, threats, and curses are among the folkloric elements present in the oral tradition of all societies. Thus, it would not be wrong to say that humanity has the opportunity to express the drive for sexuality and aggression stemming from its instincts in different languages, but in similar ways. Thus, the Freudian reading of the Turkish folk riddles can be seen as a verification of the view that the human spirit is the same everywhere and shows a similar course of development, especially if it can be supported by other similar researches on the folkloric products of other cultures.

NOTES

[1] As can be seen in these riddles and the examples to follow, the premises provided in the riddles explicitly signify something sexual or indecent and they obliterate the real or decent answer almost totally in many cases. In other words, when the person who was asked learns the real answer, they find themselves in a state of total deception so much so that they cannot associate what is provided in the premises with the actual answers in most cases, even after learning the answer.

[2] In environments where the Turkish riddle tradition is practiced, a person who cannot guess the riddle correctly is asked to donate something in jest. The winner of the riddle competition asks a question like "What are you giving us?" On the other hand, the loser answers like "giving away the key to Heaven, Kaaba, half of Istanbul". In addition, the organs of the defeated person can be put up for sale symbolically (see Kaya 1999: 466–467).

[3] At Turkish weddings, Flagbearer is a person who represents the family to which he belongs, holding the Turkish flag and having a large archive of riddles. Flagbearer riddles are performed at weddings in a ceremony called "meeting the bride". In this ceremony, the family of the groom goes to the bride's house with a large crowd, with their flagbearer in the front. The flagbearer of the groom's group competes with the flagbearer of the bride's side. At the end of the contest, whichever party is defeated will deliver the flag to the other, and the defeated family has to do what the other family says during the wedding (see Başgöz 1986: 248–249).

[4] The tradition of minstrelsy is the artistic and literary activities of the folk in Turkish geography since the archaic times. A bard is a poet who belongs to this tradition and who comes out of common folks and sings poems according to the literary taste of the people and tells stories. In the Turkish minstrelsy tradition, the conundrums he asks have an important role in determining the power and poetry of the bard. Customarily,

a bard forms an enigmatic lyric on various subjects, especially religion. Other bards, trusting their skills to compete against his poetry, try to solve this enigma and create another lyric containing answers. The bard who solves the answer is given various gifts and the bard who is the owner of the riddle is considered defeated (see Artun 2018 [2005]: 98–99).

[5] The word 'it' used for a dog or kopek in Turkish is a synonymous one and it is usually pronounced when humiliating someone.

REFERENCES

Abraham, Karl 2017. *Rüyalar ve Mitler.* [Dreams and Myths.] Transl. by Emine Nur Gökçe. Istanbul: Pinhan Publishing.

Abrahams, Roger D. & Dundes, Alan 2009. Bilmeceler. [Riddles.] Transl. by Ezgi Metin Basat. In: M. Öcal Oğuz & Selcan Gürçayır & Sunay Çalış (eds.) *Halkbiliminde Kuramlar ve Yaklaşımlar 3* [Theories and Approaches in Folklore 3]. Ankara: Geleneksel Publishing, pp. 299–312.

Artun, Erman 2018 [2005]. Âşıklık *Geleneği ve* Âşık *Edebiyatı – Edebiyat Tarihi / Metinler.* [Bard Tradition and Bard Literature – History of Literature / Texts.] 10th ed. Adana: Karahan Press.

Banarlı, Nihad Sami 1956. Halk Bilmecesinde Rü'ya ve Ötesi. [The Dream and Beyond in the Folk Riddles.] *Türk Folklor Araştırmaları* [Turkish Folklore Studies], Vol. 4, No. 81, pp. 2281–2282.

Başgöz, İlhan 1986. Bilmecelerin Toplumla İlgisi. [The Relevance of Riddles to Society.] In: *Folklor Yazıları* [Folklore Articles]. Istanbul: Adam Publishing, pp. 248–251.

Başgöz, İlhan & Tietze, Andreas 1999. *Türk Halkının Bilmeceleri.* [Riddles of the Turkish People.] 2nd ed. Ankara: Ministry of Culture Publications.

Bekki, Salahaddin 2013. Bilmeceler, Tabu ve Gizli Diller Üzerine. [On Riddles, Taboo and Hidden Languages.] In: Mücahit Akkuş & Fatih Dinçer (comps.) *Muzaffer Akkuş Armağanı* [In Honour of Muzaffer Akkuş]. Konya: Kömen Publishing, pp. 337–347. Avaible at turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/pdf/salahaddin_bekki_bilmeceler_tabu_gizli_diller.pdf, last accessed on 6 January 2023.

Bolding, Jacky 1992. *The Sexual Riddles of the Exeter Book.* Diss. (MA Thesis). Simon Fraser University. Avaible at core.ac.uk/download/pdf/56367976.pdf, last accessed on 6 January 2023.

Boratav, Pertev Naili 2000 [1969]. *100 Soruda Türk Halk Edebiyatı.* [Turkish Folk Literature in 100 Questions.] 10th ed. Istanbul: Gerçek Publishing.

Brunvand, Jan Harold 2009. Bilmeceler ve Diğer Sözlü Bulmacalar. [Riddles and Other Oral Puzzles.] Transl. by Kadriye Türkan. In: M. Öcal Oğuz & Selcan Gürçayır & Sunay Çalış (eds.) *Halkbiliminde Kuramlar ve Yaklaşımlar 3* [Theories and Approaches in Folklore 3]. Ankara: Geleneksel Publishing, pp. 290–298.

Freud, Sigmund 2011. *Haz İlkesinin Ötesinde.* [Beyond the Pleasure Principle.] Transl. by Emir Aktan. Ankara: Alter Publication.

Freud, Sigmund 2014 [1901]. *Günlük Hayatın Psikopatolojisi.* [Psychopathology of Everyday Life.] 16th ed. Transl. by Lütfi Yarbaş. İzmir: İlya İzmir Publishing.

Freud, Sigmund 2016 [1917]. *Ruhçözümlemesine Giriş Konferansları.* [Conferences on the Introduction to Psychoanalysis.] 2nd ed. Transl. by Emre Kapkın & Ayşen Tekşen. Istanbul: Payel Publishing.

Freud, Sigmund 2019a [1905]. *Cinsellik* Üzerine. [On Sexuality.] 21st ed. Transl. by A. Avni. Front, Istanbul: Say Publishing.

Freud, Sigmund 2019b [1915]. *Savaş ve Ölüm Üzerine Düşünceler.* [Reflections on War and Death.] 2nd ed. Transl. by Elif Yıldırım. Istanbul: Oda Publishing.

Freud, Sigmund 2020a [1923]. *Ego ve İd.* [The Ego and the Id.] 2nd ed. Transl. by Selin Ceyhan Gülsay. Istanbul: Oda Publishing.

Freud, Sigmund 2020b [1929]. *Uygarlığın Huzursuzluğu.* [The Civilization and Its Discontents.] 5th ed. Transl. by Can İdemen. İzmir: Cem Publishing.

Fromm, Erich 2017 [1951]. *Rüyalar, Masallar, Mitler: Sembol Dilinin Çözümlenmesi.* [The Forgotten Language: An Introduction to the Understanding of Dreams, Fairy Tales, and Myths.] 3rd ed. Transl. by Aydın Arıtan & Kaan H. Ökten. İstanbul: Say Publishing.

Fromm, Erich 2019 [1980]. *Freud Düşüncesinin Büyüklüğü ve Sınırları: Freud'un Çalışmalarına Modern Bir Bakış.* [The Magnitude and Limits of Freud's Thought.] 2nd ed. Transl. by Aydın Arıtan. Istanbul: Say Publishing.

Green, Thomas A. & Pepicello, William J. 1979. The Folk Riddle: A Redefinition of Terms. *Western Folklore*, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp. 3–20. https://doi.org/10.2307/1498981.

Güney, Eflatun Cem 1971. *Folklor ve Halk Edebiyatı.* [Folklore and Folk Literature.] Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Press.

Havryliuk, Iryna 2019. Obscene Riddles: Mechanisms of Ambiguity. *Zapiski z romano-germans'koï filologìï* [Writings in Romance-Germanic Philology], Vol. 1, No. 42, pp. 131–144. https://doi.org/10.18524/2307-4604.2019.1(42).168882.

İçel, Hatice 2005. *Batı Türklerinin Dörtlüklerden Kurulu Bilmeceleri* Üzerine *Bir Araştırma I. Cilt.* [A Research on the Quartet Riddles of the Western Turks.] Vol. I. Diss. (PhD Thesis). Selcuk University. Available at http://acikerisimarsiv.selcuk.edu.tr:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/8314/190116.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, last accessed on 6 January 2023.

Kaivola-Bregenhøj, Annikki 2001. *Riddles – The Perspective on the Use, Function and Change in a Folklore Genre.* Helsinki: SKS. https://doi.org/10.21435/sff.10.

Kaivola-Bregenhøj, Annikki 2017. Riddles and Humor. *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Vol. 69, pp. 195–210. http://dx.doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2017.69.kaivola_bregenhoj.

Karabaş, Seyfi 1981. *Bütüncül Türk Budunbilimine Doğru.* [Towards Holistic Turkish Nationlore.] Ankara: Pan Print.

Karademir, Fevzi 2007. *Türk Halk Bilmecelerinin Yapı, Dil ve Üslup Özellikleri.* [Structure, Language and Style Features of Turkish Folk Riddles.] Diss. (PhD Thesis). Dicle University. Available at https://acikerisim.dicle.edu.tr/xmlui/handle/11468/5628, last accessed on 6 January 2023.

Kaya, Doğan 1999. *Anonim Halk Şiiri.* [Anonymous Folk Poetry.] Ankara: Akçağ Publications.

Koestler, Arthur 1997. *Mizah Yaratma Eylemi.* [The Logic of Laughter / Act of Creation.] Transl. by Sevinç Kabakçıoğlu & Özcan Kabakçıoğlu. Istanbul: İris Publishing.

Riddles n.d. = *Cevabı Ayıp Bir Şey Sanılan Bilmeceler*. [Riddles to Direct Us to a Shameful Answer.] Avaible at eksisozluk.com/cevabi-ayip-bir-sey-sanilan-bilmeceler--193787?p=2, last accessed on 4 January 2023.

Şaul, Mahir 1974. Dünya Bilmece Araştırmaları. [World Riddle Studies.] *Folklora Doğru* [Towards Folklore], Vol. 37, pp. 80–86. Avaible at turkoloji.cu.edu.tr/HALKBILIM/mahir_saul_dunyada_bilmece_arastirmalari.pdf, last accessed on 6 January 2023.

Tezel, Naki 1969. *Türk Halk Bilmeceleri.* [Turkish Folk Riddles.] Ankara: National Folklore Institute Publishing.

Yavuzer, Nurgül 2013. İnsanın Saldırgan ve Yıkıcı Doğasını Anlamak. [Understanding the Aggressive and Destructive Nature of Human.] *İstanbul Ticaret Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimleri Dergisi* [Istanbul Commerce University Journal of Social Sciences], Vol. 23, pp. 43–57. Avaible at ticaret.edu.tr/uploads/yayin/sosyal23/3_43_57_Sosyal_23.pdf, last accessed on 6 January 2023.

İsmail Abalı is Assistant Professor (PhD) at the Department of Turkish Folklore, Iğdır University, Turkey. His fields of interest are folklore, oral culture, mythology, gallows humor, psychoanalysis, psychology and cinema.

the_hoca0986@hotmail.com.tr

https://doi.org/10.7592/FEJF2023.88.zhao_zhao

POLITICAL MEANINGS HIDDEN BEHIND ENCHANTING MELODIES: HOW CHINA DELIVERED IDEOLOGICAL MESSAGES IN THE SONG CYCLE "FOUR SEASONS OF OUR MOTHERLAND"

Jun Zhao
Visiting Professor, Doctor
Music Department
Zhengzhou Preschool Education College, China
eestijun@gmail.com

Marianne Zhao
Visiting Professor
Music Department
Zhengzhou Preschool Education College, China
zhaomariannezhao@gmail.com

Abstract: Music draws influence from its surroundings and thus, with its political and social setting, becomes a part of the dynamic relationship. The aim of this article is to investigate and introduce this particular feature in the context of Chinese culture and explain, with the help of Zheng Qiufeng's song cycle "Four Seasons of Our Motherland", how politics play a part next to folk music elements, enchanting melodies, and patriotic lyrics. The song cycle in question was chosen as an example of how politics can be subtly included in the musical plot. It is one of the very few Chinese song cycles, the most well-known one, and made unique by the inclusion of minority characteristics from different Chinese regions together with its distinctive ideological mission.

Keywords: Chinese songs, communist party, folk music, minorities, politics, Zheng Qiufeng

INTRODUCTION

Music draws direct influence from its surroundings and thus interacts with the political and social settings. Today, the complex nature of this tendency is becoming clearer, as current literature increasingly focuses on the effects of

China's soft power, nation-building, and values education in Chinese music. Sociologists have raised questions on how music should be examined in relation to its social context to illuminate its ideological role. Therefore, music also becomes a means to investigate and reveal the dynamics and tensions at the core of political power (Ho 2018). This paper seeks to investigate this particular feature in Chinese culture and explain, with the help of Zheng Qiufeng's song cycle "Four Seasons of Our Motherland" (hereafter "Four Seasons"), how politics play a part next to folk music elements, enchanting melodies, and patriotic lyrics.

Folk music is a tool China often reaches for when wanting to represent the music of the people to express the abundance of traditions and happy life across the country. At the international level as well, folk music has the potential to draw attention to borders and, beyond them, to the identity politics of linguistic and cultural minorities (Bohlman 2004: 133). The third song of the song cycle, "Autumn – Pamir, How Beautiful My Hometown", for example, has been influenced by the minority music of Xinjiang, a geographical location that has since become the source of many tensions in China and a sensitive political subject with the rest of the world. As long as 40 years ago, this border area was under particular observation to keep the most remote parts of the country as peaceful as the rest. China took this opportunity with the "Four Seasons" to display unity and peaceful coexistence of all the ethnic groups, especially at the event of the premiere – the anniversary of the country.

The "Four Seasons" was chosen as the subject of this analysis because it is one of the few well-known Chinese song cycles while also focusing on the inclusion of minority characteristics from different regions of China. This was done to show that China is a vast country with a strong sense of unity, and to display a meaningful place for the arts of ethnic minorities within a Han-based national cultural identity (Kraus 2004: 229). These ethnic characteristics include the use of particular musical scales, a special vocalised *ya diao*, distinctive harmonic devices, and unique rhythmic patterns. In addition to the folk music elements, the song cycle also has a strong connection to distinctive political meanings; however, this is only briefly alluded to in prior research (Yang & Zheng & Zhao 2009: 34; Zhu 2010: 2). Zheng Qiufeng had a longstanding connection to the Chinese military and to the Guangzhou Military Soldiers Ensemble; he is also a member of the ruling Communist Party of China (CPC). This article points out how politics were subtly included in the musical plot and how the music influences the listener behind the scenes, trying to lure with appeal and attraction. Scholars from mainland China try to avoid the mention of politics when dealing with musical matters because China has established a certain approach to how to portray controversial historical events. Any material that might harm national unity, damage the reputation of the state, or provoke social unrest is

strictly prohibited. Authors would rather not complicate the publication process of their books and articles with possible censorship holdups. In addition, matters regarding the military are confidential and not disclosed to the general public, which makes research in this field even more scarce. These are the reasons for no research being carried out on the political associations of the song cycle in question. The most reliable accounts of the political matters relating to "Four Seasons" come directly from the composer and lyricist; other mainland authors merely repeat their words.

This research first started as a creative process of preparing the song cycle for performance with a non-native soprano, then became a doctoral research project, and has now evolved into a deeper cultural and political analysis of its meaning among Chinese vocal art music. Thus, the methodology of this study is based on the systematic analysis of musical features to determine the source of their origin and their political significance, and on the investigation of the interviews and historical facts relating to the creation of the song cycle. In addition, the article relies on conclusions drawn during years of work in the music departments of Chinese universities, the benefit of having a Chinese background and consulting other recent research on similar topics.

ART SONGS AND THE INFLUENCE OF POLITICS

As a true portrayal of China's construction and reform process, Chinese art songs are the crystallised wisdom of Chinese vocal traditions and art in modern times. In the development process of a century, they have come to play a significant and unique role in promoting the expansion of Chinese culture and international influence. This relatively new genre, Chinese vocal art music, combines traditional Chinese songs with the canons of European art songs. Chinese art songs just celebrated the genre's hundredth anniversary in 2020.[1] Western music spread to the rest of the world after the revolution of capitalism and industrialism in Europe, which reached as far as China. The influence of Western music was most strongly felt after the start of the twentieth century; its aesthetic attractions were enforced even further by the West's political and economic domination of the world during that century (Kraus 1989). Therefore, Chinese music was "reformed" with the help of Western examples as a part of a quest for modernity and a superior outcome (Yang 2017: 9). With the passing of time, Western harmonies and forms have found a permanent place in combination with Chinese traditions. There are numerous treasures among Chinese art songs that would grace concert stages with beauty and diversity.

Over recent decades, China has proven itself a strong global economic and political power, a true force to be considered. The politics and social policies that China implements find fierce supporters and relentless opponents; music, on the other hand, can be approached with less caution and brave curiosity. Although the state has been attentively monitoring developments in music and art since the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, it also often acts as the patron. One does not necessarily need to think that this devalues the outcome of the creation. Were the renaissance artists held back by their patronage? Is the Colosseum not magnificent despite being built under the rule of emperors? Indeed, recent studies have pointed out that Western bias toward China may result from a lack of understanding of Chinese culture (Kraus 2004; Lai 2012; Yueh 2013).

There were many benefits to commissioning a song cycle to celebrate the anniversary of the country: reinforcing the borders of China by claiming them in song and therefore in history, instilling patriotic emotions, mobilising the residents through musical ideas, bringing ethnic minority areas to attention, and emphasising the solidarity and unity of the whole country. So, "Four Seasons" can also be categorised as nationalist music which serves a nation-state in its competition with other nation-states as described by American ethnomusicologist and author Philip V. Bohlman (2004: 117–120).

Another function of the piece in question would have been to alleviate conflicting memories of the restrictions during the Cultural Revolution of 1966 to 1976. For ten years, musicians had to follow strict rules about which works were appropriate, abide by the list of suggested repertoire and *yangbanxi*.[2] Consequently, we can hear the overwhelming joy of a new awakening and fresh appeal in the first and last songs, "Spring" and "Winter". The music created at the end of the 1970s took a firm step away from the old restrictions and acted as a great wave of reform and opening up; it turned a new page in the creation of music (Liu 2010: 483).

Although the Cultural Revolution ended more than 40 years ago, the influence of the state is very much a current topic that has not changed considerably since the composition of the "Four Seasons". Themes of nationalist songs continue to praise the goodness of the CPC, Chinese socialism, the People's Liberation Army, the masses, and the motherland (Ho 2018: 109). In 2021, the whole country unfolded into a big celebration for the 100th anniversary of the CPC, which also meant that throughout China many patriotic songs and songs supporting the party were sung all year round, from small village concerts to schools and universities, and ultimately in the main concert halls of capital cities. Some of the most popular of these songs are "Without the Communist Party, There Would Be No New China", "I Love You China", and "Sing a Song

for the Party".[3] Thus, the tradition of singing political art songs has remained strong since the establishment of the PRC in 1949.

THE CREATION PROCESS AND OVERVIEW OF "FOUR SEASONS"

China is a nation that proudly exhibits love of the motherland and its support to the government and the sole ruling party, the Communist Party of China. These are also the two biggest influences accompanying the creation of the "Four Seasons", which was commissioned by the Guangzhou Military Soldiers Ensemble[4] for the 30th anniversary of the PRC in 1979. Both the composer Zheng Qiufeng and lyricist Qu Cong (Fig. 1) were working for the ensemble at the time (Wang 2009). Together, they chose the topic of the four seasons and decided to travel to different regions of China to gather inspiration and folk songs, and learn about the musical traditions of the many Chinese minorities.[5] They visited Hainan Island in the very south of China to gather material for the spring, they chose Taiwan for the inspiration of summer, Xinjiang and the Tajikistan people for autumn, and China in general for the conclusion with winter.[6] The four songs of the cycle also bear witness to the development of China, combining politics, art, and different regions.

Figure 1. *Composer Zheng Qiufeng and lyricist Qu Cong in Guangzhou Military Soldiers Ensemble uniforms in 1984 (Shen 2019).*[7]

Figure 2. *Each song has a connection to a specific geographic location of China.*

The four songs form a union in chronological order of the seasons as well as concerning the order of key signatures. "Spring" starts the song cycle in jubilant F major, then changing to C major for "Summer"; afterward, a surprising C minor for the harvest celebrations of "Autumn", and finally, a modulation from C major to F major in sentimental "Winter". The general spirit and character of the songs also offers variety: "Summer" and "Autumn" are energetic and can be considered dances; "Spring" and "Winter" have a lyric nature.

While all four songs have connections to specific regions in China (see Fig. 2), "Winter" combines the previous three song topics and reflects on China as a whole. In every song of the cycle, an underlying political meaning can be found hidden in the lyrics. This idea of political connections has been mentioned in an interview with the lyricist Qu Cong (Zhu 2010: 11) and has also been alluded to in books about Chinese vocal music (Yang & Zheng & Zhao 2009: 34). The lyrics of "Spring" do not focus on a specific area, but the song features the folk music elements of Hainan province, such as a minor third in the melody while the key signature is F major, and the choice of Hainan as the source points to the significance of the power struggle of the South China Sea. "Summer" is

closely affected by the history between Taiwan and the mainland; the lyrics speak of a seagull that is flying home from Taiwan. "Autumn" is both in lyrics and musical matters closely connected with the Tajikistan minority in Xinjiang province; the song uses a minor key and a 7/8-time signature to give the sense of harvest celebrations. "Winter" is an ode to the whole of China and Beijing in particular; it commemorates the beauty and the hardships the Chinese people have experienced. The lyrics mention natural elements that connect vast areas of China: the Kunlun Mountains and the Yellow River.

Although the commission itself is a clear sign of the political undertones, the lyrics are poetic in nature and without overly apparent political propaganda that might otherwise diminish the artistic value of the song cycle. Instead, they speak about the beauty and diversity of the vast country and its many minorities.

"SPRING – THE SPRING OF THE MOTHERLAND"

Yi a! Yi a! Yi a! Yi a!

Spring is coming! Spring is coming!
The ice and snow are melting! The Earth has awakened!
Yi a, the Earth has awakened!

The peach blossoms are sprouting; the swallows returned.
"Ding dong, ding dong, ding dong," the mountain spring is singing;
"Ge ge, ge ge, ge ge," the cuckoo is singing.

A, spring is coming! A, spring is coming! A! A! A!

The awakening of spring, and of the spring smile,
Birds are singing, the flowers smile.
Red sunshine is reflected on the mountain and river;
The motherland's spring scenery is infinitely good!

Yi a! A! A!

The joyous melodies and animated lyrics of "Spring" imply that people are awaiting a fresh new beginning after the repression of the Cultural Revolution. The revolution was especially controlling over the arts, which meant all music had to be composed for the masses. During this period, there was a list of model works, including revolutionary songs and model operas. Ordinary people

together with intellectuals were expected to listen, watch, and draw inspiration from these performances (Liu 2010). The passion for a new life with freedom to live and create is expressed in the emotional message of "Spring" with a frequent appearance of exclamation marks which are used 17 times in "Spring".

Yet another reason why Hainan Island is of great importance to China is its geographical and geopolitical location; it is the southernmost province of the PRC. The climate varies between subtropical and tropical; springs are warm and comfortable, making it the ideal setting for the first song. From a different point of view, Hainan Island is the home to the People's Liberation Army Navy Hainan Submarine Base. It cannot be a coincidence that Zheng Qiufeng and Qu Cong, both members of the Guangzhou Military Soldiers Ensemble, chose this as a representative location and symbol of the south of China. In a recent interview about his other notable song, "I Love You China", which was also composed in 1979, Zheng Qiufeng clarified: "We must grasp the characteristics of the times. At the time, the background was the turmoil of the 1980s. Of course, it would be impossible to simply write a folk song."[8] The region of the South China Sea is of high importance for China and many of its neighbouring countries due to massive oil and natural gas reserves along with it being the second most used sea lane in the world (Turcsányi 2017).

The melodies of "Spring" are inspired by the folk tunes of Hainan province. There are three officially recognised ethnic groups living on Hainan Island: the Han majority, the Li minority, and the Miao minority (Yang 1990). Throughout the song, a wordless vocalisation appears as a *yi a* call; this musical method is often used by the Miao minority. There are specific tunes in Miao minority music called *yi a* melodies (*ya diao*), which use wordless vocalisation (see Fig. 3), which is also how the vocal part of "Spring" starts. Every musical interpretation begins with getting into the spirit of the piece; therefore, it is important to notice that the lyrics mainly emphasise two ideas: the arrival of spring and the praise of the motherland. The arrival of spring is described by the words: "The ice and snow are melting! The Earth has awakened! The peach blossoms are sprouting; the swallows returned." The praise of the motherland appears in the following lyrics: "Red sunshine is reflected on the mountain and river; the motherland's spring scenery is infinitely good!"

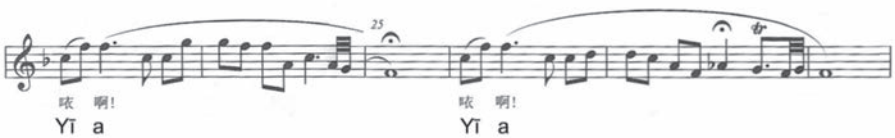


Figure 3. *Spring – The Spring of the Motherland, yi a melody in bars 23–28.*

"SUMMER – THE SEAGULL IS FLYING HOME"

The waves are rolling on the East China Sea in summer,
The motherland is across the sea overlooking the Taiwan province.
Ah, a brave white seagull is flying through the clouds,
It broke through stormy waters; it crossed the thunder and lightning.
The seagull is flying; it comes from the rich and fertile Taiwan,
from the beautiful Golden Gate.

The sky with white clouds above the motherland,
Flowers in full bloom are all over the mountains in May.
Ah, a brave white seagull is flying through the clouds,
It is flying towards home; it is flying towards the motherland.
The seagull is flying; it brings a hot heart from Taiwan.
Ah ah, the seagull is flying; it brings a hot heart from Taiwan.

The political message in the lyrics of "Summer – The Seagull is Flying Home" must be the most obvious of all four songs. There is a yearning for a united China, a yearning for Taiwan to be reunited with the mainland. Most of Taiwan's inhabitants are Han Chinese, the same as on mainland China. The separation from the mainland had been an issue for a long time. It began at the end of the nineteenth century when the Japanese won the Sino-Japanese War and established their rule over Taiwan. Later, in 1949, when the PRC was founded, the separation continued because of independent authority. Now the state promotes the "One-China policy" at every opportunity to assert that there is only one sovereign state with the name of China. Propagation of ideology is one of the main functions of the state, and it is endorsed with all the persuasive power that can be mastered. Music and the arts are the essential tools of this propaganda machine (Wong 2016 [2001]: 113).

The lyrics of "Summer" describe a brave seagull, which has broken through stormy waters, passed thunder and lightning, and flown back home to the mainland. The seagull is a metaphor for the Taiwanese people, and the lyrics wishfully foresee unity. In the charming waltz beat, a seagull is flying back to the mainland from the long-separated Taiwan. It is said in the lyrics that Taiwan is across the sea overlooking the motherland, and "It is flying towards home; it is flying towards the motherland. The seagull is flying; it brings a hot heart from Taiwan".

"AUTUMN – PAMIR, HOW BEAUTIFUL MY HOMETOWN"

The lark is singing in the sky,
Pamir, how beautiful my hometown, how beautiful my hometown!

The lark is singing in the sky,
Pamir, how beautiful my hometown!
The ranch is green, and the sheep are strong,
highland barley fragrance makes people drunk.
Karasu spring water is crystal clear; moon lake and red rose.
The sound of the eagle flute blowing, steeds are running fast on the grass.
Ah, the rawap[9] *is playing and singing the song,*
The day of the harvest is very sweet!

The moon is so bright and clear,
Pamir, how beautiful my hometown!
The thick ice is flashing silver;
the breeze is blowing along a silent valley in the night.
In Taheman, the moon is round; there is the pine tree where lovers meet.
Water is like a delicious wine, mountains are like white jade.
Ah, Pamir autumn scenery is infinitely beautiful,
My heart has become intoxicated!

"Autumn – Pamir, How Beautiful My Hometown" is the most famous piece of the song cycle, and it is often included in the concert repertoire. In addition to a pleasant, lively character and an engaging pulse, it has become a favourite of the authorities for political reasons. Over recent years, the Chinese government has been accused of several issues arising from the Xinjiang autonomous region. Thus, the CPC uses this song to show the world that they can keep order in Xinjiang. "Autumn" can also occasionally be heard on CCTV-4, one of six China Central Television channels that broadcast outside the PRC.[10] The song depicts the joy of life and the prosperity that the Xinjiang people have achieved. It describes the vast Pamir Mountains and praises the beauty of the region – the well-being that is felt in China. The goal of unity and prosperity is as important as 40 years ago. The current president, Xi Jinping, began promoting a related slogan of the Chinese Dream shortly after rising to power. The meaning of the Chinese Dream is that of a rejuvenated Chinese nation, good fortune, the ability to dare to dream and work for one's dreams. Another side of the Chinese Dream is achieving national rejuvenation by creating an ethnically

homogeneous country by influencing and encouraging the ethnic minorities to see themselves as one Chinese identity (Ho 2018).

There are also unique compositional qualities that make the song stand out from the others. Musicians value it due to its distinctive ethnic characteristics, charming Tajikistan modality with augmented seconds, and lively and unusual meter (7/8), common in south Tajik music (Nooshin 2009: 121). As well as the Pamir Mountains, the lyrics describe the Karasu spring, a Tajik eagle flute, and the town of Taheman. Notably, the song uses a C minor key to display the joyous event of harvest celebrations, which is unusual in Western practices. The mood is elevated; it is harvesting time, "Autumn" sounds like a dance (see Fig. 4).

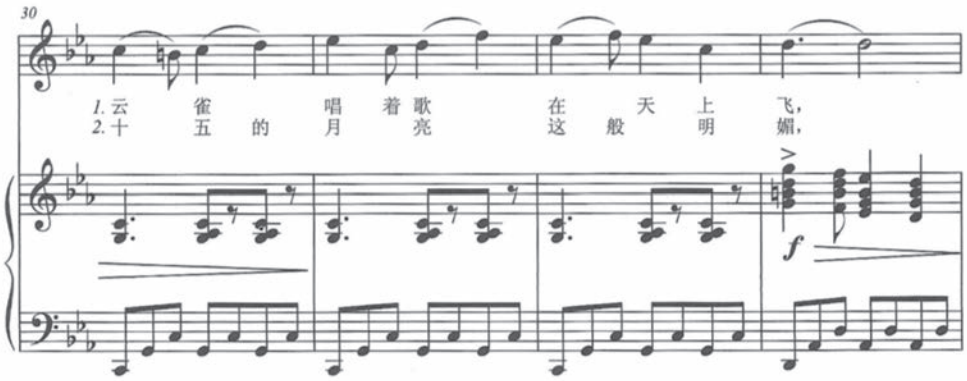


Figure 4. *The unique 7/8-time signature in "Autumn – Pamir, How Beautiful My Hometown", bars 30–34.*

"WINTER – AH! MY MOTHERLAND"

Snow is floating all over the sky; plum blossoms are on branches.
A hero's monument is watching over the motherland; ah the landscape is enchanting.
A dragon flew over the Kunlun Mountains,
The chimaeras swim along the Yellow River.
The pines from the south of Lingnan Mountains are standing in the wind,
Snow lotus is smiling at the sun by the fortress.
Ah, my motherland! The red pigment of plum is particularly charming.
Ah, my beloved motherland! The red pigment of plum is particularly charming.

The battle hymn, boundless snow, a red flag is waving at the top of a tall tower.
Good news come from eight directions; the snow is spreading it in four directions.
Ah, my motherland! The generation is romanticising their heroes.
Ah, my beloved motherland, the generation is romanticising their heroes.
Red sunshine is reflected on the mountain, the Divine Land is now more fascinating.
The landscape is splendid, the scenery of all four seasons is beautiful!
Red sunshine is reflected on the mountain,
The Divine Land is now more fascinating,
The landscape is splendid, the scenery of all four seasons is beautiful!

"Winter – Ah! My Motherland" is the peak of the song cycle. It is an ode to the whole country, expressing the beauty and the hardships that the Chinese people endured. The beauty can be seen in the "red pigment of plum" on a snowy backdrop, in the chimaeras swimming merrily, and even in the hardships of the people, which are visualised by the Monument of the People's Heroes, a ten-story obelisk on Tiananmen Square erected in memory of the revolutionary martyrs and their sacrifices. It is important to note that the lyricist was susceptible to the apportioned social values because few in China can resist the pervasive influence of ideology (Ouyang 2012), hence the mention of the monument. Moreover, the song highlights many of the wonders found in China: the Yellow River, the chimaeras, Tiananmen Square, the Kunlun Mountains, lotus flowers, and the plums blossoming during wintertime. Tiananmen Square has a strong political significance; it is the location Mao Zedong proclaimed the founding of the PRC in 1949; therefore, it brings the focus on Beijing, the capital and political centre of the country. All of the symbols are politically charged, and the composer implies that the mistake of the revolution has been left behind and the country is prospering again. Ultimately, winter will pass, and a new promising spring will arrive. The theme during this last song of the song cycle becomes very patriotic: "The Divine Land is now more fascinating", and "the scenery of all four seasons is beautiful". "Winter" is like an ode and a summary of the full cycle, with the core message being that the mistake of the Cultural Revolution is in the past. As the all-enduring plum blossom, the Chinese people have persevered through the cold winters of history.

SUMMARY

"Four Seasons of Our Motherland" is a significant song cycle in the genre of Chinese vocal art music because it brings together a patriotic message, charming minority characteristics, compositional diversity, and the most important political issues of the era. Composer Zheng Qiufeng served in the military almost all his life. The message behind his compositions often followed the developments in China's strategic priorities and focal points of the international environment. The song cycle also provides a unique framework for clues about the importance China places on domestic and global affairs.

Although the song cycle was commissioned for practical reasons to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the PRC, it also exhibits excellent artistic achievement: folk music elements, captivating vocal melodies, a carefully planned structure, poetic lyrics full of patriotic feelings. It is a charming combination of Western harmony and form together with Chinese melodies and scales. The lyrics are equally unique as they call us to visualise spectacular places and objects such as the Tiananmen Square, a dragon flying over the Kunlun Mountains, the symbolic all-enduring red plum blossom on the backdrop of a snowy landscape.

The "Four Seasons" was composed just after the complicated years of the Cultural Revolution, which created the necessity for attaching a deeper meaning to the plot of the composition. Qu Cong, the lyricist of the "Four Seasons", has confirmed that there are underlying political meanings to each song of the cycle. For example, "Spring" emphasises the territorial supremacy in the South China Sea, "Summer" speaks of uniting Taiwan with the mainland, and "Autumn" highlights the importance of a stable border in Xinjiang. These topics arose due to the instabilities of the twentieth century: the battles for power on the South China Sea, a civil war between the Communist and Nationalist Party that determined Taiwan's path, the uneven regional development and conflicts in Xinjiang. All of these questions remain unsolved and are being carefully observed by the world. Consequently, the song cycle continues its mission. This makes the "Four Seasons" a unique example of Chinese cultural politics, which in turn helps maintain the awareness and popularity of the pieces.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research was carried out in partnership with the 2022 Henan Province Teacher Education Curriculum Reform Key Research Project "Innovation and Practice Research on the Localisation Path of Finnish Higher Normal Music Education Curriculum in Chinese Universities" (Project No. 2022-JSJYZD-046).

NOTES

[1] The first Chinese art song is generally credited to Qing Zhu (born Liao Shangguo), who composed the song "The River Flows Eastwards" while studying in Germany in 1920. He used Western composing techniques to lyricize "Reminiscence of Red Cliffs" by the poet Su Shi (Chu & Petrus 2020: 122).

[2] During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), the revolutionary model works / model dramas were called *yangbanxi*. The works combined elements of traditional Chinese dramas, particularly *jingxi* (Beijing opera or Peking opera), with modern Western drama to treat contemporary topics and feature proletarian protagonists.

[3] "Without the Communist Party, There Would Be No New China" is a popular propaganda song that appeared in the middle of the twentieth century. The lyrics were changed to accommodate the new political order after the establishment of the PRC in 1949. "I Love You, China" is an extremely popular Chinese song for a soprano by Zheng Qiufeng. It was composed for the movie "Overseas Compatriots" in 1979. "Sing a Song for the Party" was created by Yao Xiaozhou and Zhu Jianer.

[4] The Guangzhou Military Soldiers Ensemble was established in 1955 and stopped working in 2018. The ensemble consisted of singers, a dance troupe, lyricists, conductors (including Zheng Qiufeng), and an orchestra. Detailed information is not disclosed to the general public because matters regarding the army are confidential. However, some information is available in news articles.

[5] There are 56 state-recognised ethnic groups (*minzu*) in the People's Republic of China. The Han majority accounts for 91.5 percent of the total population, and the 55 ethnic minority groups make up 8.5 percent (Zang 2016).

[6] In 2018, a TV programme about Zheng Qiufeng was aired on CCTV4 within the Chinese Culture – Chinese Showbiz – Salute to the Classics format. It is currently available for viewing on CCTV's official YouTube channel CCTV中文国际. Zheng Qiufeng speaks about preparing to compose, travelling in China, and introduces the regional influences.

[7] The photograph was published together with a biography and a complete collection of Zheng Qiufeng's scores (Shen 2019).

[8] Interview with Zheng Qiufeng from January 2018, available at https://www.sohu.com/a/218670772_787249, last accessed on 21 February 2023.

[9] The *rawap* is one of the principal musical instruments of the Xinjiang Uyghurs. It is a shorter type of lute, plucked with a horn plectrum. Several different types are played by the Uyghurs. The number of strings varies from three to seven depending on the type of *rawap* (Harris 2008).

[10] "Autumn – Pamir, How Beautiful My Hometown" in a programme about Chinese literature and art called "Chinese Showbiz – Autumn Nostalgia, Hometown Love", sung 14:18–17:49, available at https://tv.cctv.com/2019/09/25/VIDE6lZpj12WVY5M12Pzyfjk190925.shtml, last accessed on 21 February 2023.

REFERENCES

Bohlman, Philip V. 2004. *The Music of European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History*. Santa Barbara & Denver & Oxford: ABC-CLIO.

Chu, Katherine & Petrus, Juliet 2020. *Singing in Mandarin: A Guide to Chinese Lyric Diction and Vocal Repertoire*. Lanham & Boulder & New York & London: Rowman & Littlefield.

Harris, Rachel 2008. *The Making of a Musical Canon in Chinese Central Asia: The Uyghur Twelve Muqam*. London & New York: Routledge.

Ho, Wai-Chung 2018. *Culture, Music Education, and the Chinese Dream in Mainland China*. Singapore: Springer Nature Pte Ltd.

Kraus, Richard Curt 1989. *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle over Western Music*. New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kraus, Richard Curt 2004. *The Party and the Arty in China: The New Politics of Culture.* Lanham & Boulder & New York & Toronto & Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Lai, Hongyi 2012. China's Cultural Diplomacy: Going for Soft Power. In: Hongyi Lai & Yiyi Lu (eds.) *China's Soft Power and International Relations*. London: Routledge, pp. 83–103.

Liu, Ching-chih 2010. *A Critical History of New Music in China*. Transl. by Caroline Mason. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

Nooshin, Laudan (ed.) 2009. *Music and the Play of Power in the Middle East, North Africa and Central Asia*. Farnham & Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Ouyang, Yiwen 2012. *Westernisation, Ideology and National Identity in 20th-Century Chinese Music*. Diss. (PhD Thesis). University of London. Available at https://repository.royalholloway.ac.uk/file/8f19c444-ee12-c022-d86c-879118683355/7/2012OuyangYPhD.pdf.pdf, last accessed on 21 February 2023.

Shen, Haixiong (ed.) 2019. *Dangdai Lingnan Wenhua Mingjia: Zheng Qiufeng*. [Contemporary South China Culture Experts: Zheng Qiufeng]. Guangdong: Guangdong Renmin Publishing House.

Turcsányi, Richard Q. 2017. *Chinese Assertiveness in the South China Sea: Power Sources, Domestic Politics, and Reactive Foreign Policy*. Cham: Springer.

Wang, Dayan 2009. Zhongguo zuoqujia yu zuopin. [Chinese Composers and Their Works.] *Yishu gequ gailun*. [Introduction to Art Songs.] Shanghai: Shanghai Yinyue Chubanshe, pp. 254–255.

Wong, Isabel K. F. 2016 [2001]. The Music of China. In: Timothy Rommen (ed.) *Excursions in World Music: Sixth Edition*. London & New York: Routledge, pp. 88–131.

Yang, Hon-Lun 2017. Music, China, and the West: A Musical-Theoretical Introduction. In: Hon-Lun Yang & Michael Saffle (eds.) *China and the West: Music, Representation, and Reception*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 1–17.

Yang, Mu 1990. *Folk Music of Hainan Island with Particular Emphasis on Danxian County*. Diss. (PhD Thesis). The University of Queensland. Available at https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:179630, last accessed on 21 February 2023.

Yang, Zizi & Zheng, Jie & Zhao, Li Ping 2009. Xin zhongguo chengli hou de zhongguo yishu gequ gaishu. [Introduction of Art Songs Created after the Establishment of New China.] In: *Zhongguo yishu gequ jiaocheng*. [Guide to Chinese Art Songs.] Shanghai: Shanghai Jiaoyu Publishing House, pp. 33–34.

Yueh, Linda 2013. *China's Growth: The Making of an Economic Superpower*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zang, Xiaowei (ed.) 2016. *Handbook on Ethnic Minorities in China*. Cheltenham & Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.

Zhu, Fei 2010. *Shengyue zuqu Zuguo Siji yishu tese ji yanchang tedian tan xi*. [Artistic and Singing Features of Vocal Music Suite "Four Seasons of the Motherland".] Diss. (MA Thesis). Shanghai Normal University.

Jun Zhao (PhD) is Visiting Professor at the Music Department of the Zhengzhou Preschool Education College, China. His field of research includes topics such as music education and ethnomusicology. He holds several grants from the government of the PRC for music research on both Western and Asian topics, such as the comparison of international music education, foreigners studying Chinese music, and the expansion of Asian culture.

eestijun@gmail.com

Marianne Zhao is Visiting Professor at the Music Department of the Zhengzhou Preschool Education College, China. She has completed several research projects funded by grants from the government of the PRC for music research on both Western and Asian topics. Marianne is active as a pianist and often includes Chinese vocal music in her repertoire.

zhaomariannezhao@gmail.com

NEWS IN BRIEF

JOINT ESTONIAN–HUNGARIAN SEMINAR "GLOBAL AND LOCAL ELEMENTS IN CONTEMPORARY FOLKLORE IN HUNGARY AND ESTONIA"

A new academic cooperation started in 2022, bringing together researchers of contemporary folklore from two institutions: the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu, Estonia, and the Institute of Ethnology of the Research Centre for the Humanities in Budapest, Hungary. The aim of the project is to collect and analyze jokes, memes, contemporary legends and other contemporary folklore forms (e.g., school lore), their usage and dynamics in order to detect playfulness and creativity in the (new) formats they take and address the way they reflect the social reality that gives rise to them. The project aims to take into account cross-cultural as well as diachronic and synchronic perspectives, offering a unique and innovative perspective in folklore studies of Estonia, Hungary, and Belarus.

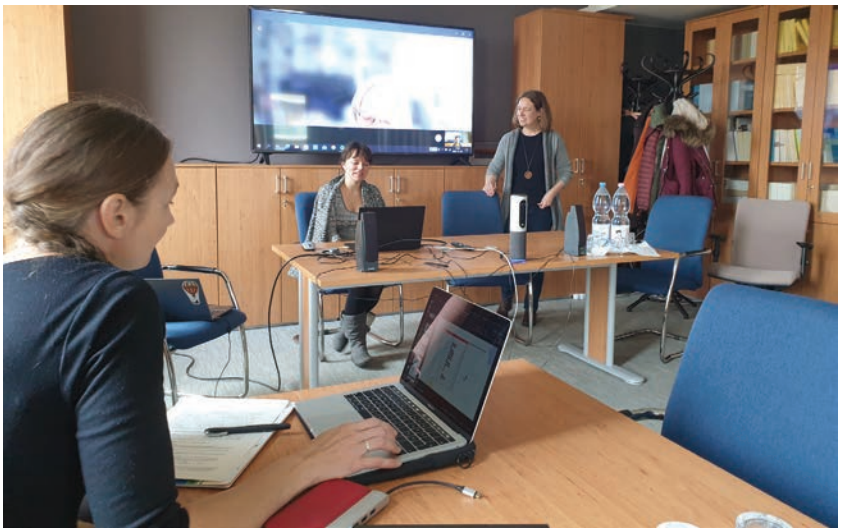
The first joint seminar within the framework of the cooperation was held at the Institute of Ethnology in Budapest on November 29, 2022.[1] The nine presentations were connected in many ways, at the same time covering a wide range of topics.

The first session started with a presentation by Mare Kõiva on Estonian waterhorse traditions. The rich Estonian material about this mythological creature was presented together with Celtic and European indigenous parallels, drawing attention to the local characteristics as well as the more widespread elements. The following papers turned their attention to the folklore and beliefs of schoolchildren and the youth. First, Piret Voolaid presented an overview of school lore collecting campaigns in Estonia. These have provided – and continue to provide – insight into the changing traditions in contemporary society. The questionnaires touch upon a wide variety of genres and topics, and the accumulated expertise can help in adapting this research practice in Hungary as well. The next presentation by Reet Hiiemäe focused on the reflections of environmental fears and crises in Estonian contemporary narrative folklore, drawing on material from the school lore collections and other sources to demonstrate how traditional beliefs connected to the environment have been heavily influenced by global trends and fears conveyed by the media. The last paper in this session dealt with the role of the printed media as a transmission channel and also a source of belief legends. Éva Mikos presented examples of contemporary legends related to snakes, spiders, and alligators, which were published as news articles in Hungarian newspapers at the beginning of the 20th century.

The afternoon session started with a practical introduction into collaborative digital humanity tools for folklore studies by Liisi Laineste, on the example of Airtable. The different formats of contemporary folklore (including internet memes), as well as the

quick emergence and large quantity of examples call for a suitable and flexible methodology. The advantages of collaborative research are also increasingly recognized in the humanities. Online tools can facilitate collaborative work on a shared dataset, including joint practices of categorization, tagging, and analysis. The participants of the seminar experimented shortly with Airtable, taking the first steps to build a shared dataset.

Staying within the broad topic of humorous expression but turning to a diachronic perspective, Katalin Vargha presented the background of a Hungarian term used today in humorous discourse as a way of calling someone a joke killer. The roots of the term '*papjancsi*' go back to singer and actor János Papp (1879–1944), who became a protagonist of anecdotes in his lifetime, and later evolved into a humorous character with the distinctive feature of being a joke killer. The next presenter, Anastasiya Fiadotava, returned to the present and the physical world. She shared a Belarusian case study on the use of humor during political protest, aiming at the qualitative analysis of both the content and the temporal and spatial context of protest posters. The last two presentations of the seminar were connected by the source material of audiovisual media. First, Mariann Domokos presented a paper on the impact of television on Hungarian popular culture, focusing on the possibilities of the folkloristic investigation of film and television from the point of view of fairy tale research. In the last presentation of the seminar, Mare Kalda introduced the conceptual framework of transmedial worlds. On the example of the movie "Spring", she showed a wide range of creative adoption by the Estonian social media audiences, including memetic videos, phrases and images engaging with or reflecting the original movie and novel.



Anastasiya Fiadotava making her presentation on the use of humor. Photograph Piret Voolaid 2022.

The presentations were followed by a lively discussion on the similarities and differences of the characteristics of contemporary folklore in Estonia and Hungary, as well as the possibilities for collaboration within the framework of the joint project. Internet memes and other forms of online humor in times of permacrisis continually provide material for comparative research. This is also a good opportunity for further exploration of collaborative research practices facilitated by digital humanity tools. The Estonian methodology of school lore collection through online questionnaires is also to be tested in Hungary. Joint work and discussion shall be continued in 2023, with opportunities to meet and exchange ideas at several scientific events.

Katalin Vargha

Note

[1] The seminar was supported by the joint research project of the Department of Folkloristics of the Institute of Ethnology of the Research Centre for the Humanities, and the Department of Folkloristics of the Estonian Literary Museum, "Global and local elements in contemporary folklore in Hungary and Estonia" (NKM-18/2022), under the agreement on scientific cooperation between the Estonian Academy of Sciences and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

BOOK REVIEW

AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO MIGRATION

Mila Maeva & Magdalena Slavkova & Plamena Stoyanova & Mina Hristova (eds.) *Between the Worlds: Migrants, Margins, and Social Environment*. Vol. 3. Sofia: IEFSEM – BAS & Paradigma, 2021. 338 pp.

The 3rd volume of *Between the Worlds* consists of a preface, followed by five chapters with eighteen articles by well-known researchers, and was prepared by editors Mila Maeva, Magdalena Slavkova, Plamena Stoyanova and Mina Hristova, who have already collaborated on cross-border topics. *Between the Worlds* is a notable academic review of migration, the adaptation tactics of ethnic groups and different aspects of their identity. The collection brings to the reader the perspective of ethnologists, cultural historians, economists, media researchers, and social scientists on the situations in which people find themselves and in which they have to act as a result of global processes. On the stages of the world's great processes, personality is also important. It is sympathetic that the authors are able to approach migrants as individuals, as a non-homogeneous mass. Major motivators such as political, economic, and social factors in the past and present come to the fore. Therefore, the focus of discussion here is the models of adaptation and integration of migrants and their groups and communities, and the microhistory.

Migration has been called one of the most powerful influences of the 20th century, whether it is migration caused by crises, economic chain migration, or rather mobility driven by lifestyle or so-called convenience migration. Also in this collection, seasonal or temporary labour migration, where either women or men travel abroad to earn extra money to improve the situation at home, comes to the fore. Mobility has certainly been under academic attention, but what makes this collection special is its interdisciplinary approach, which nevertheless has specific geographical and thematic centres. Namely, the treatment of Bulgarians and the minorities (the Romani, Russians, Ukrainians, etc.) forms the unique core of the book. The research and methodology are oriented on specific interdisciplinary studies and approaches – history, sociology, political science, health sciences, educational studies, demography, economy, cultural studies, including ethnology, ritual studies, and more.

Various methods are used in research, but one of the central ones is direct fieldwork in selected centres, interviews with key informants, and also partially web-based surveys

(e.g., Erolova, Maeva, Hristov). Various events have been partaken, and it is a positive feature that the researchers have previous experience with the ethnic groups concerned, which, as a rule, facilitates access to the inner circle and the collection of more comprehensive data. The interviews were conducted during the large waves of migration (2013–2014), and gathered data from the refugee houses. In addition to other aspects, educational conditions and teaching and schooling of refugees are under scrutiny (cf., e.g., articles by Erolova, Maeva, Hristov). The other aspect of the same phenomenon is the introduction of Bulgarian culture and language to migrants. Interviews and articles based on them highlight interesting personalities of the Bulgarian diaspora community as well as their contribution to the continuation of their own culture in the recipient country.

A school in Chicago and a centre called Little Bulgaria are the largest of the eleven Bulgarian schools in Chicago which teach Bulgarian (Winnie the Pooh Children's Centre). The soul and leader of the latter is Zhivka Bubalova, who has been able to achieve that her Chicago Bulgarian school has the same training programmes as in their motherland and their exams are also valid in Bulgaria. All this makes it easier for children to return to homeland, not to mention the good knowledge of English. This is definitely a big success story, as it is generally possible to provide primary education in some major cities (e.g., for Estonians in Helsinki, Finland), but, as a rule, education in the mother tongue is limited to Sunday schools where the role of tuition is inevitably small.

While the school in Chicago is a success story, the schools for Syrians and other refugees are not; they highlight how the established schools become empty, even if the infrastructure and the educators are exemplary. The reason is that even if a small number of students return to their homeland with their parents, most of them migrate to other countries, or from smaller centres to big cities or directly to the capital city.

Articles about the migration of medical students to Bulgaria for cheap education provide food for thought as well – different tuition and living strategies and sometimes utilitarian and even arrogant attitude towards the inhabitants of the country providing the best possible education and milieu (Maeva, Periklieva & Markov).

This is where it is appropriate to move on to exciting reference material dealing with national stereotypes. Since a seminal study by Lippmann in the United States in 1922, stereotypes and prejudices have been consistently monitored on the example of different countries and ethnic nationalities. It is evident that members of an ethnic group are different in their views and their adaptation tactics are affected, yet so are the attitudes of the inhabitants of the host country (see Aberg's views on the Finnish Romani and Russians). Regarding the Romani, Russians, and Albanians, different lifestyles and adaptation models are outlined. There are also studies on the Romani migration to the United States and the relationship between emigrants and music, which is an important feature of self-determination. Hence, time for music is always found, even besides the principal job, and there are also attempts to become a professional musician (Bloomfield, Åberg, Slavkova, Hristova).

The geographical scope of the 3rd volume of *Between the Worlds* is wide: from the northern part of Europe, for instance Finland, to Eastern, Central and Southern Europe (Spain, Bulgaria, Albania, Macedonia, Russia, Greece, Ukraine, etc.), but also the United Kingdom, Asia, the USA, and New Zealand.

Although the discussion focuses on the adaptation and integration models of migrants and their groups and micro-history, many articles deal with global problems. Hopefully, the collection will have an effect on further research trends in Europe, and will certainly be used as an academic introduction to multiple fields of anthropology and ethnology. The editors of the collection have done excellent work.

Mare Kõiva

vol. 88

On the cover: The early 20th-century exhibition of Karelian magic objects at the former Häme Museum, Tampere. Photograph courtesy of the Finnish Heritage Agency.

9 771406 095006

Folklore EJF

ISSN 1406-0957