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TOWARDS NEW METHODOLOGIES IN MIGRATION AND DIASPORA STUDIES: AN INTRODUCTION

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Abstract: The introduction to the second part of the special issue, titled "On the Move: Migration and Diasporas", focuses on current methodological advances in the field, in particular on mixed-methods approaches and methods for studying digital diasporas as well as some related conceptual concerns, for example, the re-emergence and critical revision of the concept of cosmopolitanism. The relevance of the contributions of the current issue to larger tendencies and theoretical debates on mobility and migration is outlined. Similar to the first part of the special issue (*Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*, Vol. 78), the included articles address a variety of questions and problems concerning migration processes in Eastern European, Baltic, and Nordic contexts, methodologically engaging with virtual and multi-sited ethnography, autoethnography, multimodal analysis, and typologies of multilingual socialization, and utilizing a variety of sources, including archival materials, life writings, and literary production.

Keywords: borders, cosmopolitanism, (digital) diaspora, migration, networking, TSF

In the field of migration and diaspora studies, mobility does not only define processes, phenomena, and participants studied; it also applies to theories, concepts, and paradigms employed, which can be characterized by multifarious,

entangled, and at times contradicting trajectories of evolvement and application. Some of these conceptual routes – embracing migration, diaspora, and transnationalism – were outlined in the introductory article of the first volume of the current special issue (Ojamaa & Kurvet-Käosaar 2020). Closely related to conceptual and paradigmatic concerns, a look at the field from the vantage point of methods and sources makes visible further questions, additional developments, and complex inter-relations. There is a general agreement that research on international migration – which in multiple formats of mobility currently constitutes the field of migration and diaspora studies to a very extensive extent – requires varied competencies in, for example, cultural or linguistic terms, and poses multiple challenges when, for instance, having to tackle deficient or inaccessible sources of data or a complex set of ethical issues relating to the marginalized and underprivileged position of informant groups in the host society (Gold & Nawyn 2013: 6; Bilsborrow 2016: 110). There is also an awareness of the relative scarcity of methods developed for doing research on international migration (Gold & Nawyin 2013: 6) and diasporas (Smets 2019: 97), and a breach between the promise of theoretical frameworks and the availability of research tools that would enable us to offer conclusive and concrete scientific proof to theoretical assumptions (Boccagni 2012: 295). Though there is a sustained effort to envision migration and diaspora studies – which can also be viewed as two connected, yet separate fields – as one highly heterogeneous area of scientific inquiry, the selection of methods and utilization of sources and principles of gathering data in the field may be limited to more concrete disciplinary affiliations of researchers undertaking a particular project.

To an extent, this is evident from the way in which methods and methodological issues are presented in different handbooks within the field (see, e.g., Vargas-Silva 2012; White 2016). Even research on transnationalism, an area of scientific enquiry that has never been confined to one disciplinary framework, has methodologically tended to rely quite extensively on "single-method case studies" (Boccagni 2012: 312). At the same time, methodological concerns that play an important role within the central debates and discussions in the field clearly highlight the need for and development of new approaches and redesigning of the existing research methods. For instance, for the study of transnationalism, the analysis of census and other kinds of official data, longitudinal surveys and ethno-surveys, multi-sited and mobile ethnography and multi-sited matched samples have been suggested as viable methodological choices (Portes 2003: 889; Faist 2012: 51–70).

MIXED-METHODS APPROACHES

The methodological initiatives attempting a coverage of the field (Vargas-Silva 2012; Gold & Nawyn 2013; White 2016; also Volkmer 2012 and Ponzanesi 2019 for research on digital diasporas) highlight the importance of inter- and intradisciplinary discussions concerning methods, sources, and data, and make visible the extent to which such acts of positioning keep (re)defining the field. They also encourage researchers in the field to critically evaluate the suitability of mainstream methods within their given discipline for conducting research on international migration, and to develop new methods or utilize combinations of a variety of methods across a variety of disciplines and qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thus, for example, a section of the *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration* is dedicated to interdisciplinary approaches and mixed methods (Vargas-Silva 2012: 273–344) that "borrow from and build upon a diverse range of methodologies and methods" (Bose 2012: 273). In a similar vein, the section on methods of the *Routledge International Handbook of Migration Studies* introducing "the methods specifically designed for the collection and analysis of data on international migration" seeks to demonstrate the relevance of combining techniques of producing data and/or engaging with sources, analytical tools, and theoretical approaches from a variety of different fields (Gold & Nawyin 2013: 479). Although methodological advances include a combination of a variety of different methods and utilization of new source types (see, e.g., Gold 2013 on photographs and other visual materials) and data sets (see, e.g., Woodrow-Lafield 2013 on reengineering and/or harmonizing censuses, and Risam 2019 for spatial data visualizations), there is a strong preference for mixed-methods or multiple-methods approaches, in particular for the study of transnational social space (see Lubbers & Verdery & Molina 2020 for an overview). Though these terms have been defined in a variety of ways, mixed methods most commonly refer to "research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or a program of inquiry" (Tashakkori & Cresswell 2007: 4). Where distinguished from the former approach, the term 'multiple methods' is used to refer to sequential ordering of quantitative and qualitative components of research (Gamlen 2012: 320). More recently, the term 'convergent design' has been used for referring to research frameworks that bring together quantitative and qualitative types of data with an emphasis on examining different aspects of the studied phenomena, enabling us to gain insights into "multiple perspectives and subjective realities" (Fauser 2018: 402).

The study of international migration in terms of transnationalism has been, to an extensive extent, based on the conceptual framework of the transnational social field (TSF), defined as "an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks that extends across the borders of two or more nation-states and that incorporates its participants in the day-to-day activities of social reproduction in these various locations" (Fouron & Glick Schiller 2001: 544). Offering a socially rather than geographically defined concept of space, the TSF focuses on the ways in which "transnational processes unfold in social networks rather than ones circumscribed within national boundaries" (Lubbers & Verdery & Molina 2020: 179). Methodologically, the study of the TSF relies on social network analysis that is based on qualitative and mixed-methods approaches and "systematically collects, analyzes, and visualizes data about migrants' interpersonal relationships and aggregates them into social networks" (ibid.). This kind of research has taken prevalence in TSF research over qualitative approaches based on interviews, and multi-sited and mobile ethnography (see, e.g., Glick Schiller & Fouron 1999; Fog Olwig 2007) due to limitations in qualitative methods in tackling the size and structure of transnational networks (Lubbers & Verdery & Molina 2020: 179). In research on the TSF, four main categories of social network analysis according to primary analytical focus can be distinguished – individuals, households, dyads / small sets, and communities (Lubbers & Verdery & Molina 2020: 183). Though research on transnationalism proceeding via social network analysis is dominantly quantitative, qualitative components, such as, for example, ethnographic fieldwork at a preliminary stage or research or "interpret[ing] the meaning of relationships, captur[ing] their dynamic nature, or enquir[ing] about networking processes" constitutes an important aspect of social network analysis, indispensable for successful TSF research (Lubbers & Verdery & Molina 2020: 197).

STUDYING DIGITAL DIASPORAS

Both in methodological and conceptual terms, the study of migration and the new media and different methods of conducting online research, which have emerged during the last decades, remain one of the focal points of research on international migration today. Of central importance here is the diminishing importance of territorial aspects and borders in defining identity in national terms as well as the overall reconfiguration of spatiality and locality, and the shift to the perception of nations as networks (Ponzanesi 2020b: 5, reference to Bernal 2014). Migration and new media are often discussed in terms of digital diaspora (or diasporas), used to refer to a number of phenomena and characteristic

traits of migration in the contemporary world, such as technological mediation, formats or platforms of co-existence and social organization, technological mediation, and communicational uses of ICT connectivity (Andersson 2019: 145; Ponzanesi 2020b: 2–3). Digital diasporas are dominantly discussed in terms of the ways in which new digital technologies "enhance and diversify the role, impact and sustainability of diasporic connections" (Ponzanesi 2020b: 2) and support the development of transnational identity.

Alongside considering identity in transnational (also multi-transnational) terms, the concept of cosmopolitanism, shedding its formerly elitist connotations, has resurfaced as a viable identity category in migration and diaspora studies largely in the context of digital diasporas (Christensen 2012: 892). Highlighting the "simultaneous rootedness and openness to shared human emotions, experiences and aspirations" (Glick-Schiller & Darieva & Gruner-Domic 2011: 399), cosmopolitanism is viewed as offering a promising conceptual ground for discussions concerning questions of mediation of attachment, positionality, and openness (Christensen 2012: 893). Essential in the adoption of the term is a focus on the ways in which cosmopolitanism is practiced in concrete, everyday life situations that cut across and furnish new kinds of ties and alliances between different territorialities and national and socio-political configurations. The new ranges of implications of the term, often invoked as "cosmopolitanism from below", crucially rely on "[r]efugees, peoples of the diaspora, and migrants and exiles [who] represent the spirit of the cosmopolitical community" (Pollock et al. 2000: 577, 582). Within the current discussions of cosmopolitanism, attention is paid to its aspirational dimension; according to Ponzanesi (2020a: 2), "something that we should strive for to bring about a more equal and just world system". While connectivity, a term used first and foremost to refer to modes and possibilities of digital communication, harbours a great potential in terms of refiguring the perception of identity, it can only be realized via taking interest in, recognizing, and emphasizing the points of view, ideas, and beliefs that are different from ours, and developing a readiness to encounter and engage with the unfamiliar (Ponzanesi 2020a: 4, with reference to Zuckerman 2013 and Appiah 2007 [2006]). Digital cosmopolitanism, a term not limited to but deeply embedded in contemporary mobilities and diasporic patterns, can be defined as "the power of the internet to engage with the other and shape new networks of solidarity, contributing to intercultural exchanges, global justice, and new types of subpolitical activities/counterpublics" (Ponzanesi 2020a: 4).

As the brief overview provided above sought to demonstrate, a focus on digital diaspora(s) has brought about a paradigmatic shift concerning the perception of modes of engagement with the world with a very strong aspirational ethos. These developments, however, do not overlook "the power of technology to create

bias, othering, and classifications" manifest in neo-colonial forms of exploitation (Ponzanesi 2020a: 4), and cultural othering or "high-tech orientalism" (Chun 2006: 77) visible, for instance, in Eurocentric and racialized perception of the ICT use. While access to networked technologies can be instrumental for the well-being and survival of refugees (Latonero & Kift 2018: 4), international digital security and surveillance systems, for example, Frontex and Eurosur, Eurodac and PRIMES databases can be viewed as contributing to the enhancement of asymmetrical power relations and deepening existing inequalities (Ponzanesi 2020a: 6; Madianou 2019: 206).

While research on digital diasporas has, to a large extent, focused on underprivileged and vulnerable user groups, research categories also include middle class and student mobility and highly skilled migration (Andersson 2019: 145–146). The main foci of research in the area concern transnational affiliations and identity-construction processes and (everyday life) practices as well as online organizations, networks, social support structures, and cultural reproduction (ibid.: 149–150). Burgeoning research concerning the organization and perception of transnational family life has led to the development of a number of new terms such as, for example, e-family (Benítez 2012) and "care-giving at a distance" (Levitt 2009), and given rise to new conceptual frames, applicable both to concrete sets of practices and modes of self-perception that prioritize virtual co-presence (Baldassar 2008; see also Hovgaard 2015 for dual presence; Madianou 2016 for ambient co-presence).

Digital diasporas can be viewed as the most active and most rapidly developing area of migration and diaspora studies today. Methodologically, research in the field can be categorized in terms of virtual ethnography, connective approaches, studies of the Internet in everyday practices, and digital humanities and big data research (Andersson 2019: 160). A slightly different paradigmatic-methodological typology, featuring mediacentric cyber culture studies, non-mediacentric ethnographic approach, and mediacentric digital approach (data-driven network analysis) has been proposed by Candidatu and Leurs and Ponzanesi (2019: 36, Table 3.1). The mediacentric approach that emerged in the 1990s proceeded from the assumption that "to understand what is happening in cyberspace, only what happened in it was of relevance" (ibid.: 37). The focus of virtual ethnography (also netnography) is similar, requiring, however, that the researcher retained an awareness of the complex interrelationship between online and offline activities and the ways in which the mediation of offline experience is altered and/or amplified by the Internet (Kozinets & Dolbec & Earley 2013: 264). Interest in exclusively online studies of the Internet has gradually been replaced by connective approaches that turned attention to the role of online communication in socialization processes as a whole. Neverthe-

less, mediacentric research is considered valuable for increasing the visibility of marginalized, relatively understudied ethnic groups from the perspective of cultural production and self-representation (Candidatu & Leurs & Ponzanesi 2019: 38). For the study of migrant lives, the connective or non-mediacentric approach that undertakes joint investigation of real and virtual dimensions of diverse aspects of cultural and social phenomena and processes, has contributed greatly to the study of everyday life, including domestic, intimate, and familial contexts (Candidatu & Leurs & Ponzanesi 2019: 38–39; see also Baldassar 2008; Hjorth & Lim 2012; Witteborn 2019) and questions of virtual and physical locality and translocality (Witteborn 2014; Christou & Sofos 2019; Christensen 2012). For this approach, research in cyberspace (digital ethnography) is combined with conventional and multi-sited ethnography (Andersson 2019: 164). As was pointed out before, social network analysis (also issue mapping and hyperlink analysis, see Alinejad et al. 2019 for a novel application) as a quantitatively based approach incorporating elements of qualitative analysis has more recently emerged as the leading approach for the research on international migration within the context of the TSF (see Lubbers & Verdery & Molina 2020 for a comprehensive overview). These methodological developments aiming at comprehensiveness, which lean towards digital humanities and big-data approach, have shifted the theoretical focus to "human–machine entanglements", such as, for example, "object-oriented ontology, new materialism, posthumanism, actor-network theory" (Candidatu & Leurs & Ponzanesi 2019: 39). In the light of these developments, theorists of digital diaspora have voiced the need to reconceptualize digital diaspora by bringing together earlier feminist and postcolonialist conceptualizations of diaspora with the study of diasporic online practices in digital humanities frameworks (ibid.: 41–42).

CONTINUING THE DISCUSSIONS ON MOBILITY: INTRODUCTION TO THE ARTICLES

Although questions concerning digital diasporas have been among the most topical and most actively studied areas in the field of migration and diaspora studies, research in the field still proceeds along a great variety of different foci and points of interest that concern different periods in the migration history, diverse socio-cultural contexts, and aspects of the diaspora as such. Researchers utilize a wide variety of data collected in different ways and materials obtained from different sources, applying a range of different methods, some of which are more novel while others have been in use for more than a century. In the second part of the special issue of *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore*,

titled "On the Move: Migration and Diasporas", both virtual and face-to-face communication and networking of contemporary immigrant groups have been analysed, utilizing virtual and multi-sited ethnography. In addition, the formation processes of diaspora communities that began to develop as a result of the sixteenth-century migration waves are also under discussion, based on extensive ethnographic fieldwork. Several articles engage with various archival sources and life writings of concrete diasporic individuals of prominence in cultural and political life to discuss questions of identity and socio-cultural impact on diaspora communities. The expression and reflection of mobility in relation to borders in various forms of visual and verbal arts and folklore have also been examined from the autoethnographic perspective, also applying multimodal analysis and typologies of multilingual socialization.

The article by **Eva Toulouze** and **Nikolai Anisimov**, "An Ethno-cultural Portrait of a Diaspora in Central Russia: The Formation and Culture of the Eastern Udmurt", is based on the authors' ethnographic fieldwork material collected in 2013–2019, and is framed by a historical overview on Russia's economic ambitions and military actions which were followed by several migration waves. The study focuses on the formation and development of a small diaspora community that has left their original Udmurt territory and is now known as the Eastern Udmurt. The part of the former Soviet Union where their area of settlement is located became accessible to Western researchers step-by-step only in the 1990s (Lintrop 1993: 5). We can find very little data on the Udmurt in English; Rein Taagepera's monograph titled *The Finno-Ugric Republics and the Russian State* (1999) seeks to fill this cap. The fact that the area has been closed to foreign researchers seems to give it a certain exotic connotation; partly, one may perceive even some poetic undertone in Taagepera's presentation of the Udmurt community. He describes Udmurtia as an area between the Volga River and the Ural Mountains, "where one meets many redheaded people. … Udmurts say, 'A person with red hair is the sun's child', and 'a redheaded person is closest to the gods'" (Taagepera 1999: 253). The author also mentions that the Udmurt identify themselves as "Europe's last animists" (ibid.). Taagepera is probably the first researcher who, speaking about the Udmurt ethnic group, brings into use the term 'diaspora'. Unlike Toulouze and Anisimov, he does not explain the use of the term – the diaspora as such is not his subject. Toulouze and Anisimov use the term 'diaspora' only with regard to the Western Udmurt, i.e. the group which separated from the rest of the Udmurt ethnos and formed a diaspora. The authors briefly explain that they base the term on the common idea according to which "a diaspora is an ethnic group separated from its historical core territory but feeling a connection

with it" (Toulouze & Anisimov 2020: 32). They manifest that their aim "is not to develop a discussion on the theoretic notion of diaspora" (ibid.); nevertheless, their article directs the reader's thoughts to the much-debated question: whose belonging to this social category is justified? Discussions on this subject have lasted at least since William Safran's "Diasporas in Modern Society: Myth of Homeland and Return" was published in 1991. Today it has acquired a status of a classic, but the debate carries on. Safran's work has been followed by a number of theoretical developments which seek to penetrate, in more detail, the nature of this phenomenon not fully grasped yet, and at the same time the semantic field of meaning of the term 'diaspora' continues to expand. In Russia, amongst the administrative units today's Udmurt Republic belongs to, the concept of diaspora has been gradually added to the academic vocabulary over the last decade and it appears to have both proponents and opponents among the researchers with roots in the Soviet scientific tradition. In the context of this tradition, the Udmurt have always belonged to 'small nations' or national minorities of a multicultural (Soviet) Russia; for example, in the article "Are National Minorities of the Former USSR Becoming New Diasporas? The Case of the Tatars of Kazakhstan", Yves-Marie Davenel (2009) discusses the situation behind the spread of the concept of diaspora in Russian social sciences. With regard to the Eastern Udmurt case, we would like to draw readers' attention to an approach that offers a relatively original solution to the problem of being or not being a diaspora community. Takeyuki (Gaku) Tsuda opines that diaspora is not an absolute state; he proposes a notion of diasporicity that "refers to the relative embeddedness of dispersed ethnic groups in transnational connections to both their ancestral homeland and to their co-ethnics scattered in various countries around the world" (Tsuda 2019: 189). Instead of discussing "whether a dispersed ethnic group is sufficiently diasporic to qualify as a diaspora", Tsuda considers it appropriate to address the question "How diasporic are they and why?" (ibid.: 195). When choosing this path, the preservation of ethnic religion could be an important yardstick for deciding on diasporicity. Although the preservation of religion is considered one of the core issues of diasporic identity, it has received relatively little attention in the context of research on diaspora, especially as compared to, for example, ethnicity (Baumann 1998: 96, 2018: 36–37). According to Robin Cohen (1997: 189), religion can function as an "additional cement to bind a diasporic consciousness". Usually, debates about the relationship between diaspora and religion revolve around world religions (see, e.g., Vertovec 2018), but here we would like to highlight the study by Toulouze and Anisimov especially because, among other essential cultural characteristics, the authors also analyse the relationship between diasporic identity and

ethnic or vernacular religion (defined as 'paganism' in the Eastern Udmurt community), thus demonstrating how any kind of religion can function as an important axis of one's group identity.

The roots of the article by **Irina Belobrovtseva**, "Seto People in the Expedition Diaries and Literary Works of a Russian Émigré Leonid Zurov", reach back to the author's earlier work with Zurov's manuscript collection in the Russian Archive of Leeds University, which contains correspondences, diaries, and fieldwork notes thoroughly described in her contribution to the collection of articles *Inimese Muuseumi ekspeditsioonid Eestisse. Boris Vilde ja Leonid Zurov Setomaal (1937–1938)* (Expeditions of the Museum of Man to Estonia. Boris Vilde and Leonid Zurov in Setomaa (1937–1938)) (see Belobrovtseva 2017: 125–133). In this special issue, Belobrovtseva discusses some of the lesser-known aspects of Russian migration history through an analysis of Zurov's activities. As a result of the wave of migration caused by the October Revolution, several émigré centres developed in European metropolises but from the point of view of Belobrovtseva's study the new small border states of the former Tsarist Russia, such as Estonia, Latvia or Finland, which due to their geographical proximity became the first destination countries for many émigrés, are more important. Over time, these countries began to play a specific role in the lives of Russian émigrés (Belobrovtseva & Meimre 2015: 31–34). Belobrovtseva analyses various aspects of Zurov's mission – restauration works in the Pskovo-Pechersky monastery, archaeological and ethnographic fieldworks that he conducted in the Russian-Estonian border areas, demonstrating how those journeys helped Zurov to enter into a dialogue with the past of his nation. In a sense, this dialogue was filtered through the culture of 'others', i.e. Seto people who inhabit this borderland and whose vernacular religion is "a kind of 'double faith'" (Oinas 1974: 18), in which the Christian tradition, defined by Oinas as "Greek-Catholic-Byzantine elements mediated by the Russian Orthodox", exists in "a curious symbiosis with heathen traits" (ibid.). Belobrovtseva argues that Zurov believed that Setos preserved the ancient Slavic rites better than Russians.

In the context of the diaspora discourse, Zurov's case can be associated with the topic "myth of homeland and return" (Safran 1991), the main idea of which is that the diasporans' desire to go back is always there, even if it is unrealistic. As demonstrated by several case studies, the diasporans' return journey usually remains a wishful dream but it can also become a reality like, for example, in the case of Germans' 'return tourism' to their pre-World War II homes after the fall of the Iron Curtain (Bierwerth 2015), or in the case of Palestinian Swedes who build another home in their country of origin to teach their children the traditional Palestinian culture (Gren 2015). Russian émigrés discovered their own way: in the 1920s–1930s, holiday trips to the Estonian-Russian border areas

became popular among them. Their holiday trips have features similar to the post-World War II return tourism, and although Russian émigrés could not cross the border and step on their land of origin, the proximity of the homeland was perceived in the most direct sense: this land could be seen across the border as Belobrovtseva (2020: 61) describes. Zurov's journeys to the Russian-Estonian border area reflect the dual nature of the border as such, i.e. in certain cases, in addition to separation, it can have some unifying effect.

Belobrovtseva's analysis highlights Zurov's role as an integrator of Russian diasporans; his activity might strengthen the compatriots' sense of belonging to both diaspora community and homeland. But in this connection, we would also like to address one case that shows how a sense of belonging to one's homeland can be shaded by a sense of injustice from being robbed of a homeland. As it is known, Leonid Zurov as a young émigré writer was the protégé of the famous Nobel Prize winner Ivan Bunin. In 1938, Bunin visited Estonia and the other Baltic countries; the tour was organized by his impresario with the aim of presenting his literary works. In an interview with the newspaper *Uus Eesti* (New Estonia) (1938: 4), Bunin states that he does not feel any longing for his real homeland because he does not like its regime and in addition to that his home in France is as beautiful (as Russia). But in her article, Belobrovtseva writes that in a photograph taken by Zurov during his expedition to the border, Bunin saw an old stone cross, and as a result, he "expressed a wish to have such a cross put on his grave" (Belobrovtseva 2020: 62). Behind Bunin's wish one can detect a need for a somewhat eternal link with his real homeland. As regards Zurov, when analysing his activity in the 1930s and its wider aftereffect, Belobrovtseva presents him as a diasporic personality with an extraordinary capacity to encourage his compatriots' sense of belonging to homeland. However, Belobrovtseva emphasizes that Zurov felt deep respect not only for Russian history and culture but also for the history and culture of 'others'; thus, he was not just an embittered nation-centric émigré.

In several case studies it becomes apparent that in the eyes of diasporans the borderlands of their country of origin may be alluring and attractive. On an emotional level, people who have been forced to leave home at different times appreciate the possibility of being close to the border quite similarly. For example, when their economic conditions had improved, it became customary among Estonian World War II overseas refugees to travel to Europe to spend their holidays there. Finland was the country that enabled them to get as close as possible to homeland. Belobrovtseva's (2020: 61) article contains an excerpt from Zurov's letter to Vera Bunina from 6 June 1935 about how he, when visiting the Estonian-Russian border area, could see with his own eyes a Russian village on the other side of the border, which was just a conventional line.

Between Finland and Estonia there were eighty kilometres of the Baltic Sea, yet in spite of that, visiting the coast became a tradition among Estonians. For example, in 1964, the Toronto Estonian Male Choir, which consisted of former war refugees, made a concert tour in Europe and their concerts also took place in Finland. The host ordered a bus that took the singers to a cape near Helsinki, where the coast was flat, so that the men could look in the direction of Estonia unhindered. For the programme booklet of Finnish concerts, Estonian-Canadian poet and writer Arved Viirlaid wrote verses in which he compares going to the border of Estonia, which was occupied by the Soviet regime, with standing in front of a prison gate. In order to make a closer or more real connection with the homeland that the eye cannot reach, a refugee must throw a stone into the water to give rise to a wave that lands on their home coast (Ojamaa 2011: 140).

Visits to Finland also played an important role in the life of Ivar Ivask, a writer and literary scholar of Estonian and Latvian background. While living in Northfield, USA, Finland became a "Baltic surrogate, a substitute for the homeland" for him (Olesk 2007: 6), but he also had a deep interest in Finnish and Finno-Ugric cultures. Here one can see clear parallels with how the Baltic countries had been a substitute for the homeland for Russian émigrés in the first decades of the twentieth century. **Aija Sakova** and **Marin Laak** analyse Ivar Ivask's creative choices and their influencing factors in the article "Situating Oneself within the Estonian Language and World Literature: Ivar Ivask's Relational Ways of Self-understanding". Similar to the other writers who in the course of World War II fled from the eastern part of Europe to the west, literary scholars treat Ivask as an exile writer; in the post-war decades, the term 'diaspora' and the notion 'diasporic writing' were not common in literary studies. The work of exile writers consisted of "approximately equal proportions of literature of political struggle and literature of elegiac or indignant reminiscence" (Oras 1967: 10) and in line with the expectations of the exile society, they felt a moral responsibility for the preservation of the language and culture of origin, keeping their fellow refugees in the sphere of influence of the culture that was based on native language (Estonian National Council 1956: 11; on the goals of Latvian exiles see, e.g., Bela 2011). Although exile writers usually used two languages in their everyday communication – the language of origin and that of the host country – most of their work was monolingual, less often bilingual. According to Zuzanna Olszewska (2019: 87), the diasporic writers usually position themselves either in relation to the homeland, struggling for keeping alive their native culture, or the host country; in both cases their choice of language depends on orientation. The study by Sakova and Laak shows that Ivask is an exception on the landscape of exile literature, and his understanding of himself as well as his positioning himself as a writer cannot

be treated just in terms of binarity (i.e. belonging to the culture of the country of origin or that of the host country). The authors analyse Ivsak's background and demonstrate how diverse and complicated it was: Ivask as a multilingual writer felt himself at home in far more than only two cultures. Ivask's phenomenon has been of interest to literary scholars and critics since his appearance in the arena in the 1950s, but Sakova and Laak approach him as a creative person from a new angle, using Ivask's personal collection preserved at the Estonian Cultural History Archives in the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu (diaries and correspondences in various languages). Applying the concept of relationality, Sakova and Laak explore Ivask's work through his "relational or proximate others" (2020: 71–90), which include his family members but also the global network of writers appreciated by him. Analysing Ivask's connections with the natural and cultural environments of his childhood, as well as his later life that took him to different parts of the world, the authors strive to illuminate the reasons for Ivask's language shift from German to Estonian in his poetry and diaries. In Sakova and Laak's view, Ivask was a cosmopolitan or world citizen, and, relying on Ivask's essays (e.g. Ivask 1951), it can be said that this view coincides largely with his own self-image. The concept of cultural nomadism had not yet gained as much popularity in the times of Ivask's literary activity as it has today, but with reservations, his way of being a writer could also be brought under this notion, based, for example, on how Elina Mikkilä, speaking about non-monolingual writers, has interpreted cultural nomadism in this special issue.

In the article "Literary Biographies without a Fixed Linguistic Abode", **Elina Mikkilä** takes under observation migration writers' language choices and migration literature in its historical development. Mikkilä defines the migration literature as "a genre on the move" (2020: 106). For Mikkilä, the mobility of literature is primarily associated with the writers' nomadic lifestyle. In the humanities, the concepts of nomadic lifestyle and new nomadism have been circulating already since the 1990s. Their connection with the traditional nomadic way of life lies only in the fact that it refers to people with no settled home but moving from place to place. The so-called new nomads do not move by families, looking for food somewhere in the steppe or tundra; they prefer metropolises. Similar to a sparsely populated natural environment, the overcrowded metropolis enables them to experience solitude or the feeling of 'being alone together', and this is the reason why these are suitable surroundings for the modern creative intelligentsia who identify themselves as new or cultural nomads; Eva Hoffmann (1999) has compared their lifestyle with exile, referring to several common traits. When speaking about cultural nomads, their permanent being on the move has usually been emphasized, although in

reality not all of them practise world travelling. According to Rosi Braidotti (1994: 5), cultural nomads' trips "can take place without physically moving from one's habitat. It is the subversion of set conventions that defines the nomadic state, not the literal act of traveling". In the context of migration, the cultural nomads physically on the move can be classified as voluntary migrants: they live their cosmopolitan lives based on individual choice, easily adapting to any new cultural and linguistic environment. However, as Tuija Saresma (2019) shows in the study about Mohsen Emadi, a multi-lingual poet and translator with Iraqi background, in some cases nomadism can include a certain forced component as well.

Migration writers realize their mobile lifestyles in different ways and this is also reflected in their literary works and language choice. In her article, Mikkilä presents an attempt to create some order and explain more systematically the peculiarities of migration writers and literature. This genre seems to be on the move not only because the writers are on the move, but also because it is still looking for its outlines. The characteristics of the genre are unclear; it does not even have a definite conventional name: Mikkilä lists more than ten terms that are used in the German-speaking world. The central concept of Mikkilä's article is 'language biography', which denotes the mode of bi- and multilingual "socialization of migration authors" (Mikkilä 2020: 95). Relying on the authors' language biographies, poetological material, and personal writing experiences, Mikkilä proposes a typology of non-monolingual literary writing. The language-biographical typology demonstrates writers' various possibilities of becoming or being non-monolingual. It consists of five groups, including the naturally and culturally bilingual authors, diglossic authors, and foreign-language authors. In compiling the typology, Mikkilä is primarily interested in contemporary migration writers, but in general the types she describes can also be found in literature belonging to earlier times, including the post-World War II exile literature which still has not lost its historical value. Mikkilä's article focuses on the literature created by culturally bilingual authors who have developed their skills of literary writing in some other language as their own, and she as a researcher-author is one of them. The fact that Mikkilä analyses the background of her personal literary self and the positive and negative experiences related to creative practices gives the study a strong autoethnographic added value. It is noteworthy that sooner or later multilingual authors reach the need to discuss their writer identity, probably feeling some inner need to position themselves in the particular literary landscape in which they operate. In this special issue, we can also find some references to such a need in the article by Sakova and Laak, and here we again recall Saresma's (2019) study about Mohsen Emad, which perfectly demonstrates coherence between one's literary writing, language choice, and mobile lifestyle.

We draw attention to the experimental orientation in Mikkilä's research, which is to some extent related to typology and is also based on her wider interest in writing and thinking in several languages. The author presents an experiment, in the course of which her auto-fictional prose narrative "Mütter Land" was translated into different languages, using the machine translation service. The experiment showed how unpredictable the links between languages and cultures, which become apparent via a digital translation process, can be.

The article by **Kari Korolainen**, "Graphic Aspects of Mobility: Folkloristic-Ethnological Drawings as a Starting Point for Discussing Mobility and Borders", introduces the reader to the folkloristic material collected from the eastern part of Finland and Finnish and Russian Karelia in 1936–1939, which is now preserved in the folklore archives of the Finnish Literature Society. Korolainen examines the handwritten texts of ordinary people, which describe an object, activity or situation; the documents also include hand-made drawings. By applying multimodal analysis, the author reveals the relationship between the text and drawings. The article contains multi-layered discussions on mobility, first and foremost, in the context of folklore, but the author also exemplifies mobility with his own original drawings. In addition to his research activity, Korolainen is also known as a visual artist. He recently published a comic album *Marjatta & Ilman Kinna* (Korolainen 2020a)[1], which also points to the author's interest both in folklore and mobility issues – one of the key characters is traveller Kinna Ilma.

What is the symbiosis of a combination of a researcher and a creative personality, be it a visual artist, writer or representative of some other field? This is a wide topic to which Korolainen contributes with the current article, but he has dealt with the researcher-artist interaction issue also in some previous studies. According to Korolainen (2019), the researcher's being an artist can support research work in various ways. In his conference presentation titled "Drawing folklore, things and borders: Making of comic art and the study of folkloristic archive materials" Korolainen argues that "art-making can help recognising presumptions in research" and it also "offers 'tracks' for approaching (immaterial) folklore". But what is particularly important, art-making also "stimulates discussions about concepts, theoretical and ethical issues" (ibid.). In the article published in the special issue, Korolainen moves deeper into this topic. He also looks in the opposite direction, i.e., he seeks the efficiency of research work for art making. Based on individual experience, he concludes that analysing folkloristic drawings serves as an inspiration source for him as a visual artist. Korolainen's article gives an idea of how diffuse the boundaries between one's creative and academic practices and thus also between creative and academic self can be. A person can belong to different groups simultaneously, thereby

obtaining a kind of 'two-in-one' professional quality: an artist-researcher or a writer-researcher, if we speak about the authors in the current special issue.

Korolainen investigates mobility in relation to borders. All folkloristic examples indicate – directly or indirectly – the existence of boundaries, whether visible and clearly marked or invisible but perceived in some other way. Delving into his untitled cartoons (Fig. 7 and 8) one can presume that the question about perceiving the borders and possibilities to visualize them also addresses him as an art maker. Korolainen (2020b: 128) concludes his article with a rhetorical question, "[I]f the border is somehow imperceptible, does it necessarily indicate that it is un-representable?" The clear answer faces the reader from his own cartoons.

At present mobility, borders, and boundaries, and their visual representation are becoming more and more topical in relation to the corona pandemic. The rapidly changing conditions for mobility are a very new reality; therefore we can find only the first academic contemplations of social scientists and humanitarians on the links between mobility and pandemic. For example, Robin Cohen (2020) writes about 'panic movers' who leave cities to survive pandemic times in their safer country homes. The first studies have also been published in the field of folkloristics and the representation of virus-related things by visual means comes to the fore (see, e.g., Kuperjanov 2020). When taking a look at the Internet, one can see that it is full of different types of drawings, most of which visualize the new social norms. Corona does not respect borders – this is the common belief emphasized by doctors, columnists, and politicians. However, the whole world seems to be fighting the pandemic by setting all kinds of new boundaries. A great majority of the visual representations are related to keeping distance and very often they represent border areas between people, fulfilled with two meters of conventional emptiness. But one can also find drawings of demarcative constructions; for example, a transparent wall between two people with laptops, communicating from a distance.

Tanya Matanova's contribution to the special issue, "German Migrants in Bulgaria and Their Social Networks", presents the results of a pilot study, the focus of which is on immigrants' various communication practices. Diasporic communities have always relied on networks; Michel Bruneau (2010: 48) characterizes diaspora as a "patchwork of various networks" that functions "as a hinge between different spaces and different geographical scales. Their [diasporans'] networks belong to each of the host countries as well as to a transstate diasporic network" (ibid.). Nowadays, the Internet as "a meeting point" plays an irreplaceable role in the formation of communication; it has become the central framework for networking (Kissau & Hunger 2010: 246–247). Speaking about the Internet in the context of migration and diaspora, Andoni Alonso and

Pedro J. Oiarzabal (2010: 1–2) characterize it as a window into the immigrant's destination country, which at the same time functions also as an "interactive link back to their homelands".

Matanova's pilot is an internet-based research complemented by ethnographic interviews. She uses the data obtained by following the communication activities in sixteen German-language Facebook groups, the members of which share different kind of information about life in Bulgaria. The pilot is innovative primarily because of the attempt to visualize relationships between the members of the Facebook groups utilizing the programme VennMaker. Matanova points out an interesting fact: the network is not limited to the members of the German diaspora group, which has been developing in Bulgaria for some time; the members' profiles show that networking also includes so-called potential immigrants who, even if they never immigrate to Bulgaria, want to learn something about the country, its culture, customs, etc. Analysing relationships in the German immigrant group, Matanova classifies the members of the group into labour, student, family, and retirement migrants. We highlight the fact that Matanova includes in her research retirees, who do not very often find their way to the collective picture of migrants. Previous studies have addressed this category rarely, albeit from quite different perspectives. For example, Anoeshka Gehring focuses on the "lived EU citizenship", concluding that a certain part of Northern European retirement migrants, who had moved southward, including Bulgaria, really identify with Europe as a post-national entity, but the study also indicates that a warmer climate plays an important role in migrants' decision-making (Gehring 2019: 265–266). Marion Repetti, Christopher Phillipson, and Toni Calasanti (2018) observe, first of all, the economic aspect; their study demonstrates that Northern European retirees leave their homeland, hoping to improve their financial situation in the Mediterranean countries. As for German retirees, Stoyan Nenov and Thomas Escritt (2020) argue that their outmigration shows a growth trend. In 2002, 107 Germans were getting their state pensions wired to Bulgaria and by 2018 it was 652, but in Thailand the increase was even from 671 to 5,415. If we look at the retirees' outmigration from the networking perspective, we can find some indications in the media that this may lead to a loss of ties with family members in their homeland, as it has happened to several retirees in Thailand (ibid.). In our opinion, the retirement migrants' networking abilities on the one hand and the emotional aspect of meeting or dissatisfying their needs for communication on the other hand are worth a further research. Matanova's study as well as some others (e.g. Pileva 2020) show that elderly diasporans may not have their personal social media accounts and therefore their access to the new ICTs may depend on the support of the younger generation. Matanova's research also reveals

the fact that online networking is, to a large extent, only a path along which diasporans can move to face-to-face contacts; people's need for this type of communication has not disappeared.

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NOTES

[1] See also https://kirjokansi.omaverkkokauppa.fi/Kari-Korolainen-Marjatta-Ilman-Kinna, last accessed on 16 July 2020.

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AN ETHNO-CULTURAL PORTRAIT OF A DIASPORA IN CENTRAL RUSSIA: THE FORMATION AND CULTURE OF THE EASTERN UDMURT

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Abstract: The Eastern Udmurt are a peripheral Udmurt ethnographic group whose members live mostly in Bashkortostan. This article introduces the reader to the migrations that led to the formation of this group, and to the main cultural characteristics that determine the originality of the Eastern Udmurt. Their settling in the Bashkir lands took place due to the penetration of the Russian power in the Volga region, which happened in the sixteenth century through warfare that damaged the local population. They started to settle in more peaceful regions, and the migration was continued in the subsequent centuries, reaching the peak with the forceful Evangelisation of the eighteenth century. This culture is rich and original: it has retained many Udmurt features as the ethnic religion that is still alive, and has merged with Turkic features in several important aspects, such as language, costume, and music. This is the first part of a study that will continue with the observation of Eastern Udmurt organisations and the relation to their core territory, nowadays the Republic of Udmurtia.

Keywords: diaspora, Eastern Udmurt, ethnic religion, ethno-cultural portrait, Finno-Ugric, migration, Turkic influences, Turkic peoples, Udmurt

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is not to develop a discussion on the theoretic notion of diaspora. We start from the idea that a diaspora is an ethnic group separated from its historical core territory but feeling a connection with it, either real or imagined, and has avoided, in its new habitat, total assimilation with the core inhabitants. There may be several different origins and reasons for the formation of a diaspora. The Jews, for example, migrated because of the loss of their original territory; the Portuguese or the Poles in France, the Italians and the Turks in Germany came to work in better conditions with better wages; in other cases, the displacement is connected to education: the younger Udmurt in Estonia came to receive higher education, and more precisely, a doctoral degree.

The case this article is referring to belongs to neither of these models and is much more remote in time.

THE EARLY UDMURT MIGRATIONS

Here we will not dwell on archaeological data that prove the existence of Udmurt-speaking communities in some concrete parts of the Ural-Volga region in prehistoric times. We rather limit our reflections to the historical periods and, more precisely, to the time in which the life of the Udmurt community was disrupted by major historic events. These events were connected with the expansion of Russian statehood eastwards.

Before the occupation of Kazan in 1552

The ancestors of the contemporary Udmurt were separated into two administrative units, which determined the distinctive features of their cultures. The northernmost communities were integrated after their formation into the "Vyatka lands", which was a buffer state between Moscow and the Turkic Kazan Khanate (Grishkina 1994: 26). It was a city-state structure, under the rule of an oligarchy, where the Udmurt lived quite isolated in the eastern forests. However, they interacted with their neighbours, who were mainly Russians (Makarov 1995: 84–85). This Russian influence was even more reinforced after Moscow finally absorbed the Vyatka lands in 1489, after several attempts that had brought the two units closer and closer (Grishkina 1994: 28–30). Thus, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, part of the Udmurt had already been brought under a much wider Russian rule than it was in the Vyatka state

(Atamanov & Vladykin 1993: 27). The other part of the Udmurt lived in the well-organized Turkic state of Kazan. It was one of the states born in the aftermath of the Mongolian expansion westwards in 1222, and the subsequent retreat towards Mongolia. This state bore several denominations, including the Golden Horde and, finally, the Khanate of Kazan. The Turkic state was a strong one, with administrative and financial structures, a body of civil servants, an army, and taxes. Here, the dominant cultural influence was Muslim and Turkic. Conversion to Islam had not been a policy of the Turkic state, so that the Udmurt as well as other Finno-Ugric communities had been able to practice their religious understandings undisturbed. This strong state, as well as its predecessors, was an important actor in Russian history: they had subjected the Russian principalities, which for centuries had been compelled to pay tribute to the Tatar-Mongol rulers. Thus, Moscow's expansion eastwards had two goals: give more and more living space for the population, but also gain freedom from the subordination to the Tatar rule. Moscow endeavoured to achieve its goals gradually, and succeeded within a campaign led by Ivan IV the Terrible, in 1552, to occupy the centre of the Khanate, the city of Kazan (Grishkina 1995: 111–112).

The consequences of the conquest of Kazan

Kazan was taken by warfare. Warfare is always devastating for the civil populations who suffer from the depredations of both armies. While undoubtedly locals' feelings were different as to the old and new rulers, the misery of the populations that had to feed hostile bodies of soldiers was deep. Many peasants were deprived of their livelihood and faced desperate conditions. Even the words colonisation, exploitation, depredation (Grishkina 1994: 33–35) and genocide have been used in this context (Osipov 2008: 21, Torbasov n.d.). This was certainly a huge stimulus to flight: by whole villages, the local populations fled to look for quieter life conditions elsewhere.

Thus, the first indictment to quit their core lands was the trouble brought by warfare and the collapse of the Tatar rule. The Southern Udmurt who fled looked for peace and prosperity in the areas where the Tatar rule had not been challenged – eastwards, in the Bashkir lands.

Later on other reasons emerged to continue this migration movement. While certainly it was due to a multitude of factors – the heavier and heavier tax load, compulsory work set upon villagers, etc. – their descendants had to endure particularly one of them, the religious load imposed upon them.

Evangelisation

One of the first means to integrate the new lands into what was becoming an empire was the imposition of Orthodoxy as the religion of the sovereign. Among the first measures, as early as 1555, a bishop was appointed in Kazan (Bernshtam 1990: 138), and mosques were destroyed throughout the whole territory. Then attempts to convert the new populations started to be made. To begin with, monasteries were built, which took possession of the lands and employed the peasants whose lands they had taken (DeWeese 1980: 115). These monasteries served the spiritual needs of the newcomers but were also powerful signs of the new power's presence. Secondly, depending on the understanding of different bishops, conversion policies were – or were not – implemented. The first conversion policies encompassed both reward and punishment, offering rewards as gifts of crosses and shirts, pardon for crimes, exemption from taxation; non-Christians were not allowed to have Christian serfs, etc. (Luppov 1999 [1899]: 100). Punishments were mostly isolation from the non-baptised or heavier taxation: the taxes not paid by the newly converted were transferred onto the non-baptised population. There were some conversions among the non-Russians (Zahidullin 1997: 52). This policy, however, was neither permanent nor consequent: it was not always properly implemented and sometimes contradictions between the Church's promises and acts of the civil power disrupted the conversion attempts. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, different ukases from Peter the Great, aiming at converting indigenous peoples and eradicating paganism in the empire, as well as depriving Tatar elites of their privileges (Kappeler 1994: 41) increased the pressure. However, no actual efficient conversion policy was implemented until 1740, when the creation of an office for the newly converted took systematic measures to convert the animist population (Luppov 1999 [1899]: 141–142), who were much easier to baptise than the dogmatic Muslims. These conversions relied on a fraud or at least a misunderstanding: the animists were accustomed to tolerance toward other religious practices and could not understand Christian exclusivism. Moreover, almost no explanations were given, out of belief in the magic force of baptism. Constraint was used against those who were reluctant to let themselves be baptised (Kappeler 1982: 277; Brennan 1987: 128–129; Luppov 1999 [1899]: 148). The missionaries were accompanied by soldiers, who were threatening per se. This campaign lasted 26 years and was successful: most of the animist population were baptised, and as apostasy was criminalised, they had no possibility to undo the procedure (in spite of several attempts, especially by the Mari; see Lallukka & Popov 2009).

This forceful interference in the peasants' lives was very much intrusive and many were dissatisfied. While this was not the only reason for migration, in the memory of the migrants, which they transmitted to their descendants, is that they left their lands because of religious oppression, in order to live according to the rules of their ancestors.

Migration

Thus, the Udmurt – as well as the Mari, the Chuvash, and Mordvinians – fled eastwards by whole villages. They looked for lands to rent and found them in areas inhabited by Turkic peoples. Over the Kama River, on its eastern shores, there were huge extensions of land scarcely inhabited (Sadakov 1949: 13). The Bashkir were a nomadic people. The Tatar were more sedentary. But space was available and they rented it to the Udmurt, who later bought it for themselves.

Among the different hypotheses about the Udmurt settlement in Bashkortostan, the most accepted nowadays is the stance of Pavel Luppov, a scholar of Udmurt evangelisation, who identifies three stages in the migration. The first stage was in the sixteenth century, after the taking of Kazan. Actually, the first mention of an Udmurt settlement is from 1572 (Safin & Mukhtasarova & Khaliulina 2009: 10). The second one, according to Luppov, was in the first decades of the eighteenth century, at the time of the first revision (census) and the introduction of the capital tax. The third stage took place in the middle of the eighteenth century, and was directly connected with the forceful evangelisation implemented by the Office of the Neophytes (Sadikov 2001: 17). Often, coming from Udmurt villages in the core territory of the ethnic group, the newcomers brought along the village name, Gondyr, or the clan name – Mozhga. Detailed studies on micro-ethnonyms show that many of them came from Southern Udmurt regions in the Perm region (Chernykh 2017: 16) as well as in other regions of Bashkortostan (Sadikov 2001: 19–21), although some clan names suggest that some newcomers came from Northern Udmurtia (Nasibullin 1997: 12).

THE RESULT OF THE MIGRATION: FORMATION OF THE EASTERN UDMURT GROUP

The Eastern Udmurt group is one of the peripheral Udmurt ethnic groups. The English name Eastern Udmurt has been given to them by the authors of this article, who attempted to find a comfortable denomination. In Russian, they are usually called *zakamskie udmurty* (the Udmurt from over the Kama), which is

a concrete and precise expression, but not easily translated into English. This name was first used by N.I. Tezyakov in 1892 (Sadikov 2019: 24). There are also other expressions: Bashkir ethnographer Kuzeev proposed *priural'skaia territorial'naia smeshannaia vnutrietnicheskaia etnograficheskaia gruppa udmurtov* (the territorial mixed intraethnic ethnographic group of Udmurt by the Urals), which is an even more uncomfortable appellation, both in English and in Russian (Kuzeev 1992: 260). He also used the simple term *priural'skaia* (by the Urals), but it is not much more convincing than the former (Sadikov 2001: 5). Some use the expression *bashirskie udmurty, bashkir udmurt"es* (the Bashkir Udmurt), as, for example, Nurieva (2013: 151), but this expression is not fully correct. It is possible to talk about the Bashkortostan Udmurt, but this expression is very precise about the Udmurt living in Bashkortostan, while the Eastern Udmurt live also in the region of Perm and Sverdlovsk oblasts.

Ethnographers divide them into several territorial subgroups. Sadikov has proposed the following division (see Fig. 1):

1. The Tanyp Udmurt, in part of the Yanaul, Kaltasy, Burayevo, Baltachevo districts (first mention in 1627; archive material 1):
   a) The Tashkichi Udmurt in one village of the Il'ishevo district and one village of the Burayevo district (first mention in 1739; Davletbaev 1986: 130);
   b) The Kanli Udmurt in one village of the Kushnarenko district (first mention in 1769; archive material 2) (Sadikov 2019: 9–11).
2. The Buy group, in part of the Yanaul district and the Kueda district of the Perm kray (first mention in 1684; Davletbaev 1986: 138) (Sadikov 2019: 11–12).
3. The Tatyshly group, with almost all the villages of the Tatyshly district and one of the Kueda district of the Perm kray (first mention in 1670; archive material 3) (Sadikov 2019: 13).
4. The Bavly group, in the Bavly district of Tatarstan and the Yermekeyevo district of Bashkortostan (first mention in 1640; archive material 4) (Sadikov 2019b: 13–14). Actually, Galina Nikitina does not include this group among the Eastern Udmurt. She just notices that some Udmurt villages are situated south in relation to the others (Nikitina 2011: 4).
5. The Krasnoufa group in the Krasnoufa district of Sverdlovsk oblast' (first mention in 1679; Chagin 1995: 46) (Sadikov 2019b: 14–16), which is practically extinct or on the verge of extinction.
6. The Knyaz'-Elga group of Il'ishevo district in Bashkortostan (Sadikov 2019b: 16).

Figure 1. *Map of the territories inhabited by the Eastern Udmurt. Vincent Dautancourt 2019.*

Today these groups do not represent a homogeneous cultural whole. There are discussions on the belonging of the Bavly Udmurt to this group. While the origin of this group is not under discussion – migrations from an original habitat under the pressure of historical events – the time of this migration is arguable: either the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries (Pesni 2018) or the mid-sixteenth century (Valey Kel'makov, personal communication 2019). As the differences in several fields of culture are remarkable (musical tradition, dialect, traditional worldview, etc.) as our expedition in July 2019 revealed, we do not attempt to unknot the problem here, but we have not included the Bavly Udmurt in our reflexions.

The archives reveal some interesting facts:

1. As the abovementioned data show, different villages are first mentioned on different dates and in different periods of time. This confirms that until the nineteenth century there had been not one migration wave but several.

2. Several villages established as Udmurt were assimilated by the local – Turkic and Muslim – population. They became Tatar and converted to Islam, in some cases also losing the original Udmurt language; until today the villagers have retained a memory of once being Udmurt (for example, Garibash in the Tatyshly district of Bashkortostan; for more details see Sadikov 2019a).
3. They also give witness to internal migrations, with part of the population from one village separating from the original village at some moment and settling in a new one. The new village may be either close to the "mother village", as in the case of Novye Tatyshly (mother-village) and Maysk – at the distance of three kilometres, or Urazgildy and Vyazovka (nine kilometres) or farther away, as in the case of Starokalmiyarovo (mother-village in the Tatyshly district) and Kalmiyar (Kueda district of the Perm kray). These origins are well remembered by villagers and are clearly retained in the religious life of both villages: Maysk and Novye Tatyshly hold their village ceremonies together, just like Starokalmiyarovo and Kalmiyar, in spite of the distance and the separation that took place in the mid-nineteenth century (Chernykh 2017: 18) have done for decades. The relations between Maysk and Novye Tatyshly, which are at the distance of four kilometres from each other, are fully alive. But it has now been some decades that the relations between Starokalmiyarovo and Kalmiyar have faded; the two villages are several dozens of kilometres apart and in two different administrative units.

These groups have retained some general features of their common origins and new life conditions, which distinguish them from the Udmurt that remained in the core territory.

This population is now around 20,000. The historical data reveal the following evolution:

1725 – 3,294
1795 – 6,912
1834 – 11,770 (in the Orenburg governorate)
1897 – 22,501
1926 – 23,256 (95.8%)
1979 – 25,906 (93.3%)
1989 – 23,696 (90%)
2002 – 22,625
2010 – 21,477 (89.5%)[1]

This overview (Safin & Mukhtasarova & Khaliulina 2019: 660–661) shows that by the eve of the revolution, the Udmurt in Bashkortostan had reached more

or less the number we witness today and that until today their overwhelming majority has acknowledged Udmurt as their mother tongue, which is considerably more than in Udmurtia (65%). The demographic data show a slight decrease in the last decades, while the population still remains around 20,000.

One characteristic of this population is its rurality. The Udmurt in general do not live in towns, and when they do, they do not settle very far from their native regions: while only 0.1% live in the Bashkir capital Ufa, 9% live in Yanaul, and only 1.3% in Neftekamsk (ibid.: 663). But these statistics take into account only Bashkortostan, while the towns to which mostly the Udmurt from Bashkortostan migrate are not in the republic, but close to it, in the surrounding regions – Udmurtia and Perm kray (Chaykovski, Chernushka). The rural character is certainly one of the important elements of the overall stability in this area.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE EASTERN UDMURT

In general the Eastern Udmurt are characterised by a strong influence of the environing Turkic culture. This influence manifests itself through both resilience to other influences and elements of active borrowing in different domains.

Resilience to Russian influences

In other parts of Russia, the Udmurt have been subjected to the strong influence from the Russian presence. It is manifested in the way they assess themselves as well as in the religious field.

Self-dignity

In the places in which Russian culture has been dominant, the colonial rule has led to a clear attack on the dignity of the indigenous peoples: they have been seen as inferior and have been convinced of their own indignity by permanent pressure (Grishkina 1994: 43). Even communities much more developed than the Russian ones have been seen in this way: as Miropiev (1908) observed, Russians, even at the beginning of the twentieth century, thought that they had brought culture and modernity to the Estonians, while the Estonian communities, thanks to Protestantism, had been massively literate since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Data about the way the Udmurt were seen by the coloniser are not difficult to identify both in literature (Dido 1902) and in

fieldwork ("we are a second category people", said the Udmurt in Udmurtia at the end of the twentieth century). They had also interiorised the views of the coloniser on beauty, underestimating their own arguments according to other canons (Nikitina 2015). They also started to abandon huge fields of language use to the domination of Russians, and showed reluctance to use it in public, as this use was stigmatised by a part of the population, both Udmurt and non-Udmurt. The fact that Izhevsk, the capital, was and still is a Russian town did nothing to soften the aggression against the Udmurt. This was further enhanced by the repressions that lasted for the whole decade of the 1930s and continued far into the 1940s, and in which the ethnic factor was predominant (Toulouze 2017). The first to suffer from it were the intellectuals. The de-Stalinisation process in the late 1950s and through the 1960s found an Udmurt population tongue-tied by terror and self-loathing. This is no more the case, of course, especially with younger generations born in the late Soviet period and beyond, but the legacy cannot easily be forgotten.

Nothing of that happened with the Eastern Udmurt. Safin and his colleagues emphasised that the Udmurt were not looked down on by the locals, especially after they had participated in the latter's struggle against the tsarist rule: "unlike the groups that were surrounded by Russians, who looked down on the 'natives' as second rank persons, the Southern Udmurt who were surrounded by the Bashkir did not consider themselves as such" (Safin & Mukhtasarova & Khaliulina 2009: 11–12). This does not mean that, as some informants told us, the Tatar did not use despising expressions toward the Udmurt, but one informant recognises that "things are better now". Moreover, the Udmurt argue that they are a hardworking people, and this is confirmed, as a stereotype, both by the Tatar[2] and by Russians (ibid.: 19). This enhances their dignity in their own and in others' eyes.

As for later periods, the relative importance of the intelligentsia was minimal; most of the Eastern Udmurt were peasants living in villages. Moreover, the percentage of Russians in these areas is also minimal and far from dominant. The dominant ethnic group here are the Tatar. While being quite similar to Russians in the superiority feeling towards others, the manifestations are quite different in everyday life: they rather ignore the others than humiliate them. So the Eastern Udmurt are proud of their Udmurtness and feel much more confident than their counterparts in Udmurtia. They have retained their language considerably better and they are not ashamed to use it in any environment. This is not supported by any particularly resilient ideology, but just by practice and the wish to live comfortably within the space created by one's mother tongue.

A distinctive religious practice

According to Nikitina, the main characteristic feature of the Eastern Udmurt is their traditional, non-Christian religion (Nikitina 2011: 4). They fled, as some scholars emphasise, less from Christianity itself rather than from the methods of its propagation (Safin & Mukhtasarova & Khaliulina 2009: 19). Indeed, allegedly, forceful evangelisation was the main reason for migration. The refugees wanted to continue living according to their traditions and were hindered by the aggressive policy of forceful evangelisation.

In the Turkic territory, they were shielded against these endeavours by the explicit hostility to it by the Moslem population. The latter did not allow missionaries to reach the Udmurt villages. Even scholars had to suffer from this hostility; for example, Hungarian linguist Bernát Munkácsi could not gather materials in the Eastern Udmurt villages at the end of the nineteenth century, as he was suspected of being a missionary (Sadikov & Minniyakhmetova 2012: 52).

So Christianity, while in Udmurtia it obliged the Udmurt to follow its rules, was totally absent from the Eastern Udmurt areas. Not so, though, Islam. Islam was pervading in these regions as the dominant religion. While the Islamisation policy was not as systematic as Evangelisation, it had the basic advantage of not being state-ruled. The Islamisation process went on and on steadily, and was particularly intensive in the first years of the twentieth century (Nikitina 2011: 6). So, some Udmurt villages decided to integrate into their new environment as a whole and adopted both Islam and the Tatar culture along with the Tatar language (cf. above). But most of the villages remained as they were, which means that they pursued the religious practice that characterised them "at home". This manifold practice, with collective clan and family levels, with a pervasive presence of the dead, and both familiar and non-familiar universes filled with spirits, has subsided by today. So, the Eastern Udmurt are characterised by what they themselves call "paganism", which means they have their own religion, which is different from the surrounding world religions based on dogma.

Of course, it has not remained unchanged for centuries. Firstly and above all, it has evolved according to its internal rules – some dimensions have faded, others have been introduced. Secondly, the general environment has influenced these processes greatly: after 1917, like everywhere else in Russia, the Soviet rule implemented its anti-religious policies here as well. But because of several aspects their effects on the Eastern Udmurt were slower and more limited than elsewhere: first of all, there was no centralised hierarchy to attack; the sacrificial priests did not differ from any other village-dweller; in this region, Islam and even Christianity were primarily attacked and vernacular religious practice could somehow be ignored. Strong personalities kept religious practices alive. As it was merged with identity feelings, it was able to survive. But the overall

atmosphere did not leave the population untouched: such institutions as school, army, and collective production units instructed the young in anti-religious feelings and materialistic ideology. While private cults could be preserved, public ceremonies often took place on working days, excluding the younger population from this practice.

All this demanded also adaptation: the bigger animals – cows, horses – were a collective property, and their sacrifice was considered as production sabotage. So sacrificial practice focused more on ewes and birds, which could be personal property. The older sacrificial places were too provocatively visible – new, more discreet ones started to be looked for (Toulouze & Vallikivi 2016). The different personalities of sacrificial priests and party leaders played an unpredictable role, leading to a quite differentiated religious landscape at the end of the twentieth century: in some places, absolute continuity was granted, in others collective ceremonies disappeared throughout the twentieth century.

In the late 1980s and particularly in the 1990s a process started that is still ongoing: everywhere, revitalisation signs led to the strengthening of Udmurt religious practices, or even the restarting of collective ceremonies. The impulse for this development apparently came from local leaders, but it answered a need in the population, which is clearly manifested in the reactions to new openings (see Toulouze 2016).

***Figure 2**. A sacred place in Alga (Tatyshly district, Bashkiria), with a house and a fence. Photograph by Eva Toulouze, June 2013.*

Figure 3. *Ceremony Bagysh vös' between Staryi Kyzyl-Yar and Nizhnebaltachevo (Tatyshly district, Bashkiria). Photograph by Eva Toulouze, December 2013.*

The first sign, at the very end of the Soviet period, was building prayer houses in the sacred sites used for collective ceremonies that had never been discontinued, on the initiative of the collective farms, and fencing or re-fencing sites. In other cases, where ceremonies had not been held for years or for decades, local leaders looked for potential sacrificial priests mostly among the descendants of former priests and encouraged them to revitalise collective ceremonies. They provided material help – i.e., found ewes for the sacrifice and helped with transportation. In some villages, as Kassiyarovo in the Burayevo district, the population put pressure on the potential sacrificial priest to organise a ceremony: he had been chosen by the previous one before the latter's demise and had never taken over the legacy. After a couple of decades, he was asked to perform and he was willing to do so, also because of unhappy incidents in his family that could have been due to his unwillingness to fulfil his promise (personal communication by Ranus Sadikov in 2015).

Another example of the willingness of the population is the attendance at existing ceremonies. In the Tatyshly district, in which a whole cycle of ceremonies existed, the intermediate ceremony between the village one and the one with nine or ten villages has either disappeared or has been inflated: originally it concerned only some villages. But today, in one of the subgroups, it brings together almost all of them – eight villages out of nine. The village in the group

which does not participate, Kalmiyar, compensates it through the revival of its winter village ceremony. So there is a real interest and wish at grassroots level to have collective ceremonies for the community.

One reason is probably the absence of occasions to do things together at the village level. In the Soviet time, the kolkhoz organised many collective work sessions accompanied by recreational activities. Then the collective units started to have problems. For example, the "kolkhoz" *Demen*, covering the villages of Novye Tatyshly, Bal'zyuga, Urazgil'dy and Maysk, even discontinued the Sabantuy, the traditional feast for the end of the spring field works, which for some years was held at other levels (district, some villages) but no more at the kolkhoz level (some villages together). Such was the situation when we arrived in the field in 2013. Since then the cooperative has renewed this tradition. Knowing the low level of salaries in the cooperative, we asked the villagers whether they would not have preferred to have an increase in their wages instead, but the answer or, more precisely, the non-understanding of our question was unanimous. They all had missed this occasion to be together and rejoice, and were happy to have it restored.

It would be narrow to limit religious practice to the visible dimension of collective ceremonies: every family has its calendar practices (the great day, the

Figure 4. *Ceremony for entering a new house in Aribash (Tatyshly district). The sacrificial priest eats the consecrated porridge while praying. Photograph by Nikolai Anisimov, October 2017.*

autumn ceremony, the spring and autumn commemorations) as well as their personal or private ceremonies; for example, commemorations of their dead, moving to a new house, not to speak about births or marriages. But here we shall not focus on them, because they exist, more or less, in the whole of the Udmurt territory, and they are not specific to this group. Even within the framework of Orthodoxy, many of them are still alive elsewhere. But there are only two villages by the Southern Udmurt, one in Udmurtia, Kuzebaevo, and the other not far, but in Tatarstan – Varkled-Bodya – where collective ceremonies are still held. So we may safely argue that this movement is a peculiarity of the Eastern Udmurt.

Turkic influence

This is the second characteristic feature mentioned by Nikitina (2011: 6). There are fields in which the contact with the neighbours has not protected Udmurt features but changed them, through intense Turkic influence, and this is a visible feature that may easily be identified. We shall focus here on three fields: language, music, and dress as well as ornaments.

Language

The Udmurt language has been divided into dialects since the beginning of its investigation and researchers have classified the dialects in different ways (Atamanov-Egrapi 2017 [2010]: 340–342). We will follow Valey Kel'makov's last partition, the third one he proposed, according to which the Eastern Udmurt speak a peripheral dialect of the Southern Udmurt, with four sub-dialects (Kel'makov 1998: 42). While it is distinctively Udmurt, with many common features with other Udmurt dialects, inter-comprehension with speakers of other dialects is not granted. Many features make the spoken language obscure for the non-initiated: many consonants are not pronounced or are pronounced differently: the word 'tomorrow' is, in literary Udmurt, *ӟуказе*, pronouced *chukaz'e*. In Easter Udmurt it becomes *shukae*, which is not easily identified in current quick speech. There are Turkic influences also in pronunciation. Mostly what may trouble speakers of other dialects are lexical items which are either non-existent in standard Udmurt or mean something else. These may be either archaisms, which have disappeared from use in other dialects and do not exist in the literary language, or Turkisms.

Some examples of archaic forms are proposed by Irina Nurieva with words such as *инос* (*inos*, 'good mood'; lit. 'heaven's gates'), or *арт* (*art*, 'crown of a log

cabin'), or old female names as *Чужин* (*chuzhin*, 'yellow' + suffix in), *Сяськан* (*S'yas'kan*, 'flower' + suffix n (Nurieva 2013: 151)).

Some very common words, such as, for example, 'thank you', in standard Udmurt *may* (pronounced *tau*), are said according to the Tatar word *rahmet*, although it is not rare to hear *"rahmet, tau, spasibo*[3]*"*. The word for 'good' is also a Tatar loan – *aybet*. Tatar loans present in other dialects are used here with a meaning much closer to the Tatar original: *tugan* is in Udmurtia 'beloved, lover', while to the east of the Kama River it means 'kin'. 'Apple' is in Northern Udmurt, like in Russian, *jablok*. In Southern Udmurt, as well as in the literary form of the language, the Turkic word *ulmo* is also used. Actually many elderly people speak Tatar and switch easily from one language to the other. Some even argue that they speak Bashkir. This is not the case anymore with the younger, even the generation of the 45-year-olds, who have learned mostly Russian at school and are even more skilled in this language than in Udmurt.

Music

Usually the Udmurtia Udmurt say that the Eastern Udmurt have neither music nor songs of their own, and that they like to listen to and sing only Tatar songs. Indeed, according to Nurieva, all their songs are constructed according to the pentatonic system that characterises Tatar songs (2013: 151). The Eastern Udmurt have taken from Tatar tradition both the melismatic way of singing the tunes and the performance concept of *myn*, which expresses the masterly skill of the performer. They use in Udmurt the expression *мынлъ кырӟась* (m"ynl kyrdz'has'), a 'skilful singer', who is a recognised and respected member of the community (ibid.: 151–152).

What seems to be true indeed is that the predominance of the Tatar style has led to the disappearance of many Udmurt songs that did not correspond to this pattern, especially the most conservative ritual songs, which were still in use in the 1970s, when Gábor Bereczki and László Vikár visited this area and recorded singing folklore (Nurieva 2013: 152). Nurieva emphasises also the gender division of some ritual songs, which is, according to her, a unique example in the Udmurt territory.

But the accusation of recognising only Tatar songs is both true and unfair. Undoubtedly, Tatar music is very popular. Grandmothers sing Tatar hits in Tatar with the greatest pleasure; "Uftanma" (Do not regret) by Elvin Grey is much beloved: we heard it sung at Kassiyarovo village Sabantuy in 2018 as well as at a private party by elderly women in April 2019. Some songs by Rishat Tukhvatullin, such as "Sandugach" (The nightingale), have even several Udmurt versions.

As in other Udmurt communities, there are singing families and less singing families. Still, the Udmurt sing a great deal and this is true also here. Around the table, moonshine usually accompanies songs. These may be Udmurt traditional songs, which often have parallels in the Udmurt tradition in Udmurtia, with a tune that may differ.

It is true that Tatar songs are popular, but we must recognize that many of them have become Udmurt ones: they have Udmurt texts and they are sung in an Udmurt way. So we would like to emphasise that although the origin of these songs is undoubtedly Tatar for many of them, they have been assimilated and are received and performed by the Udmurt as their own. However, in the performance, comparing with the Tatar, most of the Tatar pathos disappears and is replaced by a quieter interpretation.

Costumes and jewellery

The costume of the Eastern Udmurt is considered as a variation of the Southern Udmurt one (see Atamanov-Egrapi 2017 [2010]: 218). Also in costumes and ornaments the Turkic, particularly Bashkir, influence can be observed. The Bashkortostan Udmurt costume is very colourful, in rich velvet colours. Velvet is one of the most popular fabrics used. The colours are deep green, violet, deep blue, deep red, and purple. There may also be yellow, but it is not one of the fundamental colours. They are recognizable from afar. Costumes are described in detail in some books: Serafima Lebedeva's monograph about costume, with many photographs (2008: 132–140) as well as in Irina Kosareva's book about peripheral costume traditions (2000: 162–196).

There are two main characteristics of the costume to be emphasised: the first is a flounce around the waist, meant to protect women's most vulnerable parts from external negative influences. This is an addition to the Udmurt costume which is unknown in Udmurtia. A similar flounce is also added, invisibly, to the skirt.

The other piece of clothing very characteristic of the Eastern Udmurt is a loan from the Bashkir costume, which has been fully integrated into the Udmurt costume: it is a longer vest without sleeves, usually in velvet, which is worn on the dress. It is decorated with silver or golden ribbons running along the rims. Usually the colour differs from that of the dress.

Attention usually concentrates on the female costume, for, on the one hand, the male costume was much more modest and not so spectacular, and, on the other hand, it has not made it to the twenty-first century. While women use the traditional costume quite widely, especially for festive purposes, men do not use traditional clothes at all and wear industrial clothing, whereas the traditional

costume was made from homespun material. There is one exception: the ritual dress for ceremonies. We shall just concentrate on this topic and must go back in time for a while.

Figures 5 & 6. *The Staryi Kyzyl-Yar folk music ensemble Mardzhan (Pearl) (Tatyshly district, Bashkiria) in local folk costumes. Photograph by Nikolai Anisimov, June 2019.*

Sacrificial priests wore, as did all the population (according to old photographs), special garments for ceremonies: the ritual dress was a long handwoven chemise, white with thin vertical stripes, and white headgear on their head. The ritual dress was called *shortderem* and there were male and female cuts of it. The *shortderem* was also a mortuary costume, so during Soviet times, while no new *shortderems* were woven, and none were of course produced industrially, they almost disappeared – were literally brought to the grave by their owners. At the beginning of the twenty-first century only some sacrificial priests had their own *shortderem*. In order to perform at ceremonies, the priests had to adapt. They chose to wear white medical smocks, an industrial piece of clothing easy to buy in professional shops.

This solution was neither solemn nor particularly aesthetic, but it achieved the main goal: to be dressed in white, in order to address the white god. At the beginning of the second decade of the twenty-first century, some sacrificial priests tried to find some other solutions to give their position the desired solemnity. In the Tatyshly district, the priests of the northernmost nine villages have ordered through the cooperative industry some dozens of smocks made of a white fabric with wide vertical stripes, which roughly reminds of a *shortderem*.

Figure 7. *The sacrificial priest of the village of Vyazovka (Tatyshly district, Bashkiria) in his old* shortderem. *Photograph by Eva Toulouze, June 2017.*

In other districts, they have decorated their white medical smocks with Udmurt patterns, usually red, but other colours may be used as well. At the meeting of the sacrificial priests in January 2019, ethnographer Ranus Sadikov recalled the tradition and encouraged the priests to use new *shortderems*. Further fieldwork will show how they react.

Ritual costumes for females were also called *shortderems*. Some elderly ladies still have theirs and attend ceremonies dressed in them. But it will probably be used as a mortuary dress and will go to the grave with them. While the sacrificial priests have been trying to follow some aspects of tradition or to revive them, the attendants do not endeavour to follow the old prescriptions. Very few come in white or lighter colours. Usually women mark the solemn character of the ceremony by wearing folk costumes, and not even all of them. In the past six years, we have seen a decrease in the use of the folk costume at ceremonies.

Similar to Udmurtia, the Udmurt female costume includes plenty of silver. Silver in general is believed to have a protective function and so it is here. Longer or shorter ornaments covering the chest are used; they are made of silver coins and are passed on from mother to daughter or to daughter-in-law, if the families were wealthy enough to have them. Their function, besides the decorative aspect, was not only to emphasise wealth, but to grant the bearer protection from the evil eye: the coins attracted attention and distracted it from what was below. The clinking of metal also had the function of keeping away evil spirits. We use a past tense because although these functions are not totally ignored nowadays, it is not the principal inducement to use them.

What has been presented in the former paragraph is true for the whole of the Udmurt territory. But there are peculiar features by the Eastern Udmurt: the taste for silver is much more implemented here than elsewhere. Besides the chest ornaments, silver ones surround the face: on the brow, a row of silver coins is sewn to a light cap to be worn under the compulsory headscarf. Another row of coins is fixed to the ears and hangs under the chin like a peculiar beard (for some details and the names of the ornaments see Lebedeva 2008: 140–141).

The elder Udmurt women plait their hair, which cannot be seen under the compulsory headscarf. Still their long plaits are visible on the back, and are also decorated with older silver ornaments, often enhanced with coins and orange stones. This kind of jewellery was very popular among the Tatar, as can be seen in Kazan. Nowadays they are rare, for the production has been discontinued.

In the overall impression left by the Eastern Udmurt culture, we can recognise the Tatar taste for colour and brilliance.

Figure 8. *Anfisa Baimieva (Nizhnebaltachevo, Tatyshly district, Bashkiria), wearing her silver ornaments. Photograph by Eva Toulouze, June 2016.*

IN CONCLUSION: SOME CONCERNS AND NEW MIGRATIONS

Indeed, the "purest" of the Udmurt have so far managed to maintain their resilience and the Udmurt language is very much alive, despite the general trend of Russification. The Turkic shield used to be efficient, but is it sufficient to face the contemporary challenges?

The Eastern Udmurt have benefitted from favourable circumstances. Prosperity in agriculture, an ethnically not too pervasive environment, allowed them to retain what they received in their families – language, religion, habits. This was not supported by any external ideology: they did not speak Udmurt at home because they wanted to preserve their mother tongue, but just because it was their mother tongue and it was natural to speak it.

However, the circumstances have changed in the last decade.

Agricultural prosperity

This expression refers to the past. The time of successful kolkhozes is over. The fate of *Demen* is a very convincing illustration. Already in 2013, the director, Rinat Gallyamshin's son Rustam, complained that the younger villagers were not keen to work in the enterprise. His explanation was quite simple, but not entirely convincing: "They all want to sit at their computers or behind their smartphones and spend all their time on social media" (personal communication, June 2013). While undoubtedly this global phenomenon is quite characteristic of young people in Russia as well as in other parts of the world, it does not explain everything.

The salaries in the enterprise were very low. While the older population, without any alternatives, accepted it, the younger ones were no more interested in demanding physical work for salaries which did not allow them independence. Already in 2013, *Demen* had ceased to be the main employer in the four villages mentioned above. In the following years, the enterprise was bought by several investors in succession, Rustam found another job, and *Demen* struggles to have

Figure 9. *Festive truck of the cooperative* Demen *at the June 2013 district Sabantuy (festival at the end of the spring field works, Verkhnie Tatyshly, Tatyshly district, Bashkiria). Photograph by Eva Toulouze.*

good agricultural results. The village provides no jobs allowing young people to get married and to support their families. Higher wages are to be found elsewhere. The closest and furthest towns and the metropolis offer manifold opportunities both for specialists and for simple workers, and young people are keen to take advantage of this.

They are also willing to change their way of life. Life in villages has its own rules: people simultaneously have a profession and practice horticulture and animal breeding. This puts an enormous burden on men and women alike. Not only is one's potential leisure time occupied with compulsory work with crops and animals, but one is not allowed vacations, for tending domestic animals requires permanent presence. Moreover, the village environment provides sufficient infrastructure neither for everyday life nor for entertainment. Roads are of poor quality and movement is often hindered by mud. Sources of entertainment are scarce and do not vary considerably. Unlike their parents, the younger generations are not satisfied with disco evenings in the local club anymore. Communications are also not comfortable. Mobile network does not reach all villages and nor does access to the internet, which are of vital importance for the younger generation. With employment in town, people enjoy more freedom and younger generations are willing to switch to this way of life.

New environments

Thus younger people are quitting village life. They go to live in closer or farther-away towns, in which Udmurt diasporas reside, even if of different origins. The closest towns are in the Perm kray (Chernushka, Chaykovski), in Bashkiria (Neftekamsk, Yanaul) or in Udmurtia. Chernushka hosts mostly the Udmurt coming from Bashkortostan (2,360 in 2010), while in Chaykovski the Udmurt come mostly from Southern and Central Udmurtia (see Chernykh 2017: 18). Further towns also host Udmurt diasporas: for the Tatarstan Udmurt, Kazan is an attractive destination; for the Udmurt from Bashkortostan it is the Bashkir capital Ufa, but also Perm (for the Udmurt recently mostly coming from Northern Udmurtia; see Chernykh 2017: 17–25) or Ekaterinburg, with a strong community, not to talk about Moscow or Saint Petersburg. What characterises all of these places is their dominant Russian culture.

While at home Udmurt was not challenged as a communication language, in their new environment Udmurt is virtually non-existent. They may keep to it at home, among spouses, but it is not shared outside the family. Everything is in Russian: children brought up in this context will definitely not have Udmurt as the language of social communication; moreover, parents automatically switch to Russian while intercommunicating with their children. They endeavour to

make life simpler for the next generation, thinking of the commercially non-existent value of Udmurt and of the need of good Russian at school. They see their non-Russian mother tongue as a hindrance and they are not aware of the danger of depriving their children of bilingualism. The grandmothers and grandfathers are thus compelled to resort to Russian in order to communicate with their grandchildren.

As no ideology contributed to the good preservation of Udmurt in the past decades, there is no ideology there to save it today. In Udmurtia, there is a starting point, with younger intelligentsia endeavouring to revitalise the language use. But in peripheral regions nothing of the sort is being implemented.

Today we have witnessed several examples of adults coming back home for the Udmurt ceremonies, even if lack of practice may hinder them to speak the language actively. Thus in 2019 we met, at a ceremony in Kaymashabash (Yanaul district), an assistant to the sacrificial priest, who is a young physician (around 35) who settled in Krasnodar long ago, married a Russian lady and does not feel totally free in Udmurt anymore for lack of practice, but still undertakes to come back home for the ceremonies. Some find compromises, in which religion is very present: in 2016 we met the son of an active elder who organises ceremonies in the Tatyshly district. He works in Chernushka and is married to a Russified Udmurt who is Orthodox. They agreed that his wife would bring up their girls in her Christian religion, while the father would bring up their sons in the traditional Udmurt religion. So what about the next generation? While the general tonality of this article is still optimistic, we are afraid that time for optimism is running short…

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NOTES

[1] In brackets, the percentage of Udmurt language speakers.

[2] As an illustration, we may mention the speech of the head of the Tatyshly district, Rushan Garaev, an ethnic Tatar, at the village day in Utar-Elga in June 2016.

[3] 'Thank you' in Russian.

SOURCES

Archive material 1 = National Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, F. I-2. Op. 1. D. 1755. L. 245.

Archive material 2 = National Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, F. I-172. Op. 1. D. 58. L. 64.

Archive material 3 = National Archives of the Republic of Bashkortostan, NA RB. F. I-2. Op. 1. D. 875. L. 1.

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SETO PEOPLE IN THE EXPEDITION DIARIES AND LITERARY WORKS OF A RUSSIAN ÉMIGRÉ LEONID ZUROV

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Abstract: At the beginning of the twentieth century, after the October Revolution, more than one and a half million people left Russia. They lost their homeland forever, and this is why they often visited Estonia, as in this former province of the Russian Empire distinct 'Russian traces' could be found. This article examines the role of the émigré writer Leonid Zurov, who carried out archeological, restoration, and ethnographic work in the Pechorsky district in 1935, 1937, and 1938.

Keywords: archeological and ethnographical expeditions in 1930, Leonid Zurov, Pechory, Russian emigration, Seto people

INTRODUCTION

The experience of the beginning of the twentieth century was extremely important for Russian emigration: more than one and a half million people left their homeland after the October Revolution of 1917 and were scattered all over the world.

In 1920–1940 Russian emigrants, who had no opportunity to return to their homeland, at times visited Estonia, a former province of the Russian Empire, to meet their native culture.

One of these Russian emigrants was writer Leonid Zurov (1902–1971), who carried out archaeological, restoration, and ethnographic works in the Pechorsky district in 1935, 1937, and 1938. Zurov was born in the city of Ostrov, Pskovsky district, in 1902. He immigrated to Estonia in the late autumn of 1919 and moved on to Latvia in 1920. According to the Peace Treaty of 1920, both Estonia and Latvia received parts of the Pskov Province, and Pechorsky district was one of the territories left within the borders of Estonia.

In 1928 Zurov worked on the territory of Estonia, studying the Pskovo-Pechersky monastery under the guidance of Vassily Sinaisky, a professor of

Latvian University. The common mission of the research group was to preserve Russian culture in this area.

In 1929 Zurov moved to France at the invitation of a famous Russian writer, future Nobel Prize winner (in 1933) Ivan Bunin. His novel *Kadet* (Cadet) had been highly appreciated by literary critics of the Russian emigration, and Bunin himself recognized the 27-year-old writer Zurov as one of the most prominent writers of the young generation. Thus, with the help of Bunin's family, Zurov remained in France till the end of his life.

THE 1935 EXPEDITION TO THE PECHORSKY DISTRICT AND THE FIRST MEETING WITH SETO CULTURE

Besides his literary work, Zurov was attracted to the ancient history of Russia. In 1935 he undertook an expedition to Pechorsky district. He sent his drawings from Paris to the Pskovo-Pechersky monastery, trying to convince the prior to restore the monastery's belfry, which, according to his words, was 'mutilated'. The monastery appealed to the department for the protection of monuments under the Ministry of Public Education of Estonia, and the restoration was entrusted to Zurov. A large sum of money was donated for the restoration, and even the President of Estonia, Konstantin Päts, who belonged to the Orthodox confession, was one of the donators. Zurov sought necessary knowledge for the restoration works from ancient icons depicting the monastery buildings in all details, which he had found and copied in the monastery during his first visit there in 1928.

It is hard to believe that in just three months odd, Zurov did such a tremendous job. The solemn act of consecration of the restored belfry took place on September 8, 1935 (Zurov's visa was extended to meet this date). The Synod of the Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church awarded him with the certificate of appreciation for the restoration of St. Nicholas Church.

Zurov developed no less activity outside the monastery. As a result, he discovered the remains of the ancient city near the village of Mitkovitsy. The pottery shards, bone products and other artifacts he had found there were sent to the archaeology office of the University of Tartu.

He was well aware of what kind of material traces of the Slavic past could exist in the Pechorsky district. But perhaps the most unexpected discovery for him was the culture of the Seto people. Having seen them for the first time in 1935, he was filled with a lively interest not only in his "own" Russian culture, but in rituals, faith, and customs of the "other" – small Seto people's – culture. The Seto used to live and still do in southeastern Estonia (a small group lives

in the Pskovsky district of Russia). This is a small Finno-Ugric ethnic group, and their language is considered part of the Võro dialect of Estonian. At the same time, their Orthodox religion and customs are similar to those of Russians. Zurov was sure that the Seto performed ancient pagan rites common to them and the Slavs.

He enthusiastically describes the bright, elegant clothes of the Seto he saw at the Pechory bazaar:

> *Poluverki*[1] *in white caftans, trimmed with red, in silk Russian shawls. The girls have plaited silk ribbons into their braids, and the women's hair is muffled, their eyebrows are covered with white bandages, "apostolniks". Women are proud, saying that they have old headdresses, like in the ancient icons of the Virgin. Cherry ribbons with tassels fall on the back from under their headscarves.* (Zurov 1936a: 4)

Even after returning to France, he continued hearing the songs of Pechorsky district in his mind:

> *The road to Izborsk. Chudinki*[2] *are returning from the market, driving horses, and the drunk peasant women in carts, dressed in white caftans, are tenderly hugging each other and singing all the way: 'Lela, Lela'. … – praise and glory to the ancient Lel*[3]. (Zurov 1936b: 21)

ZUROV'S TRIPS TO ESTONIA AS A MEANS TO PRESERVE HIS NATIVE CULTURE

Zurov's archeological and ethnographic contribution was extremely important. The inhabitants of the Soviet Pskovsky district, bordering on Pechorsky district, were evicted from their native villages, as a result of coerced collectivization. Their houses were partially destroyed and partially inhabited by people from other regions of Soviet Russia. Zurov wrote to one of his correspondents:

> *I've just come back from Lake Pskov. Went with the religious procession … to the border of the USSR. … Russian islands, the mouth of the River Velikaya, Pskov, Trinity Cathedral are perfectly visible. Behind the wire is the village of Poddubye, which was dispossessed last week, and the inhabitants were sent to Siberia. There's silence, a pear tree is blooming, the roof is open, the chimney is destroyed, glass has been shattered, and a frame is hanging. On a tower nearby a red flag is stretching in the wind; the Soviet border guard is looking at me through binoculars.*[4] (Zurov 1935a)

He was surprised and at the same time he was sure that what he had seen would have been of undoubted value from the perspective of world culture. Later on, he wrote:

> *Returning to France* [in 1935]*, I began a campaign in the name of saving the cultural values of the Pechorsky and Izborsky regions.*
>
> *The Seto is an Estonian tribe that live near Izborsk. The Seto, as strange as it may seem, preserved ancient Slavic rites better than Russians.* (Zurov 1947)

For Zurov, all this was a journey through time. From the burial mounds that disappeared after the land had been ploughed, the peasants dug out copper snake rings, copper necklaces, chains and plaques, and wide copper bracelets. The residents of Izborsk showed him hryvnias, Arab dirhams, weapons, pendants in the form of doves and ducks. He saw stone crosses, cut out of a solid slab at the Truvor ancient settlement. Ivan Bunin liked Zurov's photograph of a cross so much that he expressed a wish to have such a cross put on his grave.

Now Zurov was sure: his main task was to save the cultural values of his people from destruction, and he wanted to do the same also for the Seto people.

Returning to Paris, Zurov made several presentations, dedicated to the antiquities of the Pechorsky and Izborsky regions, such as "Drevnosti Izborskogo i Pechorskogo kraia v Estonii" (About the antiquities of the Pechorsky and Izborsky regions in Estonia) at Maison des Polytechniciens in Paris on January 26, 1936, and "Monastyrskie i tserkovnye drevnosti Pecherskogo kraia v Estonii" (Antiquities of monasteries and churches of the Pechorsky region in Estonia) at the Icon Association in Paris on February 7, 1936. He also published a number of relevant articles on these topics, such as "Iz istorii tserkvi Nikolaia Ratnogo v Pecherskom monastyre" (About the history of Nikolai Ratnyi Church in the Pskovo-Pechersky monastery) (Zurov 1935b); "Kak byl otkryt drevnii gorod, nosashchii nazvanie Gorodachok" (How was the ancient city, bearing the name of Gorodets, discovered) (Zurov 1935c); "O drevnostiakh Izborskogo i Pecherskogo kraia" (About the antiquities of the Pechorsky and Izborsky regions) (Zurov 1936c); and "Pechory" (Zurov 1936b).

At the same time he was intensively looking for like-minded people, possible partners to work in the Pechorsky district, in all countries of the Russian diaspora. He first found them in Prague, where, beginning in 1925, the Russian Archaeological Institute, Seminarium Kondakovianum, named by the famous Russian archaeologist Nikodim Kondakov, used to work, and then also at the University of Basel in Switzerland. Two historians, Nikolay Andreyev[5] and Irina Okuneva[6], and photographer František Dědič came to Pechory from Prague. Andreyev wrote to Zurov in reply to his letter that the Prague part of

the expedition "will focus on the church antiquities and handicrafts" (Andreyev & Belobrovtseva 2014: 30).

Zurov in reply reports:

> *Trocadero* [i.e. Musée de l'Homme in Paris] *is mainly interested in the ethnographic border and the Seto villages. We have to make purchases for the museum (costumes, utensils, etc.); it will be necessary to describe the pagan rites of the Chudes and take a lot of photographs. We'll have to make a number of excavations of ancient burial grounds. In addition to that we'll carry out archaeological investigation on the shore of Lake Pskov.* (Andreyev & Belobrovtseva 2014: 37)

Elsa Mahler[7] from the University of Basel was also interested in Russian folk songs. Two members of the expedition, Leonid Zurov and Boris Wilde[8], were from Paris. Everyone, except for the technical employee, were Russian emigres and all of them saw their goal in the research and preservation of Russian culture in this region. It should be emphasized that four of the five researchers, except for Irina Okuneva, were somehow connected with Estonia.

THE MOST FRUITFUL INTERNATIONAL EXPEDITION TO PECHORSKY DISTRICT IN 1937

The expedition to Pechory, organized in 1937 with the support of scientific organizations in France, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, and Estonia, was a most productive one. The library and sacristy of the Pskovo-Pechersky monastery were examined during the expedition, and dozens of ancient settlements, burial grounds, chapels, stone crosses, and holy springs were revealed. On the basis of the expedition materials, numerous scientific and popular scientific articles, literary works, and a book about ancient Russian folk songs were published. About 400 items, either bought from the peasants or donated by them, were delivered to the Musée de l'Homme (Museum of Man) in Paris.

Like no one else, Zurov was a very suitable person for ethnographic expeditions. According to the memoirs of N. Andreyev, he had a wonderful way of talking to peasants, and he was well aware of the ancient churches of the region. Also he was already familiar with the people who collected ancient objects, and got along with them. He was attentive and people welcomed him.

Zurov went to Pechory before everybody else. Firstly, to meet other members of the expedition as an "old-timer", "veteran", and secondly, to get to the celebrations of the ancient pagan holiday, Midsummer Day, on June 24. In the morning after the Midsummer Night feast Zurov went to a sacred stone, where

the sacrifice had already begun. The picture crashed into his memory: candles were burning, and many beggars and pilgrims, both Russians and Setos, had gathered. They hoped to be cured of illnesses: some put a hand on the stone, some leaned with their back, some with a shoulder. They kissed the stone, stood on it and sat on it. Long ago, the stone had had a footprint of a sole with five toes on it, but this part of the stone was broken. People lubricated the stone with butter, and put cheese, wool, and milk on the stone.

Zurov returned from his trip to the Pechorsky district in 1937 with a solid track record: he had bought samples of peasant textiles, embroidered towels and belts, mittens, wooden cups, a churn, a small birch bucket, wooden tools for weaving nets, samples of flax, etc., for the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. He brought with him Seto costumes and utensils, described the pagan rituals of the Seto in the expedition diary, and took hundreds of pictures.

This time he collected voluminous materials on toponymy, records of anthroponyms, and some words of the Seto language with translation into Russian. He photographed a Seto wedding in the village of Potalovo – the so-called bridal train that is a wedding procession, which departs from the house of the groom, heading for the bride's house, and thence to the place of the wedding. The photographs depicted a women's choir at the wedding, in colorful Seto national costumes and decorations, a wedding blacksmith who, according to an ancient custom, forged a horseshoe right at the wedding, in order for the marriage to last. Zurov registered sacred stones, springs and trees, collected information about plant dyes. Numerous sacred stones of the Pechorsky district were the subject of Zurov's special interest. He also captured in his photographs the sacrifice of wool at the Annakivi stone in the village of Sulmi.

Thanks to the trusting relationship he had with Russian and Seto peasants, he was even allowed to photograph the "erotic female dances". This was a name Zurov gave to folkloric role dances, for example, the bear dance, performed by three women, back to back, weaving the hems of dresses and caftans in the form of a phallus. In his field records we can find a detailed description of another dance:

> *One old woman lifted the hem of her coat on her back, got down on all fours and went to the other women, like a bull, spreading fingers and exposing them like horns, poking them into the ground, as if butting them.* (Zouroff 1941: 297)

Everything he had seen and heard in the Pechorsky district breathed antiquity, and rituals and rites went back to time immemorial. Almost thirty years later, he wrote to his expedition companion Nikolay Andreyev: "I remember distant times. Revel, Izborsk, Pechory, and the shores of Lake Pskov. It was so easy to breathe then" (Andreyev & Belobrovtseva 2014: 247).

After three and a half months, Zurov returned to Paris, but his thoughts were still in the Pechorsky district. Less than a year later, some participants of the last expedition gathered there again. And in 1938 the expedition was successful. The results of Leonid Zurov and Boris Vilde's ethnographic and archaeological research have retained their significance to the present day and were published 70 years later by the joint efforts of scientists from three countries – France, Estonia, and Russia (Benfoughal & Fishman & Valk 2017).

When leaving Estonia in the autumn of 1938, Leonid Zurov was convinced that the work in the Pechorsky district had only just begun. He hoped to take part in an expedition with the Swedes the following summer. This plan was formulated as a result of his acquaintance with Knut Knutson, a Swedish librarian, who offered to publish the results of Zurov's archaeological research. So Zurov became the first researcher to acquaint Swedish scientists with the ethnography and archeology of the Pechorsky district, divided between Estonia and Russia after 1920. A voluminous article by Zurov, "Dyrkan av stenar, kallor och trad bland setukeser och ryssar i Petseri-omradet" (About the veneration of sacred stones and rills by the inhabitants of the Pechorsky district, Russian and Seto) appeared in the annual issue of the journal *Folk-Liv* in 1940.

Although before his field trip to the Pechorsky district in 1938 Zurov had had some difficulties in his relations with the authoritative French Slavist André Mazon, the results of the expedition were so impressive that his work was honored with written gratitude from the Minister of Public Education of France, Jean Zeya. In addition, the Musée de l'Homme hastened to give the researcher a grant, which remained in abeyance because of Mazon's negative expert feedback on the application for the needs of the expedition. Zurov immediately reported this to the Bunin family:

> *I hasten to please you. Yesterday came a letter from the Musée de l'Homme. Here is the text.*
>
> *'I am pleased to inform you that at yesterday's (November 23, 1938) meeting of the Committee on missions, it was decided, at the request of Professor Privet, to provide you a grant of 12,000 francs. Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.*
>
> *Jacques Soustelle (Deputy Director of the Museum of Man).'*[9]

It was all inspiring and promised the same favorable attitude of the Ministry of Education and the Musée de l'Homme the next year. But in 1939 scientific work was cut short because of the political events – all appropriations went on defense. France declared war to Germany immediately after the attack on Poland. On May 10, 1940, German troops launched a rapid offensive, and the defeated France was forced to sign an armistice on June 22.

THE FATE OF THE COLLECTIONS, THE FATE OF THE RESEARCHER

The Musée de l'Homme carefully kept its collections during the war, as Zurov informed in his report on the survey of antiquities (see below about its fate): the collections "I deposited in the Trocadero Museum survived. During the war they were arranged according to topics, provided with records, stacked in boxes and hidden in the cellar from the Germans" (Zurov 1947). Also a part of his archive – sketches, field diaries, travel notebooks – was transferred to the custody of a good friend Tatiana Konyus, daughter of the composer Sergei Rachmaninov. The precious hundreds of negatives from 1935, 1937, and 1938, pictures of Pechory, which was heavily damaged during World War II, the photographs taken in the village of Meguzitsa in 1937–1938 – bathing in the sacred stream, sacrifice to Ivan stone, treatment of women and children at the stone – were preserved in museum collections. Zurov captured with his camera some moments extremely important for ethnographers: Seto warlocks (1937); treatment of the child with a thunderbolt by the healer Dubrovsky in the village of Lezgi (1938); funeral ceremony of a fisherman in the village of Lisya, which entailed sending his body out in a rook boat (1938).

In 1939 only Elsa Mahler was able to go to Estonia from Switzerland, and after the war Pechory and Estonia as a whole became Soviet. The Soviet Union was a closed territory for the Russian emigrants and Zurov, who had done so much investigating the border culture in Pechory, never saw it again.

Leonid Zurov's activity in Pechorsky district was significant not only because of the valuable results, but also because of his devotion to native culture and the ability to respect and accept the culture of 'other' people. During his four expeditions (1928, 1935, 1937, 1938) Zurov managed to collect unique materials about the remnants of ancient and medieval art, burial complexes and cultural facilities of the Pechorsky district. This was a zone of active ethno-cultural contacts of Slavic and Ugro-Finnish tribes, a special cultural space. Hence many pieces of evidence of the antiquity were destroyed during the war and, as a result of subsequent land reclamations, Zurov's information turned out to be almost unique. He was one of the pioneers of the stone-age research in the Pechorsky district, where he had found a number of stone hammers and dozens of stone crosses on burial grounds, many of which have not survived up to our time. He was the first to conclude that many elements of the Russian folk dress were preserved in the Seto national costume, and ethnographer E. Richter came to the same conclusions in the 1960s (Richter 1961, 1976).

The inability to continue engagement in the fieldwork and the ethnographic and archaeological research in the Pechorsky district encouraged Leonid Zurov to apply to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR with a voluminous report on

the survey of antiquities of the Pechorsky and Izborsky districts, on the restoration of the belfry of the Church of Nikolai Ratnyi in the Pskovo-Pechersky monastery and the results of archaeological and ethnographic exploration in 1935, 1937, and 1938. In the report he recorded not only the huge amount of work done by the expeditions, but also offered prospects for further scientific work in this direction. Zurov saw the following as one of these perspectives in the study of the history and culture of the Seto people:

> *The Seto tribe, who lived in the forests near Izborsk, adopted Orthodoxy from the inhabitants of Izborsk and Pskov on pain of paying a penalty for disobedience: in each village for the newly baptized, a wooden chapel was erected on the site of pagan services, and a stone cross in it. But the Seto only called themselves Christians, but in fact had remained pagans for a long time. … The remnants of this tribe, the baptized Seto, who were called 'half-believers' by the inhabitants of Izborsk for their adherence to pagan rites, still live in the area of Izborsk. … Seto women perfectly preserved their language, customs and songs. This small endangered ethnos needs a special study. The ancient rites, lost by the Slavs, have survived among the Seto.* (Zurov 1947)

Leonid Zurov gave his report and some other materials of expeditions to the Soviet Embassy in France for their subsequent transfer to Soviet scientific organizations, primarily to the Academy of Sciences. However, "when it became known that L.F. Zurov was not going to take Soviet citizenship and return to the USSR, all documents and materials … were returned to him through the Chairman of the Central Board of the Union of Soviet Patriots" (Ponomarev 2014: 20).

CONCLUSION

The first studies on the culture of the first wave of Russian emigration were made by foreign researchers (Raeff 1990; Karlinsky & Appel 1977; Schlögel 1994, 1998; Andreyev & Savicky 2004). Russian first-wave emigrants did their best to preserve their culture in their families and Russian communities in the countries of residence. The peculiarity of their reality perception was that along with their own, they tried to preserve other historically close cultures. Leonid Zurov's fascination by the history, rituals, and culture of the small Seto people, who preserved their originality in everyday life between Estonians and Russians, was reflected in his diaries, field notes, and articles. On the one hand, Zurov was the discoverer of this small people for the Western world, as much as for the huge Russian-speaking diaspora formed in the world after the

October revolution of 1917. On the other hand, the young writer and archaeologist received an inspirational boost: the centuries-old Russian culture can be preserved in the Russian diaspora despite the policy of the Soviet authorities to demolish it, extrapolating the viability of the Seto, their efforts to preserve their culture, following their customs and rituals under the circumstances of emigration.

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NOTES

[1] Poluverki – half-believers, thus the Russians called the representatives of the Seto people.

[2] Chudinki – another name for the Seto given to them by Russians, a diminutive from 'Chud', which is a collective old Russian name of Finno-Ugric tribes, cognate with 'chuzhoi', i.e. 'alien'.

[3] Lel' – Slavic deity of love and/or marriage.

[4] L.F. Zurov's letter to V.N. Bunina from June 6, 1935 (LRA. MS 1068/2073).

[5] Nikolay Andreyev (1908–1982) – Russian historian of the Middle Ages. He left Russia with his parents after the revolution, in 1919. Andreyev graduated cum laude from the Russian Gymnasium in Tallinn in 1927 and from the Philosophy Faculty of Charles University in Prague in 1931. In 1933 he received his doctorate in philosophy from the Charles University. He worked at the N.P. Kondakov Archaeological Institute as the head of the library, academic secretary, and in 1939–1945 as director. In 1945 he was arrested by Soviet military counterintelligence, and spent two years in Soviet prisons in Germany. Upon his release, he lived briefly in Berlin. In 1948 Andreyev was invited to teach at the Slavic Department of the University of Cambridge. He was the founder and the first editor of the almanac *Nov'* (Tallinn, 1928–1932). Andreyev authored a large number of works on Russian history and literature, as well as the memoir *To, chto vspominaetsia* (What comes to mind; Tallinn 1996).

[6] Irina Okuneva (1913–1941) – art historian, specialist in the field of iconography. She was born in St. Petersburg, emigrated from Russia in 1922 and graduated from the Charles University in Prague. In 1938 she moved to Belgrade, married historian D. Rasovski. Both of them worked in the Belgrade department of the N.P. Kondakov Archaeological Institute, and both were killed in a German bomb raid.

[7] Elsa-Eugenie Mahler (1882–1970) was born in Moscow. Her father Josef Mathias Eduard Mahler was a merchant-engineer, originally from Switzerland. Her mother, born Louise Sivers, originated from Baltic Germans. She was a scholar of Slavic studies and folk arts, and came to Switzerland either in 1919 or in 1920, and received her doctoral degree at Basel University in 1924. In 1937–1939 Mahler participated in the archaeological and ethnographical expeditions in Pechorsky district to collect Russian folk songs. She was the author of the book *Altrussische Volkslieder aus dem Pecoryland: Fur Gesang a cappella* (Basel 1951) and a large number of articles about folklore and ethnography of the Russians in Pechorsky district. She was the founder of the Russian Library and Russian Seminar at the University of Basel. In 1938 Mahler became the first woman to be appointed to a professorship at the University of Basel.

[8] Boris Wilde (1908–1942) – Russian author, ethnologist. He was born in Russia, but in 1919 Wilde's family emigrated to Estonia, to the town of Tartu. In Tartu Wilde graduated from the Russian gymnasium. His literary debut dates back to that time. In1930 he moved to Germany and in 1932 – to France. He was engaged in ethnology at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, participated in Pechory expeditions with Leonid Zurov in 1937 and 1938. In 1941 Wilde became one of the founders of the anti-Hitler movement Résistance (*soprotivlenie*), and a publisher of a newspaper under the same name. He was executed by the Nazis and was posthumously awarded the medal of Resistance.

[9] The original reads: Il m'est agréable de vous faire connaître que la Comission des missions qui s'est réunie hier (23 Novembre 1938), a décidé, sur la requête du Professeur Privet, de vous accorder une subvention de 12.000 fr. Croyez, je vous prie, á mes sentiments les plus distingués. Jacques Soustelle (v. direct. Musée de l'Homme) (LRA. MS 1068/2112).

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ARCHIVAL SOURCES

LRA. MS – Manuscript collection of the Russian Archive of Leeds University (collections of I.A. Bunin, V.N. Bunina, L.F. Zurov, and E.M. Lopatina).

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SITUATING ONESELF WITHIN THE ESTONIAN LANGUAGE AND WORLD LITERATURE: IVAR IVASK'S RELATIONAL WAYS OF SELF-UNDERSTANDING

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Abstract: The paper explores the relational ways in how the identity of a creative person is constructed in exile, in dialogue with the relational environments and proximate others. The case study for the article is the writer and literary scholar of Estonian and Latvian heritage, Ivar Ivask (1927–1992), who fled Latvia during World War II, spent some years in displaced persons' camps in Germany, later on studied German literature and art history in Marburg (Germany), and starting from 1950 lived and worked in the United States. Ivask's journey suggests that at points in his life he could have been a Latvian, an Estonian, a Baltic-German or even an English-speaking American.

The paper attempts to demonstrate the reasons why Ivask became, despite everything, an Estonian writer and how this had a great deal to do with the relational understanding of himself: his sensorial childhood experiences in southern Estonia and his mentors and other writers he admired (e.g. Bernard Kangro), who played a crucial role in his choosing Estonian to be the language of his poetry as well as his diaries. We further contend that by engaging himself with different literatures and authors from around the world in different languages, Ivask was constantly looking for new poetic and literary discoveries and perhaps therefore insights into himself. Reading other authors' work and relating himself to their writings meant he was therefore also engaging with his own identity. In this light, we contend that Ivask's literary criticism of other authors' work as well as his literary correspondences with them provides a model of how the social and

literary self can be constructed in exile, in dialogue with the relational environments and influences of proximate others, including respected authors, some of whom served as role models and mentors.

Keywords: autobiography, Estonian literature, identity, Ivar Ivask, life writing, multilingualism, relational self

INTRODUCTION

This article explores the relational ways in how the identity of a creative personality can be constructed in exile. The case study that is used for this paper is that of the writer and literary scholar of Estonian and Latvian heritage, Ivar Ivask (1927–1992), who fled Riga (Latvia) during World War II in 1944. He spent the years 1945–1946 in displaced persons' camps in Wetzlar and Wiesbaden in Germany (Ivask 2018: 129); in 1946–1950 he studied German, comparative literature, and art history in Marburg (Germany), and beginning in 1950 he lived and worked in the United States, mostly in Northfield, Oklahoma. The last year of his life (1992) Ivask spent in retirement in Ireland.

Ivar Ivask was born in Riga, to a Latvian mother Ilze Maria Gūters (1897–1937) and an Estonian father Friedrich Vidrik Ivask (1892–1975). German served as a common language at home (Laak 2018: 118). Winters were spent in the family's apartment situated in the same building that housed the Estonian Embassy in Riga, and summers at his father's birthplace and family farmhouse in Rõngu, southern Estonia (Rummo 1990: 6) Since the first shared language at home was German, Ivask's first poems at the age of 16 were also written in this language (Talvet 2003: 523; Tarvas 2006: 12). Later on Ivask admitted to have been inspired to write poetry by discovering R.M. Rilke's poetry books in his father's library. Ivask had self-published his early poetry in German under the name of Ivar Ivarsen in 1945, while being in a displaced persons' camp, but regretted it later and destroyed all the remaining copies of the book (Tarvas 2006: 12). Thus his publicly accessible German poetry book titled *Gespiegelte Erde: Gedichte 1953–1963* (1967) was published in New York several years later than his first Estonian-language poetry book titled *Tähtede tähendus: Esimene kogu luuletusi. 1958–1963* (The meaning of stars[1]: The first collection of poems. 1958–1963 (1964)). Altogether, Ivask published eight poetry books in Estonian, and some of them were also illustrated by him; in fact, Ivask also considered himself to be an artist (Talvet 2010: 7; Rummo 1990: 6). His later poetry written in English was published under the heading *Snow Lessons* (1986). In the spring of 1986, as a reaction to the Chernobyl disaster, another series of poems in English, *The Baltic Elegies*, was written and published (Olesk 1987: 8).

Ivask was not an active member of the Estonian or Latvian diaspora communities in the USA, and lived apart from them with his Latvian wife Astrid Ivask (1926–2015), whom he had met and married in Marburg in Germany in 1949. Professionally, Ivask was a German philologist by background and had specialized in Austrian literature. At the beginning of the 1960s, he had spent a year in Vienna and would later become a regular co-worker for the Austrian literary magazines *Wort in der Zeit* and *Forum* (Teder 1987: 1708). Later on he worked as a professor of German literature in Northfield, USA, and from 1967 was editor-in-chief of the literary magazine *Books Abroad* (from 1977 it has existed as *World Literature Today*). Thus his circle of friends and acquaintances covered the world. Working at the journal, Ivask's everyday activities also included finding literary talents and introducing them to the world. In 1969, he helped to establish the Neustadt International Prize for Literature at *Books Abroad* with the help of private financing (Tarvas 2006: 34). Amongst others, this prize was awarded to Gabriel García Márquez, Czesław Miłosz, and Octavio Paz, all of whom would later receive the Nobel Prize for literature. Some other authors who would later be recipients of the same Nobel Prize had earlier been amongst the judges for the Neustadt Prize – Heinrich Böll, Odysseas Elytis, Joseph Brodsky, Derek Walcott, and Elie Wiesel (Tarvas 2006: 35).

A colleague of Ivar Ivask from *World Literature Today* has stated that Ivask spoke at least ten different languages (R[iggan] 1992: 791). He was also one of the few people in the Baltic countries who could read and speak all the three Baltic (Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian) languages (Taagepera 1992: 2400). Having had several opportunities to use different languages as his main language of writing, Ivask makes some really interesting and remarkable choices. In 1958, he switches from writing his poetry in German to Estonian (Ivask 1986: 134). From 1959 onwards, despite not living continuously in an Estonian-language home, he surprisingly also chooses the Estonian language to be the language of his diaries.

Ivask's decisions to switch languages in his writing were by no means self-evident. He had been struggling with identifying himself as an Estonian and his lack of self-confidence in expressing himself in the Estonian language through his encounters with literature were especially acute at the beginning of the 1950s (Tarvas 2006: 18). He had even regarded Estonian literature not only as provincial but also unable to overcome its provinciality (Taagepera 1992: 2399).

The scale of the collection of Ivar Ivask's diaries and notes from his personal archive, preserved at the Estonian Cultural History Archives at the Estonian Literary Museum in Tartu reveals the immensity and prestigiousness of his literary networks: there are manuscript correspondences in several languages

(English, German, Estonian, Spanish, Finnish, French, Latvian, and Lithuanian) with 523 people from all over the world. Some correspondences lasted for decades and some only for a few years. His archive also gives us a fascinating insight into the ways he understood himself, as it contains 57 volumes of his personal diaries written in manuscript form in Estonian.[2]

This article attempts to explore Ivask's multi-layered (Tarvas 2006: 18) and multilingual (Eisenreich 1967: 5; Jürma 1967: 4) identity. It also asks what made him situate himself within the Estonian language in terms of the writing of his diaries and poetry and at the same time not lose his multicultural perspective in order to become a world citizen in the truest sense. The article thus explores how Ivask understands himself within his diaries (and poetry), and who were his role models and reference points. Ivask's choices are analysed in this paper through the lens of him consciously building and reflecting, i.e. making peace with or combining the different parts of his identity.

(AUTO)BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES FROM AND ABOUT IVAR IVASK

In an interview in 1987, Ivask looks back at his life and tries to make sense of his multilingual identity:

> *I was born into a home where four languages were spoken. This alone made things complicated. My father was Estonian, my mother Latvian. Their mutual language was German. At school we had English, later on French, Spanish, and other languages. Somehow I never knew how to deal with only one language. For me it is hard to imagine somebody who thinks only in one language.* (Olesk 1987: 8)

Ivask explains his interest in comparative literary studies through his multilingual home and through the different perspectives that languages have provided him with. He described himself metaphorically through an image of a tree that is rooted in one specific place but has grown quite big and has far-reaching branches. But he has also admitted that the merging or peaceful co-existence with the variety of languages and different national identities within him was not necessarily an easy task:

> *One of my earliest motivations was the endeavour to overcome or integrate the national, linguistic, and cultural differences of my home environment. Before I knew how to write, I tried to achieve it through drawing.* (Ivask 1986: 132)

Looking for parallels for his experience of a multicultural and multilingual Baltic home environment, Ivask finds a comparable melting pot of different cultural influences in Austria, where he lived for a year between 1960 and 1961. Ivask believed that Austria and Ireland were the places most similar to the Baltic states in Europe, largely because of the intersections and crossings of different languages and cultures there:

> *I believe that the same richness that exists in Austria, exists also in the Baltic countries. To be a refugee does not mean to become poorer but richer. Because, if we not only maintain the Estonian identity but become not only Europeans (as Gustav Suits wanted), but also world citizens – cosmopolites with roots. That is an ideal to be achieved.* (Olesk 1987: 8)

Austria and Austrian literature become like a substitute 'home' for Ivask and not only because of the cultural similarity that he feels they have with the Baltic countries but also due to the authors whose work he admired and with many of whom he had made close friends. In the preface written to Ivask's German-language poetry book, Herbert Eisenreich (1967: 7) called him an Austrian by choice or intellectually Austrian. One of Ivask's close friends, role models and literary loves was the Austrian writer Heimito von Doderer (1896–1966), who inspired him to keep a diary with regularity and who, amongst many other things, gave him his first new blank diaries.

On 17 December 1957 Ivask begins his first regular diary notes:

> *I was born at 9:15. today 33 years ago, in Riga, the capital of Latvia, and now I start my diary somewhere else – neither in the town of my birth nor in Estonia, nor in my current home, but in Austria. Am I old enough for keeping a proper diary? Let's hope so, because until now I have succeeded in it only temporarily, and I have been postponing keeping a diary regularly until I have gathered and sorted my previous autobiographical notes and written them anew… Since I haven't been able to do it so far, why not start with a completely new volume? I have just decided to do that.* (Ivask 2018: 136)

Ivask (2018: 136) admitted that he had started to understand himself better because of his acquaintance with Doderer. He was introduced to the novelist, initially through his writings. He was impressed by the novel *Die Dämonen*.[3] This was followed by direct correspondence with the author and a personal meeting in Munich in August 1957, as Ivask and his wife Astrid used to travel to Europe from their home in America every year.

Ivask admits that he was influenced by Doderer's central belief "Die Erinnerung als Grundlage der Person" (memory forms the basis for the personality).

> *Here my growing interest in my own past had a start. This is a sign for becoming a human in the first place, becoming a mature human being (as I see and understand with growing clarity).* (Ivask 2018: 136)

In 2016, after the death of Astrid, Ivask's personal archive was handed over to the Estonian Cultural History Archives at the Estonian Literary Museum. The archive as it stands today has been systematically organised and information about it is searchable via an electronic database.[4] Ivask's first volume of handwritten diaries is titled *Tagebücher 1956–1963* (Diaries 1956–1963), and contains also 100 loose pages of notes from previous years when he had attempted to start gathering information for a possible future autobiography. The second volume is titled *Must kaustik: Päevikud 1964–1966* (Black volume: Diaries 1964–1966), and the third one *Hall kaustik: Päevikud 1967–1968* (Grey volume: Diaries 1967–1968). After these three tomes, each year is kept in a separate volume until his death in 1992.

In the first few years of keeping a diary (especially on the loose pages) Ivask writes in German as well as in Estonian. However, starting from 7 July 1959, he switches over, after the first sentence "Masings Gedichte sind erschienen" (Masing's poems have been published) to Estonian for good.[5] From that point onwards, his diary entries are entirely in Estonian (Laak 2018: 121).

Although Ivask never published an autobiography, there is strong evidence to contend that his desire to start keeping a diary as "memory support" (Ivask 2007: 48) was also connected with a wish to write one. His first few diary volumes contain notes that could be easily identified as a precursor to constructing an autobiography. For example, he begins a diary entry with the title "My life story (1927–1961). From Riga to Europe (From the Baltic Sea over the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea)"[6] and enumerates periods in his life:

I. 1927–1937 Between Riga and Rõngu (The myth of a happy childhood);

II. 1937–1947 From Riga to Marburg (The time of my "second reality"!);

III. 1947–1957 From Marburg to Northfield (Transition time, maturing);

IV. 1957–1961 From Northfield to Europe (Second independency, "Vtoroe rozhdenie"[7] (Second Birth), the freedom of clarity). (F. 409, m 27: 1–21)

Ivask's primary intention of keeping diaries was for personal recollection. "The role of the diary is to be cathartic. Definitely for the diary keeper. The publishing of diaries in order that others have part of it is a lot more problematic."

(Ivask 2007: 48) Despite the fact or exactly because a diary is an intimate space, the possibility to work with them later can lead scholars "to the most profound insights" (Arthur & Kurvet-Käosaar 2019: 1). Under the cover of the mundane, shifts in the individual's views or changes in the external world can be knowingly or unknowingly recorded (Ben-Amos & Ben-Amos 2020: 1).

Although the fact that Ivask kept diaries over a period of 35 years proves his private nature, he was also a very active social figure (Talvet 2003: 531) and liked making connections with the authors he admired largely through correspondence (Sakova 2018: 154). For example, he tried to introduce Heimito von Doderer to the Russian poet Boris Pasternak, with whom he was also corresponding (Sakova forthcoming), and he succeeded in initiating a correspondence between Doderer's secretary Wolfgang Fleisher and Estonian poet and translator Ain Kaalep (Tarvas 2006: 28).

Thus Ivask's diaries not only record his intimate thoughts but they also come across as recordings of his intellectual thoughts and deeds. They are beautifully written, often including drawings and doodles. The loose pages contain lists for each year (between 1957 and 1961) of the people he met, travels undertaken, reviews published, accounts of correspondences, etc. This shows not only how systematic Ivask was, but also that he valued contacts with people and how he saw himself in relation to others.

THE MULTILINGUAL AND RELATIONAL SELF

Although Ivask was a refugee, it is hard to consider his choice of the Estonian language as one of his main poetic languages and the language of his diaries as a longing for a lost home. His identity was hybrid and multilingual from the start, and tends not to fit into the frameworks of understanding Estonian 'old-diaspora' communities where 'Estonianness' was understood as communal rather than individual (Ojamaa & Karu-Kletter 2014: 193). In overviews of Estonian exile literature Ivask is considered to be an exceptional figure, a cosmopolite and sovereign entity (Kepp 2008: 493).

Current research on individuals with diasporic and multicultural backgrounds has started to shift the emphasis from cultural and territorial aspects of belonging to the "individuals as independent actors" and their individual capacities (Janassary 2015: 155). Research on Estonian diaspora communities also shows a shift towards open identities, i.e. hybrid identities (Valk & Karu-Kletter & Drozdova 2011). In relation to Homi Bhabha (1994: 53) hybrid identity is often understood as a "third space", a space in between, where cultural

differences and the ambiguities of a self are manifested and played out (Hein 2006: 41), but also a space where the peace-making capacity of an individual can evolve (Janassary 2015: 160).

Elina Mikkilä (2020) has convincingly investigated today's writers who are without one fixed homeland and native language, and she suggests in her article "Literary Biographies Without Fixed Linguistic Abode" a typology to describe authors with multilingual backgrounds. Thus language and poetry, or the exile itself, can become one's home (Saresma 2019: 203).

Similarly to Homi Bhabha (1994: 63), to whom existence means "to be called into being in relation to an otherness", Paul John Eakin (1999: 43) has shown that "all identity is relational". Anne Rüggemeier (2014), who has adopted Eakins concept, analyses migrant (life) stories in English-language literature as relational autobiographies. Since we are interested in the ways that Ivask related himself to the physical and mental environments around him and to authors whose work he admired, we will take a closer look into Rüggemeier's and Eakin's relationality concepts.

Rüggemeier speaks of relational autobiographies that are always a "staging of dialogues" (Rüggemeier 2014: 63). Partly relying on Eakin's views and theories, she proposes five different ways of how rationality is and how it can be staged within writing in order to understand the self:

1) Staging a dialogue between 'I' and the relational other;
2) Staging a dialogue between 'I' and a collective relational context;
3) Staging a dialogue between 'I' and the-self-as-the-other;
4) Staging a dialogue between the reader and the text;
5) The relational autobiography as a dialogue with the conventional autobiography and its cultural codes. (Rüggemeier 2014: 64–69)

In Eakin's work we find four categories of a relational self:

1) From 'I' to 'you': modelling the social self;
2) From 'you' to 'I': relational environments;
3) Dealing with the proximate other;
4) The self as other. (Eakin 1999: 61–98)

We can see that some of the categories of the relational self that Eakin and Rüggemeier describe are overlapping: both speak of a dialogue between the 'I' and the 'self as the other', meaning that autobiography offers a possibility to explore the self in the past as another person; both also have a category

that stresses the importance of the 'proximate other' or 'relational other' for understanding and writing about the self. Rüggemeier underlines also the importance of the dialogues between the reader and the text and between the text, the autobiography, and cultural and conventional codes.

Concentrating on staging the dialogue between the 'I' and the other(s) as well as between 'I' and the collective contexts and relational environments, we see that Rüggemeier puts more emphasis on the cultural collective environment, whereas Eakin understands environment more literally. His example of Leslie Marmon Silko's *Storyteller* tells a story of a person conveyed through pictures and landscapes (Eakin 1999: 69). Photographs of the Laguna Pueblo reservation in New Mexico, where the author grew up, as well as pictures of her family members, are put next to short stories and thus reflect and convey the culture of oral story-telling where the author comes from. Thus Eakin suggests that through the telling of the story of her heritage community, Silko also tells a story of herself, because she cannot imagine herself as distinct from those landscapes and of the oral story-telling tradition.

Leena Kurvet-Käosaar (2019: 161) has drawn attention to the interrelations of space and subjectivity in life-writing studies, and has convincingly shown to us how real experienced landscapes play a crucial role in self-understanding in exile. Through the example of Estonian-Swedish writer Käbi Laretei, she has shown how "it is through landscapes that different sides of intimate relationships in her life are often tackled" (Kurvet-Käosaar 2019: 168).

Returning now to the interrelations between the 'I' and the other(s), it is relevant to note that what Rüggemeier understands as staging a dialogue between 'I' and the 'relational other' is for Eakin about dealing with the 'proximate other'. Usually, the relational or proximate other is seen as a close family member, often a parent or other close relative. It is interesting that Eakin devotes a whole subchapter to the modelling of the social self, where he further elaborates the misconceptions of understanding the self as an autonomous being. Engaging with the psychologist John Shotter, Eakin explains that the understanding of the 'I' as an isolated individual that already contains everything (i.e. mind and mentalities) has to do with the fact that we are disciplined to talk and understand ourselves in this way because of social accountability (Eakin 1999: 62). Together with Shotter, Eakin proposes that we should not take the inner subjectivity of the individual as the basic but rather "the practical social processes going on 'between' people" (Shotter as cited in Eakin 1999: 62).

In the following section we will take a closer look into how Ivask related himself to his childhood landscapes and how they became relevant in his shift to Estonian as his poetic language and of his later self-understanding. We will

also explore who are the relational or proximate others for Ivask and whether his network of writers whom he admired can be understood as an explanation for his way of building his identity.

ESTONIAN BECOMES THE LANGUAGE OF IVASK'S POETRY AND DIARIES

When Ivask looks back at the beginnings of his writing and describes how he wrote his first poem "Hände" ("Hands") in German at the age of 16, under the influence of Austrian poet Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926) in 1943, he asks himself retrospectively: "Why in German?"

> *Mother died of cancer in January 1937 when I was nine. Despite that German still felt a language that connected them both. And wasn't Rilke form the provincial Prague, denying his 'Germanness' as an Austrian, using German only as a means for his European literature? Wasn't it possible for a young Baltic man not to be accused of his 'Germanness' or of denying his own nation?* (Ivask 1986: 133)

Considering that his home language was to a great extent German and his student years and the years of his youth were spent in Germany, it would be rational to assume that Ivask could have become a German-language poet; yet, it did not happen. Ivask's interest in Estonian literature arises shortly after or parallel to his studies of German literature in Marburg (Sakova: 2018). In 1951, Ivask established contact with the Estonian exiled writer Bernard Kangro (1910–1994), who lived in Sweden and had become editor-in-chief of the Estonian diaspora's literary journal *Tulimuld* (Fire-Earth).

It was solely due to Bernard Kangro's poetic influence and admiration for his poetry that Ivask turned to Estonian literature (Sakova 2018: 152). It has also been claimed that Kangro had rescued Ivask from not being lost to Estonian literature (Taagepera 1992: 2399). In 1951, Ivask had asked Kangro whether he could help him acquire some Estonian books (F. 309, m 61: 1). Ivask had also critiqued Estonian literature and Estonian literary criticism in general and thus Kangro urged him to write about the situation of contemporary Estonian poetry, its translations and status within the larger European context (Hollo forthcoming). Ivask (1951) took up Kangro's challenge and published his first article in Estonian.

This was soon followed by several other articles written in Estonian on Estonian, Spanish, and German literatures. His first book reviews in English were published in 1956, in the quarterly literary magazine *Books Abroad*, the magazine of which he would become the editor-in-chief twelve years later. In *Books Abroad*, Ivask published a review of Bernard Kangro's novel *Peipsi* (Peipus) (2/1956) and a review of Osip Mandelshtam's collection *Sobranie sochinenii* (Collected works) (3/1956).

Ivask's shift to the use of Estonian in his diaries was related to his growing need to express his thoughts and critical elaboration on Estonian literature and literary criticism (Laak 2018: 121). Next to writing about Estonian, German, Austrian, English, Spanish, and Russian literatures, he also engaged in correspondence with several Estonian diaspora authors – Marie Under, Bernard Kangro, Ants Oras – all starting in the 1950s. For Ivask the correspondence with Ants Oras (1900–1982), a professor of literature, became a sort of substitute for his master's studies in Estonian literature.

The most significant contributing factor for Ivask to start writing, besides criticism, also poetry and diaries in Estonian, was the 14 summers that he and Astrid spent in Finland between 1958 and 1985 (Ivask 1986: 134). There, in the middle of eastern Finland's lake landscape, on Vaahersalo Island, "watching the falling stars and fish jumping out of the water", he tried to put his experiences into words in German but failed after the first stanza:

> *The noble language of Rilke and Goethe seemed suddenly unsuitable for this primal Finno-Ugric vision, which corresponded very well with another language, my father's language, which I had been using so far only to write criticism.* (Ivask 1986: 134)

Suddenly, being in Finland – physically the closest place to the landscapes that he knew from his childhood – Ivask reconnects to its sensorial memories and feels the language that he has not been using for poetry so far is now appropriate for expressing his experiences and feelings. Thus Ivask's first poems in Estonian begin to emerge in Finland in August 1958, at the age of 30; in his diary excerpts from that year, he notes that "Öö" (The night), "Soomes" (In Finland), and "Muutus" (Change) have been born (F. 409, m 27: 1). In a letter to Bernard Kangro in November 1958 he admits that the summer has been the richest experience since the ones he has had in Rõngu. "Also, Astrid was so inspired by the Finno-Ugric atmosphere that she learned the Estonian language on the spot." (F. 310, m 61: 1)

When we examine Ivask's notes in "My life story (1927–1961)" more closely, we discover that a great deal of his childhood memories are connected with the summers (from May to September) spent in Rõngu, southern Estonia. One can see how vividly he describes the smells, visual images and sounds of the time spent there:

> *Arriving in southern-Estonian nature in early summer: the blueness of the air, the freshness, the singing of skylarks, the smell of fresh earth! Long summer nights, fresh cow milk or sour milk with kama, crispy-soft rye bread (before that, the taste of cabbage leaves), raspberries as dwarf hats, currants with sugar before going to sleep.* (Ivask 2018: 127)

And Ivask goes on, remembering the smell of trees and lilac bushes, the colour of coloured pieces of glass, the sound of the grandfather clock, etc. After mentioning a number of things and people relevant to him from his childhood, he also enumerates the Estonian language and the Tartu dialects around him. The sound of the Estonian language thus becomes part of his sensorial childhood experiences.

Looking into Ivask's language of poetry that Paul Eerik Rummo (1990: 7) has described as very personal and almost diary-like, one discovers the image of a veranda that becomes like "a cathedral, massive and strong, but remains at the same time light and leading the way" (Uibopuu 1982: 108). The physical veranda of his 80-page-long "Veranda" poem (Ivask 1990) is located in his childhood memories in Rõngu, but it grows into being something much bigger, and in the poem "Veranda" it is described as a roadmap (1990: 30), a secret lantern (ibid.: 33), a light house (ibid.: 39), a protective eggshell (ibid.: 45), and a key (ibid.: 48) respectively. Thus the veranda might be the key to the poetics, ethics as well as aesthetics of the poet as the lyrical 'I' suggests (Ivask 1990: 49). Veranda as part of Ivask's sensorial childhood recollections becomes a metaphor for Ivask's values and beliefs and it also incorporates a poetic home, a reference point. The southern-Estonian landscapes become a cornerstone of his identity and help build – through the Finnish landscape – an intimate relationship with the Estonian language.

UNDERSTANDING ONESELF VIA OTHERS

Next to Ivask's "My life story (1927–1961)", which is part of the first volume of his diary, *Tagebücher 1956–1963*, he also compiled other lists of important phases of his life that may serve as a possible "table of contents" for his future

autobiography. We can estimate that it was probably around the beginning of 1960 that Ivask must have compiled the list "Potential autobiography" (F. 409, m 27: 94). This list is interesting and relevant because it gives us an insight into how Ivask thought of himself and how he related himself to other authors.

He began the list with his family tree, and then enumerated the places where he had lived and which were connected with important periods in his life. After that he switched to compiling lists of composers and writers who had had a great influence on him:

1. The Ivasks (1700–1860);
2. Riga – Rõngu (1927–1937, 1937–1944);
3. [Rainer Maria] Rilke and Austrian literature;
4. Marburg: Astrid, [Ernst] Kelle;
5. Minneapolis – Bonn, [Hugo von] Hofmannsthal;
6. Northfield – cats, lecture on novels;
7. [Jean] Sibelius and Finland;
8. [Werner] Milch and German literature;
9. [Marie] Under and Estonian literature;
10. [Jorge] Guillén and Spanish literature;
11. [F.R.?] Leavis and English literature;
12. [Paul] Valéry and French literature;
13. [Bernard] Kangro and my Estonian interests;
14. [Ivar] Grünthal and "Mana";
15. [Wolfgang Amadeus] Mozart, [Béla] Bartók and music;
16. [Boris] Pasternak and Russian literature. (F. 409, m 27: 94)

Ivask includes in this list some of his lecturers on art history (Kelle) and German literature (Milch) from his Marburg university period,[8] some authors from Austrian literature (Hofmannsthal and Rilke), and poets whom he admired (Guillén, Valéry, Under, and Kangro).

What seems particularly striking is the fact that this list, on a rather small piece of paper, written on both sides, is put down under the heading "Potential autobiography" and not, for instance, "My influencers" or "My role models", and that it also contains important biographical life 'stations' (places) and persons

(like his wife Astrid) as well as authors whom Ivask had never met and personally known. One might need to add that some of the authors enumerated eventually became his friends through correspondence.

It is remarkable that the proximate others for Ivask are not only family members (Ivask's ancestors and his wife Astrid are mentioned) but also the foremost authors whose work he admires. Thus one can argue that Ivask consciously creates his own proximate or relational others. He establishes and maintains contact with the authors whose work he has admired to varying degrees throughout his life (Sakova 2018: 154).

In 1952 Ivask made contact with Spanish writer Jorge Guillen after he had published an article on Spanish poetry in *Tulimuld* (Ivask 1952). In 1957, he contacted and met Austrian writer Heimito von Doderer, and in 1959 he wrote to Russian author Boris Pasternak after having reviewed his novel *Doctor Zhivago* in the magazine *Books Abroad* (Ivask 1959).

Interestingly enough, Heimito von Doderer is not mentioned in this list as an author for his potential autobiography although we know that in 1960–1961, when Ivask spent a whole year in Vienna with the intention of writing a monograph on the Austrian novel, Doderer had become his trustee and close friend (Undusk 2016; Tarvas 1997a, 1997b). Thus it is likely that Ivask just forgot to make a note about Doderer and/or perhaps thought of it in a similar vein to another significant influence in his life, Rainer Maria Rilke.

For Ivask, the discovery of Rilke's poetry had been a significant moment of enlightenment or epiphany, which he came back to regularly, and he referred to him not only in his diaries (Ivask 2007: 31) but also in letters and essays. In a similar vein, he tried to situate the discovery of Pasternak's poetry for himself in time and space. In an essay about Pasternak, Ivask wrote:

> *It was as a student at the University of Marburg in 1947 that I discovered the strongly pulsating, cosmically encompassing poetry, and also that he, too, had been a student at Marburg back in 1912.* (Ivask 1970: 195)

Ivask considered himself primarily as a poet and only after that as a scholar and critic (Sakova 2018: 153). Also it should be reminded that the network of people and authors whom Ivask admired and with whom he felt a connection, a relatedness, existed prior to when he had become the editor-in-chief of the world literature magazine. For Ivask, it was only natural to make contact with his fellow poets – often a great deal more experienced and known than himself – especially those whose work he admired.

Ivask hardly ever wanted to speak about his views on writing and poetry directly; instead he preferred to do it through the views of other authors (Veldi

1995: 900). He was particularly interested in the ones whom he considered to be "world authors" or the ones belonging to world literature: the authors "whose heritage neither narrows nor dictates their being or creativity" (Veldi 1994: 923). The examples of Ivask's autobiographical notes and his correspondences with other authors illuminate and illustrate how intertwined his self-understanding was with his comprehension of the work of other authors he genuinely admired.

Not only did Ivask feel the need to relate himself to his childhood environments and some of his close family members – especially his wife Astrid – but he also felt a need to continuously relate himself to his fellow writers, to make connections and build relationships. The works of these writers, their views on poetics and aesthetics, became part of his own identity.

CONCLUSION

The aim of the paper was to look at the relational ways of how the identity of a creative person can be constructed in exile. Ivar Ivask was a man from a multilingual family, who could have chosen to be a Latvian, an Estonian, a German or to become an English-speaking American. We have attempted to show that the reasons for him to choose Estonian as the language of his poetry and diaries has plenty to do with his relational understanding of himself. His sensorial childhood experiences and the reconnection with them in Finland appear to have played a great role in his turning back to the language that was part of his childhood summers. Also, we suggest that becoming fond of some Estonian authors and being encouraged by the exiled Estonian poet Bernard Kangro to engage with more Estonian literature would have played a great role in his choosing to express himself increasingly and frequently in Estonian (along with German and English).

A close reading of Ivask's diaries and autobiographical notes has also revealed who else could have been his relevant literary discoveries and influences. We suggest that, because he perceived himself primarily as a poet, he also needed to discover himself in the poetry of other authors. In trying to sketch a potential autobiography, Ivask did not only refer to his childhood and family members but also to all the other authors (writers as well as composers) who had been a discovery and of significant value to him, in whose works he had detected something relevant and insightful about himself.

Understanding himself through others and in a constant relationship to other authors (through book reviews as well as direct correspondences with them), Ivask was not only engaging with literature and the authors he admired

but at the same time also with himself, his identity, and with who he was. He was in search for his values. Thus his literary criticism as well as his literary correspondences could be viewed as the modelling of his social and literary self and could perhaps serve to understand other writers with similar backgrounds, of whom there are admittedly very few.

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NOTES

[1] The Estonian word 'täht' also means 'letter', so the heading could also be translated as 'The meaning of letters'.

[2] Ivar Ivask's archive at the Estonian Cultural History Archives is EKM EKLA, F. 409.

[3] Ivask wrote several reviews of Heimito von Doderer's novel in English and Estonian. The English review was published in *Books Abroad*, 4/1956 (Sakova 2018: 155).

[4] The electronic database Ellen of the Estonian Cultural History Archives can be found at http://galerii.kirmus.ee:8888/ellen.

[5] This is also proved by the fact that the first volume is in German and the following ones in Estonian.

[6] Originally in Estonian, as well as the following subtitles.

[7] In Russian in the original.

[8] More about the influence of Werner Milch see in Aija Sakova's article (2018).

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Estonian Cultural History Archives at the Estonian Literary Museum (EKM EKLA):
F. 409 – Ivar Ivask's manuscript collection
F. 310 – Bernard Kangro's manuscript collection

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LITERARY BIOGRAPHIES WITHOUT A FIXED LINGUISTIC ABODE

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Abstract: The article portrays an emerging generation of authors who have acquired a foreign language (in this case German) as a means of their literary expression. Firstly, endeavors of literary scholars to describe the currently booming 'migration literature' in its historical development are introduced. I then go on to propose a typology of non-monolingual literary writing based on such authors' language biographies. By considering the underlying (socio)linguistic contexts, this approach mirrors my personal experience as a Finnish researcher-author writing in an acquired language, German. It draws attention to the role that a language – i.e. the very instrument of authors' expression – takes in the ongoing process of non-monolingual literary identity formation. By linking the poetological reflections of the long-established, naturally bilingual 'migration authors' with my (autobiographical) observations on the gradually emerging discourse of 'culturally bilingual writers', the second part of the paper addresses the following issues: the repercussions of normative language learning on the literary writing process; the effects of writing in an acquired language on the literary practice; the impressions of non-belonging and disorientation triggered by the sensation of (socio)linguistic inferiority; the ever-changing construction of meaning in a rhizomatic/hybrid creation process and the emergence of a unique voice out of the multitude of possible combinations; the creative and empowering potential of minority discourses in a world on the move, in which non-monolingual writing is seen as one of the most significant contributions to contemporary literature.

Keywords: cultural bi- and multilingualism, (elite) bilingualism, inter- and transcultural identities, L2, language learning, literary practice, migration literature, non-monolingual writing, poetics

BABBLE, BABBEL, BABEL

Some years ago, I held a series of workshops in diverse international and interdisciplinary settings, experimenting with linguistic multiplicity.[1] For this purpose, an excerpt from my autofictional prose narrative with the title *Mütter Land*[2] was translated into the participants' mother tongues by an online

translator. Since the original piece was written in dense literary German, the digital translating process rendered highly unpredictable interlingual outcomes.

A nonsense coinage recurring in these translations allows me to performatively *show*[3] the non-monolingual meaning-making process. The word at the origin of the neologism in question – 'heimkomme' – means 'I come home'. Out of this German first-person singular, the Internet translator created in several target languages the peculiar word '(I/i)mkomme'.[4]

Since the word was generated in a split second, the academic term *Ad-hoc-Bildung* popped up in my head. This term soon appeared to me as a twofold *sign* for L2 acquisition.[5] Firstly, it combines Latin – which, for each one of us, represents a foreign language – in order to form a compound belonging to German linguistic jargon. Secondly, its English equivalent, 'nonce word', evokes *on the spot* an association with the word 'nonsense'. The latter, in its turn, establishes a parallel to the semantic cacophony resulting from the digital translation process. Absurdly enough, this kind of sensitivity for the materiality of language from a multilingual vantage point links non-monolingual writing with the postmodern experimental literary tradition.[6]

The specific nonce word started to disclose itself to me in a multilingual deciphering process. According to my general observations, the online translator proposes an English word in the case of a more complicated expression, for which it lacks an equivalent in the target language. In the beginning of 'Imkomme' I now identified the English verb phrase 'I'm', which – 'by the law of the strongest' – had intruded the smaller language translations. This was a coincidence of semantic pertinence, given that the autofictional excerpt displays the interior monologue of a naturally bilingual protagonist. In the automatic translation process the German prefix 'heim-' (home) had been substituted by the English self-declaration 'I'm'. Interpreted in terms of the symbolic order, coming home suddenly equaled to finding oneself through (a new) language. This reminded me that the realm of language(s) is the place that migration authors themselves often view as their 'home' (cf., e.g., Dinev 2004). As by a fortunate coincidence (brought into being in a translingual third space), the excerpt's first-person narrator of Ukrainian origin practices German spelling while climbing a fence separating her from her new friends in a still foreign living environment.

Speaking of spelling: on the phonetic level it occurred to me that the German 'h' is silent in the Romance languages (French, Italian, Spanish). Coupled with the fact that in German 'ei' is pronounced /aɪ/, the English /aɪm/ coincided with the pronunciation of 'heim-', when viewed from the *perspective* of phonetic 'code switching' within a single word. A late cue for a multilingual subject that makes eve(n/r) more sense with each new language?

Illustrating the confusing complexity of the multilingual and multicultural identity formation process, the deciphering of the non(sen)/s/ word required time and patience until creative answers emerged out of my pool of internalized polysemous knowledge. The computer-aided translations – which, due to the language-specific multilayered meanings in the original excerpt, would have stimulated most professional translators' creative ambition – were uniquely *challenging* to comprehend.

Such dynamic polysystems with constant interpenetrations, osmoses, symbioses and hybridizations (Wandruszka 1979: 314–315) restage Derrida's concept of différ*a*nce. In such an ongoing semiosis one is, time and time again, cast back to the beginning, which – given the accumulating associations – manifests itself from a slightly different perspective. Very much like the paradoxical childhood memories of the bilingual protagonist in her monologue.

Should a feeling of familiar disorientation catch the (scientific) reader, my introductory remarks will paradoxically have functioned according to the logic of coherent/noncoherent (*stimmig* / *nichtstimmig*), defined by Niklas Luhmann (1995: 366) as the binary code for art in his system theory. Comparable irritations in my paper may appear strange at first: even if these deliberate moments of intersystemic contamination go with the topic, they run contrary to our expectations. Whenever they succeed in questioning our blind reading habits, my chosen form of mise-en-scène will have explained itself. Such cross-genre experiments aim to intensify the readers' role in the co-creation of a text characterized by growing complication, similar to the ever-changing meaning construction in the process of plurilingual semiosis. Remaining an indefinite work in progress at the crossroads of literary studies and creative writing, I intend to amalgamate form with content, (re)searching as a literature-based scholar to match *how* something is expressed with *what* is being said. This seems particularly appropriate in a paper, which – by a related coincidence – deals with the question of finding an idiolectal home within a subject writing beyond fixed linguistic abodes.

LITERARY HOME ON THE MOVE

A beloved child has many names, as a popular Finnish saying puts it. This seems to hold true for 'migration literature', which – as a genre currently booming in the German-speaking world – has attracted a whole array of terms:

> *"Foreigners' literature"; "guest [worker]"*[7]*, "immigrant", "emigration", "migrant" or "migration literature"; "minority literature"; "intercultural",*

> *"multicultural", "German guest literature"; "literature without a fixed abode"; "literature of foreign lands"; "German literature seen from the outside"; "literature on the topic of migration" or "not only German [literature]".* (Drossou & Kara 2009: 4)

Manifest in this reception is the semantic shift from expressions revealing social bias – e.g. 'Gastarbeiter (or guest worker) literature' – to more politically correct, partially complicated compounds such as 'literature by German-language authors of non-German mother tongue'.

In this vein of decreasing markedness, the term 'literature without fixed abode' (*Literatur ohne festen Wohnsitz*[8]) seems appropriate for describing our increasingly nomadic lifestyles. The built-in pun with the double meaning 'literature on the move' and 'literature of the homeless' reminds me of Zygmunt Bauman's 'tourists' and 'vagabonds', i.e. those who travel the world in search of ever new highs and those who are obliged to migrate. This dichotomy is dissolved by Sandra Gugić through the oxymoron 'precarious jet-set' (Hausenblas 2015), which she, an Austrian writer with Serbian roots, uses to describe her commuting between Vienna and Berlin, thereby addressing the paradoxical movement between the different poles within one's bilingual self.

But before getting too far off the (beaten) track, let us return to the above literary terms. They can be considered to offer migration authors a sense of belonging outside the majority norm. The writers themselves – seemingly skeptical of every pigeonhole that ignores the existential rootlessness or the abundance of alternatives associated with their path of life – feel, however, wrongly compartmentalized. Be it the out-of-the-box way of thinking that comes with non-monolingual world understanding or the memories associated with stigmatized identities, the authors in question often refuse to be reduced to (writing about) their origins.[9] Are they acting in protest against inspired scholars who come up with ever new terms wanting to *capture* a genre on the move? Or are discriminated minorities prone to counterproductive seclusion, in (self-)denial of their own individual experiences of otherness?

LANGUAGE-BIOGRAPHICAL TYPOLOGY

When I discovered the newly published research on German-language migration literature a decade ago, I had just spent a year at the Swiss Literature Institute, where many of today's renowned authors writing in German learned their craft. The experience had challenged my German-speaking identity (of Austrian provenance) to a point where I began to ask myself: which of my language changes – the one from my native Finnish to acquired German or the one

from academic to literary writing within the latter – had been more challenging? I devoured the studies like a novel with which one identifies. At the end of one of the volumes I discovered, presented as a future research objective, the desire to investigate the quantitative and qualitative contribution of editors to the German language of migration authors (Bürger-Koftis 2008b: 245). Against the backdrop of the linguistic challenges associated with non-monolingual literary writing, regularly voiced by the research subjects (even in the anthology in question), this aspiration – which I as a literary scholar would simply have ignored as unrealistic – appeared to be thoroughly insensitive.

My intuition, rising from my double peer perspective, was to propose a typology of today's German-language literature emerging from distinct non-monolingual contexts, based on the linguistic biographies of bilingual or non-native authors (Mikkilä 2018: 4–8). By the term 'language biography' I understand the type of bi- (or multi)lingual socialization that writers currently referred to as 'migration authors' have been subject to.[10] Thus, the typology applies sociolinguistic concepts of bilingualism to describe the distinct subgroups of an emerging literary genre. Whereas this classification initially relies on my knowledge of the German-language literature scene, I want to propose it for discussion in a wider linguistic context:

1) The most prominent group is likely to be that of **naturally bilingual authors** who grew up with two languages from childhood (or early youth). The most probable means of literary expression of these writers is the language in which they were both educated and socialized – i.e. the language of the surrounding majority society rather than the language of origin of their parent(s).

2) Another group of **naturally bilingual authors** is that **of linguistic minorities** with a mother tongue different from the country's main language: under adequate educational and sociocultural conditions such a community provides writers with native-like language skills as well as a peripheral observer position favorable for literary expression.

3) **Diglossic authors** are excluded in an understanding of non-monolingual writing that currently defines alterity in terms of the authors' foreign language background. Apart from the arbitrary character of the distinction 'language vs. dialect', writing in a dialectal variety of the standard language shares attributes of the two previous groups: this is a type of early bilingual socialization and the chosen means of expression represents a minority perspective.[11]

4) **Foreign-language authors** also tend to fall off the radar of national philologies which rather co-opt 'linguistically immigrated' writers in the context of 'migration literature'.[12] While these migrants continue to write in their

native tongue, their minority lifeworld within the local linguistic majority is per se non-monolingual. The highly different migration backgrounds of these authors vary from forced exile to voluntary expatriate life.

5) **'Culturally bilingual' authors** have themselves developed skills permitting literary writing in an acquired language. Apart from a few exceptions, this group is only gradually emerging as a new generation of 'migration literature'.

Continuing in the vein of the literary terms associated with migration literature cited above, the proposed typology intends itself as emancipatory and empowering. By taking into consideration the variety of vulnerable positions, it allows to form identificatory bonds among the representatives within a particularly inclusive concept of non-monolingual writing. This identificatory 'do-it-yourself' aspect echoes such sociological and postcolonial concepts as 'patchwork', 'nomadic', and 'hybrid identity'. Given that the self-definitions of minorities become ever more specific, labels play an identity-establishing function in our society as a whole. While the framework of the language-biographical groups lays down the linguistic conditions for each type of non-monolingual authorship, their variably permeable boundaries permit a certain degree of movement (instead of trapping the authors in their past).[13] After all, both the term 'migration literature' and all its follow-up names imply that the genre, itself, is on the move.

WE CULTURALLY BILINGUAL AUTHORS

In our globalized society there is a growing chance that one's literary language gets chosen on the basis of a subtle interplay of external circumstances, social conditions, sociological value judgements, biographical coincidences, and the reactions of the authors to these generally complex, in many ways overdetermined, situations (Kremnitz 2015 [2004]: 246).

It just might, therefore, be high time to replace the noun 'migrant' in the term 'migration literature' by the word 'tourist' (Franczak et al. 2018). This suggestion by the Hungarian-German writer, sound and visual poet Kinga Tóth, alludes to the fundamental difference between the long-established naturally bilingual authors and the subgroup of emerging non-native writers in the above typology: the latter have acquired the target language later in life, on their own initiative.

Since the acquisition of language skills enabling literary writing usually takes several years, early bilingualism has long prevailed among migration authors (e.g. Spoerri 2008: 199). In the German-language context these writers

are, owing to evident historical reasons, for the most part second-generation immigrants of Turkish or East European[14] origin. Only after the turn of the millennium young authors who left their country after the fall of the Iron Curtain have started to emerge (Ackermann 2008: 19).

In the meanwhile, the voluntary movement of people is accelerating and diversifying – be it for professional reasons (such as company mergers, employment at NGOs, etc.) or on private grounds, for example pensioners settling down in the south, mixed marriages, student exchange, domiciles of choice (cf. Blioumi 2006: 19). This lays the foundation for another type of migration literature by individuals who seem to fit the definition of 'elite bilinguals':

> … *people for whom becoming bilingual usually constitutes a free choice … This applies to all the middle- and upper-class children and young people who travel, live a few years abroad, receive scholarships to study in other countries, children of academics, diplomats, employees at different international organizations, businessmen, etc. … This kind of elite bilingualism … has been viewed as something positive, as a kind of supplementary enrichment on an individual level*. (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 78, 79; Engl. by E.M.)

Despite the fact of not having had this type of bilingual upbringing in my youth, I caught myself identifying with Skutnabb-Kangas's definition. Like-minded individuals can be predicted to emerge (as a result of, for instance, the European mobility programs giving rise to a growing number of academic nomads). However, the term 'cultural bilingualism' – i.e. the definition closest to the Finnish-Swedish linguist's notion of 'elite bilingualism' (Skutnabb-Kangas 1981: 97, 99; cf. also Okkonen 2005: 18) – seems to describe this type of ever-growing (linguistic) mobility more adequately, since one can hardly speak of an elite feeling against the backdrop of deficient language skills.[15]

When Catalin Dorian Florescu, a Swiss author of Rumanian origin, states that migration authors deliver good German-language literature in a language that is better than that of some native colleagues, he speaks from the point of view of early bilingual socialization – and, even in this case, together with ample reflections on his linguistic uncertainties. This leads Bürger-Koftis (2008a: 10) to see in Florescu's statement both the traces of previously experienced discrimination and the self-confidence of a new European generation. Like in Gugić's oxymoron above, both are simultaneously true – according to a bilingual logic, in which 'A' is 'A' but can be 'non-A' at the same time (Saad 1997/98). Apart from interlingual homonyms and homophones, this proposition seems to apply to the paradoxical feeling of (under)privileged bilingualism – both on a personal and social level.

The trend of 'culturally bilingual' writing is – literally – (only) starting to *find its expression* within German-language migration literature. In the second decade of the twenty-first century, such authors enjoyed a rather impressive start, as the main German-language literature contest for new literary talents, the Ingeborg-Bachmann-Preis, was won by five women with a migrant background. Four of these authors – Olga Martynova, Katja Petrowskaja, Sharon Dodua Otoo, and Tanja Maljartschuk – acquired their German skills as a result of a later, self-initiated immigration.

While the above shows that changing one's literary language is possible, it is an unlikely, highly demanding transformation process. Given the close relationship between language(s), language learning, emotions, and identity (Hu 2003: 13), both linguistic and psychological factors play a decisive role in this development (cf., e.g., Amati Mehler & Argentieri & Canestri 2003 [1990]). The fact that the above Bachmannpreis laureates were between 35 and 50 years old when they won this award for *up-and-coming* writers is indicative of the challenges associated with acquiring a new literary language later in life.

The average age of the cited winners being 43 years, there is a tendency towards the non-native writers getting younger. On the one hand, this development can be seen in relation to the worldwide increase in migration flows and its influence on our mental mobility. Lately, literary writing beyond the linguistic 'purity requirement' has been met with growing public interest and acceptance (Straňáková 2010: 388; cf. also Deutsch als Muttersprache 2018). A more linguistically and culturally mixed population shows more tolerance towards unconventional language use (such as strong accents and incorrect command of grammar, as in the case of the above-mentioned laureates).

On the other hand, the fact that ever younger writers with late, self-initiated bilingual socialization emerge, shows the significance of role models. It is striking to see that three out of the four Bachmann prizewinners come – like it is the case for most of the naturally bilingual writers in the German-speaking world – from Eastern Europe. Is this because of a particular horizon of expectation within the German-language literary reception? Or is there a desire to erase a first language associated with social bias (whereas authors not subjected to such value judgements would continue to write in their mother tongue, even in the foreign-language environment)?

Moving in a new direction: what type of poetological changes do I observe from the long-established 'migration literature' to the gradually emerging discourse of 'culturally bilingual writers' from my peer perspective? I will discuss the key aspects of this shift with the aid of figuratively associated computer-translated quotations from the prose scene used in the aforementioned workshops (the German original of which can be found at the end of this paper). With the

subsequent questions resulting from this analytic-aesthetic juxtaposition, I hope to tease the reader's imagination: 1) Obeying or subversive imagery – how does the age at which the father tongue intervenes with language learning affect one's literary rhetoric? 2) What is this nonsense of writing in an acquired language doing to the literary style? 3) Does writing from a *perspective* of (socio)linguistic inferiority imply an observer position on the lonely side of the fence? 4) Can following a rhizomatic writing path finally lead writers of our globalized society (to a unique kind of) home? 5) Non-monolingual minority writers, unite – to shape the wor(l)d on the move with your adopted tongue(?)!

EMOTIONLESS 'FATHER TONGUE' VS. 'OTHERLINGUAL' AUDACITY

… to whom I would get Snow White Balls
if the cold had not been faster than
he had already seen the brilliant red caravan…[16]

Historic(al) examples of authors, who have become bilingual later in life, remain *rare exceptions* (in the double sense of the expression): quantitatively only a few, there are prominent 'exceptions to the rule'.

Probably the most significant representative of the 'old(-school) guard' of non-native authors, Samuel Beckett, tried to erase every trace of his mother tongue, striving for absolute perfection in French. A difficult maternal relationship has been suggested to be at the root of this attempt, overcome in Beckett's late auto-translations, in which the author found a form of playfulness in his mother tongue, absent in his French writing (Casement 1982: 35, 42). This psychoanalytical analysis is all the more interesting, as it is rather the 'father tongue' (in the Lacanian sense of *père* symbolizing *loi*) that is at the origin of such a development – as suggested by the particularities of language learning.

During the process of adapting our first language(s), the development of implicit linguistic knowledge derived from verbal output is followed by that of deliberately acquired explicit (metalinguistic) knowledge (Zanetti & Tonelli & Piras 2010: 176, 177). When acquiring further languages later in life, we traditionally start with their normative use (vocabulary and grammar). It is only with a growing command that we learn to employ them intuitively. This difference is of great importance in the context of non-native literary writing because it complicates the expression of emotional connotations.

> *You say "I love you" and feel nothing. You say "I hate you" and feel nothing. You only feel when you translate it inside. In the language of childhood.*

> *In the language in which Father cursed and the first girl demanded of me*. (Florescu 2001: 33, Engl. by Google Translate)

Florescu's musings show that our first language carries a particular importance for our psychological development and the way in which we capture and structure our lifeworld (Kremnitz 2015 [2004]: 28). The lack of emotional intuition in the language that an author has acquired as his/her means of expression exerts a particularly penalizing effect on the literary communication process, since these nuances are central to the poetic function of language.

Moving from the exegetical interpretation to a positivistic perspective, Beckett's French writing suggests that a greater emotional distance in an acquired language allows to deal with painful memories – as even the words that had left so many scars cease to hurt in the new language (Young 2007: 235). Shifting one's point of view allows to consider writing in an acquired language as an asset (mental flexibility generally being of advantage in language learning).

From this new vantage point, the late acquisition of a language appears to auto-attenuate the inhibiting effect of normative language learning on the literary writing process. Given that societal regulations of the 'father tongue' are not internalized in the acquired language from early on, the absence of such culturally mediated obstacles (Okkonen 2005: 29–30) invites the non-native writer to approach the foreign language with provocative audacity (Winkler 2008: 115).

LINGUISTIC STUMBLING BLOCKS AS EXPERIMENTAL CATALYSTS

> *I climb the chain-saw fence around my nigelnagelne kindergarten*
> *and practice the foreign language while placing my feet*
> *in the ma ma, meshes from the metal wire wire of the Za Za, us us…*[17]

My experience suggests that formal learning fosters normatively correct language use, which may interfere with the spontaneous-emotional creation process (for definition, cf. Dietrich 2004: 1019–1020). Although this seems perfectly logical in view of the specificities of language learning discussed above, the actual outcomes are far more personal. Yoko Tawada, an early representative of culturally bilingual writing, finds that her thoughts cling so tightly to the words in the native tongue that neither the former nor the latter can fly freely (Tawada 1994).

The perspective of the Japanese-German author is refreshing, given that the first impulse is (still) to think that words must be well grounded before they

can take off. Since literary practice requires a differentiated command of the writing language, this is most likely to be the case in our native language(s), in which we have the finest idiomatic nuances and associated emotional connotations at our disposal. Consequently, culturally bilingual authors address a subjectively felt, existential sensation of linguistic inferiority (cf., e.g., Dimitré Dinev interviewed by Christa Stippinger (2000: 43)). As performatively shown by the automatic translations of some of the quotations in this paper, they are likely to experience great difficulty or even inability to express fine distinctions in the target language, as language-specific subtleties get lost in the intercultural translation process.

The consequences of the linguistic limitations of one's idiolect (= distinct personal language) on the literary practice are characterized by a double bind of practical difficulty and translingual uniqueness. Despite (or even thanks to) the associated linguistic insufficiencies and hesitations, the self-imposed restriction of writing in an acquired language may work as an innovation catalyst. In the sense that non-native authors subject themselves to creating within a restricted set of expressions, this form of literary writing can be considered to renew the experimental constraints practiced by the French avant-garde group OULIPO in the 1960s–1970s. The recent change in *perspective*, i.e. our acceptance of – and growing fascination for – 'otherlingual' expressions, serves as an extrinsic encouragement to view non-native writing as a creative asset.

Well before these kinds of contaminations caught on, the culturally bilingual poet Dragica Rajčić practiced a subversive orthography that defies other-directedness by refusing to conform to the point of indistinguishability (Spoerri 2008: 207). Or is the Croatian-born Swiss 'guest author' simply courageous enough to spell her 'steppmouther tongue' (Engl. by E.M.) the way she perceives it, like a child discovering certain words for the first time?[18] The anti-authoritarian slips of her imperfect diction challenge all those who view otherness as clearly attributable (ibid.: 207–208).

The defamiliarizing *character* of the poetic function of language combined with that of the non-native linguistic background transgresses conventional rules in a double gesture, allowing to transform inadequacy into inventive richness. This competence might in part explain why migration authors are more and more appreciated for their imperfect, idiosyncratic language use.

The strong inner critic or super-ego, as demonstrated by Beckett's example, becomes substituted by an external paternalistic perspective, thus reducing the migration author to a product of successful cultural transfer in the age of multiculturalism (Braunsperger 2003). Today's non-monolingual writers are considered to enrich their own language – by re-examining it with the undisguised view of the linguistic emigrant (ibid.), by broadening its vocabulary

and idioms (Ilija Trojanow[19] as cited in Hübner 2008: 93), and by introducing new perspectives, motives, and themes (Kucher 2008: 189). The underlying dichotomous thought pattern is governed by one's own interest: what does the foreign writer bring us?

POETOLOGICAL HOMES OF (NON-)BELONGING

… when Mama goes away, I will hang on the fence and wish me on the other side – just as my goldfish Miša stole out of Uncle Griša's gigantic revelation…[20]

Island life sharpens the view. Or: island existence improves one's vision? (Rakusa 2006: 227, Engl. by Google Translate and by E.M., respectively) Mirrored by the experience of linguistic destabilization, migration literature has proven to be particularly apt in describing feelings of disorientation and deracination. While the polyglot Swiss book prize winner of Hungarian origin, Ilma Rakusa, seems to have *arrived*, the Austrian-Slovenian Bachmannpreis laureate Maja Haderlap is still searching: once you have slipped from one language to the other, you also slip yourself and do not know if this journey will ever lead you to a safe place (Haderlap 2011: 36, Engl. by Google Translate). In the case of the aforementioned Florescu, his linguistic markedness or involuntary non-assimilation motivates the rewriting of himself; the problem is that one does not want to attract attention, every attention being a sign of non-belonging (Florescu 2001: 33, Engl. by E.M.). These are just three variations on the theme of not understanding or being understood during bicultural translation processes – as seen from the linguistically privileged position of naturally bilingual authors.[21] Why does this lifeworld sometimes feel underprivileged?

Emilia Smechowski's (2017) autobiographical essay-novel *Wir Strebermigranten* (We Overachiever Migrants) depicts her Polish family's attempts to assimilate in the sociolinguistic context of the post-Cold War Germany. The attitudes of the majority population towards Polish are characterized by linguicism, i.e. contempt for this language and the people speaking it. Even though Smechowski regrets the loss of her mother tongue, she yields to the imposed 'father tongue' (thus uniting both parents' new idiom). The low sociocultural prestige of her first language leads to an exemplary integration process, at the cost of her Polish skills.

The described phenomenon of first language attrition can, to some extent, also concern authors writing in a foreign-language environment (be it in L1 or in the respective L2). In Smechowski's case, it involves a movement from lost natural to self-acquired cultural bilingualism by an individual rediscovering

of her *mother* tongue later in life, together with her baby child. Her example illustrates the empowering character of the proposed language-biographical typology, reminding us that the crises of migrant experience come with a chance for linguistic creativity.

Metaphors in the semantic fields of nonconformity and isolation typically associated with migration literature grow obsolete in a society of increased global mobility with its multilayered manifestations of diversity and alterity. Equally overdue is the necessity to transcend hegemonic power relations present in the still prevailing appropriation, overcoming or cancellation of the 'foreigner' (cf. Leskovec 2009: 31). How about a Möbius strip that seamlessly unites the non-native writer's rich *perspective* with personally experienced incongruence?

The topos of being an outsider, together with the associated feelings of exclusion, is just another variation on the observer position that literary writers more generally describe as their home terrain. The position on the periphery, which the stranger shares with the emigrant, allows for a relativizing view that in(c/v)ites to encompass the limits of the acknowledged discourse (cf. Mitgutsch 1997: 25). Given that 'aesthetic alterity' – characterized by ambiguity and indeterminacy (Leskovec 2009: 104) – is a feature of the multi-coded poetic function of language, is the idiom of bilingual and non-native writers *eventually* ideally suited for literary expression?

UNIQUE VOICES ARISING AT HYBRID INTERSECTIONS

> *… I do not go to my* playschool *as usual in the afternoon, but rather take the chance to find my way back home…*[22]

The multi- or translingual analysis of the neologism 'Imkomme' at the beginning of this paper *shows* (rather than describes) the large associative fields originating in the hybrid space where different languages meet. Deciphering such interlinguistic interferences alludes to the recipients' changing role when confronted with a literary genre, in which "'write' the other languages, 'writes' e.g. the first language often with"[23] (Schweiger 2010: 36, from German by Google Translate).

Describing such moments as "Stolpersteine" (Engl. stumbling blocks), which perturb our perception, throws us off the track, and forces us to pause (Leskovec 2009: 246), illustrates the intercultural meaning-making process on a metalevel: the word 'Stolperstein' evokes, in addition to its common denotation 'obstacle', the additional connotation of commemorative metal plates that have been mounted into numerous streets in Germany and Austria, in front of the homes

of the people deported during World War II. Co-evoked are – (only) for those familiar with the double meaning – all the associated stories demonstrating our performative cultural interactions, cultural gaps, and hybrid formations, individual and collective multiple identities (cf. Csáky 2011: 140).

In our globalized world the creators of such hybrid literary landscapes may be seen as the pioneers of a future characterized by multi-ethnicity and multiculturalism (Hadzibeganovic[24] 2005: 8). Assuming that an author's literary individuation involves a translation process of arbitrarily combined language pairs, a nearly infinite number of language-biographical positions will emerge among future generations of non-monolingual writers. The rhizomatic aesthetics already present in today's migration literature – with its different levels of languages and/or cultural references interconnected in a variety of ways without clearly identifiable or separable sources, nor a recognizable hierarchy (Vlasta 2010a: 340) – *rambles* from the inner- to an intertextual third space. An incomprehensible literary potential resembling Raymond Queneau's poetry volume *Cent Mille Milliards de poèmes* (1961), in which the fourteen lines of the ten sonnets, cut apart, generate 100,000,000,000,000 poems.

Just as our transcultural fantasies begin to fly (too high), even the inhuman translator-genius struggles to make sense of "the 'germs of a new world literature' that constituted the stranger, or rather the new home and aesthetically designed"[25] (Hadzibeganovic 2005: 8; Engl. by Google Translate). Read symbolically (this time with a wink at non-native writers instead of Lacan), this virtual coincidence implies that the hegemony of national literatures is nowhere near to be shattered. The sense of belonging of those whose identity defies linguistic and cultural boundaries; on the contrary, it gets pieced together 'aus freien (Bruch)Stücken', i.e., 'out of bits and pieces' (or 'out of broken pieces').

The polyphony of narratives in another experimental volume by the abovementioned language artist (Queneau 1947) illustrates with its – more moderate – just under a hundred variations of the same story the piecing together of a non-monolingual lifeworld out of individual intercultural combinations. By analogy with Paul Ricœur's '*mêmeté*' (sameness) and '*ipséité*' (individual selfhood), the short narratives can be viewed as a metaphor for an identity formation process, during which non-monolingual writers maintain a core sense of self whilst viewing themselves through different lenses and transferring these nuanced viewpoints to various ways of expression.

The emergence of a unique, authentic voice out of the multitude of possible stories and means of expression is what constitutes an author's idiolect. This maturation process takes place in a dialectical interaction between identificatory and emancipatory forces. In the case of non-monolingual literary writing, it is intensified by the particularly complex (and therefore naturally prolonged)

formation of a culturally bi- (or multi)lingual self. Thanks to the greater distance – both to the acquired language itself and in terms of the life path covered while learning it – poetological reflection about one's own writing not seldom guides the literary quest of authors who have left their original linguistic territory.[26]

EMPOWERING NON-MONOLINGUAL MINORITY DISCOURSES

… I want to scream, it was not meant!, But no sound comes out
until someone pours hot water over my mouth…[27]

Minority discourses offer both critical and 'seismological' meanings that have the creative and empowering potential to deconstruct and challenge dominant positions. Their present relevance can be explained by the growing complexity of our lifeworld – a world reminiscent of the multiple coding inherent in literary language, in which the binary logic of traditional intercultural hermeneutics is no longer tenable (Leskovec 2009: 4, cf. also Hübner 2008: 88). A literature marked by the hybridity of intercultural and interlinguistic connotations exposes the anachronistic character of a logic that fails to take into account the increasing heterogenization of our societies. The kind of reasoning that argues in the form of national or paternalistic dichotomies, merging pluralistic views by neutralizing the stranger and sidestepping disturbing manifestations of the other.

Are we talking at cross-purposes? Possibly. After all, our increasingly pluralistic society is in a liminal phase, characterized by a struggle to overcome all too comforting dichotomous thinking patterns. The great challenge consists of us as observers being amidst something that is only coming into being, so that we can only catch an inadequate appreciation of the ever-changing situation at a given time (cf. Varto 2009: 37; Ette 2016).

In an ongoing creative process of identity formation, self-transformations become one's second nature, as our identities grow increasingly complex, decentered and transitory (cf. Straub 2015: 167, 181). Given the polyphonic aesthetic concept characteristic of migration literature (Vlasta 2010b: 435), the hybrid artistic identities and cross-genre means of expression of ever more writers[28] can hardly be assessed properly from a mono-scientific or hierarchical viewpoint.

In the same pluralistic vein, bilingual writers are likely to possess skills in more than just two languages, each new one profiting from the existing comparative linguistic knowledge. Acquiring multiple languages helps to gain a pronounced, both liberating and self-reflexive understanding of a language in its materiality: multilingualism fosters both metalinguistic awareness and the development of metacognitive strategies (Jessner 2003: 30), enhances lin-

guistic sensitivity (Zierau 2010: 434), and promotes complex thinking, mental flexibility and creativity (Zanetti & Tonelli & Piras 2010: 180).

Are non-monolingual authors, therefore, predestined to expand the boundaries of our thinking? Manifestations of the irritating, incongruent, non-fitting and contaminating mark a starting point for shifts in meaning (Dannenbeck 2002: 291, paraphrased by Scherke 2011: 90). The signature features of translingual rhetoric – ambivalence, double meaning, and polysemy – point to a key resource in our multilingual society: ambiguity tolerance. My own experience suggests that repeated linguistic, cultural, and discursive changes in perspective lead to the emergence of a metaperspective, which allows to register so-called speaking details that the directly involved seem to ignore.

In our world on the move the migrant is suggested to become a leading figure (Löffler 2014: 11). In view of the currently rather *exclusive* circle of migration authors, the inherent '*distinction*' – in a revised Bourdieusian sense – seems to provide these writers with future-oriented (inter)cultural capital. Literature emerging from non-monolingual contexts might, indeed, be on the way to claim its position as the most interesting and significant contribution to contemporary literature (Bürger-Koftis 2008b: 239; Hielscher 2006: 199, Amodeo & Hörner & Kiemle 2009: 7). Given the creative potential simmering in multilingualism, there is a myriad of new meanings to be discovered in literary writing that comes into being beyond the monolingual context.

CONCLUSION

The currently booming migration literature is a genre on the move. Analytic discourses surrounding this literary expression do well in adopting a similar kind of flexibility. Starting with an inclusive typology of non-monolingual literary writing, I have portrayed a generation of 'culturally bilingual' authors who have acquired a second language later in life. Against the backdrop of my own experience as a researcher-author writing in a foreign language, I have discussed a number of factors shaping such a gradually emerging literary discourse: contradictory manifestations of the 'father tongue', the importance of emotional connotations, linguistic complications (leading to stylistic experimentation), otherness as a determining factor of one's (socio)linguistic reality, rhizomatic-associative semiosis, the emergence of distinct multicultural idiolects as well as the emancipatory power rising from polysemous *margins*. In line with the hybrid intersections characteristic of the globalized world in the twenty-first century, non-monolingual literary writing adds its unique supplementary layers to the multiple coding of the poetic function of language.

NOTES

[1] The workshops and international multidisciplinary conferences in question: *Exercises in Language* at "Please Specify!" International Conference of the Society for Artistic Research (SAR), UNIARTS Helsinki, April 28–29, 2017; *Babble, Babbel, Babel – Migratory Self-Narratives. A Collaborative Workshop on Autofictional Migration Literature* at "Life Writing, Europe and New Media" Biannual Conference of the International Auto/Biography Association Europe, King's College, London, June 6–9, 2017; *Randbemerkungen ... or Empowering Self-Narratives?* at the "2nd Non-Monogamies and Contemporary Intimacies Conference", Sigmund Freud Private University, Vienna, August 31 – September 2, 2017, as well as the German-language version *Migratorische Selbst-Narrative. Interaktiver Workshop zur autofiktionalen Migrationsliteratur* at the Department of Comparative Literature of the University of Vienna on May 4, 2018.

[2] Original text excerpt from *Mütter Land*:
Ich klettere am Maschendrahtzaun rund um meinen nigelnagelneuen Kindergarten und übe die fremde Sprache beim Platzieren meiner Füße in die M-a Ma, s-c-h-e-n schen, Maschen aus dem metallenen D-r-a-h-t Draht des Z-a Za, u-n-s uns ... als Mama sich von mir entfernt, bleibe ich am Zaun hängen und wünsche mich auf die andere Seite – ähnlich wie mein Goldfisch Miša sich aus Onkel Grišas Riesenreuse hinausgestohlen hat, unbemerkt zu seinen Freunden entwischt ist –, genauso möchte ich durch den Zaun schlüpfen, heimlich zu den Erstklässlern, drüben in der *International School*, wie im Flug zu ihm, von dem ich Schneewittchenbäckchen bekäme, wenn die Kälte nicht schneller gewesen wäre, als er, den ich bereits vor dem glänzend roten Wunderwagen warten sehe, der woanders hingehört, oder aber ich ebenfalls dabei sein sollte, mit Gisi! oder Franzi! oder mit beiden: wir drei auf einem Sitz! allerdings erst später, denn Mama hat gesagt, der Doppeldeckerausflug finde erst am Nachmittag statt, und sie weiß immer, wann der Ausflug stattfindet, also wette ich, dass es zwei davon gibt, und soll der Nachbar mir von der anderen Seite noch so seine Zunge herausstrecken! ich kann auch das besser, denn *meine* Zunge bleibt am eisigen Metall kleben, ich will schreien, 'so war's nicht gemeint!', aber es kommt kein Ton raus, bis jemand heißes Wasser über mein Mundwerk gießt, ich brülle mir die Seele aus dem Leib, aber der Bus ist weg, als wäre er nur ein Traum gewesen, fort ist er, "*gone*" bedauert Mrs. Willoby am Gitter, und sie weiß hundertprozentig Bescheid, denn sie hat ihn verschwinden sehen, Mama hatte sich doch getäuscht, also gehe ich am Nachmittag nicht wie gewohnt in meine *playschool*, sondern nehme mir stattdessen vor, selbst den Rückweg nach Hause zu finden, den ich *on Mondays and Tuesdays and Fridays and Thursdays* zusammen mit meiner *nanny* gehe, und als ich heimkomme, sehe ich *mamočka!* und *papočka!* am Küchentisch sitzen, obwohl sie zu dieser Zeit nie zu Hause sind, und ich zu dieser Zeit nie heimkomme, und ich lehne die *Milky*schnitte ab, die ich sonst nicht ablehnen würde und wundere mich über den Ausflug, den ich nicht machen werde und den Kaffee, den sie erst später trinken sollten, doch sie lächeln mir zu, und Mama meint, es sei alles halb so schlimm, sie hätten sich bloß geirrt, nächste Woche würden wir in einen echten Flieger kommen, "Alle drei?", "Nein, nur wir Mädels!", "Und Papa...?"

[3] 'Show, don't tell!' has been a leading creative writing slogan for quite some time (handbooks referring to either Henry James or Ernest Hemingway).

[4] The neologism popped up in all the languages of my first workshops, i.e. Dutch, English, Esperanto, Finnish, French, Italian, Norwegian, and Spanish. Later on, Google Translate ceased to propose the coinage 'imkomme'.

[5] 'L2' denotes one's second – i.e. non-native or first 'foreign' – language. 'L1', used later in this paper, refers to one's first language (= native or mother tongue).

[6] Many well-known postmodern experimental writers have a bi- or multilingual background – be it the foreign origins of their parents, their own expatriate experience or translation activities (Mikkilä 2000: 28–30); for the language biographies of the two prominent representatives of the absurd theater, Eugène Ionesco and Samuel Beckett, cf. Kremnitz 2015 [2004]: 179–180 and 226–229, respectively.

[7] One of the first terms for 'migration literature' – *Gastarbeiterliteratur* (guest worker literature) – is missing in the original list. Given the simultaneous repetition of the euphemistic expression 'guest literature', I have corrected the mistake that, I assume, came into being by accident.

[8] The term was first coined by Ottmar Ette, Professor of Romance Studies, as a bilingual expression with the parallel form *littérature sans domicile fixe*. It was initially used in plural, referring to diverse, also historical types of writing beyond the concept of national literatures (cf. Ette 2005).

[9] A heated public debate on the topic was initiated by a Berlin author of Czechoslovakian origin, Maxim Biller (2014), urging migration writers – notably the successful Bosnian-German novelist Saša Stanišić – to write about migration-related themes (adding more depth and social relevance to contemporary German-language literature). Stanišić is, for his part, an interesting case with regard to my language-biographical typology, since he immigrated to Germany at the age of 14 with his parents. Considering that the latter emigrated further to the USA six years later, he shares attributes of both naturally and culturally bilingual authors. As to the former group, cf. also endnote 21.

[10] The proposed typology goes back to an intuitive impulse originating from my peer perspective. Besides my related writing experience and observations of the literary scene, it relies on the readily available, poetological material as well as interviews dealing with migration authors' language biographies. Later I discovered a homonymous linguistic branch of research (with somewhat different objectives and, therefore, methods). It would be interesting to see language-biographical linguists engage with the different types of non-monolingual authors and, from their vantage point, in the discussion of my proposed typology.

[11] In the international context, two independent observations come into mind. In Finland dialectal poetry has enjoyed growing popularity. In the German-speaking world, on the other hand, there seems to be a one-way street from dialects and regiolects to standard German, when it comes to the prestige of synonymous expressions. In his experimental novel, Austrian crime writer Wolf Haas (2006) plays not only with the regional differences but the connotations they evoke. (As by a topic-relevant rhizomatic 'coincidence', Haas wrote his doctoral thesis about concrete poetry, whilst the master's thesis of the aforementioned Saša Stanišić dealt with Wolf Haas.)

[12] Two examples that adopt the opposite viewpoint are a Finnish master's thesis about authors writing in a foreign-language environment (Okkonen 2005) as well as the work of the collective *Stadtsprachen* dedicated to promoting, publishing, and doing research on foreign-language authors in Berlin. Kremnitz (2015 [2004]) discusses the linguistic biographies of (mostly distinguished) non-monolingual authors from a rather comparative point of view, cf. especially 5.5. 'Personal' Choice of Language, pp. 218–235.

[13] Even the absolute, long-prevailing supremacy of early bilingual socialization is starting to be questioned. (cf., e.g., Lee 2005).

[14] The term 'East(ern) Europe(an)' is used in this paper in a political rather than a geographical sense.

[15] Personally, I associate the term 'elite bilingual' with the kind of natural bilingual upbringing Skutnabb-Kangas herself received. Owing to historical reasons, the representatives of the Finnish-Swedish minority are – 'by a fortunate coincidence' – referred to in common parlance as the 'better people' in my country of origin. As implied in this paper, the main bilingual communities in the German-speaking world are in a far less privileged position (captured by Skutnabb-Kangas's term 'linguicism') – with repercussions on the respective language skills.

[16] Original text: "... zu ihm, von dem ich Schneewittchenbäckchen bekäme, wenn die Kälte nicht schneller gewesen wäre, als er, den ich bereits vor dem glänzend roten Wunderwagen warten sehe..." (Engl. by Google Translate, September 1, 2017).

[17] Original text: "Ich klettere am Maschendrahtzaun rund um meinen nigelnagelneuen Kindergarten und übe die fremde Sprache beim Platzieren meiner Füße in die M-a Ma, s-c-h-e-n schen, Maschen aus dem metallenen D-r-a-h-t Draht des Z-a Za, u-n-s uns..." (Engl. by Google Translate, September 1, 2017).

[18] Indeed, this was the poetological stance of the poet herself (personal communication, Swiss Literature Institute 2010).

[19] Hübner quotes from Trojanow's unpublished poetics lecture manuscript which carries the title *W:Ort. Und hätte ich nur eine Sprache. Eine Liebeserklärung*.

[20] Original text: "... als Mama sich von mir entfernt, bleibe ich am Zaun hängen und wünsche mich auf die andere Seite – ähnlich wie mein Goldfisch Miša sich aus Onkel Grišas Riesenreuse hinausgestohlen hat..." (Engl. by Google Translate, September 1, 2017).

[21] Having fled to Switzerland with his parents at the age of 15, Florescu – like the abovementioned Stanišić – was at the very end of the so-called critical period, which has been argued (for and against) to determine the upper limit for acquiring native-like language skills. In addition to this biolinguistic explanation, I presume that the experience gained in a school-age peer group plays a beneficial role in one's bilingual development.

[22] Original text: "... also gehe ich am Nachmittag nicht wie gewohnt in meine *playschool*, sondern nehme mir stattdessen vor, selbst den Rückweg nach Hause zu finden..." (Engl. by Google Translate, September 1, 2017).

[23] Original text: ",schreiben' die anderen Sprachen, ,schreibt' z.B. die Erstsprache häufig mit " (Engl. by Google Translate, October 9, 2019).

[24] The precise spelling of the author's surname is 'Hadžibeganović'. The diacritical signs are also omitted in Bürger-Koftis 2008b.

[25] Original text: "„Keime neuer Weltliteratur„ ... die die Fremde, oder besser die neue Heimat konstituiert und ästhetisch gestaltet". (Engl. by Google Translate, October 9, 2019).

[26] The most prominent example of this in the German-speaking world is likely to be the Dresden Chamisso poetics lectureships, held by non-monolingual writers in 2000–2011.

[27] Original text: "... ich will schreien, 'so war's nicht gemeint!', aber es kommt kein Ton raus, bis jemand heißes Wasser über mein abrupt verstummtes Mundwerk gießt, ich brülle mir die Seele aus dem Leib..." (Engl. by Google Translate, April 24, 2017).

[28] Two examples of this trend mentioned in this paper are the multiple artistic identity of the *writer, sound and visual poet* Kinga Tóth, and the *essay-novel* of Emilia Smechowski.

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GRAPHIC ASPECTS OF MOBILITY: FOLKLORISTIC-ETHNOLOGICAL DRAWINGS AS A STARTING POINT FOR DISCUSSING MOBILITY AND BORDERS

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Abstract: This paper discusses mobility within early twentieth-century folklore descriptions. Mobility is approached in terms of *the culture of motion* (Naukkarinen 2006), and in relation to borders and *borderscapes* (Brambilla 2015; Dell´Agnese & Amilhat Szary 2015; Perera 2007; Rajaram & Grundy-Warr 2007) as well as *stretched environments* (Povrzanović Frykman & Humbracht 2013). The objective is to examine how mobility appears in former folklore contexts in case the viewpoint of drawing is concerned. Another aim is to combine art making with the analysis. The material is based on a folklore survey conducted by the Finnish Literature Society. The focus is on those survey responses that relate to eastern Finland and Finnish and Russian Karelia. Multimodal analysis is used for analyzing the relationship between the featured drawings and texts. Thus, the results demonstrate how the analysis, when accompanied by art making, could provide a point of departure for developing a multidisciplinary approach to discuss mobility and borders. The article illustrates how the materials, the analysis, and creative work intertwine in assessing presumptions and redirecting interpretations.

Keywords: archival materials, art making, border studies, borderscapes, cartoons, drawings, folklore studies, material culture, mobility, multimodal analysis

This paper discusses mobility that intertwines with folklore within early twentieth-century folklore descriptions. It is argued that these kinds of descriptions provide a productive point of departure for developing innovative methodologies for discussing folklore and mobility. Mobility is approached here, firstly, in terms of the culture of motion, following Naukkarinen, (2006: 18–19) who points out that many activities in contemporary lives relate to motion and movements.

Urry (2008: 14), in turn, argues that while previous social research dealt with mobility in somewhat separate terms of work, migration, and communication, the present-day manner is to consider it more as an intertwined issue. Secondly, this article considers mobility in relation to borders, and the study leans on contemporary interdisciplinary border studies discussions, for instance, the formation processes of borders or the bordering stance (Yuval-Davies & Wemyss & Cassidy 2018). The perspective of borderscapes is emphasized in order to take into consideration the socio-political contexts in which borders are lived and studied (see Brambilla 2015; Dell'Agnese & Amilhat Szary 2015; Perera 2007; Rajaram & Grundy-Warr 2007). This means that also textual, symbolic, temporal and other planes of borders are considered (see Jaago 2018; Schimanski 2006). Thirdly, mobility is addressed in terms of the continuity created within stretched locations, as, for instance, Povrzanović Frykman and Humbracht (2013) discuss in the context of their study of objects in migrant transnational lives (for material culture, see Tilley 2001; Glassie 1999).

Klein (2006: 23) mentions that "folklorists have incomparable opportunities to historicize the concerns of the present, to compare older and newer expressive forms and contexts with older ones". According to Noyes (2016: 13), one of the central tasks in folklore research is a "trying-out of interpretation". Thus, the work of folklorists resembles that of creative artists (ibid.: 12). Consequently, this paper is founded on an attempt to historicize mobility from the folklore stance, especially from the viewpoints of drawings and art making.[1] The viewpoint of drawings is worth emphasizing since drawings comprise a somewhat untouched area in folklore studies in Finland (see Korolainen 2017, 2014). On the one hand, the drawing perspective may serve as a vehicle to approach discussions outside the scope of the artistic world (for line-making see Ingold 2007). On the other hand, in this paper drawing relates to art making, and thus, the discussion is loosely based on arts-based research (see Barone & Eisner 2012; Cahnmann-Taylor 2008) and on drawing research where the relations between drawing and research are specifically considered (see Garner 2008; Drawing Research Network).[2] It follows that the objective of this paper is to examine how mobile culture, mobility in relation to borders, as well as mobility in stretched material environments appear in former folklore contexts from the viewpoint of drawings. Another aim of the work is to combine art making with the analysis of folklore materials.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The research material for this paper is based on a folkloristic survey conducted by the *Kansantieto* periodical published by the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) in Finland from 1936 to 1939. The inquiry was aimed at those citizens who were willing to "assist in rescuing our old archaic heritage" (Haavio 1936: 1). In many respects the *Kansantieto* survey followed a long line of Finnish folklore collecting (see Virtanen & DuBois 2000: 25). In the 1930s (as also formerly), folklore collecting and research in Finland were based on a quest for the preservation of the disappearing Finnish folklore. In addition, this quest is part of the disciplinary history of Finnish folkloristics, and thus the relation of folkloristics to nationalistic state-building policies is regularly under critical discussion (see Pöysä 2018; Anttonen 2005; Wilson 1985).

The *Kansantieto* responses deal with various forms of folklore, such as ethnological issues, folktales, beliefs, customs, magic, as well as folk songs, games and plays. The research material used here is limited to those survey responses and submitted drawings that relate to eastern Finland and Finnish and Russian Karelia (i.e. borderlands). Hence, the material includes only 63 descriptions altogether. At the beginning of my study I did not use mobility or borders to define the research material, and it follows that the materials consider a variety of topics and folklore genres. However, I specifically discuss a body of 18 original descriptions for the reason that I used these descriptions as an inspiration for art making and they were therefore analyzed in detail. In terms of methodology, I lean on multimodal analysis which implies that the relationships between the featured drawings and texts are analyzed simultaneously. It is possible to specify how these drawings and texts are linked together, as well as how the compositions as a whole address the reader (see Kress 2010: 1–5, 79–83; Kress & van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]; Korolainen 2014, 2017). Jewitt (2009: 16) points out that "[m]ultimodality can be used to build inventories of the semiotic resources (that is, the actions, materials and artefacts people communicate with) that modes make available to people in particular places and times". Moreover, it helps "people to see *how* a 'reality' comes to be represented" and offers "the potential to *imagine* it differently and to *redesign* it" (ibid.: 23). Hence, in this study, multimodal research offers information for constructing analytical inventories of people's uses of texts and drawings in the material-historical context of early twentieth-century folklore collecting, as well as for capturing different representations of mobilities, both now and then.

DRAWINGS WITHIN FOLKLORE MATERIALS

The word 'drawing' refers here to hand-made visual representations that are based on lines and made with a pen (ink) or pencil (see Lukkarinen 2015: 24–28). Ink and pencil are the main techniques used for drawing within the materials (see Fig. 1). As a rule, the drawings are fairly small in size, and colors and shading are rarely used. Furthermore, these kinds of folkloristic drawings are usually accompanied by folklore texts.

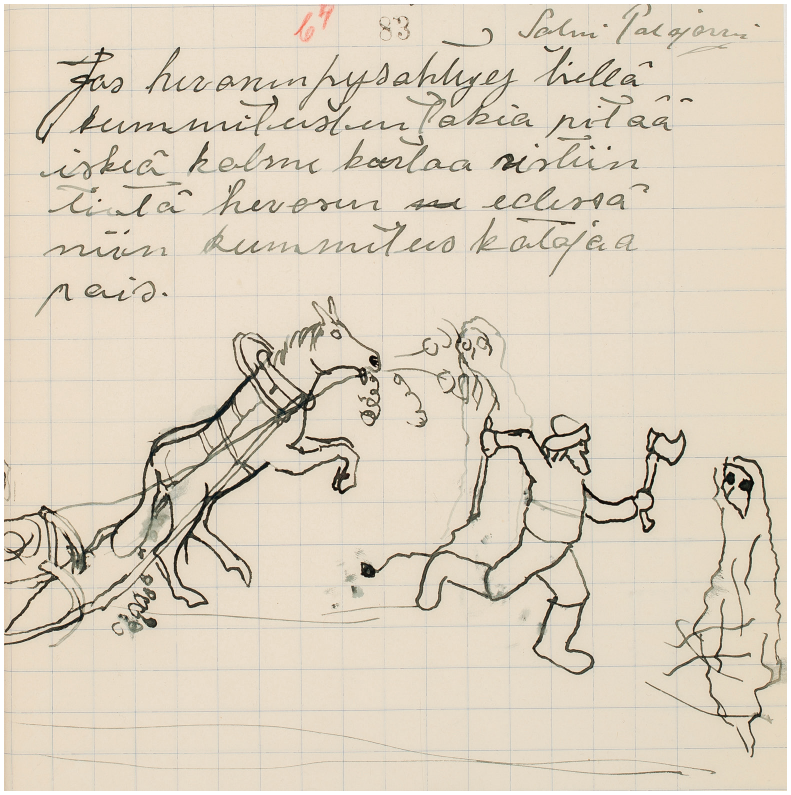


Figure 1. *A description of how to use magic for exorcising ghosts. SKS KRA. Hämäläinen, Martti KT 123:83. 1936*[3].

When considering the subjects, numerous drawings deal with activities or incidents such as in the example above. This particular description concerns a situation in which, if ghosts pull over a horse-drawn vehicle, one should hit

the path with an axe three times crosswise in order to get rid of them. When the document is examined from a multimodal analysis stance, it can be noticed that the description does not include much textual or visual contextualization (see Kress & van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 161–162). Despite the fact that the visual representation is moderately simplified, the drawing still includes some visual details. For instance, the anatomy of the horse, the person's clothes and the details of the wagon are portrayed. Furthermore, it can be noticed that the information value is founded on an arrangement in which the text above (as configured in the original material) serves as an Ideal element and the drawing underneath the text as a Real element (ibid.: 179–185).[4] The drawing stands out from the document clearly, and, accordingly, the salience of the drawing is high. In addition, the modality or the reliability of message is worth considering because the ghosts discussed are depicted in the drawing (ibid.: 155–156).[5]

A few other examples of activities captured within the drawings are worth mentioning, even if only briefly. For instance, one drawing portrays a woman swinging a cradle, and illustrates an account of the lyrics of a folk (cradle) song (SKS KRA. Hämäläinen, Martti KT 123:80. 1936). Another account of a folk song illustrates daily chores being carried out by the animals mentioned in the song. For instance, in one of these drawings a crow sweeps the floor with a broom (SKS KRA. Karjalainen, Kauko KT 73:131. 1937). Occasionally, the activity is pictured by means of showing a person's position, such as the legs-apart position for conducting dairy farming magic, a belief linking to the position of a foot (SKS KRA. Pulliainen, Liina KT 117:27. 1936; KT 257:288. 1948), the starting position in a folk game (SKS KRA. Takala, Eevi KT 160:69. 1938), or the phases of throwing straws onto the ground when telling the fortune (SKS KRA. Kuosmanen, H. E. KT 149:29. 1936).

A great majority of the drawings depict solely material objects such as a thing or stuff (see Miller 2010). The depicted objects are commonly tools, utility articles, dishes, garments or their details, and they relate somehow to the matters described. The page featured in Figure 2 presents drawings of a sickle and a scythe. Other similar drawings that focus namely on objects depict, for instance, a bird trap (and its parts) (SKS KRA. Härkönen, Olavi KT 145:10–11. 1936), a stick that serves as a gaming instrument (SKS KRA. Mutanen, Aari KT 241:142. 1941) or a folded scarf (SKS KRA. Pulliainen, Liina KT 257:230. 1948). In these cases, the environment in which the object is used is not regularly portrayed in the drawing. In multimodal terms, the drawings are abstracted (no background, shading, etc.), and their salience is high because they clearly stand out from the document and thus attract the reader (see Kress & van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 177). Here too, it is not difficult to distinguish the objects amidst the text. Contrastingly, however, in the first example, the axe is depicted in

the environment of its use, and for this reason it is possible to conclude that the focus is not so much on the object itself but rather on the implementation of the magic and on the situation in general.

In addition to the drawings showing material objects, there are also numerous variations of technical drawings. These include drawings that depict buildings, such as plans of a single building (SKS KRA. Pulliainen, Liina KT 257:145. 1948; SKS KRA. Sormunen, K. A. KT 160:19. 1938), plan drawings of barnyards (see Fig. 5) or maps (SKS KRA. Tanskanen, Pekka KT 161:11. 1938). Furthermore, there are technical drawings that include specifications of the parts or measurements of an object, as seen in the case of a rack for drying hay

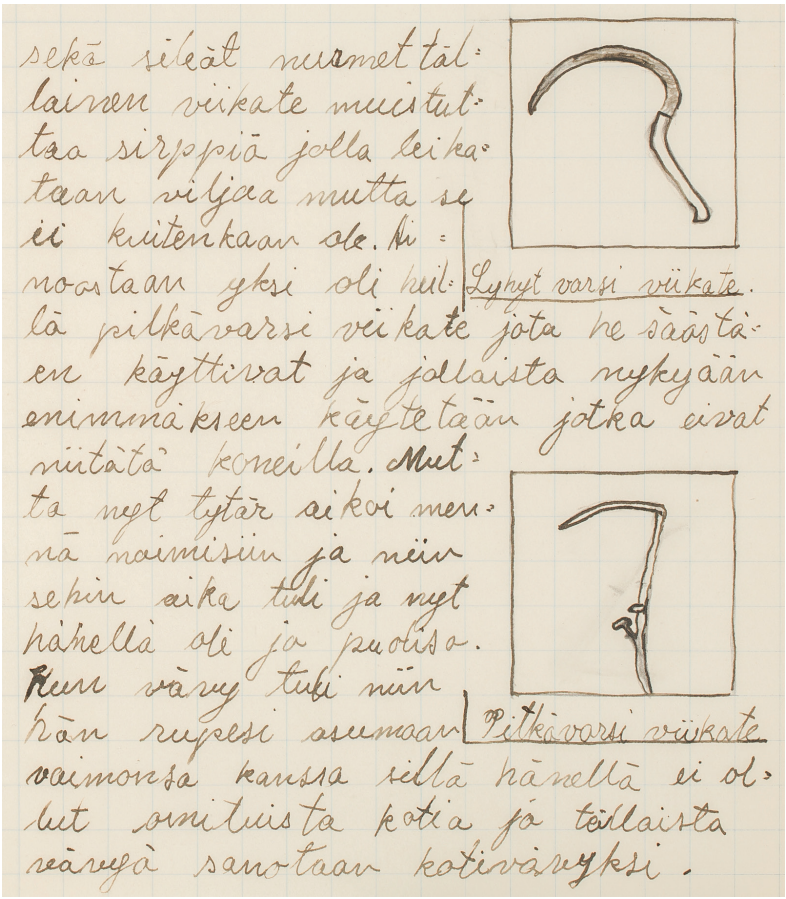


Figure 2. *Two drawings portraying objects.*
SKS KRA. Jeskanen, Antrei KT 126:24. 1936[6].

(see Fig. 4), or in the sectional drawing of a trap (SKS KRA. Pätynen, O. V. KT 80:12. 1937). Also, diagrams were used for specifying locations, proportions, and other details. For example, in one case, the diagram shows a circle-shaped track that was trodden on the snowy ground in the course of a folk game (SKS KRA. Puranen, Kauko KT 100:38. 1936). Other diagrams portray the location of the stone that served as a playing tool (SKS KRA. Mikkola, Anna KT 254:28. 1949) or how trees by the road were bound together in the course of conducting dairy-farming magic aimed to track down stray cattle (SKS KRA. Leinonen, Janne KT 150:5. 1938).

Occasionally, the drawings deal with visual or drawing folklore where the act of drawing constitutes a crucial part of the folklore itself, for example, when folk plays include the act of drawing used in tandem with storytelling (SKS KRA. Takala, Eevi KT 160:71. 1938; Puumalainen, Martta KT 158:56. 1937). Sometimes the descriptions address symbols and other graphic visualizations, and regularly star-shaped symbols are seen that relate to magical customs (SKS KRA. Hakkarainen, Samuel KT 107:23. 1937; SKS KRA. Toijonen, Juho KT 120:89. 1936).

BEING ON THE ROAD

As mentioned earlier, mundane conceptions of mobility and borders were used at the outset of the analysis for itemizing the materials. Accordingly, mobility can be conceptualized in forms of mobile occupations and identities, such as in the case of travelling salespersons and their gear (see Fig. 3). Mobility links to the mobile aspects of farming and keeping cattle, for example, where herding takes place outside the barnyards located closest to the home farm (SKS KRA. Pulliainen, Liina KT 117:27. 1936), or when the description tells how people used to deliver cargo during winter time, while working on the farm in the summer (SKS KRA. Jeskanen, Antrei KT 126:24. 1936). Another account of hay-drying equipment illustrates an apparatus used in remote meadows (see Fig. 4). In this context, mobility refers to the ability to move (see OED 2019); however, mobility is also manifested within a more playful context, namely that of folk games and plays (SKS KRA. Puumalainen, Martta KT 158:56. 1937; SKS KRA. Takala, Eevi KT 160:71 and 72. 1938).

In Figure 1, the description addresses travelling to the church; therefore, mobility is expressed in a sense of 'being on the road'. However, the ability to move is challenged by the presence of ghosts. In multimodal terms, the drawing consists of actors, such as a *person*, a *horse*, and a *ghost*, and the transaction between these actors in this case involves the interruption of the journey (see

Kress & van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 45–75). The interaction (ibid.: 114) between the document and the reader is founded on somewhat subjective orientation due to the fact that the reader observes the events from a side angle, almost as if it was observed from the roadside.

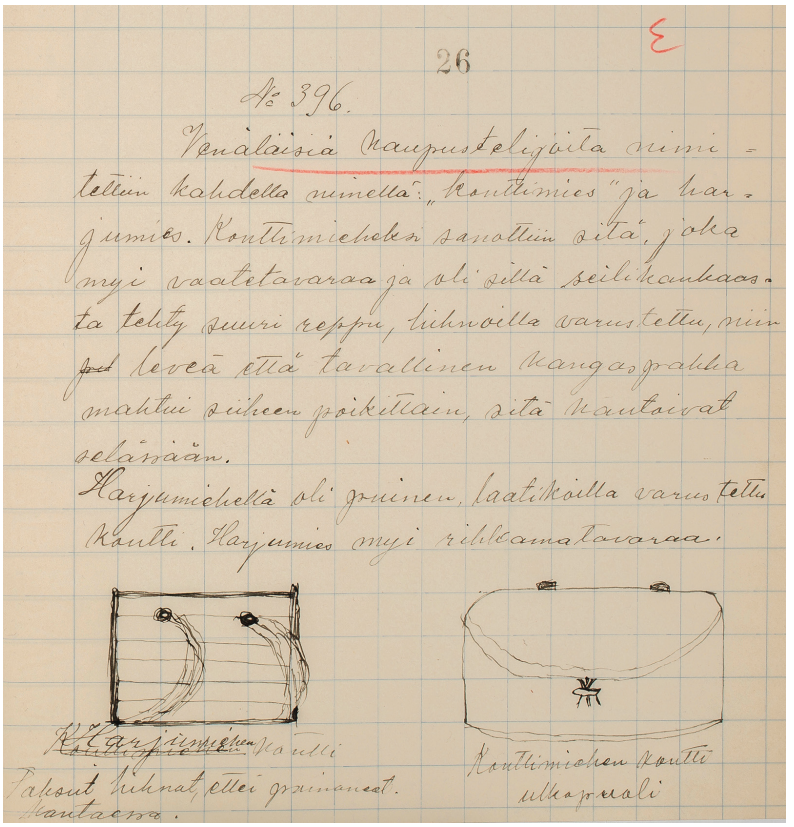
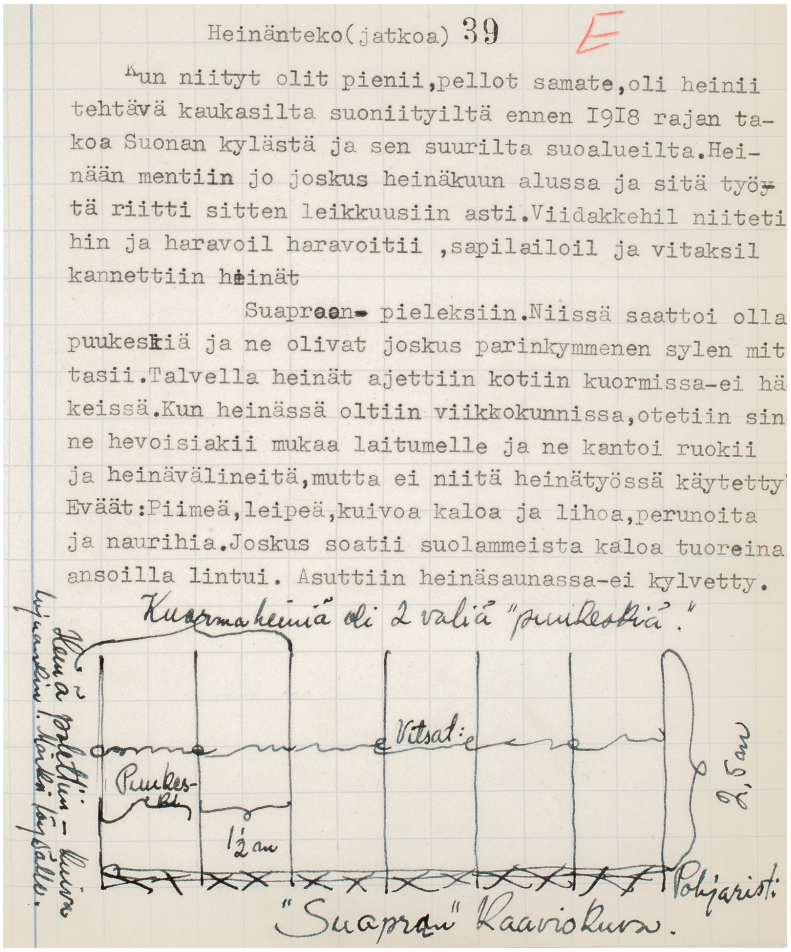


Figure 3. *A description of suitcases.*
SKS KRA. Hoikkala, Gunilla KT 107:26. 1937.

Figure 3 shows the first page of a description where the writer explains, for instance, what kinds of merchandise (objects, accessories, materials, and substances) a travelling Russian salesperson may have carried in the borderlands of Finland and Russia.[7] In this case, mobility is again exemplified in terms of 'being on the road', as well as in terms of mobile occupations, especially from a salesperson's perspective. In terms of multimodal analysis, there is an

analytical structure to be seen in that the suitcases featured in the drawing serve as possessive attributes of the actors (the salespersons) involved (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 107). The frontal angle and the absence of background emphasizes the appearance of the suitcases, yet the text is an idealized (Ideal) or generalized account of the activities of the salespersons, while the drawings (Real) show specific items belonging to these persons. Thus, the role of the original drawings is to show the differences between these items. In addition, the writer represents the practices of the merchants as common and everyday practices around that time.


Heinänteko(jatkoa) 39 E

Kun niityt olit pienii,pellot samate,oli heinii tehtävä kaukasilta suoniityiltä ennen I9I8 rajan takoa Suonan kylästä ja sen suurilta suoalueilta.Heinään mentiin jo joskus heinäkuun alussa ja sitä työtä riitti sitten leikkuusiin asti.Viidakkehil niiteti hin ja haravoil haravoitii ,sapilailoil ja vitaksil kannettiin heinät

Suapraan pieleksiin.Niissä saattoi olla puukeskiä ja ne olivat joskus parinkymmenen sylen mittasii.Talvella heinät ajettiin kotiin kuormissa-ei häkeissä.Kun heinässä oltiin viikkokunnissa,otetiin sinne hevoisiakii mukaa laitumelle ja ne kantoi ruokii ja heinävälineitä,mutta ei niitä heinätyössä käytetty Eväät:Piimeä,leipeä,kuivoa kaloa ja lihoa,perunoita ja naurihia.Joskus soatii suolammeista kaloa tuoreina ansoilla lintui. Asuttiin heinäsaunassa-ei kylvetty.

Kuormaheiniä oli 2 valiä "puukeskiä."

Vitsat:ie

Puukes-kä

1½ m

2,5 m

Pohjaristi

"Suapran" Kaaviokuva.

Figure 4. *Description of a hay-drying structure called suapra. SKS KRA. Korhonen, M. KT 287:39. 1957.*

The description of a *suapra* includes an ethnological account of the use and structure of a hay-drying construction that was used in remote peatland meadows. The description as a whole constitutes a broad account concerning different work customs and divided into monthly periods described in the text. The idea of mobility is specified as the text (Fig. 4) explains that "[t]he meadows, as well as the fields, were small in size, therefore, hay was cut in remote peatland meadows prior to 1918, and also the ones behind the border [between Finland and Russia]". The drawing depicts a technical representation of a hay-drying apparatus. In terms of multimodal analysis, the object (a *suapra*) is the carrier. The interaction between the reader and the document provides a somewhat impersonal (rather than an intimate or social) account on the topic. Moreover, the picture depicts the object from a distance and the purpose of the drawing is to illustrate the structure of the object. Mobility and borders are brought up in turn as background information. Accordingly, while the overall focus is ethnological, the description presents details concerning the geopolitical situation, for instance, the Russo–Finnish border as a central feature that links to mobility.

MOBILITY IN RELATION TO BORDERS

In a general sense, borders were approached at the outset of the study, similar to the notion of mobility. Here, the preliminary notion of border relates to that of boundaries as "material and metaphorical spatializations of difference" (Morehouse 2004: 20). Accordingly, temporal, spatial, and other symbolic borders are seen as more common than actual geographical state borders. When considered in retrospect, the itemization of the materials at least partly follows a classification introduced by Schimanski (2006) in the context of "border poetics" (see Jaago 2018). Schimanski (2006: 53–57) distinguishes five planes of borders: textual, symbolic, temporal, epistemological, and topographical borders. The symbolic, temporal, and topographical planes of borders are especially distinguishable here, and are therefore further discussed below.[8]

The example with the suitcases concerns (among other things) the tightening of official supervision as well as its impact on commerce around the turn of the nineteenth century (see Jussila 2004: 453–458). Borders are manifested in a symbolic sense due to the fact that the nationality or Russian origin of the salespersons was emphasized in the text, although at the time of the events described, Finland was a grand duchy of the Russian Empire. However, other examples concerning the symbolic borders can be seen within the research material. For instance, one example described the manner in which a scarf was

tied as symbolizing the wearer's marital status and thus brought up the issue of marital status borders or differences, and a second example described how the method of cutting bread could illustrate the borders or margins of poverty (SKS KRA. Pulliainen, Liina KT 257:230 and 261. 1948).

Only nine cases within the research material explicitly address geographical or state borders. However, spatial borders are considered more generally and there are numerous examples to be seen. Schimanski (2006: 56–57) speaks of micro-scale and macro-scale topographical borders. This distinction is also applicable here. When macro-scale or state borders are concerned, the borders of Finland (or Sweden–Finland) and Russia are emphasized, which is not surprising given the geographical outlining of the materials (see Fig. 3 and 4). Additionally, a few examples concern the borders between the provinces or regions of Finland (SKS KRA. Viinikainen, Kalle KT 85:40. 1938; SKS KRA. Tanskanen, Pekka KT 161:11. 1938; SKS KRA. Pulliainen, Liina KT 257:145. 1948). The majority of other topographical small-scale borders refer to spatial borders between the home and its surroundings, and these can be considered from the viewpoint of stretched environments.[9]

MOBILITY AND STRETCHED MATERIAL ENVIRONMENTS

Figure 5 shows a plan of a farmyard and originates from a survey response which concerns various local history matters. This one-page plan is located at the end of an extensive text; however, there is a short accompanying text on the right lower corner of the page, which reads: "NB. The house was cut in two while dividing the farm. The dashed line points to the cutting-line. The other half is located on the neighbor's plot." The cutting line in the figure runs across the building on the left. In this context, mobility is thinkable in terms of a stretched environment since, according to the text, the other half of the house was physically moved into another location.

The next example (Fig. 6) is related to a description that deals with a personal joke. The text concerns a situation in which the material surroundings are stretched. The text reveals how a poor man built a house, and, as he did not include a porch, the villagers started to joke that, accordingly, the whole village served as this man's porch.[10]

The material includes a similar kind of story of a man who had to keep cows outdoors in an 'alley' (*kuja*) behind the unfinished cowshed. As he had not yet finished the cowshed, the man considered the whole forest as being his cowshed (SKS KRA. Pulliainen, Liina KT 257:145. 1948). In multimodal terms, plans

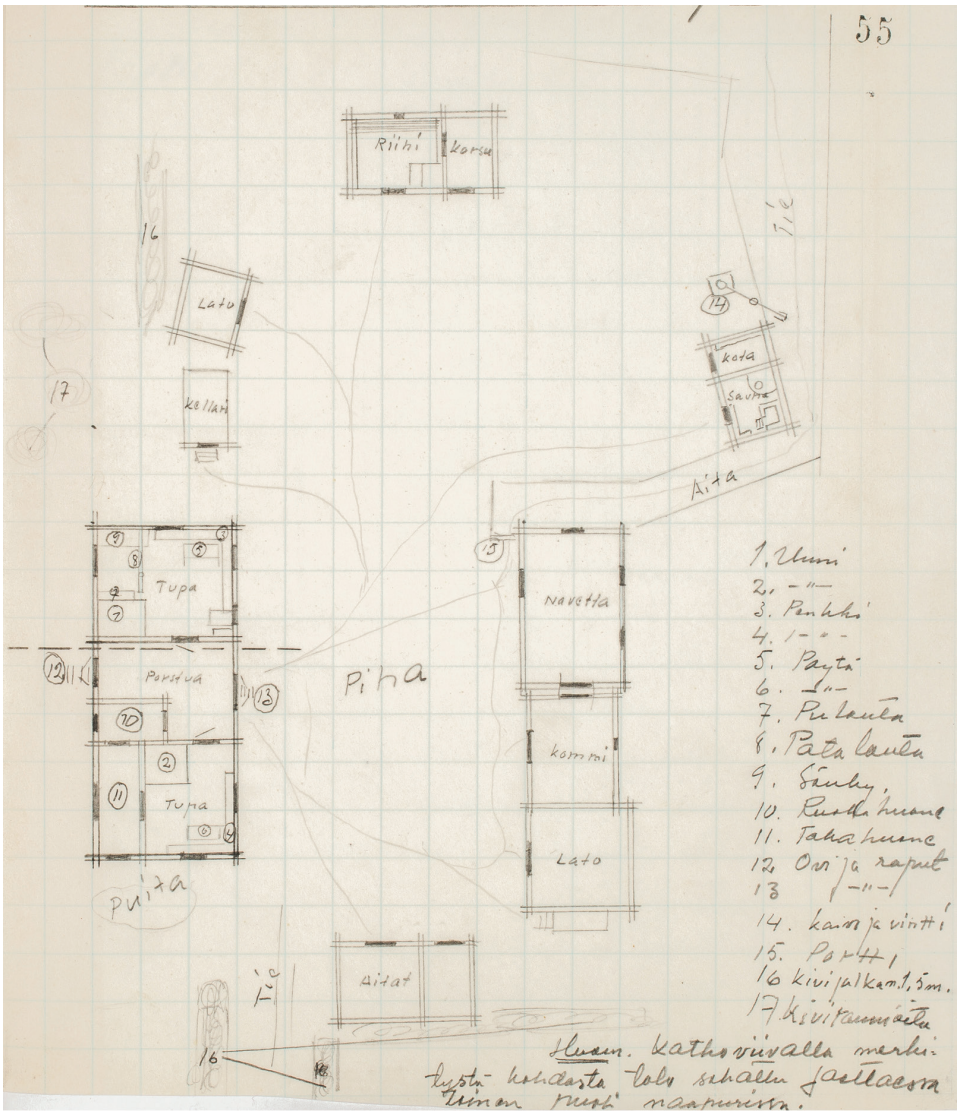


Figure 5. *Plan of a farmyard.*
SKS KRA. Simonen, Vilho KT 260:55. 1948.

are analytical images in that a top-down angle is used. According to this line of thinking, the attitude in plans towards the reader is objective (see Kress & van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 144–145), and in the above cases, the attitude is objective in a sense that the reader observes the lives of the villagers from above. This orientation was amplified especially within the description in Figure 5,

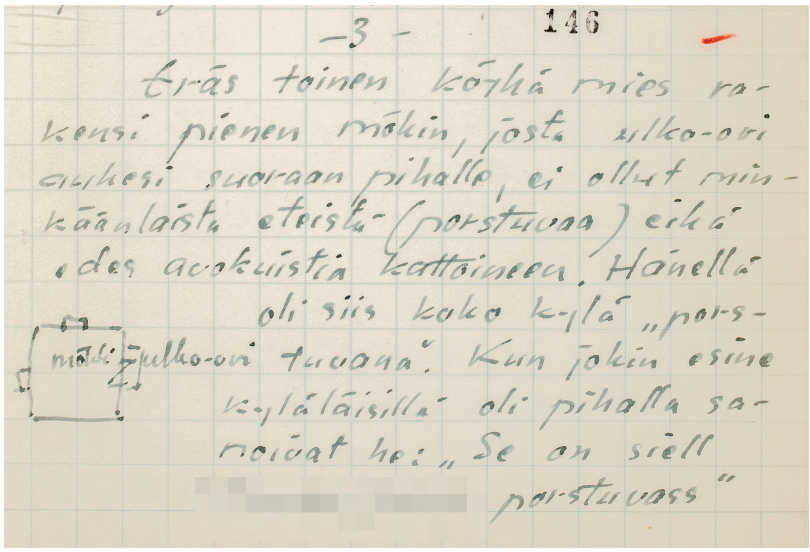


Figure 6. *A house without a porch.*
SKS KRA. Pulliainen, Liina KT 257:146. 1948.

because the relationship between the plan and the accompanying description is loose. The jokes portrayed in the examples of the 'village as a porch' and of the 'forest as a cowshed' are founded on a similar logic, and in multimodal terms confusion arises when it is not clear what is the *possessive attribute* of which *carrier*. In these tellings, the porch is not seen as a possessive attribute of a house (as it might seem at first glance), but rather as an attribute of the village. Similarly, the alley is not represented as a possessive attribute of a cowshed, but rather as one of the forests. The comparison of these examples also illustrates how similar visual techniques (i.e. plans) can be used for different purposes, for example, for illustrating local/family history or personal jokes, but both from a distance.

PERCEPTIBILITY OF MOBILITY: AN ARTISTIC VIEWPOINT

The drawings above mostly focus on objects, activities, and technical details, or they are multiple mixed drawings. The above discussion focuses on the types of drawings found within the selected folklore materials, and on how mobility and borders are manifested by and within them. During the analysis, I made artistic drawings myself in order to ponder the topic and materials from

a different point of view.[11] Figure 7 presents a drawing that links to mobility in a general way and addresses it playfully. In this example, one can see how borders govern contemporary lives, and how games in particular are played within associated borderlines. As such, it becomes possible to consider folk games in terms of their visual borders, for instance, when the playing area is drawn on the ground. It shows the concept of the dual characteristics of borders, which was previously emphasized when I discussed boundaries (see Morehouse 2004). Cartoons like this help us make visual notes regarding the thoughts that form within a research process.

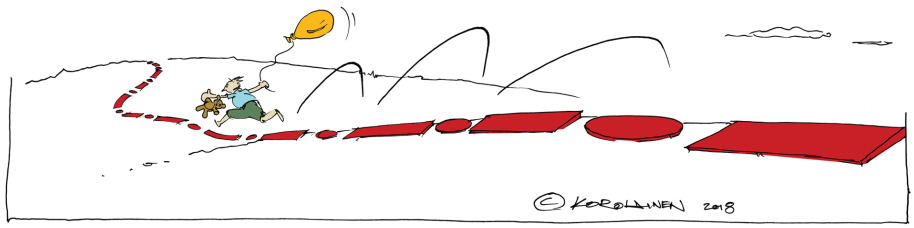


Figure 7. *An untitled cartoon. Kari Korolainen 2018.*

Figure 8 in turn presents a cartoon which relates more closely to the research conception of *border aesthetics*. Rosello and Wolfe (2017: 5) consider aesthetics in a sense that "[i]t participates in the apprehension of a border through sensory perceptions". Elsewhere, the concept of mobile aesthetics is also discussed, and Naukkarinen (2006: 29–34) links mobile aesthetics to environmental aesthetics and discusses how aesthetics relates to mobility more generally. Accordingly, it is possible to consider the cartoon in Figure 8 from a stance of visualization, and as Ursyn (2008: 174) points out, "[b]eing creative requires a capacity for abstract thinking and drawing can provide an excellent tool to support this". In the above cartoon, while the border is not perceptible, it is still emphasized by depicting the pale character in a forward-leaning position. Moreover, the contours of the clothes suggest that the person is pressing against an invisible wire. Tension can be seen between mobility and stillness since the pale character (a ghost perhaps) is motionless, while the other, crimson character, in flesh and blood, is passing by. A question that this image raises is: if the border is somehow imperceptible, does it necessarily indicate that it is un-representable?

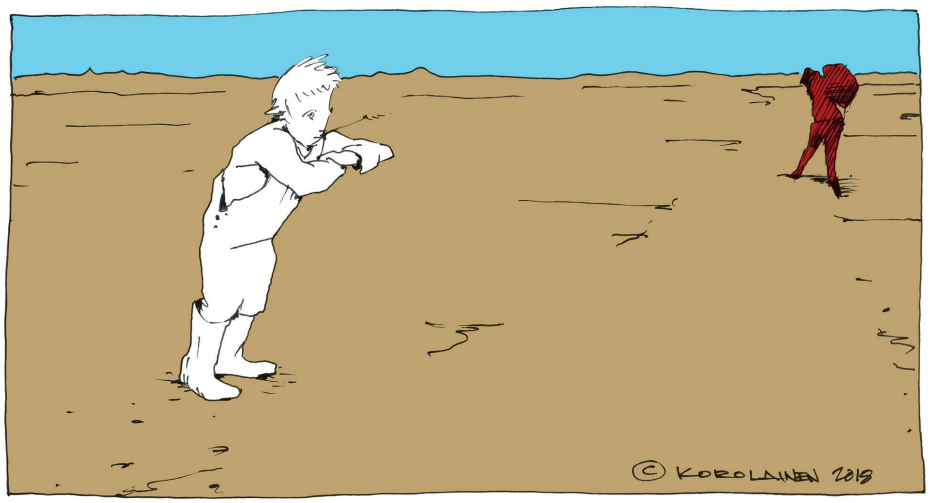


Figure 8. *An untitled cartoon. Kari Korolainen 2018.*

CONCLUSIONS

The analytical phases discussed here illustrate different working orientations rather than separated work procedures that follow each other. In the first stage, the results indicate that there are several similarities between these kinds of folklore drawings as far as their features are concerned. In spite of this, however, the drawings are not uniform and they serve multiple descriptive purposes. Some drawings are more illustrative, without a specific role within the description, while others explicate the technical details or other features faithfully. Often, they serve to emphasize specific aspects of larger wholes, or to concretize abstract issues. Especially, they seem to exemplify topics in cases where the linked texts are idealized, or otherwise operate on a general level. Thus, these drawings should not be considered as mere illustrations, as it can be clearly seen that the drawings intertwine with the descriptions in detail and in various issues of style. In multimodal terms, the variety of semiotic resources used here indicates the innovative orientation people have adopted in their folklore survey responses.

The second phase of this research analysis consisted of examining mobility and borders through the lenses of these drawings. The above analysis shows

that it is possible to detect examples within the folkloristic descriptions that relate to different aspects of mobility. This is true in spite of the fact that mobility matters were not a focal point in the original *Kansantieto* survey. Still, people addressed issues that relate to mobility, and hence it can be argued that mobility and borders are diversely represented in a folkloristic context, especially when they are concerned with people and viewed from a folklore collecting perspective.

The third phase of the analysis was founded on art making and drawing. The aim was to ponder what kinds of imaginative dimensions mobility and borders might have in this context. Firstly, I emphasized how mobility and borders can be recognized and how they are depictable. The results suggest that this kind of approach is apt for pondering these research conceptions theoretically. Moreover, the approach raised the question of how the issue of the imperceptibility of borders or the stretched environment can be suitably depicted. Secondly, the act of my drawing in the role of a researcher served as an instrument for concretizing this imaginative work, mainly due to the fact that my cartoons are based on a representational cartoon (art) tradition. It follows that I was bound by representational visual conventions that, accordingly, directed the thought process. For example, the situation of cutting a house in two is, generally speaking, not that difficult to imagine visually. However, a whole village being considered as someone's porch is more difficult to imagine and visualize. The representational visual practices within cartoon making are not so much guided by research methodologies, and, instead, naturally comprise a different technique for posing questions when compared to, say, reading or writing. I emphasized representational drawings; hence, there are a variety of practical questions that arise when following this orientation, such as how to depict clothes, the desert, barbed wire, etc. Thus, the connection between the materials and the artwork occurs on a visual level due to the fact that the visual details raise unexpected issues and unforeseen perspectives. They intertwine with the conceptual work and, accordingly, the analytical direction might become redirected within the process. For example, thanks to my cartoon making and partly inspired by the conception of border aesthetics, I started to ponder the issue of recognition of objects in tandem with an analysis of the abovementioned example of the suitcases. Therefore, I argue that the original combination of the text and the drawings seems to suggest that only by looking at the appearance of the suitcase it is possible to conclude what type of salesperson the suitcase belongs to, and what kinds of objects the suitcase contains.

The cartoon-making process moves back and forth between the research material and the research discussions that arise. The one in this paper is

based on several discussions of mobility and borders, which regularly involve the issue of defining new vocabularies and approaches. Multimodal analysis, accompanied with art making, could, in turn, provide the founding elements and details for developing these approaches. Also, artistic creation could serve as a vehicle of assessing analytical presumptions and redirecting interpretations, which in turn may help to meet the challenges possibly raised by the detailed and 'impressionistic' orientations seen in multimodal analysis (see Jewitt 2009: 26–27). This paper, however, discusses some of the preliminary notions and conclusions that emerge from taking such a methodological stance. Therefore, one future task is to further ponder these cartoon-bound notions together with the research literature, not only to discuss the challenges that this kind of work involves, but also to identify and develop their further potential as an analytic direction.

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NOTES

[1] Formerly, I worked as a visual artist.

[2] Various discussions link arts with research, for instance, from anthropological (Schneider & Wright 2010) or ethnographical (Horst & Hjorth 2014) positions. The perspective of artistic research is implemented regularly in an arts schools' context (see Kiljunen 2002).

[3] All materials originate from the Folklore Archives (KRA) (the Archive Materials on Traditional and Contemporary Culture) at the Finnish Literature Society (SKS). The abbreviation KT refers to the *Kansantieto* periodical's survey. Following the established practice, the year points to the date when the description was handed over to the archive, and the name to the person who collected and handed the material over to the archive (and not necessarily to the informant). The example texts are translated (reproducing original linguistic styles) by the author. In the first picture, the text reads: "While on the road, and in case the horse freezes because of a ghost, one should hit the road in front of the horse three times crosswise. Then, the ghost should disappear." All figures cropped (and the details in the figure 6 blurred) by the author.

[4] According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]: 177), the "information value" of a representation rests on a view that "[t]he placement of elements … endows them with the specific informational values attached to the various 'zones' of the image: left and right, top and bottom, center, and margin". The capitalization in Ideal, Real, etc., is used in the original.

[5] Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]: 155) point out that the concept of modality originates from linguistics. However, they also argue that "[t]he concept of modality is equally essential in accounts of visual communication" (ibid.: 156).

[6] This is an example taken from a four-page description, which deals also with the transfer of the farm to the next generation. The text says: "Men delivered cargo during the winter, while in the summer they managed their own affairs, harvesting and cutting. In those days, short-handled scythes, as seen in the figure, were used not only for hard, but also for smooth grasses. This kind of scythe bears a resemblance to a sickle used for cutting corn… ." (SKS KRA. Jeskanen, Antrei KT 126:24. 1936)

[7] The text above the drawings says: "The Russian peddlers had two names: *konttimies* (sack-man) and *harjumies* (brush-man). A sack-man sold clothes and possessed a large backpack made of sailcloth. The backpack was equipped with belts and it was so wide that an ordinary roll of cloth fitted in it sideways. They carried these on their backs. The brush-man had a wooden container that was equipped with boxes. He sold knick-knacks." (SKS KRA. Hoikkala, Gunilla KT 107:26. 1937)

[8] The textual plane of borders (see Schimanski 2006: 53–54) is conceivable here in terms of the interaction between the text and the reader, and a textual border appears when the drawing is distinguished from the text by a frame (see Fig. 2). In multimodal terms, framing is an analyzable compositional feature in addition to information value and salience (see Kress & van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 177).

[9] In addition, I specified temporal borders, for example, between the old times and the present or between the future and the present. However, I have not considered them in this particular paper as the focus is elsewhere.

[10] The text says: "Another poor man built a small cabin. The front door opened straight into the yard, as there was no porch on the house, not even a veranda with a roof. So, he had the whole village as a 'porch'. When the villagers had left something in the yard, they said: 'It is in Juho-Kusti's porch'." (SKS KRA. Pulliainen, Liina KT 257:146. 1948; the name Juho-Kusti has been changed)

[11] I used these documents partly as inspiration for making a comic album (see Korolainen 2020). The album is linked to the research; however, this paper deals with other cartoons because the album was not yet published at the time of writing (it was published in February 2020).

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

SKS KRA – Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (archival materials on traditional and contemporary culture)

KT – *Kansantieto* periodical's survey, 1936–1939 (including the responses received up to 1960) (southern Savonia (f*), northern Karelia (j), southern Karelia (including the Karelian Isthmus) (h), and Ladoga Karelia (i); * is the SKS symbol for a folklore area)

INTERNET SOURCES

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GERMAN MIGRANTS IN BULGARIA AND THEIR SOCIAL NETWORKS

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Abstract: Recent researches have shown that there were about 7,300 German citizens with a valid Bulgarian registration certificate in Bulgaria at the end of 2017. This paper introduces several facts and observations about some of them, gathered during a pilot study between 2017 and 2019. Besides the classical ethnographic methods of conducting 40 interviews and observing gatherings, the methods of social network analysis, virtual ethnography and netnography have also been applied as research tools. On the whole, it can be said that Germans come to Bulgaria for different reasons; according to their motives they can be classified as labor, student, family, and retirement migrants. They all tend to create community structures, the less informal of which are social network groups. Modern social media tools provide an opportunity to form virtual groups through different internet-based networks. The results of the research show that the most popular and the most frequently used among the virtual groups are Facebook groups. The research analyzed 16 Facebook groups concerned with the life of German migrants in Bulgaria. Some of them were formed in order to share information about events related to the German community as well as to the folklore and cultural landscapes of Bulgaria. Other Facebook groups facilitate the communication regarding the organization of meetings (such as a *Stammtisch*, i.e. round-table with fellow regulars) outside the virtual space. Social network analysis can also be done from an ego-centered perspective, when we analyze the social network of a given person with the *ego* in the center, his/her *alteri* (the persons connected with the *ego*) in the periphery, and the relational ties between them. We can thus obtain information about other people (friends, relatives, colleagues, etc.) in their everyday life and the interaction with them through face-to-face and online communication. Data about the egocentric social networks of seven respondents has been obtained through the program VennMaker. The analyses show their social networks' *alteri*, including their ethnic origin and type of relationship.

Keywords: Germans in Bulgaria, personal social networks, social network analysis, virtual social networks, virtual ethnography

INTRODUCTION: GERMANS IN BULGARIA

Since Bulgaria became part of the European Union in 2007, more and more Germans from different parts of their country have come to Bulgaria, driven by a desire to emigrate. In 2015, according to Eurostat, Bulgaria was one of the countries in the European Union with the lowest number of people coming from the countries of the EU (Immigrants 2017). To the latter belong also Germans, who see Bulgaria as an attractive destination for a new home. They have moved there since the end of the twentieth century as the life in the homeland or in previous immigration countries such as Spain, Portugal, and Italy has become more expensive and the lands have been overcrowded with migrants from Germany, the United Kingdom, and Scandinavian countries.

Concerning the numbers of Germans in Bulgaria, there were about 850 German citizens in Bulgaria according to the 2011 Census. Recent studies on German citizens with a valid Bulgarian registration certificate show that at the end of 2017 the number was about 7,300 (Matanova 2019: 86). Germans in Bulgaria can be divided into four categories according to the nature of emigration: mixed marriage, study, labor, and retirement migration. Among mixed marriages there are German-Bulgarian couples who have been married for more than twenty years and have come to live in Bulgaria after a period of living in Germany. This category also comprises newcomers who choose to live in Bulgaria (most often) with a Bulgarian wife (the husband is seldom Bulgarian) whom they have met during a holiday in the same country.

Many of the interviewees of the current study on migration were medical students at Bulgarian universities in Varna, Plovdiv, and Sofia. More and more Germans at retirement age are willing to live outside of their homeland, due to dissatisfaction with the political situation in Germany or because of their low retirement benefits on which, as they say, they cannot live, but just survive. The youngest emigrant group[1] are Germans who came mostly after the accession of Bulgaria to the European Union and the opening of branches of German companies there; the labor migrants live mainly in Sofia and Plovdiv. In general, Germans prefer the capital and other district cities, if possible, close to the sea or in areas with a warmer climate and fresh air. A considerable number of them settle down in small villages where some of their compatriots already live (here we can speak of a chain migration; however, it is based on ethnic and national origin, not on family or friendship relations). Thus, they build German subgroups around given social or cultural features – origin, age group, gender, language, etc. (see Maeva 2017: 17; Entzinger & Biezeveld 2003).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND, RESEARCH AIMS AND METHODS

Social networks are social groups that (as a grouping form) consist of social actors but also imply interaction and social ties among them, and together make the social network, affording the channels for dissemination of messages, ideas, resources, knowledge and information (Crossley et al. 2015: 3). Social networks formed through internet communication are referred to as virtual groups or virtual communities. Personal offline social networks are maintained in most cases through face-to-face communication in everyday life[2] – at home, at work, in the place of residence – but also include telephone communication, which could nowadays (displacing letters) also take place online through software products like Facebook, Viber, Google, WhatsApp, etc. Virtual social networks are very often based on the linking of people through the use of these apps and programs and are extended also in chat-forums, blogger-reader and further online platforms for communication.

Offline and online **social networks** could be analyzed from an overall community perspective (full-net) as well as from egocentric perspective (ego-net). Fundamental for both types are actors and relations. In the egocentric networks the individual – *ego* – is in the focus and the others – *alteri* – are the persons connected with the *ego* (see Schnegg & Lang 2002: 35–39). British sociologist Christine Hine has introduced the method of ***virtual ethnography***, which is "ethnography of, in and through the virtual – we learn about the Internet by immersing ourselves in it and conducting our ethnography using it, as well as talking with people about it, watching them use it and seeing it manifest in other social settings" (Hine 2004: 2).

Robert Kozinets's ***netnography***, an interpretative method suitable for the study of internet users' behavior and online communities formed through computer-mediated communication[3] is also relevant for the research. Kosinets differentiates between communities-online and online-communities. The first one differs from the second one in that they exist not only on the web but also meet face to face. He defines the method studying such communities as *blended ethnograhy* (Kozinets 2010), i.e., a combination of virtual and real ethnography used for the study of very different social activities independent of the spatial boundaries. For online-communities the approach of the participant-experiencer is also suitable (Walstrom 2004); for example, by joining a Facebook group the researcher can actively publish comments and at the same time observe the communication of the other members. All these methods are applied to gather information needed for the study. Afterwards, written narratives and other text forms as well as all communication properties such as used vocabulary,

shared personal opinions, standpoints and reality conceptions of the actors are studied through the method of content analysis (Jenkner 2007).

The main goal of this research is to analyze the personal social networks of Germans in Bulgaria and get an idea of the respondents' social circles (origin and place of residence of the people they contact the most, language of communication, etc.). The second aim is to give a brief description of the platform-based virtual community networks and their contribution to the formation and existence of German subgroups on the territory of Bulgaria.

Besides the classical ethnographic methods of interviewing,[4] the methods of social network analysis, virtual ethnography and netnography were also applied in the research. Empirical data was gathered, on the one hand, through semi-structured interviews and, on the other hand, via a questionnaire sent to the respondents by e-mail. The first one covered topics concerning the reasons for migration and the migrants' adaptation in Bulgaria, their everyday life and festivities, their communication with family members, relatives, friends and other people in Germany and in Bulgaria. The questionnaire included questions on everyday activities with other people of their offline and online social networks. Regarding the questionnaire on the personal network, there were questions such as "With whom do you live?", "With whom do you drink coffee/beer?", "Who do you ask to take care of your plants at home when you travel?", "Who repairs your PC?", "With whom do you travel to Germany? Who do you visit there?", "With whom do you watch football games on TV?", etc. The *alteri* tables contained questions regarding the age, nationality, place of residence of the people mentioned in the questionnaire as well as the type, duration, and intensity of the *ego*'s relationship to them.

The number of interviewees was 40 (29 male and 11 female). Their age range was from 24 to 71. Based on the activities, the respondents can be divided into students (1), workers (16), and pensioners (23).

VIRTUAL SOCIAL COMMUNITIES

One and maybe the biggest platform for the formation of virtual communities is InterNations: Your Expat Community in Sofia (2007). It numbers almost three million members with virtual communities in 390 world cities, including Sofia, and gives the opportunity, in a given city, to easily contact other compatriots outside the country of origin with the same interests or problems. At the end of January 2018, the German-oriented virtual community had ca. 180 members.[5] Some of them take part in organized InterNations events and groups of interests in Sofia such as Sofia DinnerNations, Sofia City Trotters, Sofia Dancing

Group, etc. After viewing the profiles of the users, it could be concluded that they are representatives of different age groups belonging to the category of labor migration.

Other newer and small-scale platforms for establishing new contacts and groups of interest are Deutsche in Bulgarien[6] (Germans in Bulgaria) and Deutsche-Community[7] (German-Community). These platforms allow inscribing also other Bulgarian towns besides Sofia, and, respectively, contacting other Germans living in the same region. On the whole, however, the number of the registered Germans is less than 20 (in a comparatively equal correlation of male and female).

The analysis shows that the most popular and most numerous among German immigrants in Bulgaria are the virtual groups in Facebook. Since the beginning of the research, August 2017, I have found 16 Facebook groups, related to the life of Germans in Bulgaria. The analysis of the members' profiles reveals that there are three types of members: people who have already immigrated to Bulgaria, people who have bought a house or an apartment and plan to leave Germany soon, and users who become members because they have considered the idea and made plans to settle down in Bulgaria, even without having ever visited the country. According to the stay duration, the groups could be categorized as permanent residents (living in Bulgaria all year round) and those temporarily visiting the country for several weeks or months per year.

Groups are ordered according to the number of members as of 20 August 2019:

- Bulgarien erLeben[8] (Experience Bulgaria), 3,045 members – the group is used as an interactive platform for people interested in Bulgaria as tourists, traders, current or future residents, etc.;
- Deutsche in der Kneipe: der deutsche Stammtisch in Sofia[9] (Germans in the pub: German regulars in Sofia), 2,662 members – the location and date of the next regular meeting of the Germans in Sofia are determined in the group. Sometimes job offers for people with German language skills in Bulgaria are also posted;
- Auswanderer in Bulgarien – Hier werden Sie geholfen! Das Original[10] (Immigrants in Bulgaria – Come here for help!), 2,044 members – the idea of the group administrator is to enable a space where information between immigrated people and non-migrants could be shared, such as, for example, positive and negative things in Bulgaria (donation actions for poor children and old people, etc.);
- Deutsche in Bulgarien[11] (Germans in Bulgaria), 1,412 members – the group is, above all, for Germans who live or wish to live in Bulgaria. Similar to the other groups information is published about the positive

and negative sides of Bulgaria, its sightseeing and holiday opportunities, etc.;

- Bulgarien – Auswandern[12] (Bulgaria – Emigration), 1,307 members – a group for useful hints, exchange of experience and facts about Bulgaria;
- I Love Burgas Deutschprachige Gruppe[13] (I love Burgas German-speaking group), 991 members – publishing reports and news interesting for Germans and German-speaking people in the region of Burgas;
- Leben und Urlaub in Bulgarien[14] (Life and holiday in Bulgaria), 533 members – a group to share hints, connected with the transfer of domicile or a holiday in Bulgaria;
- Ärzte in Bulgarien[15] (Doctors in Bulgaria), 512 members – functions as a database for opinions and addresses of doctors (categorized by region and specialization) and circumstances (as, for example, the doctor's German language skills or payment options);
- #Bulgarien info……[16] (#Bulgarian info……), 421 members – the founders of the group invite everyone interested in a relaxed and free life style, building their own house, and in how "with less money one could realize their dreams the best", to share experience and ideas. The administrators regularly publish news about Bulgaria in German;
- Deutschsprachige in Bulgarien[17] (German-speaking people in Bulgaria), 312 members – the group is formed for German-speaking people, who live or wish to live in Bulgaria or want to speak German;
- Bulgarien immer eine Reise wert[18] (Bulgaria always worth a visit), 307 members – the posts include links to informative German booklets, photographs of Bulgaria showing the beauty and diversity that make the country worth a visit;
- Bulgarien (nur schönes)[19] (Bulgaria (just good things)), 280 members – similar to the previous group photographs and videos of beautiful Bulgarian landscapes are published, but also photographs of Bulgarian and German food or delicious vegetables and fruits grown in the country;
- Veranstaltungen in Bulgarien[20] (Events in Bulgaria), 243 members – a group for information about interesting events in Bulgaria, organized around Bulgarian or German holidays;
- Code Red Gruppe Bulgarien[21] (Code Red Group Bulgaria), 225 members – sharing bad experience with merchants and good practices to solve the problematic situations;
- Leseratten in Bulgarien – deutschsprachige Bücher – verleihen/tauschen[22] (Bookworms in Bulgaria – German books – give/exchange), 26 members; this Facebook group is for Germans, book fans in Bulgaria, searching for new books and sharing their own;

- Happy Mädels-Tag Bulgarien[23] (Happy girls' day Bulgaria), 20 members – a group for an easier communication between the German-speaking women, meeting regularly in the region of Varna.

An overview of the posts, regarding the topics in the most numerous and most active group – Experience Bulgaria – shows a great variety. Very often the groups do not only share photographs and videos (also drone-videos) of nature landscapes and settlements, restaurants and resorts, but also temperature indicators or weather forecasts. The latter is one of the primary reasons for settling in Bulgaria – milder and less rainy weather in Bulgaria in comparison to Germany. Some of the posts concern logistics for the trip to Bulgaria (route, airlines, hotels, transport, sightseeing, Bulgarian restaurants), others – things in everyday life (for example, finding a mini-excavator; information about heating systems and materials, finding garden plants; how to direct the satellite to transmit German channels; shipment to and from Germany; prices of electricity, and so on).

There are Facebook groups of German students in Bulgaria for students in Sofia (Deutsche Studenten Medical University Sofia[24] (German students Medical University Sofia)), Varna (Offizielle deutschsprachige Gruppe der MU-Varna[25] (Official group of German-speaking medical students in Varna) and Deutsche Studenten in Varna[26] (German students in Varna)) and Pleven (Deutsche Studenten MU Pleven[27] (German students at the Medical University Pleven)), the biggest of which is the official German-speaking group of the Medical University in Varna, counting more than 500 members. The communication in the group is connected with different events and questions related to studies.

A content analysis of Facebook communication shows that there are some German-speaking women (more seldom men) in northeastern Bulgaria who spend most of their time or devote themselves entirely to caring for dogs and cats in need. They show concern for providing shelter and food for abandoned dogs on the street, for taking in, vaccination, and worming of homeless animals, regaining their health but also for finding new owners to them and organizing their transport even to Germany. They find new shelters for the animals by posting questions in German-speaking Facebook groups such as Tiermarkt – Bulgarien[28] (Animal market), Tiere aus Bulgarien sucht ein liebevolles Zuhause[29] (Animals in Bulgaria search for a loving home; 360 members), Bulgariens Hunde in Not / Mitfahrgelegenheiten / Flugpaten / Spenden![30] (The Dogs of Bulgaria in need of / lift / flight sponsors / donation; 562 members) and others – as well as communicate with each other. Thus, a subgroup of German-speaking animal protectors has formed in northeastern Bulgaria, which is maintained through telephone calls, online chats, and physical meetings.

PERSONAL OFFLINE SOCIAL NETWORKS OF GERMANS IN BULGARIA

The study of online social networks becomes more and more relevant as people spend plenty of time chatting, messaging, and publishing things through the online social media. However, people also continue to maintain their social relationships offline via telephone calls or regular meetings and visits. More information about the latter could be obtained by analyzing the *ego*'s social network, which provides information about the presence and type of relationship with other people – family members, friends, colleagues, etc. – in everyday life and in the interaction with them mainly through face-to-face meetings (see also Schnegg & Lang 2002).

This kind of analysis is only possible on the basis of the *ego*'s answers about the *alteri*'s demographic data (gender, age, place of residence, etc.) and about the type and intensity of the relationship they have with the latter. An overall social network includes egocentric networks of several individuals forming a given group (kinship, work team, community, etc.). The size, density, and centrality of the network play an important role in the study of community networks. Size is equal for all possible (also latent) ties, density expresses the potential communication between the single actors in the network, and centrality shows to what extent the ego has an access to other people in the network (Barova 2012: 227; see also Schnegg & Lang 2002: 35–39). Owing to the possibility to illustrate location and relations between the actors, the network analysis is used also for the study of migration processes and social networks of single people, families and ethnic groups (see Barova 2012: 225; Bernardi 2011; Levitt & Glick-Schiller 2004; Quirke & Potter & Conway 2009; etc.).

The analysis of personal social networks in this study is based on empirical data collected from seven Germans residing in Bulgaria. The data were obtained through a questionnaire that concerned the kinds of activities in the respondents' everyday life that required contact with people belonging to their social network. One of the respondents is a student, two respondents are pensioners, and four respondents are employees; they have resided in Bulgaria from three months to five years. Below I analyze the data of five respondents. As their networks give the most contrasting information, they are visualized with the help of the program VennMaker,[31] which provides a possibility of mapping the personal social networks.

The personal social networks of the respondents (*ego*) and the people who belong to *ego*'s social circle (*alteri*) are depicted in Figures 1–5. The *ego* is marked with a black circle; *alteri* are marked with circles with a gender marker or without a gender marker if they refer to a group of people. The continuous line indicates relationships with family and relatives as well as intimacy relationships; the broken line indicates friendship; the dotted line indicates an economic relationship.

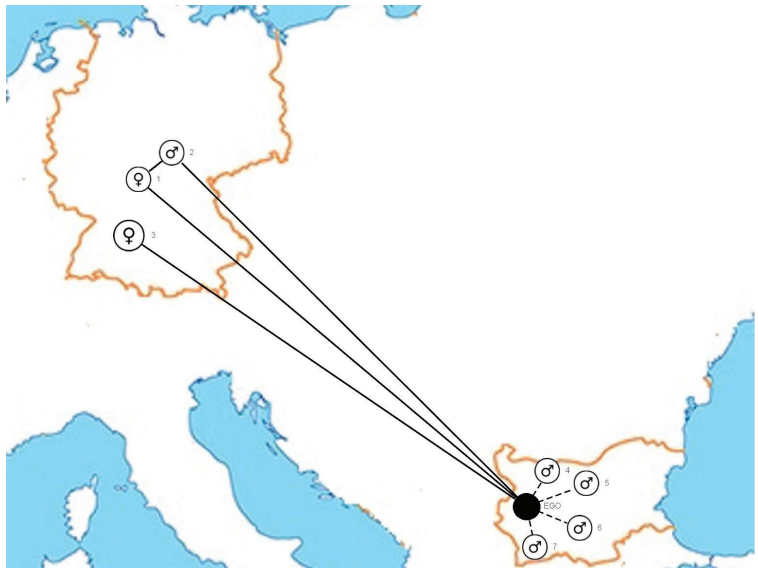

Figure 1. *Personal social network of the ego J1 residing in Bulgaria. The network includes (a) one male and one female family member (parents), and an intimacy partner – girlfriend – living in Germany (as the ego is not married, his girlfriend is not connected with his parents); (b) four male friends living in Bulgaria.*

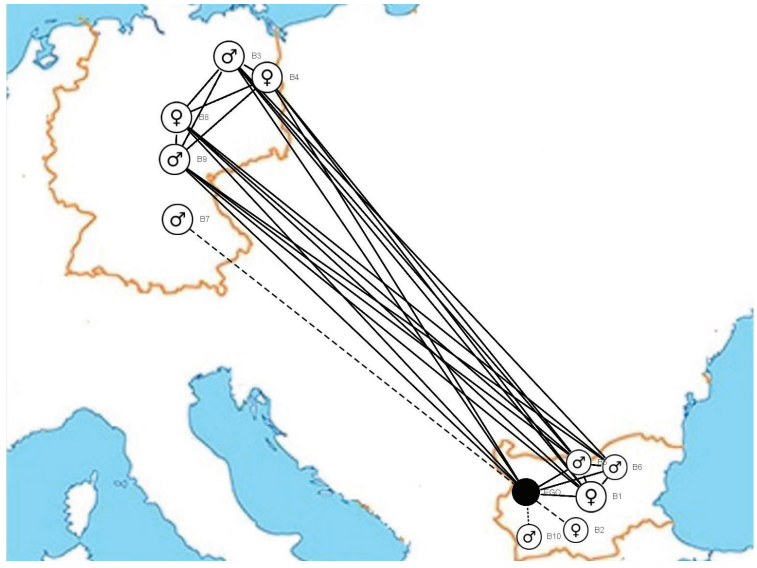

Figure 2. *Personal social network of the ego C2 residing in Bulgaria. The network includes (a) one female and two male family members (the ego's wife and two sons); (b) one male with whom the ego has economic relationships; (c) one female friend – all of them are residing in Bulgaria; (d) two married couples (the ego's and his wife's parents); and (f) one male friend living in Germany.*

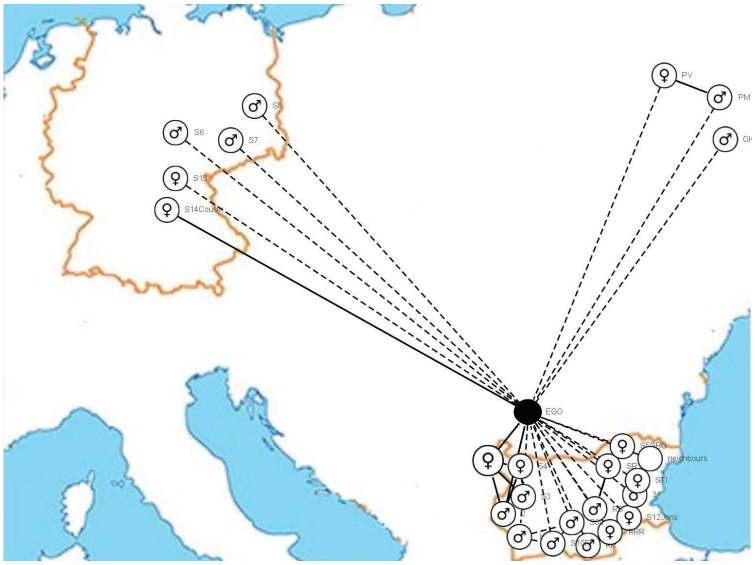

Figure 3. *Personal social network of the ego S3 residing in Bulgaria. The network includes (a) six male and five female friends; (b) two male and two female family members (wife, her brother, and parents) living in Bulgaria; (c) one female and three male friends; (d) one female family member (a cousin) living in Germany; (e) one female and two male friends who are Canadian residents.*

Figure 4. *Personal social network of the ego A4 residing in Bulgaria. The network includes (a) two women and a group of Bulgarian workers with whom the ego has economic relationships; (b) two male friends living in Bulgaria; (c) one male family member (son), and one male (IT-specialist) living in Germany, with whom the ego has economic relationships.*

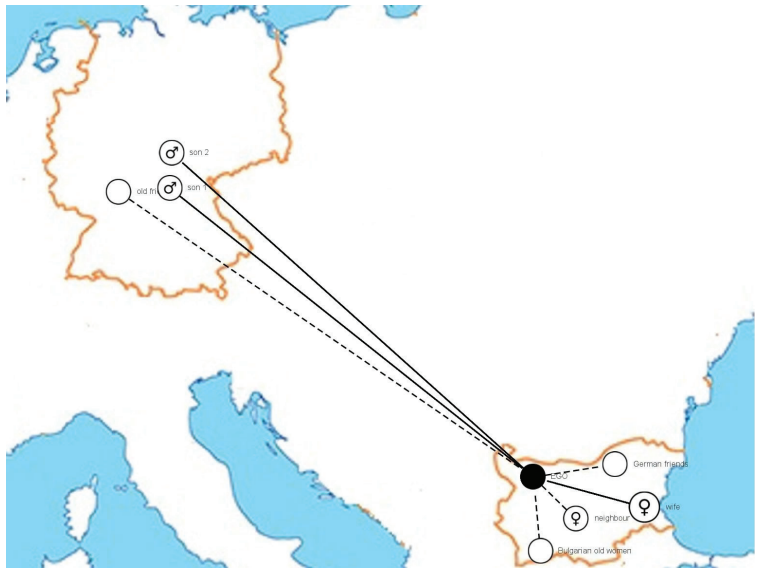

Figure 5. *Personal social network of the ego K5 residing in Bulgaria. The network includes (a) one female family member (wife); (b) one female friend; (c) Bulgarian female friends belonging to one group; (d) German friends belonging to another group, all residing in Bulgaria; (e) two male family members (sons); and (f) a group of German friends, all residing in Germany.*

Figures 1–5 presented above demonstrate the *egos*' communication with their *alteri*, focusing mainly on various types of relationships such as friendship, family and economic relationships; the figures also refer to the gender of the *ego*'s social partners. However, the *egos* also interact with the *alteri* of various ethnic backgrounds and residing in different countries and on several continents. Figures 6–10 bring forth the *egos*' transnational and cross-border relationships.

Considering the people in the individual social networks, all respondents live with a German partner, except for the *ego* S3 (Fig. 8), who is married to a Bulgarian, and the single *ego* A4 (Fig. 9). In general, depending on their everyday needs, the *egos* mostly contact people who live in the same or a neighboring settlement. People in the country of origin are called either to be greeted on a holiday or just to chat; for example, old friends, who are visited during a journey to Germany. Often a person who does not live in Bulgaria is mentioned in the issues concerning problems with computer software, which could be tackled from every part of the world. On the whole, we see respondents who have just one or two Bulgarians in their closer ego-net (J1, Fig. 6, and C2, Fig. 7), while others stay in friendship and work relationships with native people in Bulgaria

(S3, Fig. 8; K5, Fig. 10; and A4, Fig. 9). Figures 6, 8, and 9 show that the *alteri* are of Bulgarian-American, Canadian, Austrian, Swiss, and British origin. The *ego* A4 (female, Fig. 9) communicates with British and Swiss women in the region of her residence. The first is a friend of hers who waters her plants and feeds her dogs when she is away. With the Swiss women she meets regularly, once a month, to talk about different things. The *ego* S3 (male, Fig. 8) has contacts with Canadians in Canada for spiritual conversations. The Australian man of his ego-net lives in the same place (with a Bulgarian friend) and he is the person who he would ask to lend him money, if necessary. The *ego* J1 (male, Fig. 6) has some good contacts with Bulgarian Americans with whom he meets for a dinner, to drink a beer or to watch a movie.

Based on the fact that all these seven respondents do not belong to one group, their connectedness is presented through their membership in the above-mentioned 16 Facebook groups of Germans in Bulgaria. Further interpersonal relationships are also mentioned in Figure 11.

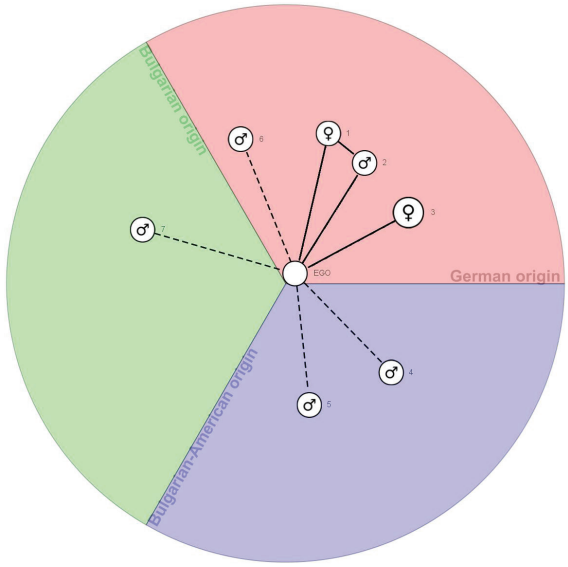

Figure 6. *Personal social network of the ego J1 (cf. Fig. 1). The circle slices refer to the origin of the alteri: German, Bulgarian-American, and Bulgarian origin.*

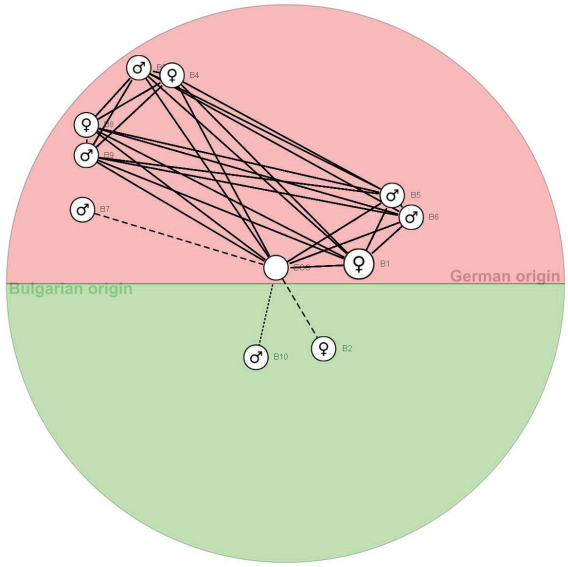

Figure 7. *Personal social network of the ego C2 (cf. Fig. 2). Both circle slices refer to the origin of the alteri – German and Bulgarian.*

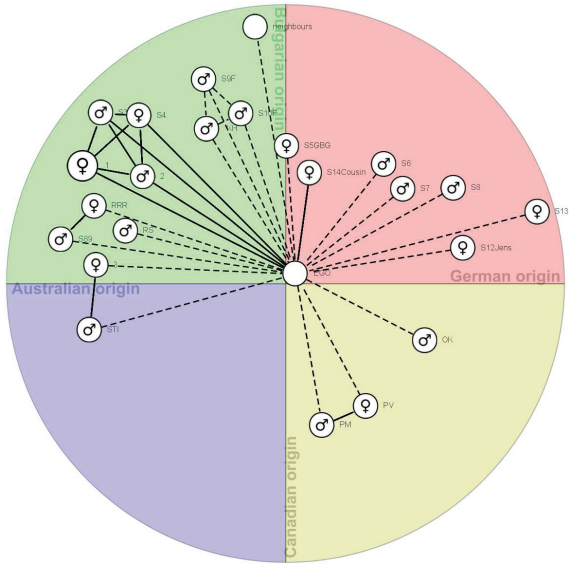

Figure 8. *Personal social network of the ego S3 (cf. Fig. 3). The circle slices refer to the origin of the alteri – German, Canadian, Australian, and Bulgarian.*

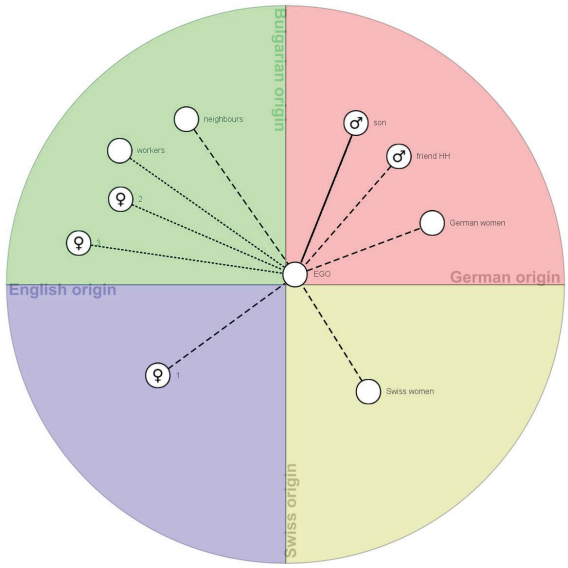

Figure 9. *Personal social network of the ego A4 (cf. Fig. 4). The circle slices refer to the origin of the alteri – German, Swiss, English, and Bulgarian.*

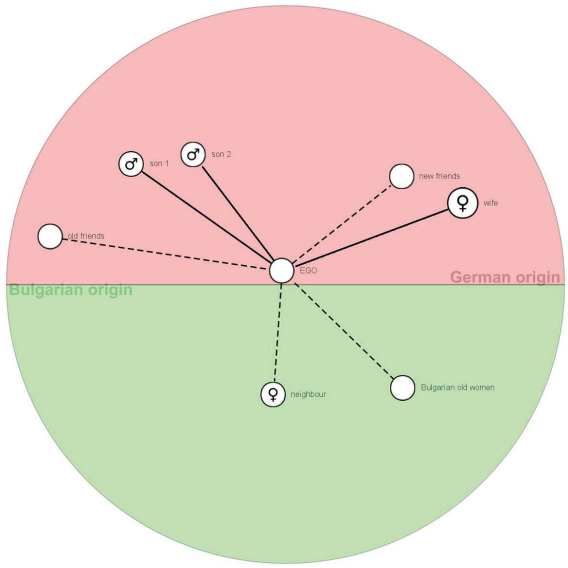

Figure 10. *Personal social network of the ego K5 (cf. Fig. 5). Both circle slices refer to the origin of the alteri – German and Bulgarian.*

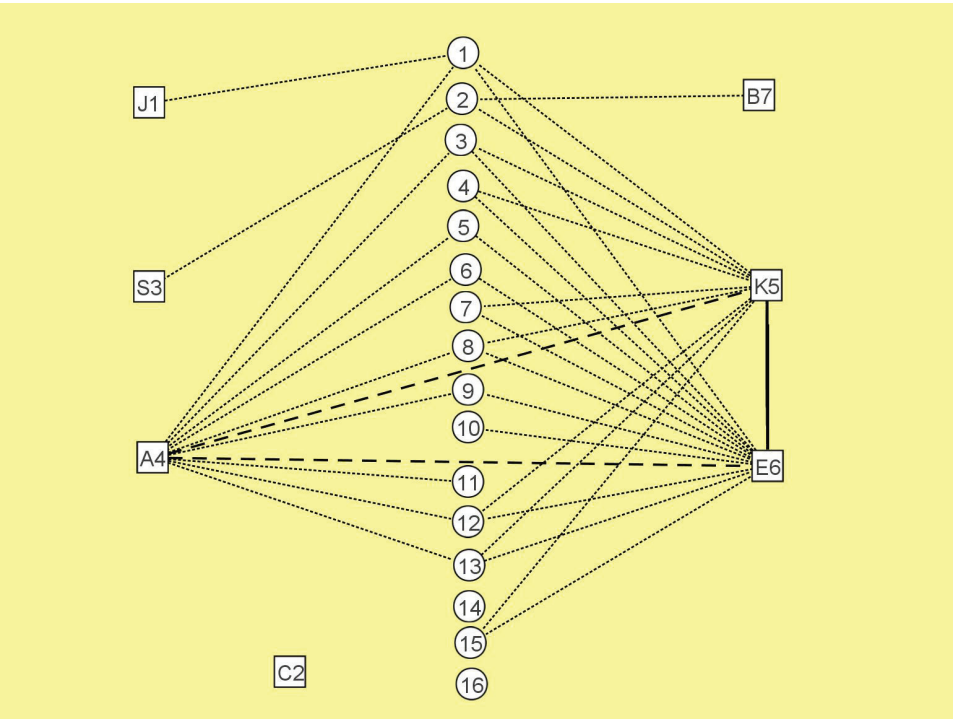

Figure 11. *The figure demonstrates online and offline connectedness of the respondents with analyzed social networks of the egos J1, C2, S3, A4, K5, E6, and B7. The continuous line refers to a family relationship, the broken line refers to offline relationships, and dotted lines refer to membership in the Facebook groups of Germans in Bulgaria (1–16).*

Figure 11 reveals that all the analyzed respondents, except C2, have a Facebook account; however, C2 is included in the graphic because he is one of the seven people who gave information about his social network and because this highlights that not everyone uses Facebook in their life. While the respondents J1, B7, and S3 are members in just one group, A4, K5 and E6 are group administrators or participate actively in more than one group. Two of them build a family and friendship with the third one not only virtually but also in the real space, which one of the respondents associates with the possibility "to see the faces of some of the Facebook friends"[32]. Neither K5 nor E6 mention A4 in their answers to the questions regarding their social networks. C2 is in the age group of 40-50-year-old people; he works at the German embassy in Sofia and went to Bulgaria after receiving a job contract there. As opposed to the other analyzed respondents, he communicates with relatives and friends by telephone calls or WhatsApp.

CONCLUSION

In general, gathering empirical data for a social network analysis is not an easy task. On the one hand, it very much depends on the relationship between the researcher and the respondent and interviewees are not always willing to fill out questionnaires and *alteri* tables about their life and social networks. On the other hand, even if such information is obtained, it is one-sided because it includes just the offline ego-nets. Facebook ego-nets and other ego-centered virtual networks can only be analyzed in cooperation with the respondents. However, it could be concluded that Germans in Bulgaria have close contacts with their compatriots in Bulgaria. In regions with more numerous German presence the *Auswanderer* organize group meetings several times a year, which are visited by Germans searching for people with whom they could speak in German about things related to their life in Bulgaria, their homeland, their families, their pets, etc. The Bulgarian language is used mainly in situations of face-to-face communication by the Germans having Bulgarian friends or co-workers but also for interaction with neighbors. In the respondents' social circles people of German origin (living in Germany, Bulgaria or other countries) dominate, followed by Bulgarians and other ethnicities. Regarding the density of the social circles all but one are less compact as the *alteri* do not communicate among each other. It is only the respondent with a social circle visible in Figures 2 and 7 who has a denser social network because of the many relationships among family members.

After the Facebook company discontinued the applications for the visualization of social networks such as TouchGraph and NameGenWeb, a graphic of a group social network could hardly be made just by one click. At the same time, Facebook groups are the most accessible for the analysis of group networks; however, it is very time-consuming and possible only with the help of the methods of participant-experience and blended ethnography. The Facebook groups of Germans in Bulgaria are not only numerous (16 groups) but also with a large number of participants (in some groups there are more than 2,000 members). While some members prefer to have fewer groups but specified by regions of residence, the current groups provide them with the opportunity to communicate in their native language, find compatriots, exchange experiences and useful hints. Furthermore, this is the main space in which Germans present their reflections, impressions, and experiences in and about their new place of residence. While two of the groups have been created to share information about events related to the Germans in Bulgaria, but also about Bulgarian folklore and cultural landscapes, or to facilitate the communication and the organization of gatherings in the real (offline) world (the so-called *Stammtische*), the

other groups could be labeled as communities-online (however, in some cases meetings in the real world are also initiated virtually). What they all have in common is that they unite the Germans who search contact with compatriots, with subgroups who meet regularly in the given regions in Bulgaria. In consequence, the built subgroups' networks provide a kind of a "native" space, helpful for the first months of adaption and also for integration in the new place of residence, a part of which is also the maintenance of their own ethnic and cultural identity based on communication in the native language, sharing native cuisine, attending *Stammtische*, and celebrating holidays in a German way.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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NOTES

[1] It should be noted that all the respondents preferred to use the word *Auswanderer* and not *emigrant* or *expat* for their self-determination.

[2] Everyday life includes also feasts, trips, and other actions characteristic of the individual's annual life cycle.

[3] These online-communities are a product of the grouping of people with common interests. Differently from them, the traditional communities are locally more independent because thanks to the social media the interpersonal ties could be maintained also at great distances. Moreover, there are online-communities, formed as an additional space for the activities of groups existing in the real world, as, for example, of cultural organizations, clubs, etc., who use the social network platforms for the maintenance of their collectiveness (Greshke 2007).

[4] Interviews conducted during the project "Germans in Bulgaria: Community Institutions, Social Networks, Everyday Culture" (2017–2019) are archived at the National Center for Intangible Heritage at the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Studies at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, with archive numbers FnAIF (audio archive) No. 2969 and FnAIF No. 2986.

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[30] Bulgariens Hunde in Not /Mitfahrgelegenheiten/Flugpaten/Spenden! Available at https://www.facebook.com/groups/290765080978591/, 562 members, last accessed on 20 April 2020.

[31] The program VennMaker allows a description of the models of personal interrelations. It makes possible the visualization of social ties from the personal perspective of a respondent (*ego*) to other people (*alteri*) of their social environment, which could be subsequently analyzed comparatively and quantitatively.

[32] Facebook profile of A4.

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FROM THE EDITORIAL BOARD

WHERE THE STRUCTURAL MEETS THE PERSONAL: MOTHER-IN-LAW HUMOR BETWEEN A JOKE CYCLE AND JOKING RELATIONSHIPS IN BELARUS

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Abstract: The paper discusses the status of mother-in-law humor in the context of humorous family communication in contemporary Belarusian families. The humorous communication is represented by widespread canned jokes that portray the wife's mother as an ill-natured and imperious character, and by personal humorous stories and other personal forms of humorous communication.

Canned joke texts reflect structural issues and are impersonal, but the practice of joke-telling is not. During my fieldwork among Belarusian couples, mother-in-law jokes were often contextualized in the tellers' own family relationships. Thus, no clear-cut distinction was made between canned jokes, teasing, and other forms of family humor. The examples of mother-in-law jokes and other forms of mother-in-law humor, as well as the practices and reflections connected to them, open up the floor for discussing the interconnections between the cultural codes that lie at the basis of the jokes and the emic practices of joke-telling. The paper also explores the ways in which mother-in-law humor adds a new dimension to the anthropological concept of joking relationships.

Keywords: family folklore, family relations, humor, joking relationships, mother-in-law jokes

INTRODUCTION

It is hard to find a family member who has enjoyed as much attention in humorous folklore as the mother-in-law. In contrast to the relatively limited representation of the mother-in-law in other folklore genres such as proverbs, songs, and tales, jokes about her are popular across different cultures. The

precursors of contemporary mother-in-law jokes can be traced back to ancient Rome (Watson & Watson 2014: 145), but their heyday came with the spread of the short punch-lined joke format in the twentieth century. The popularity of these jokes did not escape scholars' attention. As in many other cases of joke studies (see, for example, Davies 1998, 2011; Oring 1992, 2003, 2016), the cornerstone of such research was the link between joke targets and texts on the one hand, and the social circumstances in which the jokes flourish on the other. One of the first scholars to link mother-in-law humor and the peculiar nature of mother-in-law relationships was Sigmund Freud. In his seminal study *Totem and Taboo*, he described avoidance relationships that exist between mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law in many cultures, arguing that although avoidance is not practiced in Western countries, "[t]he fact that the witticisms of civilized races show such a preference for this very mother-in-law theme ... point[s] to the fact that the emotional relations between mother-in-law and son-in-law are controlled by components which stand in sharp contrast to each other" (2009 [1913]: 21). Freud explained these avoidance practices and jokes (as he did not draw a clear boundary between the two) with hidden incestuous inclinations, which both parties seek to suppress.

Emil Draitser (1999) followed Freud's ideas by looking at Russian mother-in-law jokes at the turn of the century. He used psychoanalytic theory to interpret the general phenomenon of mother-in-law jokes, but he also compared Russian and American mother-in-law jokes, arguing that Russian jokes were more malevolent as Russian women had to depend on their mothers extensively (especially on their help with childcare), and young families in the USSR often had to share apartments with their parents-in-law. He also compared Russian canned jokes (that largely originate from urban areas) to the tradition of short humorous rhymed songs, *chastushkas*[1], which were more popular in rural areas, and concluded that the latter did not demonstrate such a negative attitude towards mothers-in-law.

While relief theory of humor[2] holds a dominant position in mother-in-law jokes research[3], other perspectives exist as well. Cotterill (1994, 1996) explores mother-in-law jokes in the family context. She discusses the gender aspect of joking and demonstrates how mother-in-law jokes help to maintain male dominance in the family. A problematic aspect of her work is that she does not make any notable distinctions between different genres of humorous folklore and different ways these genres function in everyday communication. While relying mostly on interview accounts, Cotterill deals primarily with conversational jokes, banter, and joking relationships[4], but she also makes a reference to comedians' humor and "standardized jokes" (1996: 211) to make her case. Ruth Shade adopts a similar approach, arguing that "jokes are used to reinforce

negative imagery of older women and to negate them, as a punishment for their non-conformance with a sociocultural archive of rules that disenfranchises women who are perceived to have lost their looks and their sexual allure" (2010: 73). She focuses more on the gender aspect of mother-in-law jokes rather than mother-in-law's specific status within a family.

Christie Davies (2012) provides a detailed analysis of mother-in-law jokes. By comparing English mother-in-law jokes to serious complaints about the husband's mother in English-speaking cultures and non-humorous mother-in-law folklore in India, he shows that it is mostly men who invent and tell mother-in-law jokes, since they regard tensions with mothers-in-law as a structural problem (in contrast to women, whose complaints and humor about their mothers-in-law are personal). Davies concludes that the jokes stem from the ambivalent status of the mother-in-law in the English family. On the one hand, she is treated as an outsider because the nuclear family is perceived to be an ideal; on the other hand, many young families have relied on the wife's mother or shared the household with her, especially after World War II (ibid.: 16). As there were numerous cases of matrilocality in post-war England, husbands understood the structural nature of this problem and created jokes as a reaction to it (ibid.: 17). Jokes were thus created to deal with the broader social issue (Lockyer & Savigny 2019) and, consequently, were based on generic scripts rather than men's personal experiences.

This distinction between jokes and personal stories, however, is much less clear-cut when the performance and reception of jokes are examined in the context of actual family interactions, where personal feelings and relationships often intermingle with broader structural tensions. While previous studies of mother-in-law jokes focused mostly on their texts, largely ignoring the practices of joke-telling,[5] more personal genres of humor (e.g., humorous stories) and the emic interpretations of this humor, this paper aims to fill this gap and show how mother-in-law jokes and other forms of mother-in-law humor are approached in families. The emic approach of this study involves taking into consideration the immediate context in which folklore exists, the opinions and perceptions of folklore bearers, and "is conceptualized as a 'native' category" (Bronner 2017 [2016]: 50).

The paper outlines the basic features of the mother-in-law archetype targeted in jokes, and shows why jocular representations of mothers-in-law may provoke strong feelings in joke-tellers and their audiences. While acknowledging the link between mother-in-law jokes and the social and gender structure of Belarusian families, I aim to demonstrate how the ideas and topics reflected in jokes are renegotiated on a vernacular level in the context of individual families.

This evokes an opposition – but also continuity – between the structural (cf. Davies 2012) and the personal levels of mother-in-law jokes. Researching jokes on the structural level implies looking at their texts and the broader social context in which they exist (for examples of such studies in different cultural contexts, see Davies 1990, 2011), while the personal level pertains to the immediate context of interpersonal communication surrounding such humor (such an approach was adopted in Norrick 1993; Norrick & Chiaro 2009).

By exploring the applicability of concepts of *joke cycles* as "set[s] of jokes that are related" (Attardo 2001: 69) and *joking relationships* as a way to maintain the balance between certain kinship groups, including in-laws (Radcliffe-Brown 1940), to mother-in-law jokes, I analyze the various ways in which jokes can both condition views on family relations and be conditioned by them. I also discuss the broader social circumstances and gender aspects of Belarusian society in which the jokes came into existence. By comparing the practices of joke-telling to joking relationships, I show that the dichotomy "laughing *at* – laughing *with*" is not always straightforward and has numerous gray zones. As the generic mother-in-law is recognized as a stereotypical joke target, joking with the mother-in-law (or at one's mother-in-law) often occurs through the prism of this stereotype.

METHODS AND DATA

The data for this study comes from my interviews with 60 Belarusian couples aged 24 to 66, conducted in 2016–2017. Participation in the interviews was voluntary and the participants were recruited via snowball sampling. This resulted in having a participant pool of mostly middle-class urban dwellers. The interviews were conducted by me in either Russian or Belarusian (depending on the language my interviewees preferred). They were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed. I have translated excerpts of the interviews into English for citation in this article. Each interview lasted for approximately 40–60 minutes, and the majority of the interview questions revolved around idiosyncratic humorous folklore shared within the family, including personal humorous narratives, teasing between family members, humorous dyadic traditions (Oring 1984), etc. Some of the respondents shared conversational jokes and humorous stories about mothers-in-law in this context without any additional suggestions on my part. At the end of each interview, I asked participants whether they knew any canned jokes about family relationships. While I explicitly stated that this question did not concern their particular family,

a number of my interviewees accompanied the jokes with comments on their family relations.

Among the canned jokes shared by my respondents, mother-in-law jokes were the most common. Some of my interviewees (especially those in their twenties and thirties) could not recall any specific jokes during the interview, but still recognized that many such jokes exist.

While most of the data discussed in this paper comes from the interviews, I have also collected 83 jokes from popular Belarusian joke websites, internet forums, and joke books. These jokes lack a personal dimension as the immediate context of their performance cannot be reconstructed, but they contribute to the understanding of thematic variety of mother-in-law jokelore in Belarus.

This paper offers a qualitative analysis of the canned jokes and instances of conversational humor[6] collected during the interviews, as well as additional canned jokes from published and online joke collections, additionally integrating comments and discussions surrounding these jokes. Many of my methodological tools, such as genre analysis and the comparison of emic and analytic interpretations, derive from folklore studies, but I also rely on some methods employed by neighboring disciplines, such as sociology and anthropology. Namely, I employ a sociological approach to canned jokes, as outlined by Christie Davies (1990, 2011), which involves making sense of the jokes based on a wider social context of their use.

MOTHER-IN-LAW JOKES IN THE BELARUSIAN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Prior to the October Revolution of 1917, Belarus was a part of the Russian Empire, and most of its population worked in agriculture. It was common for several generations to live under one roof, sharing the house with members of the extended family. As in many other patriarchal societies, after getting married the wife would usually join her husband's family and live together with her in-laws. In rare cases, the husband would instead move into his wife's family; however, such husbands (called *prymaki*) did not have an equal standing in the family, unless the master of the house had no male heirs (Rakava 2009: 80).

The shift towards the nuclear family started in the nineteenth and continued into the twentieth century, being especially prominent after the October Revolution when Belarus became a constituent republic of the USSR. Soviet authorities abolished private land ownership, mandating that land be distributed per person rather than per family. Ethnographer Rakava argued that

"[t]his allowed every young family to fulfil their dream to become economically independent from their parents" (2009: 192).

However, for many couples this dream never came true. Housing was a pressing issue in the USSR (including Belarus) throughout much of its history (Zinchenko 2010). While Soviet scholars studying family life developed theoretical models according to which young families would separate from their parents and live on their own (Bandarchik 1976: 15), the reality was often different. Even if a young family lived separately, they often relied on their parents' financial support and especially on their mothers' help with childcare (Dulov 2004: 177), as women had to work equally with men.

Nuclear families consisting of two generations are prevalent in today's post-independence Belarus (Andreykovets 2014; Lin 2014), but many young families continue to live with their parents after marriage. The most likely reason for this is the still existent housing issue (Burova 2015: 7). Many young and older families receive various kinds of help from their parents (Kalachova 2009: 52), including financial support for families where both partners work (Burova 2010: 92). As women tend to rely on their parents' support more than men do (ibid.: 91), it is the wife's parents who play the bigger role in Belarusians' families, especially her mother, who helps with child-raising. However, grandparents' role in their grandchildren's upbringing has been somewhat decreasing recently (Lin 2014: 46; Zlotnikov & Zlotnikov 2017: 325). Combined with the increasing marriage age (Andreykovets 2015: 22) and the high divorce rate, this may mean that communication with mothers-in-law is becoming less of a systemic issue. Still, the structural tension that gave birth to the numerous mother-in-law jokes to some extent continues to exist in Belarusian families.

Similar to Britain, the USA, and a number of other countries (e.g. Estonia, see Davies 2012: 30–32), mother-in-law jokes in Belarus and other Russian-speaking countries feature predominantly the wife's mother (Druzhinin 2006: 125). Jokes about the husband's mother exist but are much less common (Zheleznova 2015: 123). This is easy to verify, as, unlike English, both Belarusian and Russian (the two official languages of Belarus) distinguish between the wife's mother (*cioshcha* / *teshcha*) and the husband's mother (*svyakrou* / *svekrov'*). According to Watkins (1978) and Davies (2012), the prevalence of jokes about the wife's mother is in part due to the fact that mother-in-law jokes are mostly performed by men. This is in line with the idea that men generally tend to tell more canned jokes than women, who prefer other, less competitive kinds of humor (Kuipers 2006: 55). Like English-speaking daughters-in-law (Merrill 2007), Belarusian daughters-in-law use websites and forum threads to complain about their mother-in-law's intrusiveness in their nuclear family, but humor is rarely involved and there are few canned jokes comparable to mother-in-law versus son-in-law jokes.[7]

TYPICAL CANNED JOKES ABOUT MOTHERS-IN-LAW IN BELARUSIAN FOLKLORE

Mother-in-law versus son-in-law canned jokes must be fairly new to Belarusian joke folklore; these targets did not feature in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century folklore collections. Instead, there was a handful of jokes describing confrontations between a daughter-in-law and her parents-in-law:

> *A mother-in-law was constantly asking God for death, so a man brought her an owl perched on a pole. The woman asked him: "What is it?" He replied: "Well, you constantly talk of death, so here it came!" She turned to the owl and started whispering: "Shoo! Go to the daughter-in-law! Shoo! Go to the daughter-in-law!"* (Federowski 1903: 82)

Another joke in the same collection features two daughters-in-law plotting the murder of their fathers-in-law; the joke consists of each daughter-in-law suggesting her own way to kill the father-in-law by performing different manipulations on bread (Federowski 1903: 83). Patrilocal families created a suitable environment for such a structural conflict that could provoke women to tell these jokes (both of the above jokes were recorded from women), but the fact that women in general tell fewer jokes than men resulted in a small proportion of such jokes in the collections. The examples above also have some features of personal stories: for example, the joke about plotting a murder ends with a bottom line rather than a punchline. These examples of folk humor belong to the older genre of the humorous tale. This genre was more prevalent in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century joke collections than short jokes with a punchline and jokes with hidden narrative functions. (For a discussion on jokes and tales, see Oring 1992: 81–82; for a discussion on narrative jokes, see Oring 2016: 147–164.)

As it was mostly the wife who had to communicate with her in-laws on a daily basis, the earliest jokes feature the daughter-in-law and her husband's relatives. As the daughter-in-law came to live in her husband's family, she had to adapt to life in a new household and often felt the burden of expectations she had to live up to. She had to work hard and be a good mother, wife, and daughter-in-law, while at the same time being subjected to her parents-in-law's power. Such a situation inevitably provoked tensions, which could create a fruitful ground for humor. The husband's contacts with his wife's parents were, on the other hand, infrequent. The husband's in-laws make their first appearance in Evdokim Romanov's 1912 ethnographic study and, curiously, it was the father-in-law rather than the mother-in-law:

> *When I got married, my father-in-law, as a dowry, gave me a bag with seven partitions: for bread and such*[8]*, for millet and such, for salt and such… And he also gave me a mare that, if you put seven empty sacks on a cart, can even pull it downhill!* (Romanov 1912: 381)

Typical mother-in-law jokes became prominent in the second half of the twentieth century. Some of them, especially the earlier ones, revolved around the economic dimension of family life, demonstrating the incongruity between the support the mother-in-law had to provide for her daughter's family (including the son-in-law) and the son-in-law's outsider status in his wife's family:

> *A man's mother-in-law died. He went to her burial with his wife. The wife was crying for her mother and the husband was standing quietly by her side. Then the wife said to him: "You could also cry and mourn my mother. Don't you feel sad?"*
>
> *The man came closer to the deceased and started lamenting: "Oh, mother, my mother! I used to come to your place with my Malanka* [wife's name]*, and you would give Malanka cheese and sour cream, and I would only get the whe-e-ey..."*
>
> *"Enough! Why are you crying so loud?"*
>
> (Fiadosik 2005: 165, initially recorded in 1971)

One of the jokes told to me during an interview revolves around a similar theme:

> *A mother-in-law and a son-in-law are having breakfast. The son-in-law is making himself a toast by spreading butter over a piece of bread. The mother-in-law says:*
>
> *"My dear son-in-law, do spread the butter, spread it..."*
>
> *He says: "But I'm already spreading it".*
>
> *"No, dear, you are not spreading, you are piling it. Do spread it, spread it..."*
>
> (female, 40 years old)

Frequent interference of a mother-in-law in her daughter's family affairs is often portrayed as challenging the power relations in the family and the masculinity of her son-in-law:

> *A son-in-law comes home. He says that the mother-in-law does not value him. "So you come, hit the table with your fist: 'Who is the master in this house?'"*
>
> *He decides to try it. He comes* [to her]*, hits the table with his fist: "Who is the master in this house?" And the mother-in-law is cooking borscht*[9]*, and she takes the ladle and hits the son-in-law on the forehead. He faints.*

At that moment a neighbor comes in, the door was left open. She says: "Why is your son-in-law lying on the kitchen floor?"

"I don't know, he is the master, he lies where he wants."

(male, 46 year old)

The mother-in-law can perform other nefarious deeds in canned jokes; she can be portrayed as stupid, ugly, or (in rare cases) engaging in sexual activities[10] with her son-in-law. But most often jokes do not ridicule her for "any specific misdeeds" (Draitser 1999: 193); instead, she simply symbolizes wickedness. Such an emphasis on unspecified wickedness can be explained by the "otherness" of the mother-in-law in a nuclear family. Mother-in-law jokes treat her clearly as an outsider (Ponomareva 2015: 190) who is contrasted to the positive characters:

A toastmaster at the table: "And now let's drink to good people!"

Then, turning to the mother-in-law: "And the next toast will be to you!"[11]

Also, she is often compared to a snake (Morozova 2017: 126):

I took my mother-in-law to the serpentarium. She was watching the snakes with amusement, eating ice-cream, mumbling something – long story short, doing her best to pretend she didn't understand what those creatures were hissing about.[12]

Given the wicked image of the mother-in-law, it is not surprising that many joke texts suggest that she has to be eliminated from the family: either temporarily (not let into the couple's house) or, preferably, permanently. Thus the most popular motif is one of death and burial.

A boy asks his father: "Dad, dad, why is granny running around the garden so fast?"

The father replies, recharging his gun: "Someone's granny is someone else's mother-in-law."

(female, 41 years old)[13]

The most often (five times) quoted joke from my interviews goes as follows:

A mother-in-law comes to her son-in-law and says:

"Do whatever you want, but I want to buried in the Kremlin Wall."[14]

The day after, the son-in-law comes [to her] and says:

"Do whatever you want, but the burial is tomorrow at noon."[15]

The son-in-law's glee at his mother-in-law's funeral is another typical trope (Kosinets 2014: 116):

> *During the mother-in-law's funeral, we ripped apart two accordions* [while playing and singing out of joy].
> (female, 25 years old; variant by male, 55)

> *He felt like singing and dancing, but the coffin containing his mother-in-law's body pressed down on his shoulder, preventing him from doing so.*[16]

The popularity of mother-in-law jokes also gives birth to meta-jokes:

> *"My mother-in-law is an exemplary mother-in-law!"*
> *"How is that?"*
> *"There is no mother-in-law joke that wouldn't fit her…"*[17]

The examples above demonstrate that although these jokes can be labeled as mother-in-law jokes, the mother-in-law herself is not always an active protagonist in them. While in some of the jokes she is a target due to her perceived vices, in many other jokes she is not ridiculed and is rather a part of the joke's situation than the joke's target (for a discussion of a situation, target, and other joke knowledge resources, see Attardo & Raskin 1991). However, the jokes featuring mother-in-law have a recognizable set of topics and share a limited number of unfavorable representations of the mother-in-law. Therefore, they can be labeled as a joke cycle, although a more thematically and structurally heterogeneous one than other joke cycles (cf. with Dundes 1979).

Due to their aggressive implications, many mother-in-law jokes come close to gallows humor, which is defined as "making fun of death or life-threatening situations" (Attardo 2014: 255). People often express certain reservations in using this kind of humor: it is especially evident in a public context (Sullivan 2000), but even in a private setting of a family, perceptions related to telling these jokes might be ambiguous – as was reflected in my interviewees' responses.

CONNECTING MOTHER-IN-LAW JOKES AND JOKE-TELLING TO PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES

According to Davies's view of mother-in-law jokes as a reflection of a structural rather than personal issue, actual mothers-in-law are not supposed to get offended by these jokes because of the obviously grotesque nature of the jokes and their focus on an archetypal mother-in-law (2012: 17).

This notion holds true when jokes are viewed as a social phenomenon. However, when jokes are examined in light of the perspectives of actual people that share them, it becomes evident that the "generic" characters and tropes of the jokes form connections to the people's personal circumstances. This does not

necessarily mean that the joke-tellers directly project the jokes' plots or underlying messages onto their family relations, but certain links may be drawn between the jokes and the tellers' relationships with their mothers-in-law.

While such links can take many forms, they perhaps manifest themselves most notably in jokes that involve funerals. One of my interviewees (male, 61 years old) expressly mentioned that he used to tell the "Do whatever you want, the burial is tomorrow" joke only when his mother-in-law was still alive. Another reflection was offered by a male interviewee of 50 years, whose mother-in-law died at a young age:

> *[Jokes] about mother-in-law… I don't have a mother-in-law. Like in that joke...*
>
> *A mother-in-law died. The guy [her son-in-law] was a decent fellow, he arranged the burial to lay her to rest, his colleagues came, and one guy looked at the deceased and asked:*
>
> *"What did your mother-in-law die of?"*
>
> *[The son-in-law] replied:*
>
> *"She ate poisonous mushrooms."*
>
> *"Poisonous mushrooms, how's that work? Doesn't the son-in-law have a hand in it? I can see a black eye under her makeup."*
>
> *"Well, she didn't initially want to eat them."*[18]
>
> *So it turns out that he basically made his mother-in-law [eat the mushrooms]. Well, the same happened to me, I got rid of my mother-in-law. Joking aside, let me tell you, at the age of 42, she was 42 [when she died]… It sucks [living] without a mother-in-law.*

In the case above the joke-teller almost identifies himself with the joke's protagonist at the end of his performance. While such extreme cases of nearly direct projection of one's life story onto a joke setting are rare, many other interviewees were also guided by their personal circumstances in their joke-telling practices. A young couple (both aged 28) reported not telling mother-in-law jokes because the wife did not have a mother. The wife also added that this fact could be a reason for a conversational joke, whereby she would tease her husband that he is lucky because he does not have a mother-in-law. This is an interesting instance of family humor. In its base lies the recognition of the structural problem of husband versus mother-in-law relationships. However, this recognition does not result in telling canned jokes: the husband (who is otherwise more likely to tell such jokes) in this case sees them as inappropriate. The wife, on the other side, finds it possible to joke about it, but chooses a more personal genre of humor to frame this topic. This example shows that the images of real and stereotypical mothers-in-law are closely interconnected; a clash between them can also produce humor in forms other than canned jokes.

Several interviewees expressed very negative opinions about mother-in-law jokes in general. Interestingly, the labels they used to describe them often neglected the humorous aspect of jokes:

> *"I don't like all those family jokes in general, all those* horrible stories *about the husband's and wife's mothers-in-law"* (female, 34 years old) (emphasis mine)

> *"[My husband always says that his mother-in-law] does not at all deserve these* ugly names *that are created for the mother-in-law"* (female, 54 years old) (emphasis mine)

Thus, from some respondents' perspective, telling mother-in-law jokes amounts to expressing a negative attitude towards one's own mother-in-law. The ideas about the connection between mother-in-law jokes and the hostility they express in real life (Baizerman & Ellison 1971: 167–168; Bloomfield 1980: 135–136) are clearly illustrated by the following example:

> Me: *Do you know any mother-in-law jokes?*
> Male, 47 years old: *I cannot say anything bad about the mother-in-law*.

As the example above suggests, some of my interviewees justify this aversion towards mother-in-law jokes by explaining that in their families the son-in-law has a good relationship with his mother-in-law. However, such a relationship is not regarded as the norm; couples that speak of harmony between the husband and the mother-in-law in their family often contrast it to other (supposedly numerous) cases where such a harmony is lacking. A good relationship with the mother-in-law is thus seen as incongruous, and the very idea of loving a mother-in-law can provoke humor:

> *I can generally joke with my mother-in-law: "Dear beloved mother-in-law, come here"* (laughs). (male, 38 years old)

In the cases when families do not tell mother-in-law jokes, whether due to ethical considerations as discussed above or for some other reasons (for example, because they rarely tell jokes in general), they still recognize the existence of this subject matter in Belarusian jokelore. This was especially prominent in the interviews with the younger couples, many of whom could not remember any mother-in-law joke texts but still acknowledged that many of them exist.

While discussing mother-in-law jokes, most of my interviewees referred exclusively to mother-in-law versus son-in-law jokes and did not mention the husband's mother at all. However, one of my male interviewees provided an interesting reflection on such an unequal distribution of humor:

> *It seems that most jokes are about a son-in-law and his mother-in-law. But in reality, my own experience shows that a wife's mother likes her son-in-law more than a husband's mother likes her daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law faces more nitpicking, and everybody will honestly say that a daughter-in-law gets more stick. And even though we have excellent relationships, but if we take it, compare and weight on the scales, then my wife always gets more stick than I do. On this note, here is a joke about a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law. About a daughter-in-law who is bad, and she is always bad, and she is guilty of everything. [Guilty] of the fact that the piglets are scrawny, the carrots have become wet, and so on and so forth. And so the mother-in-law is trashing the daughter-in-law once again, [saying] that she is guilty of something, and her husband who is sitting there says: "So why would you yell at the girl, she's not even around, she's away from home!" "How come she's away, her robe [svytka]*[19] *is hanging here!" Such a lifelike joke, here is her jacket, that's why she is guilty – but she wasn't even around.* (male, 36 years old)

This example is curious in several respects. The joke is obviously set in a rural area, and the reference to the robe indicates that it dates back to the times when a typical Belarusian family was large, patrilocal and worked in agriculture. However, the joke-teller uses it to illustrate current relations in both his own family and (presumably) other Belarusian families as well. Summing up the joke at the end, he substitutes a robe with a jacket to "update" the joke to the modern era. Moreover, he directly links the high proportion of jokes about a particular family relationship issue with the existence of this issue in real life, and then inverts this logic: if jokes indicate that a certain issue exists, then the existence of the issue should be accompanied by jokes. And although the setting of the joke he used as an example was clearly outdated, the important aspect of the joke for him (and for many other respondents) was that it reflects the relations in his own family and in a wider cultural context.

For my interviewees, jokes about mothers-in-law were different from jokes about many other targets: the label "mother-in-law" often invoked in their minds a specific person, as most of them had or had once had a mother-in-law. The interview setting also contributed to it: although I tried to draw a boundary between generic canned jokes and personal family humor (which mainly consisted of conversational jokes), many of the interviewees placed "generic" jokes in a personal context. But even outside of the interview context, canned jokes are often not self-contained and are framed by the conversational situation (Linstead 1985: 746). The ostensibly aggressive nature of some of these jokes was in sharp contrast to the image of benevolent family humor that my interviewees tried to create during the interview. They made an effort to find

a balance between the generic and the personal; while recognizing and accepting the cultural code of the wicked mother-in-law, they tried to renegotiate it with the help of jokes and joke-telling practices so that it would fit their perceptions of their own and other people's family lives.

It would, however, be too simplistic to reduce my interviewees' ideas about mother-in-law jokes and joke-telling to a straightforward projection of aggression or lack thereof onto their personal lives. Two of my interviewees instead accompanied the mother-in-law jokes they shared (in both cases these were variants of "Do whatever you want, the burial is tomorrow") by comments, placing the joke outside of their family context. A female interviewee of 34 years reported that in her family this joke was used to allude to something that absolutely had to be done. A 40-year-old male university professor said that he always remembered this joke at work when informing his students that they would have to resit an exam. Thus, the telling of mother-in-law jokes can certainly expand beyond contexts involving a particular mother-in-law.

Jokes are usually cited in a conversation when they are topically appropriate in some way (Norrick 1993: 36). However, one's relationship with their mother-in-law can be a powerful trigger that stimulates mother-in-law jokes or reflections on them. This also works the other way round: mother-in-law jokes can provoke reflections on one's own family relations.

GENDER ASPECT OF MOTHER-IN-LAW JOKES AND THEIR TELLING

While both male and female interviewees drew parallels between the realm of jokes and the real world, certain differences emerged as to how these parallels were framed. Women tended to concentrate more on the content of the jokes and highlight (and often condemn) the wicked nature of the mother-in-law's image in these texts. Even though some of the mother-in-law jokes that I collected during the interviews were told to me by women, they often distanced themselves from the jokes ("This is a joke my father used to tell", "I am not much into jokes") and did not reflect much on their practices of joke-telling (cf. Kuipers's (2006: 46–47) observation that women tend to play down their joke-telling skills during the interviews). Men, on the other hand, were eager to explain the context of joke-telling and reflect on how they frame joke-telling in their family life:

> *Poking fun and teasing each other extends to our entire family, … mother-in-law and father-in-law, their shortcomings and habits, that's normal.*

> *… [It also extends to] cousins. The little ones, not so much, of course, but our and our parents' generations, certainly.* (male, 36 years old)

Thus, the static aspect of jokes was more important for women, while men concentrated on the dynamics of the jokes.

Interestingly, none of my interviewees placed mother-in-law jokes in the broader context of gender relations. Researchers often interpret mother-in-law jokes as prescriptive of certain gender roles, arguing, for example, that "mother-in-law jokes … serve to remind women of their 'place' as wives and mothers" (Green 1998: 181; see also Shade 2010). This can be easily applied to the Belarusian context, where women have achieved legal, but not factual equality and a paternalist attitude towards them prevails in political, financial, and everyday life (Petina 2004). Although Global Gender Gap Reports indicate that the gender gap has decreased in Belarus over the last years (Belarus ranked 28th in 2018, see Report 2018: 25–26), there are still certain tensions that provide a fruitful ground for gender-related jokes. Jokes targeting women (and potentially offensive for them) are frequent even in female-oriented media (Sidorskaya 2014: 382).

However, the emic interpretations of my interviewees focused on the mother-in-law as a particular element in family relations. One of the possible explanations is that gender-related discourse is still fairly marginal in Belarus, even in the academic sphere (Volina 2013), and gender issues are widely misrepresented in mass media (Sidorskaya 2012: 79). It is also possible, however, that the issue of mothers-in-law's important (and sometimes intrusive) role in the contemporary Belarusian family provokes more emic reflections, even if her gender might add an extra layer of meaning to jokes about her.

JOKING RELATIONSHIPS AND OTHER FORMS OF HUMOR

A concept often invoked in existing academic discussions of mother-in-law jokes (e.g. Cotterill 1996; Davies 2012) is that of joking relationships, as described by Radcliffe-Brown (1940) and other anthropologists. In stateless societies (as well as in some state societies; see, e.g., Hagberg 2006), joking relationships are a mechanism to regulate certain types of family relations. These practices involve teasing each other without taking offence and are maintained between kinship members who have an equal status and often belong to the same generation (Radcliffe-Brown 1940). Another way to avoid tensions between in-laws, according to Radcliffe-Brown, is extreme avoidance, more characteristic of relatives whose status is not equal, such as sons-in-law and mothers-in-law (ibid.).

In contemporary European societies, however, relations between mothers-in-law and sons-in-law are not based on such extreme avoidance (Davies 2012: 18). But even if these relationships do involve joking, it largely occurs in an asymmetric way, with jokes predominantly used by sons-in-law to control their relations with mothers-in-law without the latter joking to the same extent in return (Cotterill 1996: 195).

Based on my interview data, it appears that the concept of joking relations can apply to family humor in a slightly different way. While the circumstances that gave birth to mother-in-law jokes and their structural patterns do indeed resemble avoidance as described by Radcliffe-Brown, there are other humorous forms and practices between sons-in-law and mothers-in-law that come closer to joking relationships. Most notably, these are teasing and banter (that both the son-in-law and the mother-in-law partake in). Joking *with* (rather than *at*) one's mother-in-law is a sign of good relations with her, reinforcing Cotterill's distinction between "joking with her [mother-in-law] and making jokes about her" (1996: 198–199). The example below illustrates this point:

> *He [the interviewee's husband] addresses his mother-in-law as "dear mother-in-law"*[20]*. Sometimes [when] I am speaking with my mum, [he says]: "My regards to the mother-in-law" – "Mum, [he sends his] regards to you" – "And a kiss" – "Mum, and a kiss". Mum then goes: "Wow, I've even started to blush". And then the next time he sends his regards and two kisses. Mum goes: "Wow! Two kisses!" And then the third time he only sends regards, and mum goes: "So no kisses this time?"* (female, 25 years old)

There can be situations when mother-in-law jokes can form a part of joking relations. It happens during the very practice of joke telling:

> Me: *Do you often tell jokes in your family or read them online?*
> Male (30 years old): *If I hear some new jokes … of course I tell them and some funny stories, it is normal. Usually my mother-in-law tells me jokes more often.*

Later during the interview, when I asked him if he knew any mother-in-law jokes, he replied:

> *As to mother-in-law jokes, I do read them, and my mother-in-law tells me such jokes, we have good relations.*

Thus, contrary to Cotterill's (1996: 212) suggestion that mothers-in-law do not initiate jokes for fear of alienating their daughters, some mothers-in-law can in fact share jokes and humorous banter with their sons-in-law. The motiva-

tion for mothers-in-law to tell mother-in-law jokes may be similar to that for using other forms of self-deprecating humor, namely, to present themselves in a favorable light and to improve their image in the eyes of the interlocutor (Greengross & Miller 2008; Zillmann & Stocking 1976: 155). Norrick (1993: 105) argues that "[s]ince jokes often trade on personal problems or slips and socially sensitive topics …, they allow to demonstrate a certain tolerance and/or insensitivity". Moreover, by sharing humor in this form, mothers-in-law establish closer and more equal relations with their sons-in-law, thus addressing a structural issue in kin relationships in a manner not dissimilar to joking relationships. Additionally, joking relationships in many contemporary societies (including Belarus) have moved away from being structural to being elective and thus they need to be regularly reconfirmed (Marsh 2015: 107). Regular joking with one's mother-in-law fits this updated framework of joking relationships.

Thus, while mother-in-law jokes as a general, impersonal genre do not function similarly to joking relationships, sharing these jokes with one's own mother- or son-in-law (and otherwise sharing humor between them) does indeed resemble joking relationships in certain aspects.

CONCLUSION

While previous research has not categorized mother-in-law jokes as such, many of their characteristics come close to definitions of a joke cycle. Mother-in-law jokes, as this article has demonstrated, have a certain topical homogeneity and recognizable settings. Meta-jokes (see the joke about an "exemplary mother-in-law" above) that require the audience to be familiar with mother-in-law joke scripts also exist. However, unlike many other joke cycles that emerge at a certain time, enjoy a (relatively short) period of popularity and are then forgotten (see, e.g., Dundes 1979; Rahkonen 2000), mother-in-law jokes seem to have undergone a thematic transition from domestic economy to just interpersonal tensions, yet they still maintain a certain identity. My interviews showed that many younger people do not remember any mother-in-law joke texts, but are still aware that they exist and mention mother-in-law jokes more often than other family-related jokes. Curiously, none of my interviewees mentioned mother-in-law memes or other forms of visual/audiovisual humor (in contrast to digital visual humor that targets husbands, wives, parents or children). This may indicate that the social context that gave birth to mother-in-law jokes is gradually changing, and although the topic of the mother-in-law's wickedness does occasionally feature in new forms of visual humor (which stems from a context where the mother-in-law's intrusion into the family is less pressing

a problem), these new forms of mother-in-law humor are not as popular as mother-in-law jokes once were and still are.

One of the biggest challenges in joke research is establishing the correlation between the jokes people tell and the attitude they have towards the joke targets. My interviewees' responses indicate that a generic, archetypical mother-in-law is still recognized as an ambivalent, or even malevolent, figure in the family. The very perceived need to highlight harmonious relations between mothers-in-law and sons-in-law, to the extent of organizing competitions like "Golden Mother-in-law" (Manuilik 2017), suggests that, in society at large, the wicked mother-in-law is objectified into a sociological fact akin to the stupid blonde (Oring 2003). Even some researchers fall prey to the straightforward interpretation of aggression in jokes as testimony to aggression in real-life relationships. Consider the study by Begovatova (2008), who hypothesized that the high prevalence of mother-in-law jokes in her respondents' accounts of joke usage would correlate with a high prominence of mother-in-law vs. son-in-law conflicts in their family lives, only to discover that was not in fact the case. Such perceptions result in the relations between the son- and mother-in-law being considered to be bad by default,[21] with no evidence being required to support this notion. By contrast, good relations between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law are a "norm violation" and have to be explicitly explained and brought to attention.

The generic image of the mother-in-law as reflected in jokes thus correlates with (and perhaps reinforces) the generic image of the mother-in-law at large. The fuzziness between humorous and non-humorous discourse is visible in the epithets ("horrible stories", "ugly names") used by my interviewees while discussing mother-in-law jokes. While it is perhaps too ambitious to claim that family jokes are regarded as normative regulators in family relations and even predict the future (Druzhinin 2006); Duvall (1954 as cited in Watkins 1978: 4) does go as far as arguing that mother-in-law jokes shape people's ideas about the generic mother-in-law and stigmatize her.

However, when it comes to actual mothers-in-law, their image may be different or the personal context may be inappropriate for the image present in jokes to be projected onto real life. The clash between the image in jokes and the context of one's own family leads to a reevaluation of jokes and reflection on the practices of joke-telling. Distancing oneself from the generic image of the mother-in-law may take different forms: from engaging in joking relationships with one's mother-in-law (and emphasizing the fact that these relationships exist) to customizing canned jokes according to one's particular family context, to complete avoidance of mother-in-law jokes. The same is true of other jokes about the family. One of my interviewees (male, 40 years old), for example, said that he and his wife occasionally tell each other jokes about adultery, but

"these jokes don't suit our faithful family". Telling certain jokes does not mean people share the values that are humorously expressed in these jokes.

The emergence of mother-in-law jokes and their popularity in Belarusian folklore (as well as the folklore of many other nations) is a structural process that can be explained by analyzing the social context in which the jokes appeared and flourished, and the joke texts themselves. But in order to understand how the jokes are performed and perceived by the folklore bearers, it is important to also consider the personal dimension of their functioning. Studying joke-telling on an emic level is vital for understanding not only the particular circumstances of a certain family, but also the general aspects of mother-in-law jokes. By pointing to recurrent features in mother-in-law jokes that are known to exist beyond its immediate locale of study and by linking them to the emic dimension of joke-telling, this article can inform further research into mother-in-law humor around the world. The clash between a generic and a real mother-in-law offers multiple ways for resolution, and these ways can tell us a great deal not only about a particular family relationship, but also about vernacular practices of joke-telling and their links with other forms of humorous interactions.

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NOTES

[1] A chastushka is a short rhymed folk song that is sung to the accompaniment of an accordion or balalaika and that can be comic or satirical (Terras 1985: 77).

[2] As one of the most widely used theories of humor, relief theory posits that we joke because it helps us to "blow off steam" and relieve stress. Other influential theories of humor are superiority and incongruity theories. The former argues that humor makes us feel superior to the targets of our jokes; the latter says that jokes are funny because they are incongruous: their endings differ from what we expect and thus surprise us (Morreall 2016).

[3] For example, Knyazyan (2015: 95) regards them as a way to release aggression that is suppressed in real life.

[4] Cotterill notes that she uses the term "joking relationship" differently from Radcliff-Brown, who coined it (Cotterill 1996: 195–196; 1994: 91–94).

[5] A great deal of existing scholarship on jokes does not address their performative aspect. However, there are several thorough studies of joke performances, such as Bauman 1986; Norrick 1993; Marsh 2015; Oring 2016.

[6] For a discussion on the distinction between canned and conversational jokes, see, for example, Dynel (2009).

[7] Some examples of such Belarusian forum threads can be found at https://mamochki.by/forum/43/16765/ and http://www.velvet.by/articles/otnosheniya/ob-otnosheniyakh/strashnye-istorii-pro-nevestku-i-svekrov, both last accessed on 13 April 2020.

[8] The original joke read that the partitions were for "*на хлеб і на выхлеб, на пшано і на выпшано, на сіль і на высіль*". The words "*выхлеб*", "*выпшано*" and "*высіль*" derive from words "*хлеб*" (bread), "*пшано*" (millet) and "*высіль*" (salt). "*Вы-*" is a prefix that is used in this case to provide a certain rhythm and emphasize the absence of actual food in the bag.

[9] Borscht is a beetroot soup popular in Eastern Slavic cuisine. Cooking borscht is considered to be one of the stereotypical female chores and is often used as a metaphor for the traditional female role as opposed to emancipation and gender equality.

[10] Freud (2009 [1913]) and Draitser (1999) emphasized this aspect of mother-in-law jokes in their analyses.

[11] Available at https://talks.by/showthread.php?t=14265317&page=229, last accessed on 9 April 2020.

[12] Available at https://banana.by/index.php?newsid=200684, last accessed on 6 May 2020.

[13] The same joke in Draitser (1999: 195), a variant at https://library.by/portalus/modules/humor/readme.php?subaction=showfull&id=1097230122&archive=&start_from=&ucat=&, last accessed on 13 April 2020.

[14] Only the highest Soviet officials were buried in the Kremlin Wall Necropolis.

[15] A variant of this joke can also be found in Draitser (1999: 196) and at https://www.e-reading.by/bookreader.php/103822/Semeiinye_anekdoty.html, last accessed on 13 April 2020.

[16] Available at https://forum.onliner.by/viewtopic.php?t=54569&start=1740, last accessed on 9 April 2020.

[17] Available at https://anekdotov.me/teshha/110061-moya-teshha-samaya-obrazcovaya-v-mire-v-kakom-2.html, last accessed on 6 May 2020.

[18] For a variant of this joke, see Draitser (1999: 196).

[19] Svytka (also referred to as svyta) is a long hand-made unisex overcoat that Belarusians and other Eastern Slavic peoples used to wear when it was cold outside.

[20] In the original version of the joke a diminutive suffix is used, the form of address is *тёщенька* (*teschen'ka*).

[21] The Russian Associative Thesaurus shows that the most frequent association with the word "mother-in-law" is "wicked", see Russkii associativnyj slovar'.

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SYMBOLIC CAPITAL AS A RESOURCE OF PROMOTION OF PROVINCIAL CITIES: AN ANALYSIS OF PLACE BRANDING STRATEGIES OF URAL URBAN DESTINATIONS

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Abstract: The article analyzes the concept of the symbolic capital of a territory and substantiates the importance of its identification and its use for the promotion of three provincial cities in Russia: Shadrinsk, Chebarkul, and Chelyabinsk. Based on the approach of symbolic interactionism and the use of semiotic analysis, the authors of the article propose to group the resources of the symbolic capital of a territory in three ways. They use signs or symbols, images of the territory, and archetypes. The capital of a provincial city can be perceived symbolically both by external (investors and tourists) and internal (local residents) audiences. They serve as a means of shaping the image and reputation of the place. Both P. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital and V. Radaev's classification for different types of capital allow us to give examples of conversion from the cultural

resources of a territory into symbolic capital. The analysis of the communication resonance of a particular mega event (the meteorite fall on the territory of the Southern Urals in 2013) and the study of cultural heritage of the provincial Russian city of Shadrinsk make it possible to identify the actual directions for converting the intangible resources of cities into their symbolic capital.

Keywords: city branding, folklore, intangible resources, provincial city, symbolic capital

INTRODUCTION

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, place marketing relied mainly on material resources. Later, with the development of the means of communication and the changing world economy, symbolic resources became widely used (Kotler & Haider & Rein 1993). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, place branding technologies were extensively developed in Russia. Municipalities recognized the need for a communication strategy in the formulation of an investment policy that would comprehensively approach the problem of attracting investment resources, as well as in the course of municipal, regional and federal election campaigns. Meanwhile, the competition for attracting investors and tourists as well as residents was extremely high. Some researchers (Vizgalov 2011, 2015; Dubeykovskiy 2017) have described the experience of place branding in a wide range of Russian cities – both metropolitan (Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan) and provincial ones (Veliky Ustyug, Myshkin, Uryupinsk). Researchers have noted that provincial cities are in a more vulnerable position in the competition for residents, investors, and tourists. As a rule, these are small towns (with a population of up to 50,000 inhabitants) and medium-sized cities (up to 100,000 inhabitants).

Due to the symbolic nature of social relations, symbols, such as identification marks and conditional codes, are used as an integral part of communication. A system of local symbols that is intelligible to investors increases the competitiveness of the place. The recognition, fame, and attractiveness of a territory can then be converted into symbolic capital. This can become an effective intangible asset, which increases the overall capitalization of the territory (Britvin & Britvina & Starostova 2016). Despite that provincial cities have significant differences from capitals; they still have their own urban identity. Certain target audiences may evaluate some of their non-capital characteristics as advantages. In addition, the provincial Russian cities have a significant cultural heritage that can be converted into symbolic capital. Meanwhile, the communication activity of municipalities in provincial cities is usually aimed at informing internal target audiences about the actions of local authorities

and ongoing everyday events. However, the promotion of a place has not yet become a systemic practice of the city authorities.

LITERATURE REVIEW

A number of works by philosophers, sociologists, and culturologists, such as R. Guenon (1962), M. Eliade (1987 [1965]), P. Berger & T. Luckmann (1966), H. Blumer (1969), J. Baudrillard (1976, 1988), A. Losev (1994), J. Lotman (2010 [2000]), and many others are devoted to the study of symbolic relations. The concept of symbolic interactionism appeared in the late 1930s. The concept of symbolic exchange in social relations, developed by J. Baudrillard in the 1970s (Baudrillard 1976), was supplemented with the concept of symbolic capital by P. Bourdieu in the 1980s (1980, 2002).

V. Radaev defines capital as "an accumulated economic resource that is included in the processes of reproduction and expansion of value through the cross conversion of various forms" (Radaev 2002). Based on the general approach and classification principles given by P. Bourdieu, V. Radaev identifies the main forms of capital as follows: economic, physical, cultural, human, social, administrative, political, and symbolic. Each of them, in accordance with the concept of P. Bourdieu, exists in three states: objectified, incorporated, and institutionalized.

Modern researchers apply the concept of symbolic capital to the study of the practices and capabilities of social actors that use it as a resource to achieve a certain social status. For example, T. Basaran and Ch. Olsson consider international global practices of social networking as a kind of symbolic resource (Basaran & Olsson 2018). H. Bauder, C.-A. Hannan and O. Lujan analyze the international mobility of academic researchers as a means of strengthening their symbolic resources (Bauder & Hannan & Lujan 2017). O. Locock, A.-M. Boylan, R. Snow and S. Staniszewska study the use of symbolic capital by patients in the public health service (Locock et al. 2017). S. Yamak, A. Ergur, M. Özbilgin and O.N. Alakavuklar describe the practice of converting symbolic resources into symbolic capital by various gender groups under the dominance of corporate elites and patriarchy in Turkish families (Yamak et al. 2016).

Marketing professionals also draw attention to the symbolic resources of a territory. The most famous publications belong to S. Anholt, F. Kotler et al., T. Gad, A. Pankrukhin, D. Vizgalov, T. Sachuk, A. Stas, and V. Dubeykovsky. R. Hibbitt analyzes the symbolic resource of the city of Bruges through the contribution of the poetics of symbolism to its cultural space (Hibbitt 2017). As a rule, the symbolic capital of a territory is understood as heritage (Michelson

& Paadam 2016). In fact, academically, heritage can be defined as the DNA of places (Mihailovich 2006: 231), or at least as one of the main determinants of the individual character of places (Ashworth 1994: 19). Thus, it is a concept deeply connected to the formation of place identity (Curtin & Gaither 2007: 178; Gómez Schettini & Troncoso 2011: 199; Graham & Howard 2008; Morgan & Huertas 2011: 153; Peterková 2003: 3; Palmer 1999: 315; San Eugenio Vela 2013: 189; San Eugenio Vela & Xifra 2014: 89; Smith 2006: 301; Skinner 2008: 918), which is in turn the essence from which any place brand should be built (Aitken & Campelo 2011: 913; Anholt 2009: 6; Aronczyk 2008: 42; Calvento & Colombo 2009: 265; Hall 2010: 70; Hildreth 2010: 28; Kavaratzis 2004: 63–64). In this sense, some place researchers also use the term "territorial capital", including in it tangible and symbolic resources (Grignoli & Mancini 2016).

D. Vizgalov attributes to the symbolic capital of the city its accumulated collective memory, traditions, ideas, and meanings (Vizgalov 2011). M. Vandyshev, N. Veselkova and E. Priamikova understand the symbolic capital of a territory as objectified and structured ideas about the values of the elements that organize the urban space, which form the basis for place recognition and sustainable identification (Vandyshev & Veselkova & Priamikova 2013). D. Zamiatin, N. Zamiatina, and I. Mitin (2008) note that symbolic capital can be considered as a link between an insight into the space itself and the role of these insights in the social and economic development of territories.

A territory (country, region, city) as a geographic object has different material resources, on the operation of which the welfare of residents and non-residents depends. A territory is considered as a combination of economic, social, and cultural capitals. Economic capital is objectified in the means of production, directly converted into money, and institutionalized in the form of ownership. Cultural capital, which is a combination of historical heritage and educational systems, is institutionalized in local traditions and institutions. Social capital is a system of public relations and certain social obligations that facilitate the "social lift" – the possibility for self-realization of the residents and non-residents of the territory.

P. Bourdieu believes that capital objectified in material objects and means can be transferred both materially (as economic capital) and symbolically, when it is invested as a means of struggle in the fields of cultural production (artistic, scientific, etc.) and beyond their borders, in the fields where social forces operate. That is, symbolic capital is "a capital in any form, perceived symbolically in connection with some knowledge or, more accurately, recognition or non-recognition" (Bourdieu 2002). Bourdieu also emphasizes that symbolic capital adds value to the object of capitalization.

According to V. Radaev (2002), symbolic capital means a person's ability to produce opinions. Thus, the incorporated state of the territory's symbolic capital is: 1) the availability of knowledge of capitals; and 2) the right to interpret the value of any capital. The institutionalized state is the recognition (acknowledgment) of the value of the capital.

D. Vizgalov notes that symbolic capital affects the urban environment – mental images, urban space, and infrastructure (Vizgalov 2011). Moreover, Vizgalov identifies urban identity with the symbolic (semantic) capital of the city, and builds up a logical sequence: symbolic capital – images of the city – brand of the city – city image – city reputation (ibid.). Thus, the symbolic capital of a territory is the resources that, in the process of communication, are being formalized in public or personal opinions (judgments, beliefs, expectations) about their usefulness, attractiveness, and relevance. That is to say, the brand, image, and reputation can be considered as a kind of symbolic capital of a territory. In the framework of this article we are talking about the influence of the symbolic capital on whether the territory is trusted or distrusted by the residents and non-residents.

By extrapolating the concept of symbolic capital to the level of territorial communities, we discover symbolic capital both in the aggregate of archetypes and cultural symbols inherent in the territory, and in the multiplicity of complex associative links that form a figurative perception of the territory. By understanding the territory as a social system, we can bestow on it such categories as fame, recognition, and prestige. The symbolic nature of any kind of capital presupposes the transfer of the values formed by the perception of the object to the object itself.

In place promotion technologies are based on the translation of images and related values, and the main role is played by such subjective categories as impressions, associations, and representations. In this logic, any phenomenon is subject to actualization in order to convey to the target audience the meaning of any proposal coming from the territory.

Using E.H. Schein's approach, which distinguishes such levels of culture as artifacts (objects that have both physical characteristics and symbolic content), proclaimed values (sayings and actions that reflect certain common beliefs), and basic representations (obvious to the community's "deep" representations that cannot be varied) (Schein 2004 [1985]), we suggest we group the types of the symbolic capital of a territory in the following way:

- Signs or symbols as signifiers: objects (material) and traditions that are markers of the territory and represent visible forms of the reflection of territorial values (artifacts);

- Images of the territory – indirect representations based on statements and actions in relation to the territory (proclaimed values);
- Archetypes – universal images (symbols), "keys" for reading the territory (basic representations).

Thus, the objectified state of the symbolic capital can be an unlimitedly replenished resource for the promotion of the territory. That is, the territory is not only a geographical space, but also a mental one – perceived and imagined (Zamiatin 2013).

In such a space, the following variety of symbolically perceivable objects can be used as landmarks:

– Geographical names (toponyms);
– Unique natural objects, landscapes;
– Places of interest;
– Architecture;
– Monuments (memorials);
– Historical events;
– Myths;
– Goods and services;
– Artistic images (literary, cinematographic);
– Geniuses of the place;
– Declarations ("Uryupinsk is the capital of a Russian province"; "Copenhagen is an open city").

The list is not comprehensive and should not be considered as a complete classification. The task of place branding is to transform the above-mentioned resources into media images and ensure their translation into the target media space (Zamiatin 2013). We can consider these resources as the symbolic capital of a territory in the case of a certain identification of their value – symbolic utility.

METHODOLOGY

The article proposes the case study methodology based on the academic knowledge about the concept of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1980, 2002). With this study, the authors seek to analyze different contemporary communication strategies of three Russian provincial cities in the Urals – Shadrinsk, Chebarkul, and Chelyabinsk – in order to check to what degree symbolic capital is being used, as well as to discuss how it could be improved, if needed, by the city authorities in a professional way.

To study the prospects and practices of the capitalization of the symbolic capital of those cities, we have used the following methods of collecting and analyzing information: an analysis of texts gathered from interviews with experts and media analysts; an analysis of territorial media resources and regional mass media; a study of historical and folkloric printed sources about the territory; and a narrative analysis of urban symbols and attractions. We have also included an observation made while doing sightseeing in the cities, a comparative analysis of the cities, and an image analysis of several territories. The analysis of the material was conducted on the principle of data mining (extraction and interpretation of previously unknown non-standard data to offer an optimal solution), in order to build hypotheses on the basis of the identified real or potential symbolic capital that can be proposed for the investment territory.

In short, the authors propose some knowledge transfer from the academy to the professional world, which could be interesting not only for managers of provincial Russian cities, but for any professional manager who may work with place branding strategies anywhere in the constantly changing world.

As a limitation, we state that this article cannot be taken as a representative study, but only as a sample of trends.

RESULTS

After studying three Russian provincial cities – Chebarkul, Chelyabinsk, and Shadrinsk – we identified their symbolic resources and their possible capitalization. A separate study was devoted to each of the following symbolic territorial resources.

On February 15, 2013, there was a meteorite fall in the Chelyabinsk region (Russia) near the city of Chebarkul and Lake Chebarkul. Fortunately, after the meteorite had fallen on the Chelyabinsk region, the territory was not reprogrammed: neither Chelyabinsk nor Chebarkul became symbols of a new meaning, such as Chernobyl in Ukraine or Fukushima in Japan, and the totality of the sign spaces of the Southern Urals remained unchanged. In our opinion, this implies the possibility of integrating the fact of meteorite fall into the two dominant semiotic categories of the Southern Urals – industry and nature. The explosion of a meteorite over Chelyabinsk, which frightened the inhabitants and caused minor disruptions, in general means a threat, a danger. And the fall of the meteorite into Lake Chebarkul in the city of Chebarkul, but in a deserted place, can be treated as a miracle, a gift (a wonderful landing). Understanding this feature gave the cities of Chelyabinsk and Chebarkul the prospect of their joint promotion without competition between them. There are several really and

potentially dangerous manufacturing enterprises in the Chelyabinsk region, and the image of a city that has escaped a cosmic catastrophe has chances to become a symbol of changes in the thinking of modern humanity. We state that the government officials and authorities of the city and region of Chelyabinsk either did not find the event that attracted world attention to be a promising symbolic resource, or could not transform it into the right to legitimate the interpretation of global security problems, which would help to solve acute environmental problems in the region. Unfortunately, the inertia of industrial thinking, which has stepped back from the oncoming consequences of industrial civilization, has worked out in this case. At the same time, we believe that for the city of Chebarkul the symbolic capitalization of the fall of the meteorite has remained topical and supports the creation of a brand that distinguishes Lake Chebarkul from other lakes in the Southern Urals. The town which is paradoxically known as a Ural resort, and a military training ground as well, was able to integrate the newest narrative – a meteorite story – into its identity.

Now let us turn to the analysis of the possibility of transforming the cultural capital into symbolic capital on the example of the city of Shadrinsk in the Kurgan region, part of the Urals Federal District of Russia. Shadrinsk is a city in the Kurgan region with the population of about 77,000 people. Among the six regions of the district, the Kurgan region has the least economic capital. Let us dwell in more detail on the examples of the capitalization of the city of Shadrinsk by identifying the phenomena of cultural and historical heritage, which previously had no symbolic significance in the public opinion.

A vivid example of the construction of the symbolic capital of a provincial city by moving from Russian folk art to the modern context is the tales recorded by local historian Alexander Zyryanov in the Urals in the middle of the nineteenth century. These tales became widely known thanks to Alexander Afanasyev, who performed the first complete edition of Russian folk tales. A. Afanasyev, among others, published works of verbal folk art from the manuscript of Zyryanov. The manuscript contained 17 fairy tales. All of them were published by A. Afanasyev in the famous collections *Russian Folk Tales* (1856, 1861) and *Russian Folk Legends* (1860). The fairy tale "The Frog Princess" was published there as well. Finnish folklorist Antti Aarne, who in 1910 created the index of fairy tales, examined all the fabulous texts collected by that time, which were concentrated in several European collections. The collection compiled by A. Afanasyev was the largest of all at that time. Multiple refinements of the index of fairy tales have turned Aarne's work into a universal international catalog of fairy-tale subjects, without addressing to which no researcher of verbal narrative traditions can do.

Having analyzed the text of the fairy tale "The Frog Princess", heard and recorded near Shadrinsk, we concluded it was unique, which makes it possible to draw attention to the possibility of transforming this cultural capital into the symbolic capital of the territory.

The fairy tale is based on two plots: the princess-frog and the disappeared wife. The first story is the following: three princes go to look for future wives in the direction of their lit arrows; the youngest prince finds a frog in the swamp, she becomes his wife, performs the king's orders best of all (sews, weaves, bakes, dances) and turns into a princess; the husband burns her frog skin, after which the princess disappears. The second story tells about a husband looking for his wife who has disappeared, and magic objects or animals help him. The Shadrinsk text is the most solid, logical, compact, and informative of all the accessible fairy-tale texts about the princess-frog. "The Frog Princess" is a traditional contamination of plot types. Numerous variants of such a fairy tale are known: European, Turkish, Indian, Arabic, as well as those recorded from Americans of European and African descent in Spanish, Portuguese, and French; also 36 Russian, 15 Ukrainian, and 6 Belarusian variants. Even A. Afanasyev's collection contains three texts, including the text from Shadrinsk. But the uniqueness of the Shadrinsk text, on the one hand, and the world fame of the plot, on the other, make it possible to offer a fairy-tale character as a territorial identifier that has been included in the context of Russian and world written culture for more than 150 years, and in the context of verbal folk culture for thousands of years. Well-known images have a high communicative potential, acting as symbols of a territory; they can represent the territory where it was not previously represented. "The Frog Princess" carries the charm of verbal folk art – imagery, entertainment, enlightenment – and has not lost its educational value either – it translates the ideas of gender behavior stereotypes and the beauty of folk culture. We suggested using this fairy-tale character as a tool for city promotion.

Shadrinsk has some other cultural resources that are not fully converted into its symbolic capital. As an example of the influence of an artistic text on the formation of the identity of Shadrinsk, we can cite the story of the Shadrinskiy goose. The satirical novel "Shadrinskiy Goose" (1936), published in Russia in mass editions, was the first widely known literary work about Shadrinsk and its environs, initiating the process of local mythmaking, which resulted in a reassessment of the symbolic "value" of the city name. In the Great Soviet Encyclopedia the Ural breed of domesticated gray northern geese received a parallel naming – Shadrinskaya (GSE 1977, 1978).

A pseudo-historical anecdote about the travel of geese to St. Petersburg during the reign of Empress Catherine the Great allowed to expand the value

interpretation of the image of the goose: on the one hand, the attractiveness of the local geese's commercial qualities was accentuated; on the other, a metaphor for Shadrinsk people appeared. The phrase "Shadrinsky goose", which has received an emotional content, was based on the famous Russian idiom "What a goose!" used in the novel. In the early 1990s, the image of the goose was paraphrased, and thereafter it became a symbolic expression of the specific local world outlook – "Shadrinskiy". Among the young people of the city of Shadrinsk, a double-headed goose (reminiscent of the state coat of arms of Russia) became a kind of evidence of the affirmation of the image of the goose as a symbol of the city. The choice of a goose as an official figure in the official symbolism of the Shadrinsk region is also a matter-of-course: the goose not only literally portrays the famous breed of domestic birds, but also allegorically transmits the image of the defender: a proud and courageous bird, faithful to its family and always ready to protect it. Several times an interregional poultry fair has been held under the name "Shadrinskiy goose". The evolution of the sculpted image of the goose is also indicative: a goose peeping out of a basket when bargaining at the market place (2007) and a goose with a balalaika as an expression of a vivid emotion (2014). A ceramic goose whistle has become one of the most popular Shadrinsk souvenirs. The image of a goose now continues to develop in contrast to the image of a marten, which has been on the city's official coat of arms since 1712, and whose Siberian origin is currently not in demand in Shadrinsk's "trans-Ural" identity.

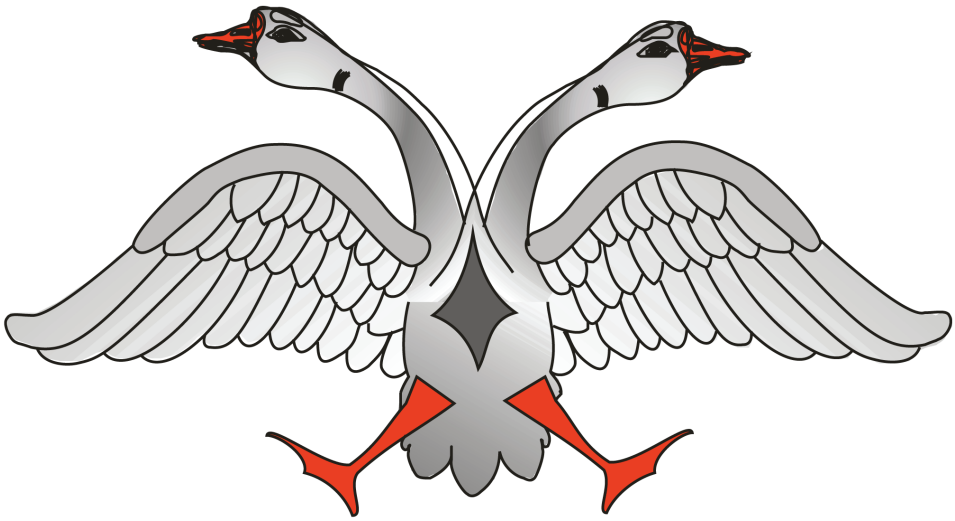

Figure 1. *Logo of youth live shows in Shadrinsk, designed by Alexey Gushchin & Eugene Serkov (from the private archive of A. Britvin).*

So, today the Shadrinsk goose is both an urban myth (as a reflection in the collective consciousness of the central position of the city in relation to the world) and an urban legend (as a genre of folklore in which historical events are represented in the form of symbolic generalization), and an example of a social construction with a reference to the past, to the former glory of the merchant city, as well as a guarantee for a prosperous future. So urban identity allows us to create a fusion of public consciousness and organically include a variety of symbolic elements in its composition.

Shadrinsk also has a more modern potential for symbolic capitalization. In our opinion, one of the most promising symbolic resources of Shadrinsk, which may be updated in the cultural space of Russia, is the legacy of sculptor Ivan Ivanov-Shadr (1887–1941), who was born in Shadrinsk and took the pseudonym "Shadr" accordingly. The sculptor's works became an integral part of the artistic images of socialist realism – from the sculpture "Cobblestone – the weapon of the proletariat" to the sculpture "The girl with an oar".

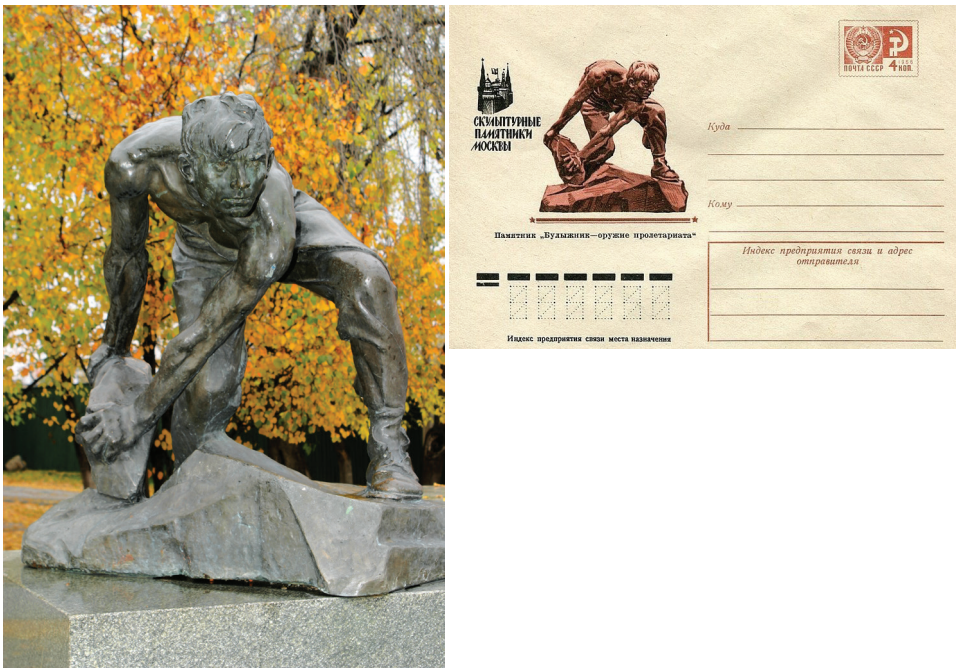

Figure 2. *Left: Sculpture "Cobblestone – weapon of the proletariat" in Shadrinsk. Photograph by Vyacheslav Volynkin (2009). The original sculpture was installed in Moscow, in the Park of the December Uprising. Right: Postal envelope with the image of the sculpture.*

Sculptor Ivan Shadr is associated with Shadrinsk not only as a person born in the city, who used its name as a creative pseudonym: Shadrinsk peasants became the images of all the working people in his artworks, being embodied in the sculptures "The peasant" and "The sower". Pictured by engravers on the first Soviet currency and postage stamps, they represent the new Soviet state for the whole world. Shadrinsk peasants are depicted on the first Soviet banknotes, on the first gold coin of Soviet Russia, on the first postage stamps and even on packs of cigarettes. Other images created by I. Shadr – a worker and a Red Army soldier – are depicted on the first Soviet bonds of loans, payment obligations, and banknotes.

Below are some factors that favor the direction of converting the name and heritage of I. Shadr into the symbolic capital of Shadrinsk:

- The creative pseudonym, which has become a surname, is as close to the name of the city as possible and emphasizes the inextricable link between the sculptor and his homeland;
- Famous works of the sculptor ("Cobblestone — the weapon of the proletariat", "The girl with an oar", the first banknotes and stamps of the USSR, sculptural images of V. Lenin, gravestones and monuments to famous people, etc.);
- Recognition of the sculptor's name in Soviet art heritage;
- Inclusion of the biography and creative heritage of the sculptor into the political and artistic history of Russia;
- The geographical context of Shadr's life (Moscow, where most of the sculptor's works are located; St. Petersburg, where "The girl with an oar" is located; France, where Shadr studied under O. Rodin, E. Antoine Bourdelle, and A. Maillol).

We propose to use the sculpture "The girl with an oar" – one of the works of the sculptor still attracting wide attention – as an objectification of the image of I. Shadr. In June 2011, "The girl with an oar" was exhibited at the State Russian Museum as a symbol of the annual international regatta "Golden piers of St. Petersburg". Currently, copies of the sculpture have been installed both in Moscow and in St. Petersburg.

There is one more historical nuance which can enrich the heritage of I. Shadr as a symbolic resource for the promotion of the city of Shadrinsk. It is mistakenly believed that the sculpture of I. Shadr is a model for park gypsum copies, which were installed in many cities of the USSR. In fact, the work of sculptor Romuald Iodko with the same name was used as a sample for these park sculptures. It was the sculpture of a girl-athlete, not Shadr's original, which became the most common sculpture of the Soviet era and its symbol. Therefore, we also propose to develop a discourse of the unique and mass in the context of the narrative about the sculpture "The girl with an oar".

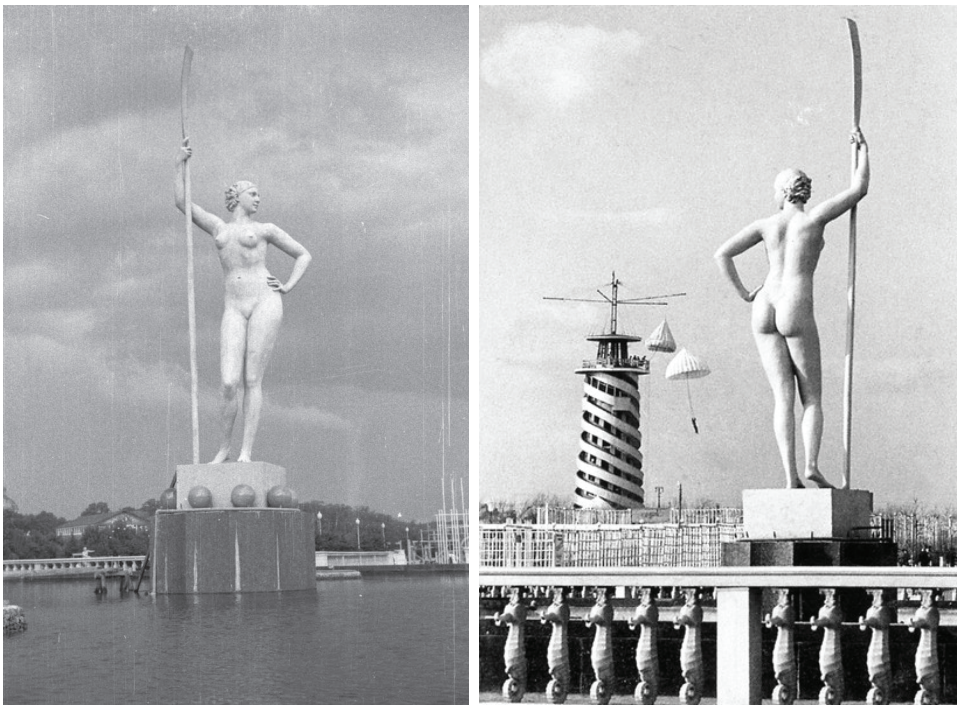

Figure 3. *I. Shadr's sculpture "The girl with an oar" in Gorky Park in Moscow in the 1930s (destroyed by today). Left: Photograph by Harrison Forman, 1939 (from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries). Right: Photograph by Emmanuel Evzerihin, 1938 (from the private archive of E. Evzerikhin).*

However, we can state that today the concept of the development and use of the symbolic capital in Shadrinsk is absent. Existing plans to promote trade and cultural brands should be summed up by a common strategy including both – the identifying of target audiences and choosing the communication channels. Officially declared in early 2010, the formula "Shadrinsk is the historical crossroads of trade routes" does not reflect the modern mission of the city. The geographical equidistance of the city from Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, and Tyumen, placing Shadrinsk in the center, creates only an illusion of space, since it is not limited by either administrative or mental boundaries. In the sense of logistics, Shadrinsk has long been not a "four-port city": the main railway traffic goes through Tyumen, and the city does not benefit from the automobile transit of Yekaterinburg, Chelyabinsk, and Tyumen.

Nevertheless, one of our proposals has been accepted and developed. Today, Shadrinsk actively capitalizes the fairy-tale character Frog Princess. The Museum of the Frog Princess has been founded in Shadrinsk, with a concept presupposing the pyramidal construction of the narrative about the territory.

Figure 4. *The whole fairytale map of Russia. No. 24 – "The Frog Princess and Elena the Beautiful". Available at https://www.facebook.com/fairytalemapofRussia, last accessed on 2 July 2020.*

The life, occupations, and local crafts of the peasants of the rich Shadrinsk district, the granary of the mining Urals, lie at the base of the concept. Russian verbal folk art (songs, tales, rites), reflecting people's worldview, constitutes the second level. And, finally, the Frog Princess herself, which works as a key to the understanding of the history as well as the future of Shadrinsk, affirming local values such as work and family.

In addition to the museum, the Frog Princess as a symbol of the city is objectified in the form of sculptural images and numerous souvenirs. But the main thing is the translation of the values of male and female cultures through festive and popular events. For this purpose, a special organization operates in the city. Moreover, the residence of Elena the Beautiful (the transfigured Frog Princess) was opened. As a result, it affected the activity of the mass media and, subsequently, the emergence of new excursion routes. This contributed to the inclusion of the city of Shadrinsk in the cultural and tourist project "Fairytale map of Russia" (Fig. 4), aimed at promoting Russian territories.

Thus, the formation of an umbrella territorial brand was initiated, allowing a free construction of narratives with the inclusion of identified symbolic resources, such as "The girl with an oar", "The Shadrinskiy goose", and male and female archetypes, which opens a wide scope for further interpretations of the cultural and historical heritage of this city.

FINAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Many researchers have applied the concept of symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1980, 2002) to study the practices and capabilities of social actors that use it as a resource to achieve a certain social status, but just a few have worked on analyzing the symbolic resources of cities from place marketing or place branding perspectives (Hibbit 2017; Vizgalov 2011). Intangible heritage exerts great influence on the individual character of cities and is just the tip of the iceberg of their true identity, as many authors have discussed previously (e.g. Graham & Howard 2008; Morgan & Huertas 2011; San Eugenio Vela 2013; etc.). As a kind of symbolic capital of a territory, folklore and other kinds of intangible heritage can influence the way a place is trusted or distrusted by the residents and non-residents and, at the same time, could act as a powerful mental source when used for place promotion strategies (Schein 2004 [1985]; Zamiatin 2013).

To sum it all, we can conclude that the symbolic capital is the image of an object, expressing the idea of its high position in the hierarchy of a certain system of values. As a tool for promoting a territory, symbolic capital is the most mobile, plastic, and capable way of translation. For provincial cities that do not

have significant economic and financial resources, the formation of symbolic capital is an important communication resource in increasing the attractiveness of provincial cities for both tourists and local residents. However, the formation of the symbolic capital is not a part of the branding strategy of the local authorities but rather remains the task of local ethnographers and enthusiasts only.

In Russia, there are still a few positive examples of the symbolic capital used in the development of tourist destinations or as an image component of the local identity of a provincial city: Veliky Ustyug ("Homeland of Ded Moroz/Father Frost"), the city of Myshkin ("The city of museums"), Uryupinsk ("The capital of the Russian province"). However, many Russian cities have significant cultural resources, which, with rare exceptions, are neither reflected in their strategic development programs, nor included in their official communication strategies. The authors of the article gave examples of symbolic resources of three Russian provincial cities, showing the prospects of their capitalization. The successful promotion of these cities is related to the financial and organizational efforts of their municipal authorities. Initiatives of public organizations and individuals cannot lead to the desired effect of strengthening the branding of these territories.

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"STILL, I CAN HARDLY BELIEVE IT": REACTIONS, RESOURCES, AND RELIGION IN CONVERSATIONS ABOUT SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN AMONG LAESTADIANS IN FINLAND

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Abstract: There are innumerable nuances in people's behaviour when they become frustrated. In this article I analyse interviews about a specific case when, in a relatively small Lutheran community, it turned out that a highly respected person, a leader and preacher, was a paedophile. The reluctant accepter, the disappointed accepter, and the explaining accepter are three types of narrators. What were their reactions, what resources did they apply in our conversation? Partly, religion played the role of an obstacle for further belief, but partly it was also a support for the members of the community.

Keywords: belief-disbelief, coping, Finland, Laestadianism, paedophilia, resources

INTRODUCTION

There are several ways of handling a critical situation. Some people deal with it by shrugging their shoulders. In some it even awakens a serious feeling of deceit, which must be processed. Others surrender to their feelings and give up. Sometimes frustration and disappointment lead to aggressiveness and/or a fighting spirit. In this article I analyse a specific case when, in a relatively small Lutheran community, it turned out that a highly respected person was a paedophile. I interviewed three members of the community about their reactions when they heard about the case. What resources did they apply in order to get a grip of the situation? Did their religion influence their reactions?[1]

The events of interest to me happened in a Laestadian revivalist group, a so-called association of peace, holding some 1,200 members[2] and belonging

to the Lutheran congregation in Jakobstad, western Finland. One of the most influential leaders, preachers, and Sunday school teachers turned out to have been a paedophile. He abused his own grandchildren, a couple of small boys. In fact, the molestations ended a little over twenty years ago, in the 1980s, but only in 2009 they became publicly known, when one of the abused children, now an adult man, spoke to the press (Lampa 2009). According to him, it turned out that his own grandfather used to sexually harass him and other small boys in his house. The news caused a shock to many of the members of the association of peace. At the time when the press published their articles, the grandfather-preacher had passed away and also the period for prosecution had expired.

In 2012, I had the opportunity to interview a number of members in the Jakobstad association of peace. None of the interviewees had been a victim of the paedophile but all of them had lived near the victims and some of their relatives were married into his house. When I asked some members how they had reacted when they first learned that their leading preacher and their beloved teacher at Sunday school was sexually interested in small boys, they stated that they could not believe it. One of them was reluctant to believe what she heard, another one was deeply disappointed and almost disillusioned, and the third one found plenty of explanations for what had happened. I discuss what resources they made use of when they told me how they reacted to the paedophile's acts. In this case, their belief in a revivalist association might be a support for the members, but it might also play the role of an obstacle to further belief.[3]

Kenneth I. Pargament's (1997) research about coping highly inspired me to concentrate my analysis around the interviewees' reactions towards the narratives about this case of paedophilia in a small Laestadian community in Finland. According to him, we cope or find a way to reduce tension in a problematic situation many times a day. People choose between several possible options, all of which aim at significance for the coping person. Consequently, the components of the coping process are not generally fixed. In a situation of distress, people must choose among several options and pick out the one that is significant so that they can accept their choice and acknowledge it as the best one in the specific situation. Pargament states that people create orienting systems in accordance with which they conduct their coping process. An orienting system is a general worldview consisting of customs, values, relationships, beliefs, and personal characteristics. People pick the factors in their process of coping according to their personalities, their former experiences, their orientation to life, their resources, both material and mental, and their cultural context. Consequently, coping is a cultural process. However, it is not necessarily logical or sensible, and the chosen factors or the outcomes are not always positive – from an outside perspective. People's capacity to tolerate disappointment and crises is very different.

THE ASSOCIATION OF PEACE AND ITS RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

The Swedish clergyman Lars Levi Laestadius (1800–1861) introduced a Christian revivalist movement around the middle of the nineteenth century. He worked in northern Sweden, mainly among the Sámi people (Talonen 2014: 20–34; Raittila 1969: 99–101; Suolinna & Sinikara 1986: 15). The movement spread all around the Arctic area in Europe and in the USA. Today it is international but it is most significant in Finland. There are seven different fractions of the Laestadian movement holding more than 1,000 members, and groups consisting of a smaller number of members are numerous (Talonen 2014: 19). The movement is faithful to the Bible. A strong personal recognition of sin, emotionally charged confessions and forgiveness are its characteristics (cf. Brännström 1962). The subdivision mostly represented in Finland (around 90,000 members), to which the Jakobstad association of peace belongs, is called Old Laestadianism (*gammallaestadianismen*; cf. Snellman 2011: 49.) This association of peace is part of a specific subgroup called *Rauhan Sana* (The Word of Peace), and holds some 10,000 members (Talonen 2016).[4]

THE INTERVIEWEES AND RESEARCH ETHICS

Astrid is a local politician and housewife, a lady around eighty years old, whereas Per is an entrepreneur in his fifties and Tim, also an entrepreneur, is some ten years younger. Each interview lasted about one hour. There was no hurry and, which is quite common, many good pieces of information emerged after the interview. I wrote them down as soon as possible. Each of the interviewees is a parent so they can imagine what it is like to have children that have been abused by an adult.

The interviews dealt with paedophilia. The interviewees told me about a grandfather who was a paedophile. Certainly, one might wish details about what happened. However, in this study I am not interested in what "really" happened. In this context sexual abuse does not need any detailed definition, and the interviewees also expected me to understand what they meant without any further descriptions. I was not able to interview the preacher, for he had passed away many years ago. Neither did I contact any of the victims, for their narratives were not in my focus. My main interest lay in the reactions among those who were not directly involved as victims or family members, but who were affected as a third party. Gossip, rumours or other kinds of narratives functioned as their sources. My interviews are my research material,

and therefore I focus on them. There is no need or reason to doubt my interviewees' narratives about their experiences. I do not want to construct a series of "real" events that can only be conjectures, for the interviews do not contain any detailed information of what happened. Instead, I want to concentrate my investigation on my interviewees' reactions to the stories. A special emphasis lies on the reflections that people had when they thought of and told me about what they had heard. I concentrate my study on the information that, to the interviewees, was so important that they found it worthwhile to formulate it orally and communicate it to me.[5]

During the three years that passed between the disclosure and the interviews, the informants had certainly discussed the case both within and outside the community. In the interview they remembered and re-lived the situations from the past. This means that they told me a version of their experiences that was already a result of a process of selection between many alternative options. In the interviews, as we shall see, they had already reached some kind of acceptance of their situation, and some perhaps even felt equilibrium.

Ethical matters are certainly very important in a sensitive case such as paedophilia. Although the informants did allow me to present their recordings with their personal names, I decided to hide them as best I could. Still, I suspect that the interviewees would probably be recognised in their surroundings. In order to avoid problems with these issues, I let the interviewees read the transliterated interviews. None of them wanted to change anything in the texts.

I have no relationship whatever to this kind of Lutheranism. However, a general knowledge about Protestant Christianity makes it possible for me to try to close-read and interpret what the interviewees told me.

ASTRID – THE RELUCTANT ACCEPTER

Astrid and I conducted the interview in her combined kitchen-dining-and-living-room (IF 2014: 1). It turned out that Astrid's coping mechanism consisted partly of a denial, partly of an attempt to accept the situation. She constructed her method of denial around her personal authority. Her self-assurance was one of her resources. Although Laestadians are faithful to the Bible, to my surprise Astrid said that one must be able to read between the lines in it. This utterance shows that she is a lady with much self-confidence also in religious matters. She told me that she had trusted and highly respected the preacher. For many years, she had attended his sermons and she had never seen that there was anything wrong with them. Although they were very severe, she had liked them for they reminded her of her youth in another congregation with the same kind of stern

message. She had also discussed his sermons with her relatives and with her husband. Everyone had the same opinion. The sermons had been infallible.

When, in 2009, Astrid learned about the situation, her immediate reaction was disbelief although it was her own son who informed her. She was also very careful about with whom she spoke about it. This kind of scepticism, nearly denial, was her strategy of coping until she had to realise the facts. After 'everybody' knew about the scandal she received plenty of consolation from people around her outside of the community, which she took in a very positive manner. Her social relationships supported her. Her life experience and her relatives were a resource to her when she tried to appraise what had happened. This experience was certainly a resource that hindered her from condemning him once and for all. Therefore, in the interview, she often repeated her doubts about his character.

She asked her children if they had stopped believing in God after the disclosure, and she got a negative answer. It helped her to see a positive outcome of the scandal for indeed there had been quite an intense discussion and debates about paedophilia in the association of peace. As a consequence, many circumstances that had been difficult and too severe had been loosened. A new kind of activity spread and passive members returned. She felt happy for that. This was her reason to let me interview her for she thought it might be of some help to somebody in a corresponding situation if they learnt how this association of peace had handled paedophilia. To her an optimistic vision of the future was valuable.

Astrid had had a good relationship with the preacher's wife. She was disappointed on behalf of the wife who, as she said, had "seen many bad things". I interpret this utterance to the effect that Astrid related herself to the wife in order to explain to me why the wife had been such a good listener: a person who has wide life experience recognises other people's problems. Astrid referred to her personal authority when she judged the wife's situation. She also referred to her personal relationship in yet another way. She was active as a politician, which in this association of peace was nearly inconceivable. Women were not supposed to take a noticeable role outside the home, and above all, women were not allowed to preach. However, the preacher's family had supported her, which she underlined in the interview. I interpret her frustration partly also as a personal defeat when she saw that she had been promoted by a person who should not have earned her respect. Her life experience and authority had not been enough to reveal the preacher's character. She had no means to handle her feeling of being cheated.

It emerged in the interview that some of her children had thought that their Sunday school teacher was too fond of small children, which, however, did not make their mother react. Her respect for him had been too great. Now

the scandal led some of them away from the association of peace, into other Christian groups, which she certainly found depressing. These children became central in her prayers.

When Astrid tried to understand what had happened, she admitted that there was no "pure" association of peace. Every human being, she said, had their own personal weaknesses and temptations. This was a clearly religious stance. She also referred to religion when she excused herself saying that as long as her children were small she was responsible for them, but now when they were adults they had to take care of themselves, for 'I cannot be responsible for my children and their house', she said. The use of 'house' is Biblical (see, for instance, Luc. 2: 4), and I interpreted it as if she wanted to shift the responsibility onto God.

Astrid could not understand why this highly respected preacher had become a paedophile. She appealed to religion for an answer, saying resignedly that one could not see it clearly (cf. 1 Cor. 13: 12), but realistically she also stated that one did not even want to know everything. Perhaps he had just become a dirty old man. Or, perhaps, his wife had been cold and unwilling to serve him in bed. Astrid referred to herself saying that she did not know the wife in this way, and then she mentioned that she could only pray that her dearest would never sin in that way. Her Christian education led her to the concept of sin and her life experience told her that one could never know what might happen. Finally I asked Astrid if she could see God's will in the situation. Her answer was undoubtedly positive. Prayers and belief in God were other resources for Astrid to come to grips with her situation.

Astrid presented yet another explanation for the preacher's character when she said that he had perhaps been a homosexual, implying that he had not been able to realise his sexual wishes due to his social status. This explanation I interpret as an idea from the ongoing debate on the postmodern acceptance of homosexuality. The contemporary cultural context influenced Astrid. However, she also excused herself with her inability to understand something of which she had no experience, just in the same way as she could not understand paedophilia. Here she ended in resignation.

Astrid was a doubter and denier. Firstly, her respect for the preacher and his position in the association of peace, almost as an earthly equivalent to God, the heavenly father, restrained her from easily accepting the rumour about him. She partly coped through the conservation of her opinion about the preacher (cf. Pargament 1997: 109). Consequently, her coping process was somewhat groping. However, she referred to her personal authority as a person with much experience from a long life. She saw herself as a very special kind of woman being something as rare as a Laestadian female politician. These perspectives

gave her significance. I see her as a very self-confident person and definitely not as somebody to be easily cheated. Anyhow, my analysis indicates that she had been duped. Her worldview cracked. Therefore she mentioned her belief in God. Her orienting system led her to religion. Paedophilia was beyond her limits, and she was not able to tolerate such behaviour. Religion gave her the greatest significance in her belief in God and in a better life after this one, in peace with him, and in good conscience. She said that her Christianity was the most important. Perhaps this is the explanation for why she did not feel bitter after all. But anyway, all through the interview she negotiated with herself about how improbable the preacher's behaviour had been. Frustration with the preacher was still there, although she could see some positive perspectives in the situation. Her coping process was not yet completed.

PER – THE DISAPPOINTED ACCEPTER

Per and I met in the meetinghouse of the Laestadian association in Jakobstad. We sat on the very first bench just beneath the pulpit. The interview (IF 2014: 2) started abruptly when Per said that he remembered the revelation of the scandal as if a bomb had detonated. In fact he mentioned three different scandals. He had been able to discern other cases of sexual abuse or undesired sexual behaviour thanks to his experience from them. He stuck to this drastic language all through the interview. When he learned about the paedophile, everything "turned into zero". It was "chaos". He had even lacked words to show his Laestadian belonging, for he thought his association of peace had turned into a sect, which to him was almost a curse. He felt deceived and had been through a process of grieving, he said. I had the feeling that Per's anger came from his feeling of being hurt in his most central values. Per used expressions with association to bodily experience. It "cut him to the heart", "his legs had been cut off" when he realised what had happened. Abuse, he stated, damaged a person. Per classified the paedophile as a man of power who, like others of the kind, mostly "hid some shit" under a veil of being good. His language demonstrated to me that I had a temperamental person at my side. At the moment of interviewing, Per chose drastic words to communicate to me what he felt. His language was a means that gave vent to his feelings.

All through the interview Per demonstrated a reflexive way of regarding what had happened and his coping with it. He anchored the interview in his childhood, when he had sat on the same bench listening to his Sunday school teacher and taking everything he said for granted. As a child he had trusted his teacher. Such a strong preacher was almost a god, Per stated. Then he said that

the disappointment that arose from the scandal was partly due to the broken trust for the preacher, but partly also due to his own inability to stand up for his faith. He had renounced his faith and was utterly ashamed. He had to cope with both the fact of paedophilia and his own cowardice.

To Per it was completely incomprehensible why a man would like to offend children. He could not imagine why a pious, respected preacher played this kind of double game, hiding so much dirt. He was very much aware that the preacher had done something against the law. In that way he referred to the cultural context and society around him. He could not understand why it took such a long time to reveal the scandal, but, according to Per, God wanted something with the preacher; he gave him the gift of preaching in order to strengthen the members of the congregation to get on with their lives despite what had happened.

Per expressed his disapproval of the preacher-Sunday school teacher's adherents in the association of peace for he thought it was too severe. He blamed them for having promoted too strict demands concerning life. It was impossible to fill all their requests. The demands were just touching the surface. Per stated that the preacher wanted a good Laestadian to have a special, yet superficial behaviour. He even maintained that it was no real belief. In this way he announced that he might know what real belief was. Per felt cheated. He was strong enough to condemn the preacher's view of Laestadianism and distanced himself from it.

Still, Per pondered the question why he had stayed in the Laestadian movement though things like this could happen, and explained to me that the feeling of security was too important to him to be ignored. He even negotiated with himself whether he should openly admit that he was a Laestadian. Would it not simply be enough to call oneself Christian, he asked. In this way he tried to find a means to keep some part of his faith. He was aware of the fact that everyone will die, and that death would not be frightening for he believed that God would offer him a better world on 'the other side'. To him death was a motivation for believing. His decision to stay in the association of peace was the result of a really well-thought-out choice. He had even pondered over alternatives but found that he did not like the Moslem religion; neither could he accept Jehova's witnesses. Consequently, he told me that he had stayed with the Laestadians for a couple of decades, and that tradition and his belief in God had bound him there. In this way Per created a religion in which he could feel intimate with God. Religion had nearly become an obstacle, but after reflection he stuck to his association of peace. It became clear that Laestadianism per se gave Per significance.

When Per mentioned difficulties, faults, and mistakes, he also tried to find an excuse and resources to manage. This was typical for him. For instance, he

was aware of the catastrophe in connection with the paedophile, but he said it was good that the paedophile had been unmasked. He was ashamed of being a Laestadian, and stated that it might be better to call himself a Christian. The crisis that he went through when he realised how superficial faith could be led him to a deep personal faith, which he mentioned several times. He saw the scandal as a means from God to create a better future. A good conscience and a strong belief were guarantees for safety. His responsibility for his children led him to come to grips with the problems. Here God and his own children were resources for coping.

One of the most central components within Laestadianism is forgiveness. It is impossible to live the way God would like people to live, Per mentioned. Every person is a sinner and as sinners people do not feel good, they do not have any peace. Consequently, they should tell a trusted person about their sins, failings, and feelings, and ask for forgiveness. According to the Bible, Per said, this reliable person, be it a person's spouse, children or anybody else has the power to free a person from his or her sins. After that, Per mentioned, it is easy to live, for all mistakes are forgotten. To Per, forgiveness is nothing that strengthens faith, but it helps to believe. Belief in peace and forgiveness as the way to peace were important resources for Per. However, he was not naïve, for he counted with the possibility that people asked for forgiveness, received it, but continued sinning in the same manner anyway.

Per told me that the members of the association of peace had tried to rebuild it. Some members of his age had gathered to talk about the scandal. They had thrashed it out and resorted to humour and laughing in order to handle their memories.

To Per the Bible was the only authority. He referred to several Biblical quotations. He knew very well that man is a sinner. To Per the worst sin was disbelief. His deep knowledge of Laestadian theology, and his personal belief freed from his parents' wishes and from superficiality were among the factors that gave him significance. The very kernel in his report was his desperately repeated distrust of people. He stated his scepticism towards people at least a dozen times. His disappointment over people was radical. He had to rethink his way of living. I interpret his reluctance as a protection against further deeply disappointing experience of deceit by human beings. He could not tolerate anything of what had happened. However, typically enough he tried to find a positive way out of his distrust, for he did not limit his disappointment to people but also said that God was the only one to trust.

Per's significance was created out of his theological knowledge. To him his dissociation from Laestadianism, which resulted in his personal heartfelt and unsophisticated belief, was extremely important. But I also interpreted his report to the effect that his disappointment with human beings gave him

significance. It was important to him to demonstrate his ability to discern what was really precious, in contrast to any kind of rubbish. From my point of view, Per had a special resource because of his ability to always formulate a problem or a negative viewpoint difficult to be accepted, and immediately tried to find means to solve the problem or complete the viewpoint, often with a positive alternative.

TOM – THE EXPLAINING ACCEPTER

Tom and I met for the interview in a café (IF 2014: 3). Although there were other people along with him, their conversation did not really disturb Tom in his account. He was very concentrated, and also very eloquent.

To Tom the revelation of paedophilia was not a surprise, for he had heard something about it before in a conversation with some relatives who were involved. He told me what had happened mainly by trying to search for and explain the causes. Perhaps he thought that if he could reveal the cause he would also have some kind of remedy. For a long time he did not say much about his personal viewpoints on the situation, but tried to find out what had made it possible for the paedophile to act. In his religious biography, Tom just mentioned that he vaguely remembered the preacher, and that he had been an appreciated person who was seen as an authority in biblical matters. However, Tom also often returned to concepts such as violence, grievous bodily harm, even torture as found in a family model in which the father had dominance and desired control over his social environment. This desire, said Tom, led to an exercise of power over his family members, which resulted in under-stimulation. Tom repeated this concept so often that it must be regarded as a central tool of thought for him. With under-stimulation Tom aimed at telling me about how severe the preacher had been towards his family members, how great demands he had made on them. Similar to Per, Tom referred to a façade, or even a wall, when he spoke about the religion of the preacher's family. He said that traditions had become religion, meaning that there was no real faith in their way of behaving. This, he meant, was treachery. According to Tom, the children in the preacher's family had been isolated; they had to work for their father, they did not get any education, they were not members of any sports club or other associations for young people, and the boys were hardly sent to military service – all in order to isolate them from worldly impressions, and from revealing what was happening in this highly dysfunctional family. Tom meant that the father's inclination was hidden behind this isolation. Moreover,

he had been thinking that the inclination was an expression of homosexuality impossible to be acted out in the association of peace.

According to Tom the preacher had asked for forgiveness and he had also received it. Tom explained how forgiveness worked as a disguise for truth. If somebody asked for forgiveness, a friend, family member or some trusted person could give it and after that it was not possible to take that very issue to discussion again. The one who did so almost had a death sentence hanging over their neck. They almost committed a mortal sin. Consequently, it was impossible to control the life of the preacher from outside, said Tom.

Tom also mentioned that isolation let the children stay children although they were big enough to reach puberty and emancipation. For two years he saw these victims on a regular basis and listened to them and their stories. The men lacked a will of their own, and consequently, according to Tom, they were easily persuaded to do and to accept things that they really should not have. They were also afraid of advice and defiant, just like teenagers, for they had not had the opportunity to liberate themselves at the right age. Only adult men's strong wives had made them able to draw a line between what was acceptable or demanded from a man, and what was not.

Almost half of the interview consisted of Tom's account of what had happened and his explanations for why it had happened. Until then he had not said anything about his personal reactions. I even asked him about his feelings when he learned what had happened. He said that perhaps he would not have believed what he had heard, had his partner in the conversation not portioned his information into small pieces. For a long time he disclosed more and more information to Tom and slowly it grew to form a whole that Tom believed. He was rather relieved, for he said he had "found a big piece in a soup", which explained to him why awkward things had been so awkward.

When he regarded homosexuality as the grounds for paedophilia, Tom clearly stated that this was his personal opinion. Here he referred to the same debate about homophobia in society as Astrid. The core of his personal way of coping was his satisfaction with being able to help the victims. He was grateful for being able to listen to them, to try to make them look at themselves from an adult's perspective. His significance lay in the fact that his close contact with those who had been mistreated made him know considerably more about the whole process than people did in general. He said that he had been aflame with eagerness to understand and help the victims and wanted to tell about the situation, for he believed in openness. This goes well with his main explanation for the entire situation as a result of being shut in and living in isolation. He said that he wanted to speak to the victims for he wanted to learn something from their experiences. He wanted to know how people reacted in such severe

situations. Tom took advantage of the situation in order to develop himself. Similar to the other interviewees, his orienting system was so strongly connected to Laestadianism that he stuck to the community and wanted to help improve it, although some other members thought that he was too energetic and wanted to change too much and too fast. Finally he, like Per, also stated that he had had great fun with the men when they talked about their experiences.

While I listened, he was trying to understand what had happened and verbalised the likely process. He put quite an effort into identifying the problem. For instance, he referred to the very situation when the paedophile had been active, and how people around him had coped with the situation when they excused him by saying that he had only touched the child's trousers. He also told me how he personally had reacted. He mentioned that he had wanted to involve himself in the issue in order to see what had gone wrong. Still, he had not wanted to be too active in order not to damage the victims even more. He had activated himself as a means of being part of the process. Later it turned out that he had regarded himself as a tool, a resource, in the process of helping the victims.

Tom was a free-spoken talker. He did not mince matters in our conversation. To me it became clear that Tom's resource was our conversation. When he made a complete account of the process with all its ingredients he also was the master of the situation. He painted images in his talk, and, consequently, his association with drama and the idea of creating a documentary around the Jakobstad association of peace was not far-fetched. A characteristic of his conversation was his custom to psychologize. I do not know how much literature of the kind he had read, but he searched for psychological explanations to all phases and perspectives of what had happened. I interpreted his talk as a semi-scientific analysis of the results that he had reached during two years of regular conversations with people in distress. Strictly spoken, Tom was not disappointed, but rather proud of his role. His choice was to play the role of a consoler and helper. He transformed his role in the relationship to the victims and became their therapist. Religion was not central in his conversation with me, but his orientation system was founded in the Pauline message to carry each other's burdens (Gal. 6: 2). Life was a mission for him.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

At the beginning of this article I stated that in the coping process religion might play the role of an obstacle for further belief, but it might also serve as a support for the congregation members. What was the case in the Laestadian association of peace in which paedophilia emerged?

In order to be able to cope, there must be a norm or a set of norms that tell us what is right and what is wrong. These norms are religiously, culturally, and/or socially grounded. It turned out that the interviewees coped in quite different ways. Everyone had their own way, and everyone created their personal significance. Astrid was still not ready to accept facts completely. Based on the resources available to her, she was bent on preservation (cf. Pargament 1997: 111). Per had created a personal variant of Laestadianism, which made it possible for him to re-valuate his position (ibid.). Tom reconstructed his role of a passive observer and coped through his actions as a helper (ibid.). Certainly, everyone was aware that paedophilia was not an accepted behaviour for an adult, but it was not unswerving how to cope with it. The religious background within Laestadianism gave the preacher a high status, even as an earthly equivalent to God in heaven. Subsequently, the revealed truth made his fall so much deeper and the frustration felt by the members of the community correspondingly severer, which they expressed in doubt. Their orientation system as Laestadian Christians would not allow for such a failure. They chose to extend their toleration and try to find excuses. Here religion supported them – against general opinions about paedophilia. They had enough resources to perceive something positive in the critical situation.

Religion was a resource that helped them to see clearly. Paedophilia is a punishable offence against Finnish laws. It is also a sin. Consequently, according to Laestadian norms, it should be confessed and forgiven. This had happened but obviously, according to my material, the sinner had continued to sin anyway. However, in coping with the scandal, the interviewees did not doubt the function and meaning of forgiveness. On the contrary, forgiving was still underlined as a very important and relieving phenomenon within Laestadianism. The problem of sin on grace was not really relevant in the interviews.

The interviewees referred to the resource of their former experiences when they mentioned their memory of former cases of a sexual kind. Their memory helped the interviewees to recognise paedophilia as an incorrect action and to see the difference between secure and insecure situations and ponder correcting activities. Their ability to verbalise their thoughts helped the interviewees to handle the situation. Their skill to organise facts, according to their view, into a logically consistent account gave them a feeling of mastering the situation. This feeling, however, had not come without contrition, the outcome of which was partly understanding, and partly rejecting. These components were rooted in religion. Understanding meant love and forgiveness, rejecting meant repudiation of sin. Understanding also indicated an awareness of man's weaknesses, whereas the consequence of rejecting denoted an effort to find a way out by finding another religious affiliation or by helping the victims. All these abilities were cultural, social, and religious resources. Not until this consistent

whole had been formulated could the interviewees feel relief from tension. Afterwards, they could act and react in a significant way.

To begin with, when the preacher turned out to be a paedophile, one could imagine that the worldview of the interviewees was damaged. Order became chaos, security turned into insecurity. This was the case when the interviewees stated that they could not believe what had happened. Respect for the preacher could have turned into contempt towards the paedophile. However, religion helped the interviewees to cope with the situation. Life experience let them see that people are different and not thoroughly immaculate. Religion gave them remedies: one could try to re-shape the work in the association of peace, one could also regard the situation as due to chance, when helping the victims, to get to know human beings' reactions in order to derive advantage from this knowledge in other corresponding situations. One could even try to find a way out by re-naming one's religious affiliation from Laestadian to Christian. The image of the hero, the preacher, had changed, which called for a new hero, God himself.

Significance was religiously founded in the interviews. Christianity in its Laestadian version was the most important thing to Astrid. It was extremely important to Per, but only after he had analysed the pros and cons in its Laestadian form. It was also important to Tom, who had remained active within the association of peace although he had met with criticism. Each of the interviewees created significance in different ways, but each of them also wove religion into it. I would even like to interpret the interviews as a way to handle the chaotic situation. The interviews were an opportunity to sort out things in a belief in a better world to come. In other words, the old narrative had broken down, but a new narrative was created: the preacher was a sinner, but a reformed personal and congregational work would be the prerequisite for a continuation of God's realm on earth. Through all the interviews, it became clear that the orientation system of Laestadianism was stronger than anything else. In an overarching perspective, religion was a supporting resource in their coping processes.

NOTES

[1] This article was written under the project called *Toleransens gränser* (The Limits of Tolerance) financed by the Academy of Finland. For historical reasons, in Finland some place names are both in Finnish and Swedish. The Finnish variants are generally the official names used in foreign languages. Consequently, the community that I refer to is called Pietarsaari. However, the main language within the association is Swedish. Therefore, I prefer to use Jakobstad, which is the Swedish name.

[2] Email from Gerd Snellman, 3 April 2014.

[3] Paedophilia is a returning and recent problem in many institutions, churches, or associations where men and boys meet. Only in 2013–2014 there were writings about repeated instances in another Laestadian association of peace in northern Finland (Huuskonen & Katajamäki 2014; see also Hurtig & Leppänen 2012, a collection of essays about paedophilia). A Methodist community saw a parallel case. For decades, the Catholic Church had been struggling with paedophilia in different countries. There were problems in children's day care homes. The same goes for sports associations.

[4] Research on Laestadianism is comprehensive. For more information, see, for instance, Talonen 1993, 2014, 2016; Raittila 1976,1969; Suolinna & Sinikara 1986; Palola 2014; Vuollo 1999; Nurminen 2016.

[5] Cf. Kaaro (2016), who deals with the problem of false memories of paedophilia among Laestadians. Perhaps stories about paedophilia might be a kind of folklore within the movement (cf. Campion-Vincent 2015).

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NEWS IN BRIEF

BETWEEN INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE TRAUMA[1]

The international scientific colloquium, titled "Between Individual and Collective Trauma", took place on March 12–13, 2020, in Tartu, Estonia. It was organized in collaboration between the Estonian Literary Museum, the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies, the Research Center for Cultural Studies and Cross-cultural Communication (Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia), and the Research Center for Cultural Exclusion and Frontier Zones (Sociological Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Branch of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences). Liisi Laineste, Natalia Artemenko, and Sergey Troitskiy from these institutions constituted the organizing committee.

The colloquium was devoted to the issues of interrelations of different cultural topoi, setting the context for social and cultural communication and traumatizing events, stirring discord in collective memory and identity, and demanding the reconfiguration of cultural topology.

A number of papers were delivered by scholars from Belarus, Israel, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, the USA, Finland, and Estonia. The two-day colloquium comprised fourteen papers, round table summarizing discussions, as well as a presentation of a monograph on a topic related to the main theme of the colloquium. Two evening workshops provided the participants with the scope for the informal conversation.

Liat Steir-Livny from Sapir College and The Open University (Israel) delivered a keynote speech titled "Holocaust Humor in Israel: Between Individual and Collective Trauma". Her talk was concerned with the way the Holocaust is perceived in the contemporary Israeli society. The issue of the Holocaust was also delved into in Maya Camargo-Vemuri's (Johns Hopkins University, USA) presentation, "Selective Memory in the Holocaust". She referred to the gender aspects of the traumatic experience inherent in female prisoners of Nazi camps – the problem that has not been closely examined yet. The issue of the traumatic experience inherent in women was also reviewed in Jolita Lukšyte's (University of Latvia) paper titled "Trauma and Female Body: Representations of Women in Lithuanian and Latvian Contemporary Women's Texts", and in Leena Kurvet-Käosaar's (University of Tartu & Estonian Literary Museum, Estonia) presentation, "Trauma and Baltic Women's Life Stories of the Soviet Repressions".

Three other reports on trauma researches pursued in the post-Soviet countries, delivered at the colloquium, were "Old Traumas for the New Age: Making the New Memorial Landscape in the Contemporary Belarus" by Siarhei Hruntou (Center for the Belarusian Culture, Language, and Literature Research, Belarus), "Card Index of the Agents of the KGB of the Latvian SSR: 'Love by Calculation', 'Immaculate Conception', and Restoration of State Independence" by Uldis Krēsliņš (University of Latvia), and Andrey Makarychev's (University of Tartu, Estonia) paper, "Self-inflicted Traumatization: Biopolitics and Bare Life in the Russophone Estonia".

The second keynote speech, "Border and Mobility Related Trauma and Materialized Narratives" was given by Tuulikki Kurki (University of Eastern Finland, Finland). She presented the problem of the construction of non-narrative knowledge, which is being formed on the basis of things, artefacts, and other objects related to the traumatic experience. Such an approach opens some new perspectives for studying the contemporary traumatic experience related to a migration process.

Aleksei Smirnov's (Saint Petersburg State University, Russia) presentation, "Representation of Traumatic Experience in the Soviet Painting of the 1960s–1970s" referred to the issue of visual studies; namely, to the paintings depicting the traumatic experience of Soviet people during the war and in the post-war period. Alyona Ivanova's (Pirogov Russian National Research Medical University, Russia) paper, "Hospital Clowning as a Way to Overcome Trauma" delved into a new method of overcoming a traumatic experience through a game interaction between a patient and a specially trained actor (a hospital clown).

Participants of the trauma conference at the Estonian Literary Museum. This conference was the last one held before the global corona crisis; already the next day the museum was closed for visitors. Photograph by Alar Madisson 2020.

The next four participants devoted their presentations to the theoretical aspects of comprehending cultural trauma. Natalia Artemenko (Saint Petersburg State University, Russia) in her "Post-catastrophic Time: Trauma as a Figure of Silence" delved into the correlation between trauma and memory, determined by the time shift occurring between trauma and its representation. Sergey Troitskiy (Saint Petersburg State University, Russia) in his "Victimal Economy and Trauma" analyzed cultural practices providing a balance between cultural memory and cultural oblivion. The practice of teaching history in Soviet high schools in the 1920s–1930s was the focal point of Yulia Zevako's (Ural Branch of Russian Academy of Sciences, Russia) "Mechanisms of Forming an 'Affiliative' Post-memory of the Difficult Pages of History (as an Example, the 'Era of Political Repression'". Kseniya Kapelchuk (ITMO University, Russia) in her presentation "Is Historical Trauma out of Joint?" highlighted the contestable issues which were formulated by Aleida Assmann, a prominent theorist of cultural memory, in her description of the temporal regime of modernity.

Unfortunately, for reasons beyond the control of the organizers, two previously announced talks were not given: Sylwia Papier's (Jagiellonian University, Poland) "Dealing with Collective Trauma and Own Heritage through the 'Hack' in the Museum: Case of Krakow's Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum", and Daniil Anikin's (Moscow State University, Russia) "Traumatisation of the Past and 'Martyrological Thinking' in Modern Eastern Europe".

The delivered presentations stirred active debate involving both the participants and guests of the colloquium. A collective monograph titled *Topologiia travmy: Individual'nyi travmaticheskii opyt i opyt istoricheskikh katastrof* (The Topology of Trauma: The Individual Traumatic Experience and the Experience of Historical Catastrophes), edited by N. Artemenko was also presented at the colloquium. Some authors who had contributed to the monograph were among the participants of the colloquium.

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Note

[1] The review was written with the financial support of the RFBR (project No. 18-011-00570 A, "Theory of cultural trauma: Individual traumatic experience and experience of historical catastrophes").

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION ON THE NEGOTIATIONS OVER "VEDIC" TRADITION IN RUSSIA

Irina Sadovina. *In Search of Vedic Wisdom: Forms of Alternative Spirituality in Contemporary Russia.* Dissertationes Folkloristicae Universitatis Tartuensis 28. University of Tartu Press, 2020. 223 pp.

Irina Sadovina defended her PhD dissertation at the Institute of Cultural Research, University of Tartu, on the 15th of June 2020. The supervisor of the thesis was Ülo Valk (University of Tartu, Estonia) and the opponent was Kaarina Aitamurto (University of Helsinki, Finland).

What kind of profiles would you expect to find in a Russian online dating site with a search word "Vedic"? The answer is: a gamut of different kinds of identities and people, ranging from Orthodox Christians and followers of Slavic Native Faith to an Indian man searching for a Russian wife. With this example of the fluidity and diversity of alternative spirituality in contemporary Russia, Irina Sadovina begins her engaging study of the various understandings of and negotiations over the concept of Vedic in contemporary Russian society and cultic milieu. As Sadovina demonstrates, the term "Vedic" is used as a self-identification by adherents of different Hindu traditions, various self-help therapists, adherents of contemporary Slavic Paganism, and such movements as the Ringing Cedars of Russia. The study proposes that instead of analysing a specific movement or the cultic milieu at large, drawing attention to the cross-section of spiritual discourses opens new perspectives to the negotiation of ideas as well as to the boundary-making between communities. For this kind of approach, the underresearched concept of Vedic wisdom in Russia offers an excellent case study.

The thesis is a doctoral dissertation by publication and consists of two parts. The first one is an extensive introduction to the study, which presents the research questions, materials, theories, and main arguments. It also binds the articles together and provides a context for them. The second one contains four research articles that have been or are about to be published in such journals as *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, *Nova Religio,* and *Digital Icons: Studies in Russian, Eurasian and Central European New Media*, as well as in the monograph *Contesting Authority: Vernacular Knowledge and Alternative Belief*. For the study of a cluster of religious movements or phenomena, a dissertation that is based on articles seems to be a particularly good form. The articles on spiritual consumerism and traditional authority at the Child of Nature Festival in Russia; on humour and resistance in the Anastasia Movement; on legitimating new religiosity and religious authority under attack; and on Putin memes in an online community of the Anastasia Movement make a balanced set in terms of both topics of research and theoretical approaches.

The material of this study was gathered in an extensive fieldwork in St. Petersburg, Yoshkar-Ola, and Pskov region. In addition, Sadovina made digital ethnography in social media, on websites and online communities of different groups. The material is very impressive and so is Sadovina's discussion about the methodology and ethical concerns in ethnography. She takes very seriously such ethical issues as the power imbalance between the researcher and the people who are researched. She shows great reflexivity

and emphasizes that the interpretive work of people who she is studying must not be considered secondary to professional academic theory building. Sadovina draws on the concept of "humble theory" from folkloristics and the term "vernacular theory" or "vernacular theorizing". The first one of these implies cautiousness toward grand theories and sensitivity to the empirical reality, whereas the latter challenges the division into academic theorizing and the meaning-making of people who are studied.

In terms of theory, the study is truly interdisciplinary, applying concepts and approaches from folklore, study of religion, media studies, and cultural theory, such as vernacular religion, the rise of non-institutional, individually constructed spirituality, the legitimization of religious authority, consumption and religion as well as the neoliberal currents in religiosity. Again, the format of a thesis that consists of articles suites well to the richness of theoretical approaches, as each article is centred on one or a couple of theoretical concepts. However, together they create new links between different theoretical approaches. At the same time, the articles nicely illustrate how different theoretical lenses open complementing perspectives to the same movement.

Instead of authoritative texts and institutions, Sadovina focuses on vernacular religion, the way spirituality is lived, performed, and negotiated in everyday life.

As a state of emergency was declared in Estonia due to Covid-19, the defence procedure took place on Microsoft Teams. Left above Professor Art Leete, head of the Institute of Cultural Research, University of Tartu; right above Irina Sadovina; left below opponent Kaarina Aitamurto, University of Helsinki, Finland; right below supervisor of the thesis Ülo Valk, University of Tartu, Estonia. Screenshot by Piret Voolaid 2020.

This approach emphasizes the agency of individuals and challenges the power hierarchies in the divisions into the "official" and "folk" religions. In addition to the innovation and interpretative work of individuals, the concept of vernacular belief highlights the horizontal exchange of ideas and negotiations between people. Though Sadovina admits that despite of this horizontality, vernacular belief is not untouched by institutional codes and control, she correctly points out that focusing attention to it allows us to scrutinize the everyday creativity beyond the binary of power and resistance. For example, the article on Putin memes in an online community of the Anastasia Movement offers a refreshing outlook to the discussions about the image of Putin in Russian society by arguing that in this community, the president is neither celebrated nor criticized, but merely employed in the envisioning of a future that the community promotes.

It could be suggested that the focus on individual agency in the study also comes naturally due to the nature of alternative spirituality. Both modernity and globalization have produced the erosion of traditional forms of religious authority and this is particularly evident concerning alternative spirituality. Therefore, one of the main questions of the study is: How is spiritual authority legitimized in this landscape, and what enables divergent interpretations to be negotiated? In the article on the Child of Nature festival, Sadovina provides a nuanced analysis of the construction of individual spirituality and accommodating diversity in a cultic milieu. The article on a popular Russian lecturer of Vedic Wisdom, Oleg Torsunov, introduces an intriguing new theoretical concept of "the legitimation lattice", which sheds new light on the resilience of religious authority when it is challenged or attacked. Sadovina argues that Torsunov's ability to elude criticism derives from his ability to draw on several alternative sources of authority. He shifts between discourses of medicine, New Age, and popular psychology and uses different legitimation strategies to convince his audiences.

Sadovina concludes that Russian Vedic wisdom is part of the global landscape of beliefs, in which ideas travel, are borrowed, developed further and negotiated. Such global trends as neo-liberal ideas of work on self and the responsibility of an individual, as well as social media have significantly impacted Russian Vedic wisdom. At the same time, it reflects some societal and political currents in Russian society, such as the growing popularity of conservative values and nationalism. For example, in the article on Vedic wisdom "under fire", she insightfully discusses how neo-liberal ideology is linked to the rhetoric on traditional femininity.

In recent decades religious freedom has deteriorated in Russian society. Nevertheless, as Sadovina argues and demonstrates, a vibrant cultic milieu still exists there. Insightfully, Sadovina identifies four strategies, which alternative religions may use in the face of the growing dominance of the Russian Orthodox Church and the restrictions to the freedom of religion: 1) humour, 2) ideological alignment with the status quo, 3) a flexible approach to legitimation, and 4) a shift from religious rhetoric to popular psychology.

One of the merits of this study is its discussions about humour and religion. This is the main topic of one of the articles, "Humour and Resistance in Russia's Ecological Utopia (A Look at the Anastasia Movement)", but the theme occurs in all the articles one way or the other. Sadovina demonstrates that the adherents of new religious movements use humour in numerous ways to, for example, respond to outside hostility, construct the identity, and negotiate the boundaries of their movement and accommodate

and reconcile different views. The study of religion and humour is an emerging field of enquiry and I believe that Sadovina's pioneering studies can be considered as a great contribution to it.

The dissertation is an invaluable contribution to the study of religion in Russia as well as to global studies of alternative spirituality. However, it also provides an original approach to the study of alternative spirituality, which is transferable to other contexts as well. Discussing the different groups and teachings of "Vedic wisdom" together allows Sadovina to examine the negotiations and borrowings between different groups, and the hybridization of discourses. This kind of approach draws attention to the dynamics in the field of spirituality instead of trying to form static portrayals of some movements or groupings. Moreover, it demonstrates that in this field the boundaries between communities and teachings are often fluid, under constant negotiation, and therefore always somewhat artificial constructs.

Kaarina Aitamurto

BOOK REVIEWS

A PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY OF TRAUMA STUDIES

Natalia Artemenko (ed.) 2020. *Topologiia travmy: Individual'nyi travmaticheskii opyt i opyt istoricheskikh katastrof*. Collective monograph. St. Petersburg: Renome. 248 pp. In Russian.

The collective monograph titled *Topologiia travmy: Individual'nyi travmaticheskii opyt i opyt istoricheskikh katastrof* (The Topology of Trauma: The Individual Traumatic Experience and the Experience of Historical Catastrophes) comprises articles written by a group of St. Petersburg scholars. Trauma studies have deserved more interest in Russia today, so it could be expected that the key events in Russian and Soviet history will further provide topics for analysis in this field. However, an essential objective the authors put forward in their work is not an inquiry into painful moments in the national past, but rather the examination of the theoretical foundations of trauma studies or, as it is formulated, "a comprehensive philosophical elaboration revealing the theoretical origins of those concepts, methods, and strategies which underlie this research direction".

It might seem quite surprising that the authors do not put emphasis on the traumatic experience in Soviet and post-Soviet history, and rather prefer delving into Western examples. It could be due to the claimed theoretical bias of the issue, and we should accept the fact that trauma studies in Russia are still under development, and therefore the empirical material needs to be borrowed along with the theoretical apparatus. However, the articles represented in the monograph analyze not only the key concept of trauma studies, but also propose new ones; for example, the concepts of "creative repression" (A. Brodsky), "unfinished time" and "cataleptic consciousness" (N. Artemenko), and "the syntax of loss" (S. Troitsky). So, the authors do not simply borrow the terminology already developed within the Western humanities, but make attempts to elaborate their own analytic language, as well as an authentic vision of many issues, even when there seems to be a consensus on some issues in Western academia. Even though some of the proposed statements are contestable, such attempts might stir essential discussions.

The monograph comprises three parts, composed of articles written by different scholars.

As the title of the first chapter, "Cultural Traumatology: Posing a Question", implies, it represents an attempt to clarify the notion of "cultural trauma". This chapter comprises articles written by A. Brodsky, N. Artemenko, S. Troitsky, and K. Kapelchuk, who delve into a number of methodological issues, such as the problem of trauma representation in culture (Brodsky, Kapelchuk), the interrelation between trauma studies and psychoanalysis (Kapelchuk, Brodsky), and the issues of oral history (Artemenko).

The second chapter of the book, "Trauma and Construction in National Self-Consciousness", comprises three articles written by A. Brodsky, who considers the stated issue in terms of Jewish, Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian cultures. This part also embraces the work of A. Smirnov, who analyzes the relations between memory studies and the new history of French intellectual tradition.

The third chapter, "An Aesthetic Field of Trauma", embodies articles by S. Nikonova, A. Sidorov, and A. Novikova, referring to such various subjects as Kant's aesthetics, modernist literature and music. The book also gives an overview of the key publications in trauma studies, which is undoubtedly a major asset for a Russian-speaking reader wishing to study up on the field.

When discussing the theoretical sources essential to the authors, it is necessary, first of all, to mention the tradition of continental philosophy, especially the modern German philosophy (M. Heidegger, Th. Adorno, H. Arendt), as well as psychoanalysis (S. Freud, J. Lacan, S. Zizek). Also special mention must be made of the authority of V. Podoroga, a Russian philosopher, whose pioneering book, titled "The Time After", remains one of the most significant philosophical works on the traumatic experience and totalitarianism of the post-Soviet thought. At the same time, the authors delve into some ideas of American cultural sociology (J. Alexander, C. Caruth), German memory studies (A. Assmann), and French new history (P. Nora). Thus, we deal with a combination of rationalistic humanism, existentialism, fundamental ontology, psychoanalysis, and contemporary social and cultural studies, which does not remain consistent all through and, although this book is of undoubted interest, it comes across as certain heterogeneity.

The philosophical frame of the issue is set by the works of N. Artemenko, the editor of the monograph. Following V. Podoroga, who has elaborated the concept of "the time after", she treats trauma as the essential establishing moment for subjectivation, i.e., "trauma itself conceives a human subject". Thus, trauma is understood as a consolidating event, "that what creates us", and engenders "the experience of the Self becoming the Other". The uniqueness of the traumatic experience is related to the fact that such experience represents the impossible and, therefore, the forgotten, repressed, unspoken. It represents the main methodological problem of oral history dealing with a speaking subject, unable to express one's own traumatic experience. The idea of the specific traumatic temporality is another key aspect for Artemenko. The traumatic experience has a peculiar mode of being in time. It presupposes incompleteness, the continuity of time deprived of eventuality, the endless present. Trauma blurs the lines between the past, the present, and the future.

The themes of repression and oblivion persist in the book, especially in the works written by N. Artemenko, A. Brodsky, and K. Kapelchuk. The authors refer to Freudian psychoanalysis, which treats trauma as a condition necessary for a subject's existence. A. Brodsky, who elaborates his own vision of the trauma problem, also builds on a conception posed by Igor Smirnov, a Russian philologist and philosopher, as well as on the ideas of Soviet psychophysiologists, namely, S. Davidenkov, a member of the Pavlovian school. Following Smirnov and Davidenkov, Brodsky underscores that trauma is a condition necessary for anthropogenesis; hence, it is of fundamental meaning for the human culture.

Posing the concept of creative repression, Brodsky contests the widespread political interpretation of trauma and the phenomenon of so-called social amnesia. He claims that, in order to perform its construction function, trauma does not need to be represented in culture explicitly. K. Kapelchuk adheres to this thesis in her article, talking of the importance of investigating trauma from the psychoanalytical standpoint, not in the order of the Symbolic, but in the order of the Imaginary. Brodsky argues that considering oblivion equivalent to the political oppression seriously simplifies the case. He suggests correlating trauma with the primordial principles of consciousness. According to Brodsky, trauma is a creative factor that produces a human subject, makes the subjectivation possible. He agrees with psychoanalysis as far as it claims that trauma should be searched for in the Unconscious, and this is the trauma that "launches the selection of meanings" as the basis for cultural identity. Thus, it is trauma that underlies the individual self-consciousness, as well as the collective (national) one. All of this enables us to speak about the fundamental significance of traumatic experience.

This review does not suffice to delve into every article in the collection in more detail. In summary, I would like to mention that the majority of the authors express a certain skepticism towards the mainstream direction in contemporary trauma studies, that is to say, towards the research focused on discourse analysis and identity policy. I cannot absolutely agree with the critique of social theory for reducing trauma studies to the ideology expressed in discourse and unnecessary politicization; in other words, for the lack of ontological depth, which makes it possible to discuss trauma in correlation not with a community but with a human subject. I believe that here we deal with the collision of two incompatible positions, leading us to the insoluble question of whether a human subject or a social structure is primary. Yet, it is beyond any doubt that a strive for philosophical reflection of traumatic experience is a significant endeavor; thus, the presented monograph is worth comprehensive reading and discussing.

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ROMANIAN EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE UNITING EUROPE

Agnieszka Chwieduk. *Rumuński sposób na Europę. Antropologiczne studium społeczności lokalnej z Săpânța*. Poznańskie Studia Etnologiczne 22. Poznań: Instytut im. Oskara Kolberga, 2019. 309 pp. In Polish.

This book is a result of many years of field research carried out in Romania by Agnieszka Chwieduk, a philologist, ethnographer, and anthropologist, affiliated with the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland. In her monograph, she presents the latest problem of small local entities in the uniting Europe: how they operate on a daily basis, how they conceptualise Europe. Another issue is how to define their idiosyncrasies if they operate on peripheries while their economic, political, and cultural status depends – in a specific way – on a very complex situation of the Old Continent after 1989. The researcher has referred these major problem questions to Romania and, to be more specific, a small village of Săpânța, located in Maramureș region. The faraway village is poverty-stricken as reflected in significant emigration. At the same time, it is a tourist destination where the locals are exposed to people from other countries, to other values and capital. As a result of a long-term stay in the area, the author has managed to capture the local divisions (denominational, national, and ethnic), the relations and dependencies. She has also shown the daily, bottom-up strategies, practices, and rules which organize people's lives and affect their attitude toward the broadly-defined Europe. The village has become an example of living everyday life which, contrary to the main discourse on the continent's unity and integration, is spent in "contemporary Europe" in different, own, and sometimes surprising conditions.

The arrangement of the chapters is as follows: 1. The local aspect; 2. Europe in (con) texts; 3. The venue of research and methodology; 4. Maramureș and Săpânţa – beyond the peripheral nature; 5. Local divisions; 6. Practicing freedom – for the local to prevail? and it is aimed at balancing off the theoretical and empirical parts. However, balance has not been achieved because in the monograph strong emphasis has been placed on methodology, according to which the Romanian village is an area where statements can be verified. Of key importance is the methodological differentiation between "anthropology at home" and "anthropology of Europe". This is of special significance to researchers from Europe, involved in research "at home", i.e. in Europe. However, the following question should be posed: whether and to what extent are we engaged in othering (Kristen Hastrup) our interlocutors in different parts of Europe? To what extent is the opposition between the east and west of Europe (defined not only in geographic terms) distinct in the approach to the field and the interlocutors? The very concept of Europe and the European Union has been formulated by politicians, journalists, writers, representatives of culture, etc., from Western Europe, while Southern Europe is to them a "familiar" other. Besides, Europe is defined here primarily as the so-called "old" European Union, excluding the post-communist countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the Baltics.

Special methodological importance has been attached to participant observation and the so-called 'ethical compassion in the course of participant observation'. By referring to consistent basic questions 'who', 'where from', and 'by means of what', the author describes her assumption of the role of a researcher. To a large degree, she conditions the question ***'who'*** on the patterns prevailing among the respondents rather than the researcher's planned intention. This leads to healing a sharp division between the respondent and the researcher and to them co-creating a text. As a result, by answering the question 'who', the reply reflects: 1. the researcher (with all his or her social conditioning, sex, age, cultural experience, etc.), 2. his or her idea of the text, and 3. an empowered participant of a conversation. In other words, the text itself is included in the group of observers; the text is defined (following Michel Foucault) as a strategy of living a life. Considerations of the anthropological dimension of the text category and inclusion thereof in an ethical aspect of research results in understanding reality as available only in the course of a message. Everyday life in Săpânţa is represented by the locals' stories and talks accompanied by the researcher's constant awareness of the fact that she is affecting the conversation and participant observation. Hence the stress placed several times on breaking down the ethnographic situation into an activity (co-stimulated by the researcher, recorded and written down) and the text (the final effect). As a result, the author of the book keeps emphasising her co-participation as well as her otherness despite the long stay and the many returns to the place of research. She defines the final written text as property shared by the researcher and the interlocutors/locals.

The question '***where from***' represents a description of the observation venue referred to as "a theatre of memory" (p. 61). Notably, each observation place is described in minute details from the point of view of ethnography, accompanied by respective graphic material which makes it possible for the readers to manoeuvre freely in the spatial dimensions of the village under scrutiny and its geographic European contexts. *'Where from'* indicates, therefore, coexistence of the observer, the observed entity (social actors), and the resulting text, placed against the background of everyday life. As a result, the local aspect has been defined as recreation of a space, as a practice, an activity, an action imposing limits. Consequently, this logical and well-justified assumption leads to dynamic locality. The limit of activities and narrations, be it metaphorical or not, becomes a spacious place of establishing and recreating identity. Even if this identity is no longer reflected in the space, the limit is continuously "produced" to satisfy a group's needs (e.g. in the case of festive celebrations). Hence all the attention devoted to establishing the tourist infrastructure (B&Bs, souvenir shops, restaurants serving "traditional" regional food) and placing emphasis on elements of rites and behaviour which connect with tourists' expectations, e.g. displaying openness and hospitality, spectacular and extended wedding and funeral celebrations. The latter undoubtedly distinguish the village from all other locations. The Merry Cemetery (protected by UNESCO) with its colourful sculpted tombstones and rhyming and oftentimes witty epitaphs reflects a rather peculiar attitude toward death, which is not observed as taboo. Of importance is the relation between a cemetery plot and an individual's social/financial status. Poor families cannot afford burying their members in the cemetery which is well taken care of and visited by tourists. As a result, the burials take place in another cemetery where the plots are much cheaper. The Merry Cemetery is among the village's main tourist attractions. The local

shops sell the characteristic miniature blue gravestones with drawings and inscriptions, while the local artists compete for the title of a "genuine" heir to S.I. Patras. Everybody observes the traditional funeral rites where the body of the deceased remains at home for three days. While the rites defy EU directives, the locals cannot be bothered. To some extent, it is the essence of the villagers' attitude to Europe. They are more than willing to receive European tourists, sell to them whatever they can, and leave to work abroad, but when at home, they follow the traditions. The locals are placed on an axis connecting the centre and the peripheries, which is referred to as the concept of a European. The locality of Săpânţa is geographically, politically, and economically peripheral (migration and unemployment). The peripheral nature is related to the specifically defined modernisation of the societies of Eastern Europe expected to "catch up with the West" with respect to economy, politics, and society (world views, culture). The inhabitants of Săpânţa and Romania in general have their own local way of overcoming their peripheral status and these efforts reflect their "method for coping with Europe" and, more specifically, Romanians' "ability to transform foreign patterns into their own ones, in their own time, according to rules emerging in a long process" (p. 245).

In this book, '***by means of what***' indicates linguistic practices. Written texts are a special form of these practices, with academic texts enjoying a special position. The operations of a small local entity in the uniting Europe are related to an academic discourse conjuring up a specific vision of Europe. The author concludes that "academic discourse conjuring up a specific vision of Europe co-creates a field of science in the most intense way. On the other hand, in this field is included a universe of individuals who do not contribute to an academic discourse but affect its content" (p. 67). Consequently, this has led to capturing the discourse-related dimension of reality as prevailing in everyday relations among individuals who identify themselves with Europe, yet emphasise their autonomy.

Bearing in mind the topicality and significance of the discussed subject and the methodology behind it, the book should be published in major languages including English. As a result, the readership would significantly grow, attracting anthropologists, folklorists, philologists, sociologists, and political science academics. It would also connect more to the European and global research into locality.

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