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Helen F. Leslie-Jacobsen and Joseph S. Hopkins

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RMN Newsletter is a medium of contact and communication for members of the Retrospective Methods Network (RMN). The RMN is an open network which can include anyone who wishes to share in its focus. It is united by an interest in the problems, approaches, strategies and limitations related to considering some aspect of culture in one period through evidence from another, later period. Such comparisons range from investigating historical relationships to the utility of analogical parallels, and from comparisons across centuries to developing working models for the more immediate traditions behind limited sources. *RMN Newsletter* sets out to provide a venue and emergent discourse space in which individual scholars can discuss and engage in vital cross-disciplinary dialogue, present reports and announcements of their own current activities, and where information about events, projects and institutions is made available.

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PO Box 59 (Unioninkatu 38 A)
00014 University of Helsinki
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Editor's Note

It has now been five years since the pilot issue of *RMN Newsletter* appeared in December of 2010. The activity and interest surrounding this venue has increased continuously across that time. Our journal has become a vital and exciting discourse space and stimulating arena for discussion with new voices participating all of the time.

The Retrospective Methods Network (RMN) has also continued to expand and grow since its first conference in September of 2010. Papers presented at that conference have just appeared in the volume *New Focus on Retrospective Methods: Resuming Methodological Discussions: Case Studies from Northern Europe*, edited by Eldar Heide and Karen Bek-Pedersen (Folklore Fellows Communications 307, Helsinki 2014). We hope that this new book will further stimulate interest and development in retrospective methods.

Offspring networks of the RMN have exhibited especial exuberance. The Old Norse Folklorists Network has displayed its vitality by holding its first major conference, "Sagas, Legends and Trolls: The Supernatural from Early Modern back to Old Norse" in Tartu, Estonia, 12th–14th June 2014 (see the report by Pallasma in this volume). In addition, the publication resulting from its first workshop held in 2011 has been published: *Folklore in Old Norse – Old Norse in Folklore*, edited by Daniel Sävborg and Karen Bek-Pedersen (see the announcement in this volume). For its part, the Austmarr Network has not been idle: the international symposium "Austmarr IV: The Plurality of Religions and Religious Change around the Baltic Sea, 500–1300: Methodological Challenges for Multi-disciplinary Data" was held in Sundsvall, Sweden, 4th–5th December 2014. A call for papers can be found at the back of the present volume for "Austmarr V: No One Is an Island: Islands in the Baltic Sea 500–1500 AD: Characteristics and Networks in an Interdisciplinary Perspective" to be held in Visby, Gotland, 15th–16th October 2015. These events and publications are having a tremendous impact on scholarship that is penetrating into both medieval studies (particularly Old Norse studies) and folklore research.

Alongside the activity in these networks, the first two major publication outcomes of the broadly multidisciplinary Viking Age in Finland project have appeared this year. These are *Fibula, Fabula, Fact – The Viking Age in Finland*, edited by Joonas Ahola and Frog with Clive Tolley, which developed on the basis of two seminar-workshops held in 2011 (see announcement in this volume), and *The Viking Age in Åland: Insights into Identity and Remnants of Culture*, edited by Joonas Ahola, Frog and Jenni Lucenius (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Humaniora 372, Helsinki 2014).

For five years, *RMN Newsletter* has been organized on a schedule of publishing issues in May and December of each year, which we are now reorganizing. *RMN Newsletter* was founded at the first conference of the RMN in the September of 2010. The editors were determined to launch the new publication as a venue immediately in the wake of the energy and enthusiasm of that seminal event: the pilot issue appeared two months later. Our initiative paid off and the response was beyond anything we could have expected. The second issue, which appeared already in the following May, contained six articles and more than 40 other items. Those circumstances thus shaped our schedule as coinciding with the end of autumn and spring university terms. Some readers have observed that this coincides with when many people go on vacation; publication nearer the beginning or middle of the term would be more pertinent to their annual research rhythms. With the present issue, we are transitioning to publishing Winter and Summer issues. Winter issues will begin to appear at the beginning of the new year and the Summer issue will be made available at the end of the summer season in the early autumn. We hope that this new schedule proves better suited to our readership.

Frog
University of Helsinki

COMMENTS AND COMMUNICATIONS

Regional Variation in Folkloric Meter: The Case of Estonian Runosong

Mari Sarv, Estonian Literary Museum

Abstract: This article presents the results of the metrical analysis of Estonian regilaul. *The results demonstrate that the meter of oral poetry is subject to variation and should not be treated as a static and petrified phenomenon. The choice of methodology for the analysis of meter in a metrically variable oral tradition is also discussed.*

Oral poetries have been addressed from many angles in *RMN Newsletter*, yet this has remained primarily at the level of the language or linguistic register of the particular poetry and how it functions. Metrics and metrical analysis came forward in the pilot issue of the journal (Frog 2010), but have otherwise remained in the background. The present article returns to this topic with the hope of stimulating discussion on metrics and retrospective methods and methodologies for metrical analysis. It introduces the problems in and methods for the analysis of variation in the Estonian forms of the Finnic meter of the runosong tradition. It discusses the differences between folkloristic analyses of meter which take into consideration its folkloric nature, its melody and performance practice as opposed to literary analyses which tend to concentrate solely on 'texts'. Findings from the thorough analysis of an Estonian sample corpus are presented with closing observations concerning regional variation of folkloric meter and the appropriateness of the chosen method.

The Problem

Runosong is a poetic tradition common to several Finnic peoples, including Estonians. The poetic system of runosong has been a widespread and multifunctional poetic code of the Finnic peoples, which, to be sure, has principally manifested itself in the form of songs, but marginally and in its own way it has had a broader application – runosong verse or its elements can be found in sayings and riddles as well as incantations, children's lore and laments (see e.g. Kuusi 1994; Krikmann 1997; Frog & Stepanova 2011 etc.). The poetic features that can be considered specific and common to the Finnic runosong tradition are trochaic rhythm (i.e. alternation of strong and weak verse positions) with four strong positions per verse line and a persistent semantically bound co-occurrence of alliteration and parallelism. The runosongs are not rhymed; rhymed folksongs in the Finnic language area belong to a newer, mostly foreign-influenced song stratum which began to spread gradually around the 17th century and by the 20th century had gained clear supremacy in the Estonian folksong tradition (Rüütel 2012).

It is not unproblematic to find a common term for the Finnic tradition. In Estonian, the popular term for the song tradition is *regilaul* which is also commonly used in the Estonian folklore research tradition. However, to use this term for Finnic tradition would be misleading, as it refers to a type of newer, rhymed folk poetry in the Finnish language. In Finnish research discourse, the tradition has often been called Kalevala-metric poetry, taking the name invented by Elias Lönnrot for his epic *Kalevala* (1835; 1849) to reciprocally designate the meter of the folk poetry from which the epic was developed. Using the name of the Finnish national epic to refer to the Estonian tradition would be problematic and inappropriate. In addition, the meter of Estonian songs does not follow the rules generally attributed to the Kalevala-meter and thus use of this term would also be misleading with respect to metrics. Sometimes the term 'runic songs' has been used, owing to the Finnish word *runo* ['(Kalevala-metric) poem or song'], which developed an established position in discussions as the word Lönnrot used to designate the different

‘songs’ of *Kalevala*. This, in its turn, suggests a misleading reference to ‘runes’ in the most widely known sense of letters of the Old Germanic alphabet.[1] I have stuck to its more naturalized English variant ‘runosong’, which seems to be least problematic.

When I was starting my studies on the metrical structure of Estonian *regilaul* in the mid-1990s, its versification was generally introduced as a Kalevala-meter with some aberration, deficiencies, or even mistakes, especially in songs of Southern and Western Estonia. Some authors (e.g. Viidalepp 1959; Põldmäe 1978), however, admitted the variation of the metrical structure as an essential feature of *regilaul* tradition, but there were no statistical data to rely on. The one and only thorough analysis of versification of Estonian *regilaul* was by Walter Anderson (1935) and was based on the songs of only one parish, Kolga-Jaani. It was simply not possible to say anything reliable on the variation and regional peculiarities of metrical structure of *regilaul* without time-consuming metrical analysis, and all the discussions on it were only based on general impressions. Computers made it possible to automate the metrical analysis and I was quite happy when, in 1996, Arvo Krikmann provided me with the MS Word macro which, among other things, was able to rework the verse lines into the sequences of syllabic structures. I started to collect the digital texts for the thorough analysis of the regional variation of the metrical structure of Estonian *regilaul* in 2000 and I completed my PhD dissertation *Loomiseks loodud: regivärsimõõt traditsiooniprotsessis* [‘Created for Creation: Verse Meter of Estonian *regilaul* in the Tradition Process’] in 2008. The work was extremely enjoyable, beginning from the appearance of the initial results of the metrical analysis region by region based on the statistical data until the final complex analysis of the causes and limits of variation and creativity in *regilaul*. As a rule, 500 verses were taken as a sample from each Estonian parish, and a total of 51,382 verses were included in the overall analysis. I have introduced some details of my work previously in English (Sarv 2011a; 2011b), but most of it has thus far been available only in Estonian. As the results of my work might be relevant for other runosong researchers as well as for the researchers of oral poetry in general, the current article introduces the methodical principles of my research and gives the basic results of the metrical analysis. All the further interpretations and discussions on the research history and literary use of *regilaul* poetics, the linguistic and cultural incentives of the metrical variation and its role in the creative production of runosong cannot be included within the limits of the current paper.

How to Describe the Variation in Meter?

The metrical essence of the whole runosong tradition remained unclear until Arvid Genetz in 1881 defined its underlying meter – Kalevala-meter – according to ‘quantity rules’: in the syllabic trochaic tetrameter, ictus positions can be filled by any kind of syllables except short stressed syllables, whereas off-ictus positions can be filled by any kind of syllables except long stressed syllables (Genetz 1884: 81–82). The placement of monosyllables is free and so is the filling of the first two verse positions. Kalevala-meter is a syllabic meter with a trochaic core,[2] where the position of stressed syllables is regulated according to their quantity thus combining syllabic, accentual and quantitative principles in a specific way.

The metrical scheme of the Kalevala-meter can be defined as follows:

&XXABABAC&

Within this scheme, ‘&’ signifies an obligatory word break and the following rules of correspondence apply:

1. Every position of A, B, and X corresponds to one syllable, X positions may correspond to two light syllables which are by and large insignificant in regards to their contents.
2. The position of C corresponds to one syllable that does not carry the primary stress.
3. Long stressed syllables of polysyllabic words do not fall into position B (nor C).
4. Short stressed syllables of polysyllabic words do not fall into position A (nor C).
5. The syllabification may occasionally or systematically be performed according to the underlying historical word forms.[3]

The lines where the stressed syllables occur in the weak positions of the trochaic schema (B

positions) are specific to Kalevala-meter. These are conventionally called ‘broken lines’, named for their effect of rhythmic discrepancy.

This metrical description of Kalevala-meter is a kind of ideal model; in the actual lines occurring in versification practice, there is always a certain amount of exceptions or irregularities. Estonian *regilaul* is not homogenous either, including various variants, combinations and mixings of Kalevala-meter and syllabic-accentual meters. The main corpus of Estonian *regilaul* was collected between the years 1888–1920 giving us a more or less synchronic picture of the state of the tradition. As the aim of my research was to get an overview of the metrical variation in *regilaul*, I had to find a method to analyse this metrical variation using principles applicable in the same way for the whole sample that would, at the same time, be appropriate and suitable to reveal the metrical differences of various selections. My primary assumption was that the most substantial differences are regional, but I wanted to check the relevance of metrical variation across singers, genres and subgenres of the poetic tradition as well.

Almost all of the 20th-century approaches to the *regilaul* (and runosong) meter have considered Kalevala-meter as its basis. The first researcher who admitted and analysed the presence of various metrical types in Estonian *regilaul* was Jaak Põldmäe (1978). Põldmäe discerns seven ideal metrical types present in *regilaul* (e.g. Kalevala-meter, syllabic-accentual trochee, syllabic verse etc.), admitting that in a song text these can appear mixed together. In accordance with the research tradition of literary poetry, he insisted that in analysing the meter of *regilaul*, all the verse systems and metrical types present in every single text should be detected, and all the differences from the metrical schema should be taken into account. For example, he states that, from a verse-typological point of view, the texts in which there occur lines with pre-beat or additional syllables should be handled separately from the texts where these do not occur (Põldmäe 1978: 154). The aim of such a literary approach sets the focus of research on the individual texts, which is reasonable and appropriate when studying the poets’ artistic choices that may be presumed to be coherent within a poetic text. A folkloristic approach treats the meter rather as a part of the traditional composition method, as a secondary language, and considers its variation by singer, by function of the songs and by region. The text-based approach would not reveal to us how regular or exceptional the specific features are. The main issue that makes Põldmäe’s proposed method unsuitable for our research is the metrical complexity of the *regilaul* texts (which usually contain the lines of different metrical types), which makes it impossible to get the sought overview.

Instead of this, I have chosen to apply the line-based method, which has been traditionally used in runosong research to characterize the regional variation of meter by comparing the percentage of broken lines vs. regular lines (and eventually the occurrence of some other features of verse structure) in a song or selection of songs. This method seemed to be able to express the regional variation of various features of metrical structure. Matti Kuusi, for example, used this method to analyze the song type “The Lost Geese” and found that in Lönnrot’s *Kalevala*, as well as in the songs recorded from Karelian and Izhorian singers, ca. 50% of the text is comprised of broken lines, whereas in Northern Estonian songs only 30% are broken lines, and in Southern Estonian songs only 10% (Kuusi 1983: 188–190). In the case of Estonian songs, the percentages of ‘deficient’ lines (i.e. lines which do not follow the rules of Kalevala-meter) have sometimes been calculated as well. This ‘deficiency’ in *regilaul* concerns mainly rule (4) above, on the placement of short stressed syllables. There appears to be a clear regularity in most of the non-Kalevala-metric lines, namely that the short stressed syllables fall into the strong positions of trochaic pattern (A positions) alongside the use of long stressed syllables. In this kind of line, the quantitative essence of Kalevala-meter is lost and the lines follow the general principles of a syllabic-accentual system (stressed syllables are placed in strong positions). The rest of the correspondence rules characteristic of runosong otherwise still remain valid. ‘Syllabic-accentual *regilaul* meter’ can be constructed as another pure model next to Kalevala-meter by replacing

rules (3) and (4) of the Kalevala-meter with the following emendation to rule (3):

3*. Stressed syllables of polysyllabic words do not fall into position B (nor C)

Both meters share the basic rule for placement of long stressed syllables, and they differ in the placement of short stressed syllables. Accordingly, the verse lines which follow the correspondence rules and that do not contain short stressed syllables in either position A or B are suitable for both meters, whereas the verse lines containing polysyllabic words that begin with a short stressed syllable are specific to either Kalevala-meter or syllabic-accentual meter, depending on the placement of short stressed syllables in the line. To make this more clear, Figure 1 expresses this schematically. I have given the provisional names for the line types as *termini technici*.

The tendency of Estonian *regilaul* to include the features of a syllabic-accentual verse system in some regions or layers of songs and the reasons for it has been discussed earlier by Richard Viidalepp (1959: 116–127) and Ingrid Rüütel (2012 [1969]).

KALEVALA METER	**SYLLABIC-ACCENTUAL *REGILAUL* METER**
BROKEN LINES: **short stressed syllables in weak (B) positions** *ni-me/tab **ni**/so **i**/vak-si* *meil po-le / **nei**-du-/da **ko**-/du-na*	ACCENTUAL LINES: **short stressed syllables in strong (A) positions** *o-leks / **mi**-nu / **o**-le-/mi-ne* *läh-me / **su**-veks / soo-me / maa-le*
QUANTITATIVE LINES (both meters): **long stressed syllables in strong (A) positions** *ei-da / **el**-med / **pääs**-ta / **pär**-led* *kui mi-na / **hak**-kan / **lau**-le-/mai-e*	

Figure 1. Comparative schema of the ideal forms of the Kalevala-meter and the syllabic-accentual meter used in regilaul with examples of each line type.

Table 1. Examples of different line types glossed and translated, syllables divided into eight verse positions, metrically relevant syllables underlined and labelled as L (long) and S (short).

	X	X	A	B	A	B	A	C	line type
nimetab niso ivaksi name-3SG wheat-GEN grain-TRANSL$_{arch}$ 'He calls me grain of wheat'	ni- x	me- x	tab x	ni- S	so x	i- S	vak- x	si x	broken
meil pole neiduda koduna we NEG.have maiden-ACC$_{arch}$ home-LOC$_{arch}$ 'Our maiden is not at home,'	meil x	po-le x	nei- L	du- x	da x	ko- S	du- x	na x	broken
oleks minu olemine be-COND my being 'Would it be my choice'	o- x	leks x	mi- S	nu x	o- S	le- x	mi- x	ne x	accentual
lähme suveks soome maale go-1PL-IMP summer-TRANS Finnish land-ALL 'Let's go to the Finland for the summer'	läh- x	me x	su- S	veks x	soo- L	me x	maa- L	le x	accentual
eida elmed päästa pärled throw-2SG-IMP beads loosen-2SG-IMP pearls 'Take off your necklace, loosen your beads'	ei- x	da x	el- L	med x	pääs- L	ta x	pär- L	led x	quantitative
kui mina hakkan laulemaie when I start-1SG sing-INF$_{arch}$ 'When I start to sing'	kui x	mi-na x	hak- L	kan x	lau- L	le- x	mai- x	e x	quantitative

However, its importance in the whole body of the Estonian *regilaul* corpus had remained unnoticed. From the point of view of changes in the verse meter, it is of utmost importance to observe the positioning of polysyllabic words with a short stressed syllable, or in other words the spread of broken and accentual lines.

The Problem of Meter and Performance

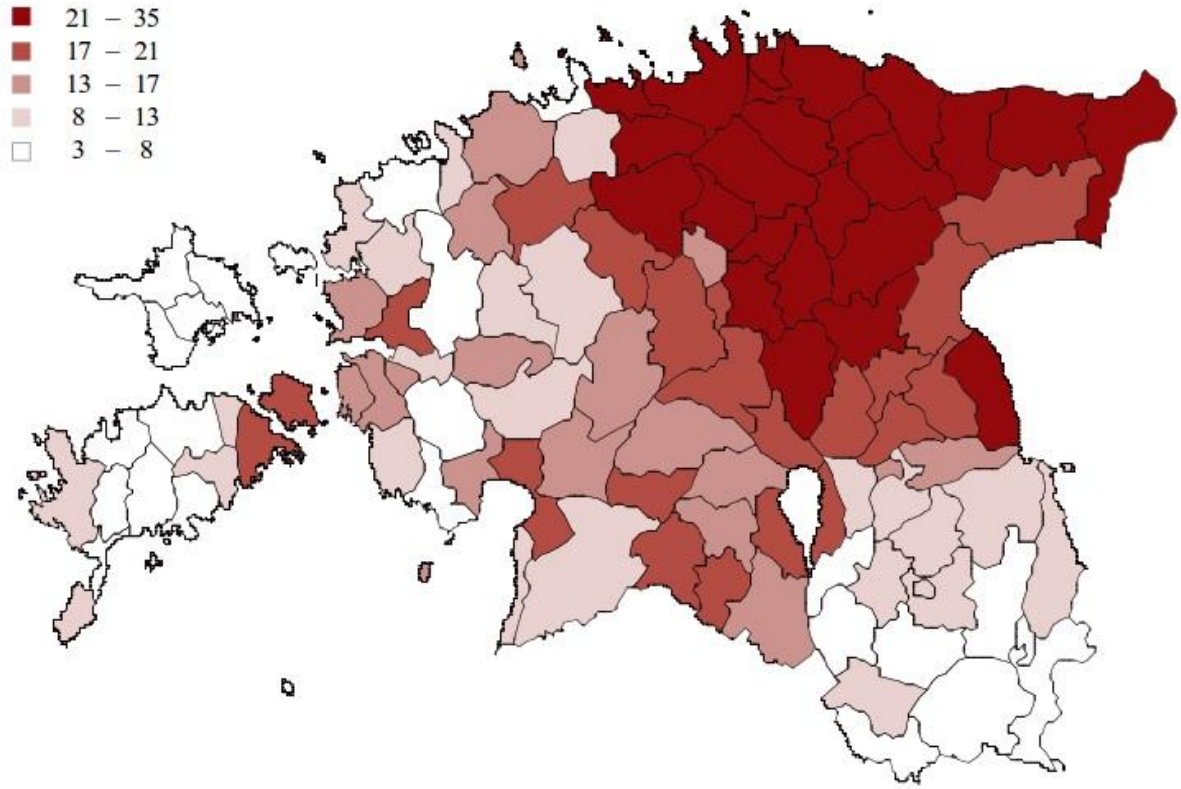
There is one more methodological problem relevant in the analysis of song metrics. Literary scholars are usually of the opinion that the metrical structure of a line or a poem should be treated as being independent of its (musical) performance – the same text with the same metrical structure can be performed in various ways, and the performance has in itself no influence on the metrical structure of the text (e.g. Jakobson 1988 [1958]: 46). In the research tradition of Estonian and Finnish folksongs, the literary metricists have admitted this principle (Põldmäe 1978: 22–23, 153–154; Leino 1986: 141–143). Ethnomusicologists, however, emphasize the need to take into account both the meter of the text and the musical meter when analyzing folksongs (Sarv 2001: 103–106; Leisiö 2000). Thus, when analyzing a song meter, literary researchers tend to treat it as a text and attempt to discover which patterns have been used to organize the words and the syllables into lines. Folklorists and ethnomusicologists, on the other hand, endeavour to find out what creates the rhythm of the song as a whole, inasmuch as it constitutes a combination of text, melody and performance.

Although we cannot deny that both the text and the music have structures of their own, we likewise cannot ignore the fact that folksongs have evolved and been developed through the symbiosis of text, music and performance. The traditional manner of performance and the properties of the melody may have their influence on the form of the text; everything together creates the rhythm in the song as a whole. When analyzing the meter of Estonian folksongs, the reciprocal relationship of text and music appeared to be significant and as a result I have come to the conclusion that metrical and musical templates mutually structure one another (see also Sarv 2011a).

The relationship between the metrical and the musical structure of lines is quite clear-cut in *regilaul* – mostly there are eight musical units corresponding to eight verse positions (see e.g. Ross & Lehiste 2001). As a rule, every musical unit corresponds to one syllable as well, but if there are more or fewer syllables – the number of syllables in a line can span from six to twelve – those syllables must be somehow divided between eight musical or rhythmical units. The recurrent melody with its stable rhythmical division enables us to recognize which units of text the singer perceives as metrically equivalent. On the basis of recordings and notations, we know that there are options in *regilaul* tradition to fill a verse position with two light syllables (e.g. *o-li mi-nul / o-li mi-nul / õ-ed / hel-lad*), to leave the last verse position empty (*kui mi-na / hak-kan / lau-le-/ma*) or to add a short conjunction or exclamation at the beginning of the line (*oi / o-leks / mi-nu / o-le-/mi-ne*). From the recordings and notations we know as well that syllables with long vowel matter (in the present-day language) are sometimes rendered as two syllables in the metrical schema. This rendering is often based on the syllabification of a historical word form (*pih-la-/kas pe-/a la-/e-le* < **laγelle*), but the option has been generalized by analogy to all syllables with a long vowel or diphthong (cf. *pe-/a* is not the result of a historical contraction of syllables).

Typological Categories for Analysis

In order to get an overview of the shares of Kalevala-meter and of syllabic-accentual runosong meter in *regilaul*, I grouped all the verse lines in my sample into four verse groups. In addition to the broken, accentual and quantitative verses already addressed above, I included a fourth category of irregular verses for verses that do not follow the other systems (e.g. *kus me / see kul-/la pa-/ne-me*; *val-ge / li-na-/de va-/hel-ta*; *tull / üts / ve-i / ü-te*). Moreover, I also established the occurrence of the more common rhythmic variations of *regilaul*: verses with double positions (two syllables in one verse position), septi-positional verses and verses with a pre-beat.



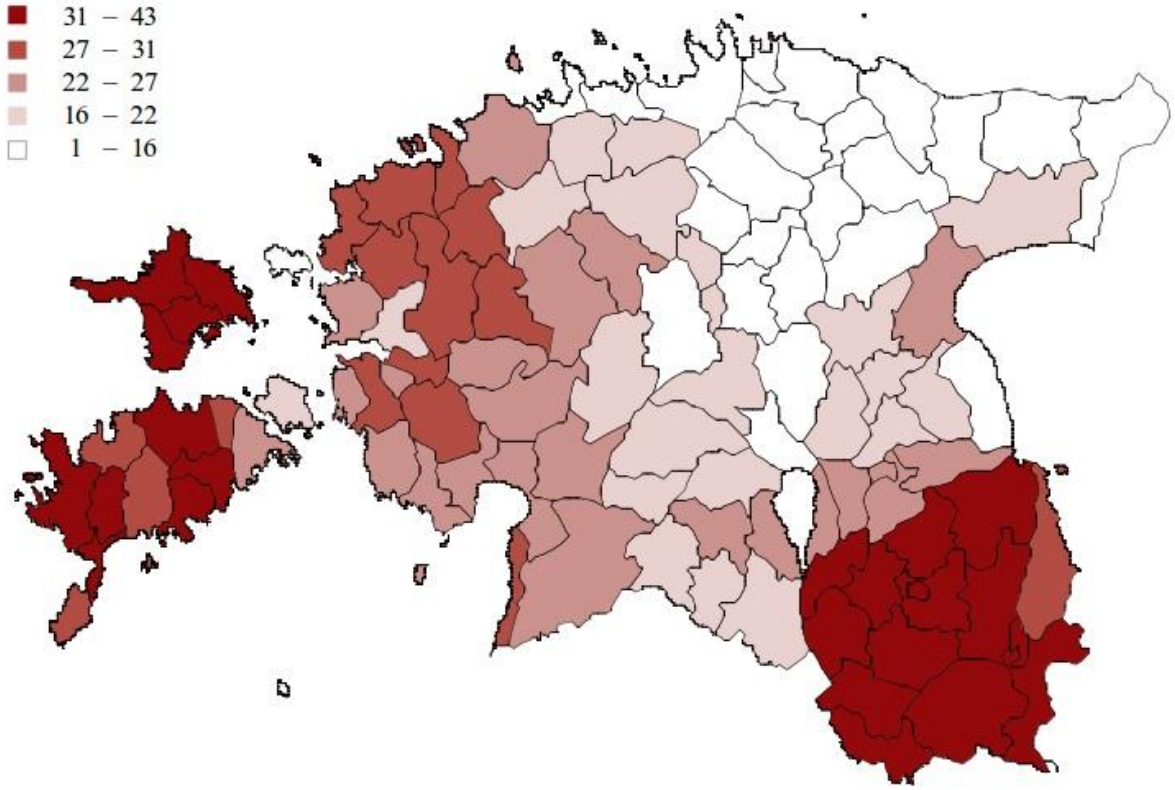
Map 1. Percentage of broken verses (Sarv 2008: 41).

Grouping the verses and detecting the rhythmic variations presumes the syllables to be divided into the 8 verse positions. In more regular cases, such as the lines with 8 syllables and/or a clear metrical structure, it was possible to detect the metrical grouping and rhythmic features automatically. In cases that were more complicated, there were often several possible ways to divide the syllables into the verse positions. For example, the line *mis seal saluna sineti* should be considered irregular if divided *mis seal / sa-lu-/na si-/ne-ti*, because the location of short stressed (word-initial) syllables does not follow the rules of either meter. At the same time, it may be divided *mis seal / sa-lu-na / si-ne-/ti*, resulting in a septipositional syllabic-accentual line with two syllables in third verse position.

It was not possible to rely on the sound recordings for several reasons: *a*) as the sound recordings in general derive from a later period than written source texts, we cannot presume that the tradition has remained the same and that the recordings represent the traditional way of singing those texts written down ca. half a century earlier; *b*) the corpus of recordings is much scarcer than that of the written texts, and it is often impossible to detect the degree to which the recordings represent (a sociolect or dialect of) the tradition or an individual manner of expression (idiolect); *c*) there are regional differences in the performance tradition as well. Taking all of these into account would mean giving up my aim to study my research sample according to common principles, and the metrical analysis of texts from different regions would no longer be directly comparable to one another. As a result, I have decided to divide the syllables into the lines following the common principles for the whole sample, following the presumable division of syllables in the 'average Estonian' performance tradition. In the metrically ambiguous cases, I chose *a*) Kalevala-metric variants and *b*) metrically regular variants when possible.

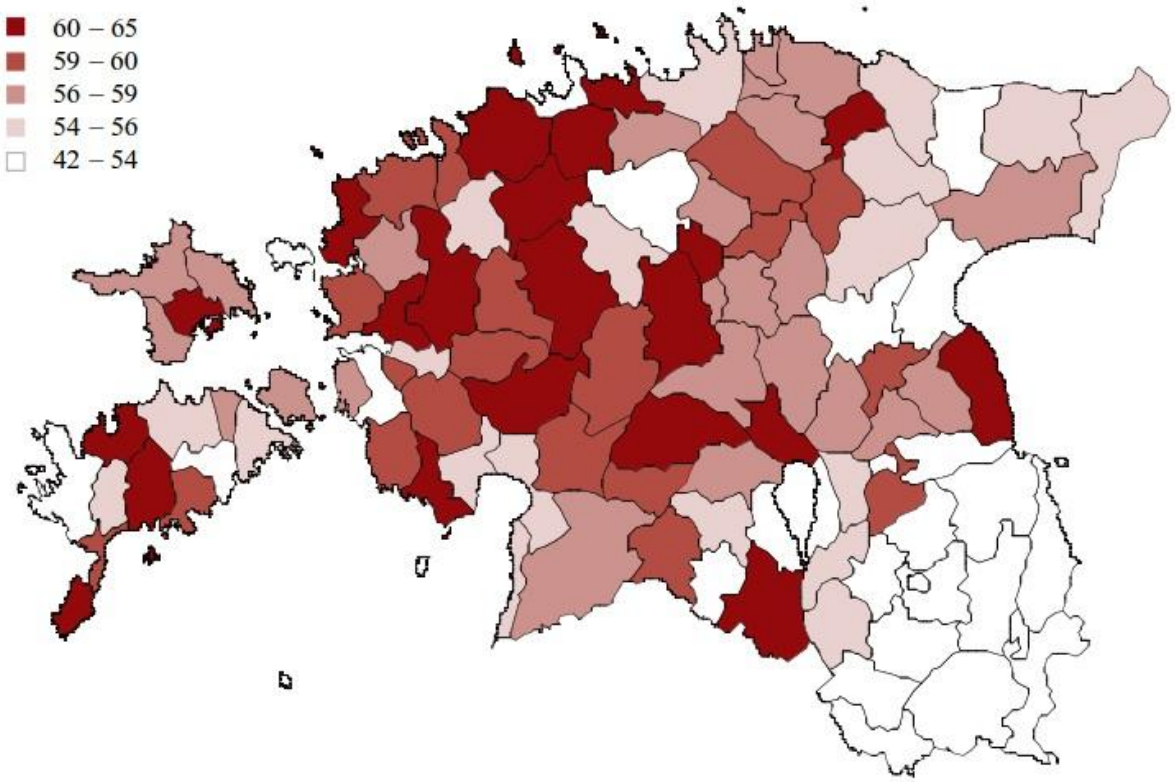
The Meter of **regilaul** *and Its Regional Variants*

The description of the Estonian *regilaul* meter can be based on the outcomes and mapping of the statistical results of the analysis. The spread of broken and accentual verses turned out to be geographically very coherent. Broken verses occur most frequently in the songs of eastern Estonia with the exception of south-eastern Estonia (Map 1), while accentual verses occur most frequently in western Estonia and in south-eastern Estonia

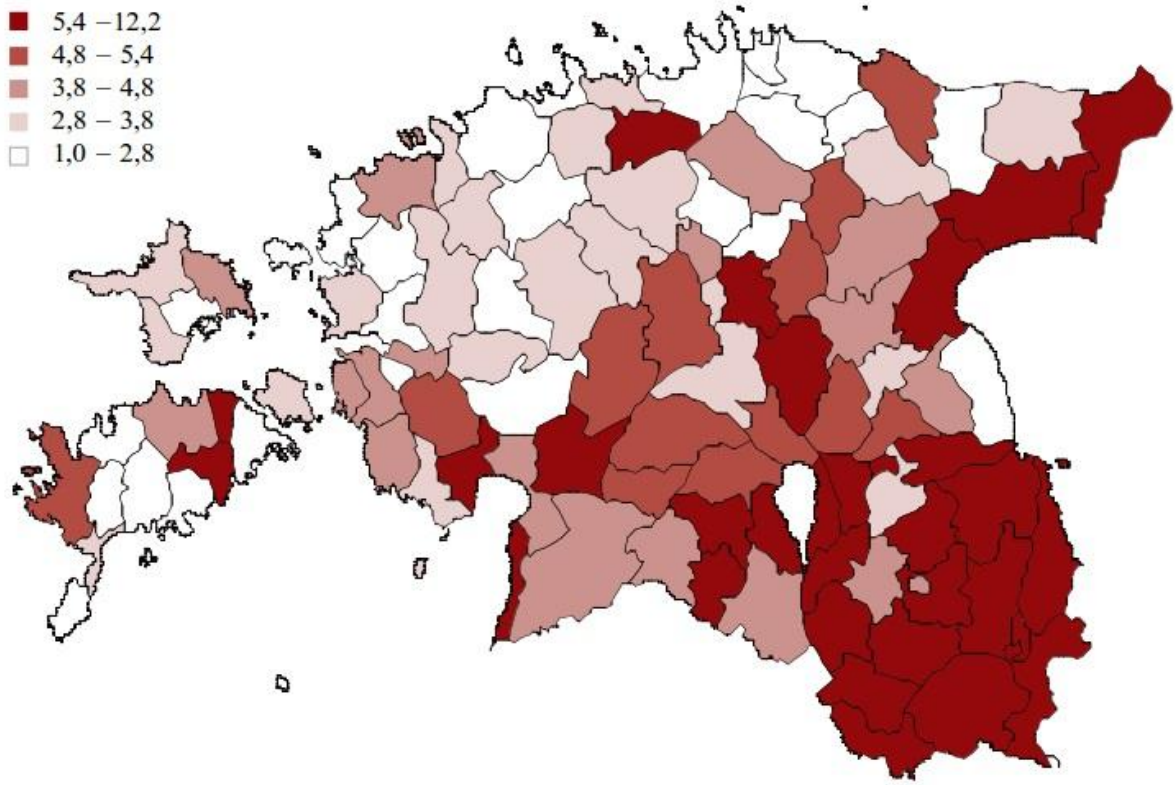


Map 2. Percentage of accentual verses (Sarv 2008: 41).

(Map 2). In other words, in the songs of the (north-)eastern part of Estonia the Kalevala-meter is dominant, whereas in the western and south-eastern part of Estonia the syllabic-accentual meter dominates. All over Estonia, both line types are represented, therefore the meter of *regilaul* can be defined as an intermediate or transitional form from Kalevala-meter to the syllabic-accentual one. It is evident that the language of the more Kalevala-metric songs is more archaic, whereas in the songs where the syllabic-



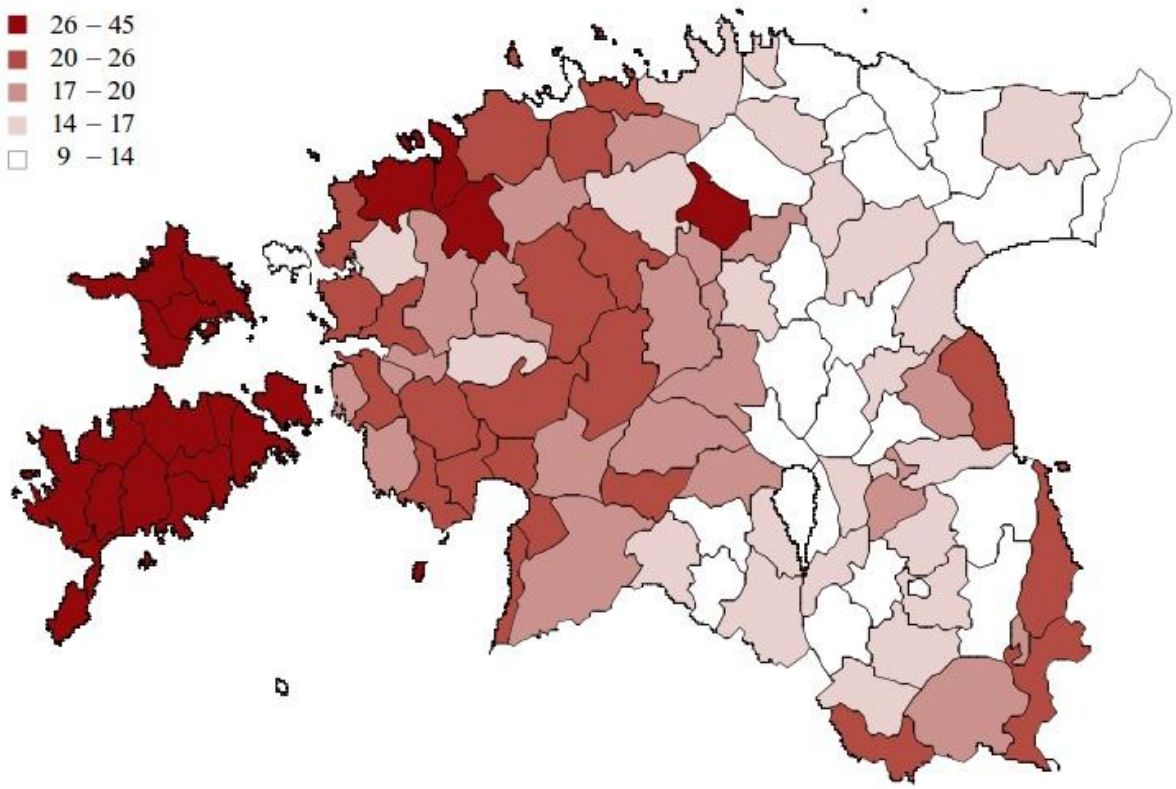
Map 3. Percentage of quantitative verses (Sarv 2008: 42).



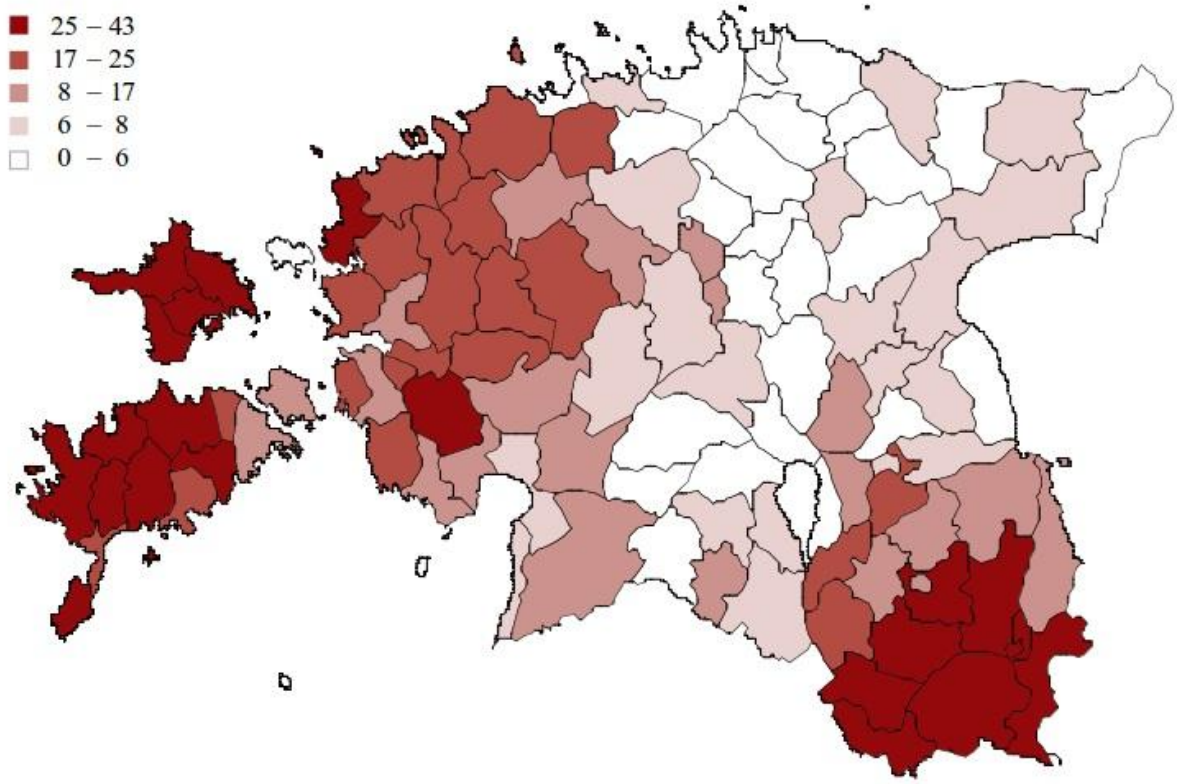
Map 4. Percentage of irregular verses (Sarv 2008: 42).

accentual meter dominates, more contracted, shortened word forms are general. There is a strong negative correlation between the occurrence of broken and accentual verses (r = –0.9) across all the parish samples. The strength of this correlation indicates that broken and accentual verses may be treated as two possible alternatives when positioning short stressed syllables.

The percentage of occurrence of quantitative verses (Map 3) and irregular verses (Map 4) displays a negative correlation



Map 5. Percentage of verses with double positions (Sarv 2008: 43).

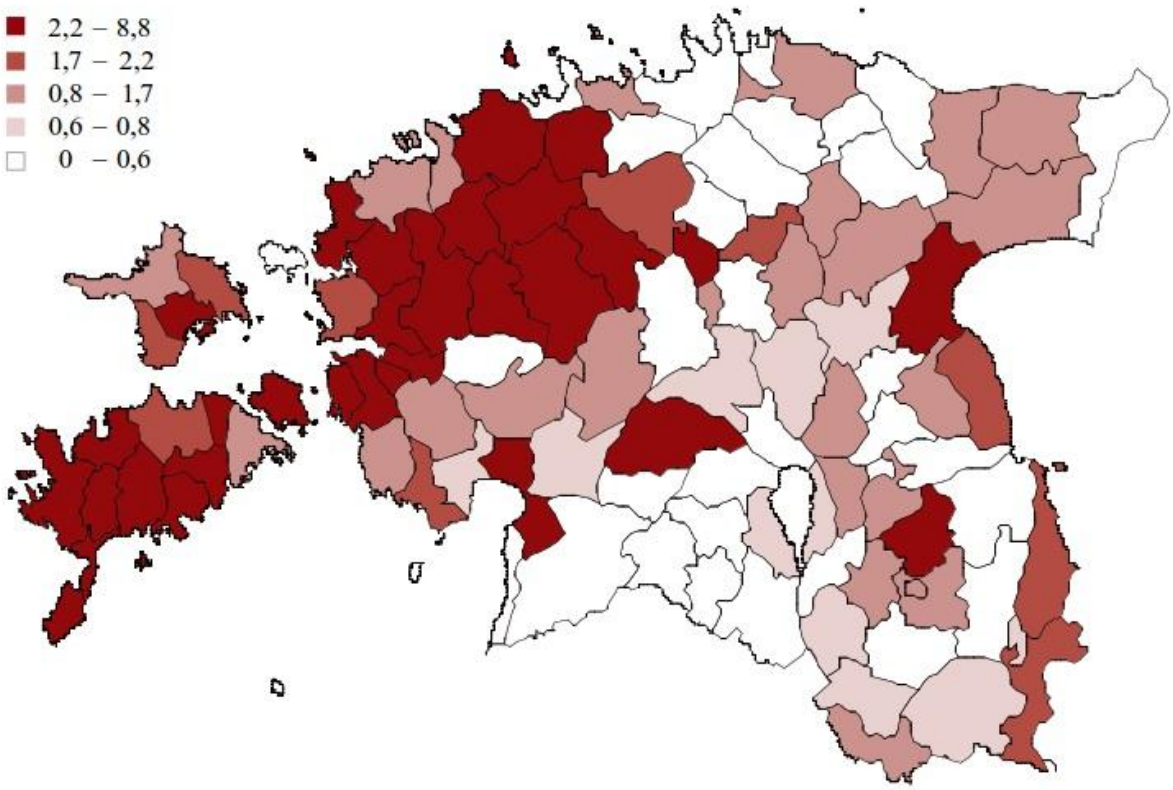


Map 6. Percentage of septipositional verses (Sarv 2008: 43).

(r = –0.8) as well. The geographical distribution of the quantitative and irregular lines is not that coherent, but there is still a clear increase of irregular verses from north-western Estonia towards the southeast, resulting in more than 10% of lines in the songs of some parishes of south-eastern-most Estonia (in the other regions of Estonia, the percentage of irregular lines spans from 1.5% to 6%, rarely more).

The correlation between these line types indicates that there should be an alternative to the regular trochaicity, represented by the quantitative lines. A closer look at the irregular lines in the south-eastern songs revealed that a new metrical rule had evolved. Namely, overlong syllables, which have been historically in development as a result of the loss of vowel and the amalgamation of what were historically two syllables into one syllable, can still fill two verse positions. Compare, for example, the archaic word forms in a quantitative line from the northern part of Estonia *tu-li ük-s**i** suu-r**i** tuu-l**i*** [‘There came a strong wind’] with the shortened word forms in the line *tull üts*, *ve-i ü-te* [‘There came one, and took one’] from a south-eastern song. As discussed above, the rule is common all over Estonia in the case of syllables with either a long vowel or diphthong, and seems to be in use in south-eastern songs more than elsewhere. In south-eastern songs, however, the rule has been expanded to cover the overlong syllables with a short vowel as well, still fitting perfectly within the fifth rule of Kalevala-meter. To a certain extent, the phenomenon has been generalized by analogy to all overlong syllables, regardless of historical word forms. In the songs of the south-eastern-most county, Võrumaa, an overlong syllable in 20% of lines filled two verse positions, either with a long vowel, diphthong or short vowel.

Verses with double positions and those with a pre-beat are more numerous in western Estonia (Maps 5 and 7) while septipositional verses can mostly be found in western Estonia and south-eastern Estonia (Map 6). All the examined rhythmic variations (verses with double positions, septipositional verses and verses with a pre-beat) are negatively correlated to the occurrence of broken verses and positively correlated to that of the accentual verses. The broken lines are known by their ability to accommodate trisyllabic words that would be problematic in the case of a syllabic-accentual trochee (Leino 1986). At the same time, broken lines vivify the monotony of the recurrent trochaic rhythm. Both functions of the broken lines are



Map 7. Percentage of verses with a pre-beat (Sarv 2008: 44).

satisfied by the rhythmic variations described in transition process of the *regilaul* meter from Kalevala-meter to the syllabic-accentual meter.

The Estonian *regilaul* verse has a syllabic-quantitative-accentual meter, the metrical structure of which is described by the following scheme:

&XXABABA(C)&

Within this scheme '&' signifies an obligatory word break and the following rules of correspondence apply:

1. Every position of A, B, and X may correspond to one syllable, or to two light syllables which are by and large insignificant in regards to their contents.
2. The position of C corresponds to one syllable that does not carry the primary stress.
3. Long stressed syllables of polysyllabic words do not fall into position B (nor C).
5. The syllabification may occasionally or systematically be performed according to the underlying historical word forms, namely the overlong syllables may fill two verse positions.

The historical form of Estonian *regilaul* may be identified within the Kalevala-meter in which the verse, scheme and rules of correspondence differ from that of the Estonian *regilaul* verse meter in small details; however, the essential characteristic of the Kalevala-meter is the fourth rule of correspondence that is not manifested in the Estonian *regilaul*:

4. Short stressed syllables of polysyllabic words do not fall into position A (nor in C).

Three regions of verse structure could clearly be distinguished on the basis of verse properties:

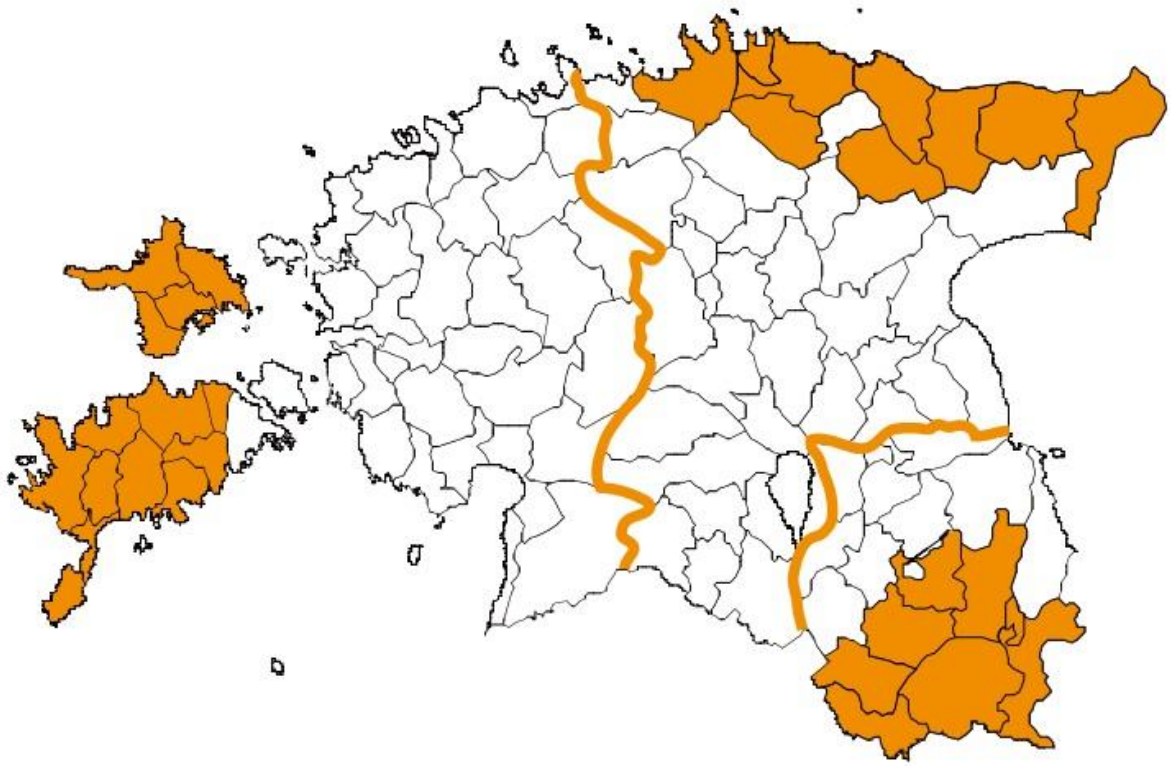
1. The region of northern Estonian meter, the verse structure of which is most similar to that of the Kalevala-meter and in which there were relatively fewer instances of rhythmic variations compared to other regions. In this region, the verse scheme is:

   &XXABABAC&

2. The region of western Estonian meter, which is characterized by a high proportion of accentual verses as well as a large quantity of all of the rhythmic variations examined. In this region, the verse scheme is:

   &(X)&XXABABA(C)&

3. The region of south-eastern meter, in which there are a plenty of accentual and septipositional verses. The verse scheme corresponds to the general scheme, but in the case of the fifth rule of correspondence the variant systematically holds true, or it may be reworded: the sequence of positions AB



Map 8. The metrical regions of Estonian regilaul and their core areas (Sarv 2008: 44).

and XX may correspond to an overlong syllable.

In all three regions, one can distinguish core areas where regional peculiarities are most distinctly manifested. All core areas are located on the borders of Estonia: Viru County, Võru County and the western islands, and these peculiar properties become dispersed towards the center of Estonia.

The occurrence of verse types and rhythmic variations exhibits geographic cohesion: mapping the distribution of verse properties reveals the existence of both clear-cut and gradual transitions in types of variation between the regions rather than variation being random. This testifies to the following:

1. The verse typology and additional features as well as methodology proved good choices for analysis because the results were indeed able to reveal the regional peculiarities of the verse structure of Estonian *regilaul*.
2. Textual distortions occasioned by collecting and a certain subjectivity in the distribution of syllables into verse positions have not been significant enough to affect the final geography of the results.
3. The properties of verse structures have geographically manifested themselves rather distinctly, and generally are superordinate to the properties of the song type, genre or individual specifics.

Clear geographical cohesion is not too common in observing folklore (see e.g. Krikmann 1997: 210), and in this regard it actually recalls rather the patterns of the distribution of linguistic features. This seems to indicate either the linguistic modality of the *regilaul* itself – the poetic form of *regilaul* as a specific variety of language – or its close connection to the language – *regilaul* as a secondary modelling system (see Lotman 2006) that is based on the natural language and thus adopts some of its properties.

There is a general assumption that verse meter is dependent on the prosodic structure of a language, and that this should be especially the case with folksongs in an oral tradition. To prove this statement, usually the metrical systems used in different languages with different prosodic systems are compared. I am not aware of any study that explores the geographical variation of the verse meter of an oral tradition which makes it possible to relate the results to dialect prosody. The present study demonstrates that the meter may be a subject of remarkable geographical variation, provided it forms part of an oral tradition using vernacular language as its source for the cumulative recreation of texts typical to the folklore.

Mari Sarv (mari[at]haldjas.folklore.ee) Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, Vanemuise 42, 51003 Tartu, Estonia.

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Notes

1. Etymologically, the term *runo* is related to e.g. Old Norse *rún* [‘charm, secret magical knowledge; letter of the runic alphabet’] although it seems to have been borrowed as an agentive noun for the one performing poetry, and presumably magical poetry, like its use in Old English *hellerune* [‘one skilled in the mysteries of death; sorceress; necromancer’] (Frog 2013: 64).
2. By trochaic, I mean the regular alternation of strong and weak positions in the metrical pattern. In the more regular variants of trochee, the strong positions are filled either by long syllables (quantitative trochee) or by stressed syllables (syllabic-accentual), opposed respectively by short or unstressed syllables in weak positions. In the case of Kalevala-meter, neither quantity nor stress alone constitute the metrical pattern; the strong and weak positions are defined by combining both prosodic features.
3. See, for example, the discussion on the quantity of stressed syllables in Izhorian runosongs in Kiparsky 1968.

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"Man is the Measure of All Things": The System of Kennings as a Tangible Object[1]

Ilya V. Sverdlov, Helsinki

Abstract: Although it is commonplace in scholarship today to talk about a 'system' of kennings or 'kenning system', critical discussion has tended to take the qualification 'system' for granted and left this topic unexplored. The present paper presents a study of extended kennings which reveals that the systemic network of kennings have different referents. It shows that kennings for MAN/WARRIOR *are at the center of this network.*

Perhaps the most famous (or at least most widely known) feature of Old Norse poetry is its kennings – the expressions that call BATTLE *rain of the helmet* with unnumbered variations or GOLD *otter's ransom*. These dazzling circumlocutions that characterize the so-called skaldic or court poetry can seem elegant and exotic to a reader (or simply intimidating in their complexity); not surprisingly, kennings have come to be known widely outside of Old Norse studies, often as an oddity or curiosity, but almost inevitably as a phenomenon of interest. Readers of *RMN Newsletter* will have encountered a number of discussions of kennings in earlier issues, ranging from flexibility or ambiguity in their use and interpretation (Osborne 2012; Potts 2013), uses in non-skaldic genres of so-called eddic poetry (Frog 2013) and its later form in *sagnakvæði* (Þorgeirsson 2012) all of the way to questions of skaldic pedagogy (Frog 2012). However, the central characteristic of skaldic kennings that has drawn so much attention to them is that rather than a static lexicon of embellishments typical for many poetic traditions, kennings exhibit an astounding degree of variation through a highly productive tool that scholars call the 'kenning system'. Yet the exact meaning of this expression remains elusive; the aim of this paper is, accordingly, to re-assess the source material in an attempt to make explicit the systemic features hidden in it. With Protagoras's quote as a guide – *Man is the measure of all things* – the system of kennings may be made into a tangible object.

À la recherche du système perdu

The honour of introducing the very term 'system of kennings' into scholarly discourse seems to belong to Georg Paul Rudolf Meissner (1862–1948), a famous German philologist and erstwhile rector of Bonn University. The term's debut was as the title ("Das System der Kenningar") of the second part of Meissner's fundamental 1921 work, *Die Kenningar der Skalden* ['The Kennings of the Skalds']. Since then, the term has as though taken on a life of its own – which is somewhat strange because one thing that this part of his work does not contain is a system: the 349-page section is a thesaurus or a systematic dictionary, while any underlying 'system' remains, at best, implicit.

Meissner's work set out to be a near-exhaustive survey of kennings in Old Norse poetry and in associated literature like Snorri Sturluson's *ars poetica* called *Edda*. To accomplish this, Meissner compiled all of the kennings found in the still fundamental edition of skaldic poetry by Finnur Jónsson (*Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*; *Skj* hereafter) and those listed in its dictionary companion, *Lexicon Poeticum*. These were organized thematically in the 106 sub-chapters of "Das System der Kenningar", each dedicated to kennings denoting the same thing or group of things, e.g. WARRIOR, SHIELD, SWORD, SHIP etc. Meissner performs a vital scholarly service by putting together a representative (if likely not 100% percent complete) sample of kennings[2] and by providing some (rather basic) tools for the navigation of his corpus. Crucially, however, his presentation does not amount to a system. the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines the term 'system' as follows: "a regularly interacting or interdependent group of items forming a unified whole"; the *Oxford English Dictionary* has it as follows:

> A set or assemblage of things connected, associated, and interdependent, so as to form a complex unity; a whole composed of parts in orderly arrangement according to some scheme or plan.

Identical or similar definitions are to be found in other authoritative sources. The key of this definition is the logical "and" – for something to be called a system, it must have a set of elements *and* a set of connections between these elements that provide for their interaction/interdependence, thereby forming an integrated whole. In the particular case of Meissner's book, the *set* of components of the system of kennings is indeed present, yet not much is explicitly said about their *interaction* and *interdependence*. The word 'system' in the title of the book's second part remains, on the face of it, nothing more than a label, an unfulfilled claim.

The principal aim of this paper is to fulfill Meissner's claim and to discuss some interesting properties of the system of skaldic kennings that emerges. In order to do that, it is necessary, first, to remind ourselves about the basics of skaldic kennings, then to retrace the steps that Meissner took in preparing his material, and, finally, to take those additional steps that his plan clearly called for owing to the nature of the source material, but that were never realized. The probable reasons for which Meissner never took these additional steps will also be discussed.

Kennings: Their Referents and Structure

The scholarly community still lacks a universally accepted definition of the skaldic kenning, or even one that would match the totality of the skaldic kenning material. However, there is a universal agreement that a kenning has two basic elements, customarily referred to as the *baseword* and the *determinant*,[3] and when these are combined according to somewhat complex rules prescribed by a pre-determined traditional pattern that I like to call a 'kenning-model', the end result (a 'kenning-instance') functions in a skaldic sentence in the same way that a single Old Norse noun would; that is, kennings are nothing but grotesquely embellished pronouns. A kenning is thus customarily said to "replace a single noun of ordinary Old Norse",[4] and the "noun" it replaces is termed the kenning's *referent*. This phrasing, however, is not quite correct. No single noun of the Old Norse vocabulary can be claimed to be the one a given kenning replaces, even in a strict grammatical sense, hence kenning referents are here presented in SMALL CAPITALS rather than as translations.[5] While scholars correctly say that kennings for MAN/WARRIOR have 'man' or 'warrior' (both nouns of ordinary English) as their referent (hence their scholarly designation), the function of a MAN/WARRIOR kenning is that of a personal pronoun, not of any particular Old Norse noun that is translated by English 'warrior', for example, *seggr* or *kappi* or even *maðr*. A kenning's referent, be it BATTLE, SWORD or anything else, is thus never a real Old Norse word but an abstract meta-linguistic notion or concept, a label for class of synonyms of which kennings for, say, 'battle' are members alongside other Old Norse words that mean 'battle'.

I like to describe this as *a box with a label and two compartments*. The kenning itself, or, to be precise, the *kenning-model*, is the *box*. The *label* is the kenning's referent (to repeat, an abstract meta-linguistic notion, a label for a class of synonyms) that the kenning denotes/replaces in a skaldic text – WARRIOR, SHIP etc. – attached to the box (there are more boxes than labels; the group of boxes that have identical labels is the *kenning-lexeme*). The box's *compartments* are the *baseword* and *determinant*. In order to use the *kenning-model* in a skaldic text, you have to produce a *kenning-instance* (coin a new kenning), and to do that you have to fill the compartments; naturally, there are rules for what you can put in them. For the *baseword compartment*, there is only one thing you can put into it (this rule knows only an extremely limited set of exceptions) – a single Old Norse noun, normally a simplex but sometimes a compound (Sverdlov 2003a). This noun functions as the kenning's connection to the outer world of the sentence: it is grammatically marked by case and number as determined by the sentence's syntax and the kenning's role in it. The *determinant compartment* accepts two kinds of filler – one is, again, an Old Norse noun (simplex or, rarely, compound), the other is, crucially, another kenning (which yields a box within a box, much like a Russian doll). The determinant, whatever its form, is insulated from the sentence syntax (the so-called

(1.i)	*nausta blakkr*	'horse of the ship-shed'	> SHIP
(ii)	{*nausta blakks*} *máni*	'moon of SHIP'	> SHIELD
(iii)	{{*nausta blakks*} *mána*} *gífr*	'giantess of SHIELD'	> AXE
(iv)	{{{*nausta blakks*} *mána*} *gífrs*} *drífa*	'blizzard of AXE'	> BATTLE
(v)	{{{{*nausta blakks*} *mána*} *gífrs*} *drífu*} *gim*	'gem [FIRE] of BATTLE'	> SWORD
(vi)	{{{{{*nausta blakks*} *mána*} *gífrs*} *drífu*} *gim-*}*slǫngvir*	'waver of SWORD'	> MAN/WARRIOR

opacity of the kenning), depends on the baseword and is *grammatically subordinate* to it.

A kenning in which both baseword and determinant are single Old Norse words (called *heitis* in this function) is called a *simple kenning*, as in example (1.i). There, the determinant *nausta*, genitive plural of *naust* ['ship-shed'], is combined with *blakkr*, a synonym for horse; this choice of heitis matches the requirements of one of the several kenning-models with referent SHIP, which accepts as basewords Old Norse words that denote (large-ish) animals and, as determinants, those that denote a ship-related object (sheds, rolling pins, sails, rigging, etc).

A kenning that has a kenning for a determinant is called an *extended kenning*, as in example (1.ii), where a baseword *máni* ['the moon'] has for its determinant a simple kenning *nausta blakkr*.[6] This choice of filler matches the requirements of one of the several kenning-models with the referent SHIELD, which accepts as basewords Old Norse words that denote round or flat objects and, as determinants, those words and kennings that denote ships. Note that this extended kenning has two basewords: one filling the baseword compartment of the 'outer' box with the label SHIELD, and another filling the baseword compartment of the 'inner' box with the label SHIP. Note also that the determinant compartments of the two boxes are filled in a different manner – that of the 'outer' box is filled with 'inner' box (*nausta blakks*), that of the 'inner' box is filled with a heiti, *nausta*. Note also that only the 'outer' kenning directly interacts with the skaldic sentence, while the 'inner' one is insulated from it; my term for the latter is *embedded kenning*.

The extension, however, is not limited to the determinant of the 'top' kenning; the determinant compartment of the 'inner' kenning box is as good for another kenning as that of the top box, yielding a box inside a box inside a box. This nesting procedure, or, to use another programming term, recursion, can produce rather long kennings. Three- and four-fold kennings are quite common, whereas kennings extended further are rare. The longest attested, six-fold kenning appears in a stanza by Þórðr Særeksson (*Skj* B_I: 302, stanza 1 of *Þórolfs drápa Skolmssonar*): *nausta blakks mána gífrs drífu gim-slöngvir* [literally, 'waver of the gem of the blizzard of the giantess of the moon of the horse of the ship-shed' > WARRIOR]. This kenning, illustrated in (1.i–vi), features a total of six basewords and one final determinant, and 'engulfs' both examples discussed above.

In this example, we have six kennings (imagine a Russian doll that contains five other dolls within itself); five of them, those for SWORD (1.v), BATTLE (1.iv), AXE (1.iii), SHIELD (1.ii) and SHIP (1.i), are inner, *embedded kennings*, insulated from the sentence syntax, and only one is the *standalone kenning*, the outer kenning for MAN/WARRIOR (1.vi) that hides the other five within its *chain of extension*. Note that, for the majority of skaldic referents (some of the exceptions are discussed below), identical kenning-models can be used to coin both embedded and standalone kenning-instances; however, even while there is a number of identical kenning-instances used both in embedded and standalone manner, normally there are important differences between the filler of embedded and standalone kenning-instances.

The textual function of this skaldic monster (1.vi) that stretches over three lines in Þórðr's stanza is nothing more than that of a personal pronoun, *he* (alliteration in bold, rhyming syllables, i.e. *hendingar*, underlined):

(1.vii) ok **g**im-sl<u>ǫng</u>vir **g**ang<u>a</u>
gí<u>f</u>rs hlé-mána drí<u>f</u>u
n<u>aus</u>ta blakks it **n**æ<u>st</u>a
N<u>orð</u>manna gram þ<u>orð</u>i

Prose word-order (kenning underlined): ok <u>nausta blakks hlé-mána drífu gim-slǫngvir</u> þorði ganga it næsta Norðmanna gram

> and he [WARRIOR] dared (*þorði*) to march (*ganga*) side by side with (*it næsta*) the king (*gram*) of Norwegians (*Norðmanna*).

Skaldic scholarship has traditionally concerned itself principally with simple kennings (think an empty Russian doll). This preoccupation, I believe, stems from a false assumption that a skaldic kenning is ultimately a metaphor. Indeed, at the first cursory glance, many simple kennings seem to more or less conform to the Aristotelian definition of metaphor by analogy (quoted passim, e.g. Clunies Ross 1987: 97; it was introduced into skaldic scholarly discourse by Heusler who picked this definition to coin his own "Metapher mit Ablenkung" in his 1922 review of Meissner's book), as well as to other classical definitions of rhetorical devices such as metonymy. However, it is hazardous to interpret, let alone define, kennings in terms of those tools; in marginalizing important examples and straightjacketing the overall image of kennings' actual range of variation in texts, this approach misses the essential, the true nature of the kenning – which is a phenomenon as unique as skaldic poetry and *dróttkvætt* meter themselves. Most notably, extended kennings tend to be left outside of analyses, as though they were somehow secondary in importance to the simple ones. This is hardly warranted by facts of the skaldic corpus. For example, Meissner spends less than one page discussing extended kennings in his introduction (1921: 40–41), but then proceeds to list roughly 2,400 examples of kennings for MAN/WARRIOR, among which about 1,300 are extended kennings (!!!) as opposed to 1,100 simple ones. This alone foregrounds the necessity to take a much closer look at extended kennings, even if kennings for other referents may exhibit different ratios of simple to extended kennings.[7] The most pressing reason to do so, however, is that precisely here is a site where the functioning of the system is to be observed.

If the aim is to apprehend the system of skaldic kennings and make it explicit, identifying the set of elements (in our case, boxes, kenning-models) that make it up is only the first step; it is also necessary, as per the above-mentioned definition(s), to identify the links that chain these elements together. In looking for an order in chaos, such links may be introduced artificially, 'read' into the material by scholars (one may remember Borges' classification of animals); in our case, however, this cannot happen because there is a natural link. This link, of course, is extension itself: two kennings, say, for SHIELD and SHIP, are *naturally* joined together because the latter regularly fits into the determinant compartment of the former, as in example (1.ii) above. This relationship is also directional: basewords of inner kennings are grammatically subordinate to basewords of outer kennings, and this naturally translates into the subordination of one kenning to another, which introduces a hierarchy. The patterns of relationships of this type provide a key site for examining the system of links between kennings.

When attention is turned to extended kennings, Meissner's study seems to compartmentalize kennings according to referent. This has in turn shaped the way that later scholars have tended to view kennings, focusing primarily on simple kennings as these are the cases in which the putative semantic relationship between the two heitis that form a kenning and the kenning's referent are somewhat more approachable for modern readers and scholars. However, when attention is turned to extended kennings, one starts to look at the *links* between kennings with different referents according to how they are interrelated. From this perspective, SHIELD and SHIP, rather than existing as two compartmentalized, unrelated sub-chapters as they do in Meissner's book, cease to be just a couple of entries in a thematically organized list of kenning referents and enter into a subordinate relation, where SHIP (and its kennings) is subordinated to SHIELD (and its kennings). This shift in view to place emphasis on the *system* in all its complexity rather than isolating its elements has a transformative effect on how the material is viewed and is nothing less than revolutionary in more than a century of intensive scholarship.

The honour of finding this guiding principle belongs to Olga Smirnitskaya, a Russian Germanic philologist, language

(2) *sárjǫkuls geima þrym-svellir* (Haukr Valdísarson, *Íslendingadrápa* 14; *Skj* B_I: 542)

sár-jǫkull	'icicle of wound'	> SWORD
{*sár-jǫkuls*} *geimi*	'sea of SWORD'	> BLOOD
{{*sár-jǫkuls*] *geima*} *þrym*	'noise of BLOOD'	> BATTLE
{{{*sár-jǫkuls*} *geima*} *þrym-*}*svellir*	'sweller of BATTLE'	> MAN/WARRIOR

(3) *ǫlna foldar eld-runnr* (Hallar-Steinn, *Rekstefja* 27; *Skj* B_I: 532)

ǫlna fold	'land of mackerel'	> SEA
{*ǫlna foldar*} *eldr*	'fire of SEA'	> GOLD
{{*ǫlna foldar*} *eld-*}*runnr*	'tree of GOLD'	> MAN/WARRIOR

historian and metricist. The topic comes forward in her late 20th century papers (mostly published in Russian) dedicated to skaldic *lausavísur*, i.e. verses or stanzas that are preserved independent of distinct poems and often presented in the sources as situational improvisations. In that work, she discusses the puzzling issue of how to account for the fact that kennings for WARRIOR, GOLD, SHIP, etc. survive in these so-called 'isolated stanzas' in Iceland. The issue is puzzling because at least two factors would seem to rule out their use in Icelandic verses: firstly, such kennings are not natural for the genre of *lausavísur*, unlike the core skaldic genre of the kingly encomia;[8] secondly, these are Icelandic *lausavísur*, and Iceland did not have a king, or court hierarchy, or in fact battles between nations (even ships were in increasingly short supply, on which see Byock 2001: 33, 257–259). So it seems as if there is no demand in this genre for such kennings, and there are also hardly any factual happenings that would call for their use. To quote Smirnitskaya, "the real problem, thus, is not to find a way to explain the genesis of kennings for SEA, BATTLE, BLOOD and GOLD in verses whose *raison d'être* is to immortalize the glory of a king but to explain why the same identical kennings appear in stanzas dealing with such mundane matters as hunger in Norway or cleaning a sheep shed" (Smirnitskaya 1995: 285). The answer is stunning in its obviousness: the *entirety* of the skaldic vocabulary is contained *within the extended kenning for* MAN/WARRIOR (Smirnitskaya 1995: 292).[9]

Thus, skaldic poetry not only provides us with the principle of kenning extension as our interdependence link for the kenning system, it also comes up with an *object* that holds all those links together – and, to boot, one that has been authentically created by it. The entire set of the most common kennings does appear in extension chains of the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR at all imaginable depths. Two more examples, in addition to Þórðr Særeksson's kenning mentioned above, are presented in (2–3). The chains of extension of these three kennings (1–3) alone contain all key skaldic referents – GOLD, SEA, SWORD, BATTLE, AXE, BLOOD, SHIELD, SHIP; if we add more examples, more notions/concepts will pop up. It is important, too, that such kennings are found in *all* kinds of skaldic stanzas: they are not genre-dependent.

The final piece of the system puzzle is the following non-trivial fact. Most kennings can extend each other; that is, a kenning for SWORD fits into the determinant box of a kenning for SHIELD, but the kenning for SHIELD fits into the determinant box of a kenning for SWORD equally well. However, there is *no kenning* with a determinant box that can hold a kenning for MAN/WARRIOR.[10] This is non-trivial not only due to the absence of such hypothetical models for a kenning for GOLD as, for example, **'the dispute of men' – the crucial feature is the presence in skaldic vocabulary of numerous kennings for KING/PRINCE that *do* have heitis for 'man'/'warrior' as determinants, for example *manna hirtir*, *gumna gætir*, or *rekka stillir* ['carer of men'] (Meissner 1921: 354–355). The system refused to use this 'opportunity' (all the more enticing because the lists of basewords for kennings of KING/PRINCE and MAN/WARRIOR do overlap a bit, with such heitis as *frǫmuðr* ['advancer'], *gætir* ['carer'], *stýrir* ['leader'] appearing in both) – and by doing so made the kenning for warrior *its natural core*. These facts produce the system – the extended kenning for MAN/WARRIOR turns

out to be a basic system-generating element that connects kennings and establishes their hierarchy. To quote Smirnitskaya: "because the subordination of kennings, for all cases of mutuality, is unidirectional [...] the kenning for man/warrior can, without any qualification, be called the top kenning of the skaldic kenning hierarchy" (Smirnitskaya 1995: 293). Thus, indeed, the *totality* of the kenning vocabulary is in fact contained in one particular element of this very vocabulary; the fact that the container happens to be the extended kenning for MAN/WARRIOR warranted the Protagoras quote in the title of this paper.

Some Limitations of Meissner's Work and Consequences of His Approach

Applying the above-mentioned facts and approaches will yield the system – one that not only matches the dictionary definition of the term 'system' but that also naturally stems from the properties of the source material (indeed it is *contained* within the source material, much like DNA is contained in each living cell). One only needs to apply these to the copious data compiled in Meissner's book. It also follows that one does not have to cover the whole of Meissner to come up with the results that nearly cover its whole – one can concentrate on the subchapter dedicated to kennings for MAN/WARRIOR (No. 88, "Mann"; Meissner 1921: 243–350). This way one creates the order out of the 'word hoard' unleashed onto us by skalds – with not a little help from Meissner.

This perspective immediately follows from Meissner's arrangement of the material. Indeed, Meissner must clearly have been aware of the system and he also made fundamental steps towards explicating this very order. Nevertheless, he still – to borrow a phrase from Dan Brown's Sir Leigh Teabing – robbed his reader of the climax. As if in full accordance with the above-mentioned principles, Meissner did carry out the necessary element-by-element analysis of simple kennings *and* kenning-by-kenning analysis of extended ones. This would have given him – and us – the system, had the latter side of the analysis been made explicit. As noted above, in each chapter Meissner groups together kenning-instances that have an identical referent. This principle for organization according to referent is also used in the presentation of extended kennings within each chapter: for each referent A, simple kennings are presented first and then extended kennings are presented according to the referent of the embedded kenning B – the one that functions as the determinant for kenning A (i.e. the 2nd kenning in the chain of extension of kenning A). These two features of kenning-instance arrangement constitute evidence that Meissner did at least carry out the analysis of first elements of extension chains.

Another feature proves that Meissner did, in fact, carry out the analysis of the full length of all chains. The evidence for this is the following. For example, in the case of extended kennings for MAN/WARRIOR, Meissner *cuts off* all the subordinate kennings for GOLD, SHIELD, SWORD etc. – separating the *embedded* kenning from the *standalone* one – and *puts each of these* into the chapters for kennings of the respective referent (GOLD, SHIELD, SWORD, etc.). Having done so, he proceeds to treat each of these embedded kennings in the same manner as standalone ones. Thus, to take the example of the extended kenning in (1.vi) above, Meissner puts it in its (standalone) extended entirety in the MAN/WARRIOR subchapter. Then he cuts off the (embedded) subordinate extended kenning for SWORD (1.v) that extends the full (1.vi) kenning and puts (1.v) into the subchapter for kennings for SWORD, within a group of other similar kennings that are extended by a (embedded) subordinate kenning for BATTLE. Then he cuts off the (embedded) subordinate extended kenning for BATTLE (1.iv) and puts it into the BATTLE chapter and so on, until the very last, simple embedded subordinate kenning for SHIP (1.i). This procedure of the progressive downward dissection of each extended kenning was systematic: in our case and in all other cases, each kenning, from (1.vi) to (1.i), was tagged with a reference to the source stanza in the edition of Finnur Jónsson.

Thus we are sure that, in each case, Meissner knew what he was cutting off, i.e. he made the full analysis of his corpus. We

would expect nothing less from a scholar; Meissner's study thus became a pioneering work of remarkable scope that has provided an essential infrastructure for the study of kennings and has continued to endure as a cornerstone in the scholarship for nearly a century. To quote the introduction to the new edition of skaldic poetry, "although the later work of Fidjestøl (1974), Kuhn (1983) and Marold (1983) offer refinements in this field, Meissner's work on kennings remains fundamental to the study of skaldic diction" (SPSMA 1_I: xxviii). However, as with any such study, its scope was also limited. Meissner focused on compartmentalizing kennings by referent and he analyzed extended kennings within that paradigm. He never made his method for breaking down extended kennings explicit, nor, crucially, did he distinguish between standalone and embedded kennings; in the case of our examples (1.i–vi), each kenning is tagged with an *identical* reference, and the reader of the book, on finding the kenning (1.iv) in the subchapter for BATTLE, has no way to know that this kenning is, in fact, not a standalone one but an embedded part of an extended kenning for SWORD, and that the latter is itself an embedded part of an extended kenning for MAN/WARRIOR. This limits the direct usability of Meissner's book. It is quite possible that Meissner made insightful observations concerning relationships between embedded kennings and the standalone kennings in which they appeared, but such patterns remained outside of his primary concerns and such observations never reached a watershed of concentrated attention.[11]

Meissner's approach had several consequences. First, his presentation leads the reader to believe that there are more kennings in the skaldic corpus than there really are. Second, and more significantly, the lack of differentiation between embedded and standalone kennings leads the reader to believe all of these belong to a single, homogeneous category. This has in turn affected the way scholars have viewed kennings in analyses up to the present day,[12] which has inhibited advancing toward Smirnitskaya's observation that through the embedded kennings we may see the hierarchy of relations between kenning referents. Once a difference between embedded and standalone kennings is acknowledged, it becomes possible to explore differences between them (see some preliminary observations on this subject in Gurevich & Matyushina 2000: 37ff.). These advances have revealed that the distinction between these types of kennings is fundamental to developing a proper understanding and description of the skaldic kenning system. All of this effectively means that Meissner's analysis must be redone with attention to hierarchies of kenning relations in order to observe the chains of extension for different kennings.

A Study on MAN/WARRIOR

The present study proceeded from Smirnitskaya's (1995: 292) insight that the entirety of the skaldic vocabulary is contained within the extended kenning for MAN/WARRIOR. This study is based upon a reanalysis of Meissner's corpus of such kennings with the aim of tracing all the interdependency links between skaldic referents as attested by chains of extensions of such kennings. When constructing the dataset on the basis of Meissner, some individual kennings were considered too problematic to analyze for the purposes of this study,[13] but this only reduced the size of Meissner's corpus by an insignificant number of examples, thus keeping the representativeness of the sample intact. The final corpus for this study numbered 1,304 fully analyzed extended kennings for MAN/WARRIOR. Examples cover all of the periods of skaldic poetry included in Meissner's survey.

This corpus embodies the system; it is the system's projection into skaldic texts. And just as the syntactic and morphological rules of a language have existence in the minds of the speakers of that language, the system of kennings existed in the minds of the carriers of the skaldic oral tradition. It is embodied by, and detected via analysis of, the chains of extension found in the corpus of extended kennings for MAN/WARRIOR. Once the reanalysis was done, there remained only one more step to make this system fully apprehensible: I had to construct a

representation of it that would make the connections between the skaldic kenning referents (concepts, notions) explicit. This tangible object – the visible equivalent of the real-life kenning system – is the directed graph[14] in Figure 1.

The structure of the graph is general, so it is not a tree, but we can still distinguish between three types of vertices (or nodes) – *a*) the unique central node that has no directed edges (or arrows) entering it, *b*) the terminal nodes (or sinks) that, on the contrary, have no arrows leaving them, and *c*) all other nodes (by the nature of my corpus, there are no isolated nodes). The nodes of the graph represent the concepts/notions, i.e. the referents the kennings for which are used to extend the kenning of MAN/WARRIOR. The arrows represent the following fact: if referent nodes A and B are connected by an arrow, and an arrow leaves node A and enters node B, then the kenning for referent B (NB! not a simple heiti, but a full-fledged kenning) is able to serve as a determinant for the kenning of referent A. The *level of a concept A* is the length of the shortest path between the central node (referent MAN/WARRIOR) and the node representing referent A. In this way, a hierarchy is introduced into the system of kennings – we can easily see that there are first-level, second-level and even third-level referents (concepts).[15]

Figure 1 has numbers on the graph edges (arrows) – these represent the total number of times *this particular edge* is used in all kenning extension chains studied in the present work *at any extension level*. We call this number *the power* of the edge; similarly, a node for a referent A also has a power – it is the sum total of powers of edges entering it, that is, the number of kennings which use this concept A in their extension chain at any level. The power of a given edge represents that link's *true value* for the system. The power of a node is to be distinguished from the node's in-degree and out-degree, that is, the number of arrows, respectively, entering and leaving a node; the degrees represent how well the given referent node is integrated into the system.

For the convenience of reading, the arrows in the figure are drawn in the following way: if several arrows enter a given concept circle at the same point, that means that *all* these arrows are of the same type, that is, they are either only entering arrows (in-arrows) or only leaving arrows (out-arrows). So when one sees several lines converging at the same point on a circle with one bold arrow at the end, one may be sure that all these are in-arrows. Bold circles are for first-level concepts, half-bold – for second-level ones, circles with thin line – for the third-level ones. Dashed lines form the circles of those first-level concepts that, although technically belonging to the first level, have their *first-level in-degree* at 10 or less (cf. the concepts SEA and HAND).

This graph does more than offer (for the first time) a visual representation of the kenning system. It allows *concept clusters* to be detected in the system. Clusters are obvious at the first glance at the figure, yet it is possible to define these formally. This definition is formulated in terms of the subgraph relation between nodes (e.g. node B *is in subgraph* of a node A if there is a path from A to B). For any node A, its cluster is its subgraph with the following properties:

(4) For any node B in this subgraph either one of the following is true:

- B is a sink (its out-degree is 0), AND for any node C that is in the path from A to B one of the following is true:
  - C's out-degree is more than 1, AND there is a path from C to A
  - C's out-degree is 1
- B's out-degree is 1
- B's out-degree is more than 1, AND there is a path from B to A.

This definition yields up three distinct clusters that correspond to the three main groups of nodes clearly visible in the figure. We see a compact group of war concepts with three centers, the concepts of BATTLE, SWORD and SHIELD; an additional cluster with GOLD as a center; and another one with SHIP. The very idea of a cluster is introduced to describe groups of concepts which are, in a sense, 'non-overlapping', and which heavily engage all possible links within a group. From this perspective, all concepts, except for the kenning of MAN/WARRIOR, will only be extended *within* their respective cluster. The

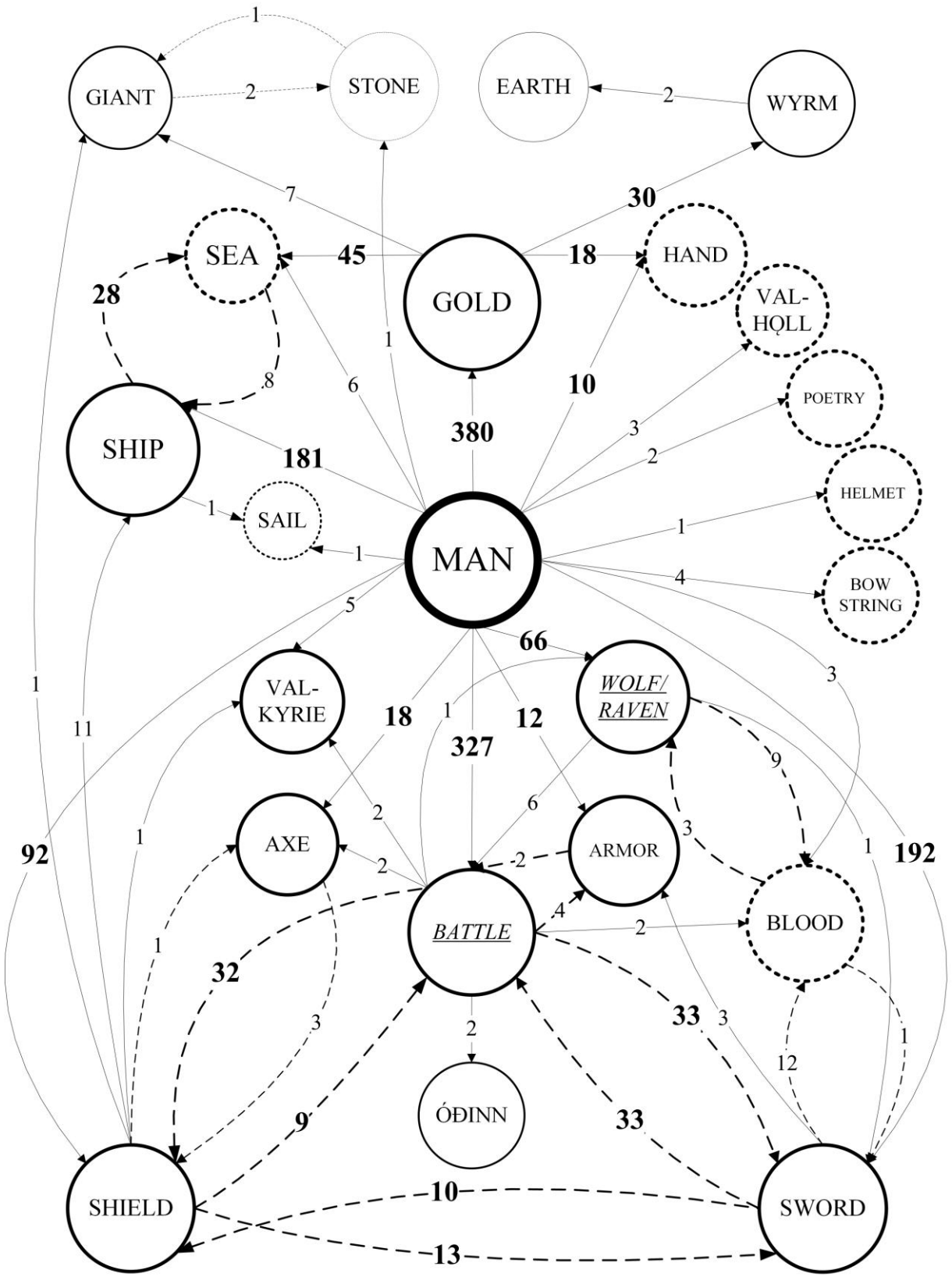

Figure 1. The system of kennings as a tangible object: directed graph of referents involved in extending the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR *and their interrelations.*

only exception is the 'inter-cluster' link between SHIELD and SHIP. It is interesting that the extended kennings that use this link *stop* extending once they reach the SHIP node, although if the SHIP node is arrived at via any other arrow, the extension may continue, for example to the node SAIL. One could thus possibly infer a rule which forbids intercluster extension or calls for stopping extension once the intercluster link is used, but one needs to

cover the entire kenning corpus in order to establish such rules with absolute certainty. In any case, we see that concepts that extend the kenning for man are indeed each connected into a very particular network, and links between nodes are often extensively used.

Table 1. The integratedness of concepts in the system of kennings

Rank			Concept	Degree		
Total	In	Out		Total	In	Out
1	15	1	MAN	18	0	18
2	1	2	BATTLE	13	5	8
3	3	3	SHIELD	10	4	6
4	1	4	SWORD	9	5	4
5	3	7	BLOOD	6	4	2
5	5	6	WOLF/RAVEN	6	3	3
7	5	7	SHIP	5	3	2
7	14	4	GOLD	5	1	4
9	5	9	SEA	4	3	1
9	5	9	ARMOR	4	3	1
9	5	9	AXE	4	3	1
9	5	9	GIANT	4	3	1
13	5	16	VALKYRIE	3	3	0
13	12	9	STONE	3	2	1
15	12	16	HAND	2	2	0
15	14	9	WYRM	2	1	1
15	14	9	SAIL	2	1	1
18	14	16	BOWSTRING	1	1	0
18	14	16	VALHǫLL	1	1	0
18	14	16	EARTH	1	1	0
18	14	16	ÓÐINN	1	1	0
18	14	16	POETRY	1	1	0
18	14	16	HELMET	1	1	0

A particularly impressive feature is the BATTLE–SWORD–SHIELD triangle – any referent node in this triangle may be extended by any other node in it. These three concepts form the core of the 'war cluster' that holds together the largest concept group – the power of this cluster, that is, the number of concepts (nodes) it contains, is 8. The power of the gold cluster is inferior only by one, and yet we see that these clusters have, so to say, different qualities: the internal links within the war cluster are much richer and more intertwined than links inside the gold cluster; it is easy to observe in Figure 1. I suggest that this is the reason that the MAN–GOLD link has such an exorbitant power, significantly more than any other, except only BATTLE itself. GOLD's in-degree is only 1, so the system of kennings exercises here its pressure to compensate for the qualitative advantage that the war cluster enjoys over the gold cluster via increasing that link's power.

Table 2. Power of concepts in the system of kennings

Rank by power (by integratedness)	Concept	Power (total kennings)	Simple kennings	Extended kennings
1 (1)	MAN	1304	0	1304
2 (7)	GOLD	380	280	100
3 (2)	BATTLE	375	297	78
4 (4)	SWORD	240	182	58
5 (7)	SHIP	190	161	29
6 (3)	SHIELD	137	101	36
7 (9)	SEA	79	71	8
8 (5)	WOLF/RAVEN	70	54	16
9 (15)	WYRM	30	28	2
10 (15)	HAND	28	28	0
11 (5)	BLOOD	26	22	4
12 (9)	AXE	21	18	3
13 (9)	ARMOR	19	17	2
14 (9)	GIANT	9	7	2
15 (13)	VALKYRIE	8	8	0
16 (18)	BOWSTRING	4	4	0
17 (13)	STONE	3	2	1
18 (18)	VALHǫLL	3	3	0
19 (15)	SAIL	2	1	1
20 (18)	EARTH	2	2	0
20 (18)	ÓÐINN	2	2	0
22 (18)	HELMET	1	1	0
22 (18)	POETRY	1	1	0

Terminal concepts or sinks, i.e. those that have zero out-degree, are also observable. These are numerous. Those with a relatively great power, here considered more than 5, are HAND and VALKYRIE; those with an insignificant power, here considered 3 or less, are SAIL, EARTH, VALHǫLL, ÓÐINN, HELMET. The figure thus gives us a glimpse into another property of concepts, that is, their *integratedness* into the system – it is reflected by the degree of the nodes (split additionally into in- and out-degree). The values for integratedness may be easily calculated from the figure, as shown in Table 1.

The *rank* of each concept-node is shown according to in-degree, out-degree and total degree (the greater the degree, the higher the ranking). We can draw some interesting conclusions in comparing the integratedness

data (by total degree) and the power data (i.e. the number of kennings that feature a given concept in its extension chain), represented in Table 2.

Comparison of Table 1 and Table 2 reveals that the top ten concepts are not the same across them. For example, the concepts HAND and WYRM, while having made the top ten by power, failed to make the top ten by integratedness, where their spots have been occupied by ARMOUR and AXE. Other concepts within the top tens have traded spots. Only MAN/WARRIOR (1st) and SWORD (4th) kept their original relative positions. The following concepts lost ranking: GOLD, 2nd by power, dropped to 7th by integratedness (sharing it with SHIP); SHIP, 5th by power, dropped to 7th by integratedness; SEA, 7th by power, dropped to 9th by integratedness. The following concepts gained ranking: BATTLE, 3rd by power, is 2nd by integratedness; SHIELD gained three positions, 6th by power, 3rd by integratedness; BLOOD had a particularly great jump, moving from 11th by power to 5th by integratedness. Marginal concepts did not, of course, change positions and are still at the bottom of the table, even as MAN/WARRIOR, being the center of the system, did not surrender its top spot.

If we look further at ranking of concepts by in-degree, we observe that GOLD, the highest concept by power, occupies a lowly 14th spot by in-degree, sharing it with such marginal concepts as BOWSTRING and HELMET. It is evident that GOLD is the only major concept that has such a low in-degree, while its out-degree is on par with that of other major concepts. This accounts for the relative systemic isolation of the concept GOLD in Figure 1 and its relative weakness as a kenning extension node compared to the concepts of the war cluster. The high power of the MAN–GOLD link is there, as we said above, to compensate for this very deficiency. GOLD can be considered to have originally been a very important concept for skaldic poetry owing to the significance of the economic relation between the skaldic poet and the king as a patron and giver of gold in exchange for praise etc. The system exercises here its pressure to raise an originally very important concept to prominence in the extension system that relies mainly on the network of links. Another source of systemic pressure for the MAN–GOLD link to rise is the relatively high out-degree of GOLD – this rather extensive part of the system wants to be used, but it may only be used if its first link is used, so while each of the lower links is not used very often, the upper link is used especially often, combining all the powers of the lower links. These factors contribute to the relative mitigation of GOLD's isolation in the system.

The systemic place of the concept of SHIP is somewhat similar. Its full degree is 5, but its out-degree is only 2, and one of the out-links is to the very power-deficient concept of SAIL. That means the system has very few options in varying the kennings that begin their extension chain with SHIP, and the fact that SHIP does not belong to the war cluster (for whatever reason) further cuts these down. Yet we see that the power of the MAN–SHIP link is still high. The original semantic features of skaldic poetry are likely accountable for this: Figure 1 clearly shows the systemic features and position of the SHIP node and cluster to be rather unimportant as opposed to that of GOLD. If these SEA kennings were to be further extended by the kennings of EARTH, then SHIP would have been much better off, but, as Figure 1 shows, this is not the case.

The concepts with total degree of 3 and less are only loosely connected with the system, which correlates with their low power. The only exceptions are the concepts of HAND and WYRM, which have the total degree of 2, but a power of about 30 each. This high power solidifies their places in the system, and yet we may notice that powers of more than 30 are only common for concepts with a total degree of 4 or more.

Finally, the graph allows us to comment upon the arrangement of concepts into levels. The first level is for the major, 'three-digit' concepts – SWORD, SHIELD, BATTLE, GOLD and SHIP. WOLF/RAVEN is also a first-level concept; its power is also high enough to count it as one of the major concepts. Other concepts belong to the first level only *de jure* – i.e. they can extend the kenning for MAN directly, but the power of that particular link

(5.i)	*geir-róta*	'storm of spear'	> BATTLE
(ii)	{*geir-rótu*} *gǫtvar*	'dress of BATTLE'	> ARMOUR
(iii)	{{*geir-rótu*} *gǫtva*} *þing*	'parliament of ARMOUR'	> BATTLE
(iv)	{{{*geir-rótu*} *gǫtva*} *þings*} *reifandi*	'gladdener of BATTLE'	> MAN/WARRIOR

is weak; these are ARMOUR, VALKYRIE and AXE, and even such marginal concepts as VALHǪLL, HELMET, etc. Second-level concepts are SAIL, ÓÐINN, GIANT and WYRM, while there is only one third-level concept, EARTH. There is also a group of first-level concepts that have particularly low-power links to the concept of MAN, while their second-level links are strong, thus systemically they should rather be seen as second-level concepts. These are SEA, HAND and BLOOD: e.g. the power of the MAN–SEA link is only one, while the power of the GOLD–SEA link is 40; the power of the MAN–HAND link is 10, while the power of the GOLD–HAND link is 18; for BLOOD, the power of the MAN–BLOOD link is 1, whereas the power of the WOLF/RAVEN–BLOOD link is 10 and the power of the SWORD–BLOOD link is 7; STONE is similar – a third-level concept with a direct but very weak (power = 1) link to MAN. This systemic and statistical data allows us to claim that these concepts are predominantly second- and third-level concepts, and their ascendancy to the first-level class is a sort of lucky opportunity unmissed; another explanation is, again, systemic pressure – this ascendancy may be seen as the result of skaldic efforts to enhance the systemic prominence of these concepts by narrowing the gap between them and the core.

Man is the Measure of All Things

As we can see, the rules of kenning extension do combine into a clear and well-built system, so that we can easily observe which rules are used and how often. We also see that the system offers a number of new interesting extension opportunities that were used – and, perhaps even more interestingly, some that *were not used* in the kennings that are there in the extant texts.

For example, the SWORD–BATTLE–SHIELD triangle features not one, but three *cycles*: each of these three referents can extend *and* be extended by the other two, as each pair is connected both by an in- and an out-arrow (this is an example of an observation that it is impossible to make without access to an *explicit* kenning system, as in Figure 1 above). This type of connection, by definition, must allow one to build literally *endless* kennings with a very high degree of variation, as these three referents feature a very large number of heitis for their basewords and determinants; the out-links and in-links from these three to concepts of RAVEN/WOLF and BLOOD allow such overlong kennings to be varied even more, not to mention the possibility of using the intercluster link to SHIP. This is a prediction that Figure 1 allows us to make – because the system graph turns out to have cycles thanks simply to connections between each pair of elements, we should expect to find *true cyclic kennings* in the corpus. And this prediction turns out to be true – the skalds were clearly aware of this possibility, and generated quite a number of true cyclic kennings, such as the coinage by Egill Skallagrímsson (*Skj* B_I: 46, stanza 15) illustrated in example (5).

The chain of extension here is MAN/WARRIOR > BATTLE > ARMOUR > BATTLE, and repetition of BATTLE – N.B.! not of a simple heiti for BATTLE, but of a full-fledged kenning for BATTLE – which is what makes it a *true cycle*. The very possibility to have a cyclic kenning only arises thanks to the inter-dependency links between referents – a single subordinate relation only links two referents, but a *system* of many such links creates a network that can do more than the sum of its parts. This is an example of a purely systemic opportunity, one that only emerges once the overall system of links is in place, and also of one that was actually *used* by skalds.

However, nothing in the graph suggests that extension should stop once a cyclic element is repeated in a chain of extension. And yet, in my corpus, there are no cyclic kennings that stretch further than the cyclic element itself. In our case (example 4), BATTLE, as the graph shows, could have been further extended by a kenning for BLOOD, and that one by a kenning for WOLF/RAVEN, then again by BATTLE and so on; and had Egill coined such a long kenning, nobody would

have been the least surprised. And yet it does not happen. This is an example of an opportunity *not used* by skalds.

Interestingly enough, the longest six-concept kenning quoted above in (1) does not use a *single* second-level referent, and does not contain a cycle, its extension chain being MAN/WARRIOR > SWORD > BATTLE > AXE > SHIELD > SHIP. This fact should probably be understood as evidence that skalds developed a far more powerful variation apparatus than they really needed in order to maximize their control over the form of the verse (Steblin-Kamenskij 1978: 40–64). We should probably conclude that the level of sophistication exhibited in the actual use attested in the texts that survive is somehow optimal for the skaldic system. The system of kennings appears not only to provide the skalds with very rich functionality – it is also used by them in a sparing and rational way, well befitting a good skald who, as per the definition of the anonymous author of *The First Grammatical Treatise* who relies on skaldic poetry for the invention, some 800 years early, of the minimal pair method of modern phonology in developing a regular system for Old Norse spelling, is "the master of all things language" (*skáld eru hǫfundar allrar rýnni eða málsgreinar, sem smiðir smíðar eða lǫgmenn laga*; *FGT* fol. 87.4–5, pp. 224–226). Man is indeed the measure of all things – the man of kennings for MAN/WARRIOR, containing the entire system and all its rich possibilities, and the man (the skald) that coins them, using those possibilities as he sees fit.

The MAN/WARRIOR Kenning-Lexeme as an Organizing Force

The systemic and central role of the MAN/WARRIOR kenning-lexeme is further reflected in the functioning of referents that do not feature in Figure 1. For them, there are four distinct opportunities, or, to use a famous saga expression, *fjórir kostir*.

One opportunity for a referent is to 'copy' the MAN/WARRIOR kenning-lexeme and build around it a network that is similar to the one depicted in Figure 1, also using some of the links that are already established in that network. This opportunity is fittingly used by kennings for WOMAN; while not as numerous as kennings for MAN/WARRIOR, they can also be extended, particularly by the kenning of GOLD and the referents in the GOLD cluster. Furthermore copying the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR, the kenning for WOMAN serves as an attractor and container for other smaller kennings, such as those for drink vessels, and a graph similar to Figure 1 can be drawn for it. This smaller system – should we call it a microsystem? – is using the same principles as the main one for its functioning, growth and traditioning.

Another opportunity is to manifest as a kind of 'evil twin' of the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR. This potential is realized by kennings for KING/PRINCE. As mentioned above, the key feature of kennings for KING/PRINCE is their inability to be extended; while basically referring to the same men and warriors that kennings for MAN/WARRIOR do (as kings and princes are routinely referred to by regular kennings for MAN/WARRIOR), these pointedly use different kenning-models (even while borrowing some basewords from the lists used by kennings for MAN/WARRIOR). While the kenning for WOMAN, in picking its stance relative to the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR, chose to develop a (smaller) copy of its network (the kenning for WOMAN 'does the same thing' as the kenning for MAN, but for a different referent), the KING/PRINCE kenning-lexeme, for the same purpose, used a 'negative' strategy (it turns the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR upside down, doing the opposite thing but for a largely identical referent).

The third opportunity is to remain largely unpicked by the system. This is typical fate of nonce-coinages, for example, those by Snorri in stanza 25 of *Háttatal*.[16] In this stanza, Snorri coins some new kennings and provides explanations, or, in my terms, creates a kenning-model in his mind, then generates a few kenning-instances that must illustrate the variation pattern of this model, and explicitly attaches the respective label in an attempt to initiate a new kenning-lexeme. One pair of lines will suffice as an illustration:

(6) Strúgs kemr í **v**al **v**eiga
– **v**ín kallak þat – galli. (*HT* 25.7–8.)

damage (*galli*) of arrogance (*strúgs*) comes into a selection (*val*) of cups (*veiga*); I call that 'wine'.

(7) Einarr Skúlason, *Øxarflokkr* 1 (*Skj* B_I: 302):

Gauts hurðar galli		
Gauts hurð	'door of Gautr (Óðinn)'	> SHIELD
{*Gauts hurðar*} *galli*	'damage of SHIELD'	> SWORD

(8.i) *Nóregs konungatal* 24 (*Skj* B_I: 579):

Fáfnis galli	'damage of Fáfnir (snake)'	> WINTER

(ii) Snorri Sturluson, *Háttatal* 83 (*HT* 83.5):

orms galli	'damage of snake'	> WINTER

The kenning *strúgs galli* is the new creation, declared by Snorri to be a kenning for WINE. He knows he must provide the label WINE for it, as it is his own invention and hence his coining intentions as well as the model he has in mind would not otherwise be at all accessible.[17] In trying to make the new kenning work, he roots his coinage in tradition: the baseword *galli* is picked from the list of regularly used heitis, where it functions successfully as baseword in several well-established kenning-lexemes, such as for SWORD (7) and WINTER (8).

However, for all Snorri's respect for tradition, inventiveness, and help in providing both a variation context (via other lines in the same stanza) and a label, his coinage remained ignored by the system and only survives as a skaldic *hapax legomenon*: no other poets produced anything similar (Meissner 1921: 433),[18] and Snorri himself did not generate any other kenning-instances for this new kenning-lexeme of his elsewhere. In my terms, this is a perfect example of a *kenning-presumptive*: a coinage that is shaped like a kenning (e.g. via use of a known baseword) and is meant to function like a kenning, but fails to become a true kenning, *kenning-apparent*, that is, a feature of skaldic language (a generative unit of diction) as opposed to a feature of an individual skald's idiolect. The ultimate success of an individual skaldic coinage effort depends entirely on efforts of other skalds, other carriers of the same skaldic tradition, who must pick up the kenning-presumptive, adopt the new model and coin from it many other kenning-instances, thereby enlarging the heiti variation lists and thus making a kenning-apparent out of it, in a process entirely identical to the one that new words in a language undergo in order to attain the status of a regular element of the vocabulary.

The fourth possibility has already been mentioned above: it is to become attracted into a network of the main core (the MAN/WARRIOR kenning-lexeme) or the smaller secondary core (the WOMAN kenning-lexeme). The attraction's drive is three-pronged. Firstly, there is a key advantage of joining an extension network of the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR for any referent – from the point of view of skaldic poetics, the demand for variation of any particular kenning may be volatile, but there will always be kennings for MAN/WARRIOR, as man's deeds are the main subject of skaldic verse, and, consequently, almost any sentence will have a reference to a man, hence, most likely a kenning (let us not forget, kennings play the role of personal pronouns). If a referent joins the extension network of the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR, it is insured against the poetic volatility concerning itself. Secondly, a referent that joins the extension network of the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR automatically benefits for its own variation from the over-abundantly rich variation apparatus of the latter. Thirdly, such a referent also increases its chances of survival in an oral tradition – a model developed for a particular referent might get lost on its own, but this is far less likely to happen if it is a part of the extension chain of the central poetic element of the tradition in question.

In this way, most of Meissner's 106 referents are accounted for, with only a few able to lead a skaldic life that is in any way independent of the MAN/WARRIOR center.

Conclusion

Having the system of kennings and its internal links visualized provides a decisive advantage for scholarship. Key features of the skaldic vocabulary and its implicit organization, such as cycles and attraction of minor referents, can only be uncovered in this way. Needless to say, further research is required; of particular interest are the issues of interaction of the system with the metrical packaging of extended kennings, the distribution of

kenning elements across the verse, and overall matters of *dróttkvætt* noun phrase syntax, some aspects of which have been discussed for example by Tarrin Wills (2009), Frog (esp. forthcoming) and by the present author (Sverdlov 2009, the upcoming presentation at the 15th Saga Conference, and further publications currently in preparation). But one thing is quite clear: if skaldic poetry is madness, then the method in it is the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR, its variation and extension patterns, as well as its transmission properties. Wider adoption of this systemic approach, especially if coupled with minute attention to concomittant features of meter and poetic syntax, will surely yield more, uncovering further levels of systemic sophistication, as well as the importance of MAN/WARRIOR kenning-lexeme, in the functioning and traditioning of skaldic poetry.

Ilya Sverdlov (snerrir[at]gmail.com) Kalkkihiekantie 10 C 48, 00980 Helsinki, Finland.

Notes

1. This paper builds on material and ideas first introduced in the present author's PhD thesis, "Системное исследование скальдической лексики на материале развернутых кеннингов мужа" ['The Skaldic Noun Vocabulary as a System, Represented by Extended Kennings for Man/Warrior'], defended at Moscow State University in 2003.
2. Some scholars, like M.I. Steblin-Kamenskij (1947: 134), claimed that Meissner's collection is complete. The veracity of such a claim depends on an agreed definition of the skaldic kenning and an agreed universal list of kennings, both of which are currently lacking. Meissner does not claim his set is complete; indeed his set does seem to have occasional gaps (cf. Frog 2014 II: 60), and his selection of kennings follows Finnur Jónsson's readings in *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*, some of which are disputed. Furthermore, Finnur Jónsson's selection is, again, not based on any explicit agreement on which sequences are kennings and which are not, while Meissner also includes a few noun phrases that are unlikely to match any final definition of the kenning. Despite all these reservations, it is beyond doubt that the size and composition of Meissner's corpus are sufficient to enable sound conclusions as to the nature of skaldic kennings and properties of the system. In this sense, Meissner's sample of kennings is representative.
3. These are English translations of the two original German terms, *Grundwort* and *Bestimmung*, both invented by Meissner (1921: 2) as their equivalents did not exist, either in the skaldic tradition itself or in the scholarship of his time.
4. This formulation is Meissner's (1921: 2): "Die einfache Kenning ist also ein zweigliedriger Ersatz für ein Substantivum der gewöhnlichen Rede", and is widely quoted. Meissner repeats this on another occasion (1912: 12), saying that "the key feature of a kenning is that it is used as a replacement" ("wesentlich für die Kenning ist, daß sie als Ersatz empfunden wird").
5. At the only spot where Meissner (1921: 40) discusses this issue directly, he uses Latin words for referents to indicate that those clearly belong to meta- language.
6. The baseword of the kenning *nausta blakkr* assumes a form that may be analyzed as either a genitive inflection or a compound stem with an interfix (see Sverdlov 2006).
7. For example, Frog (forthcoming) has recently observed that kennings with the referent BATTLE in which the baseword is compounded by the determinant will almost never appear as an extended kenning in contrast with kennings for WARRIOR, where complex kennings of this type are quite common, as in the use of *slǫngvir* in a compound in (1).
8. "Typically skaldic poetry is described as warrior-retinue poetry, and hence kingly encomia of the *drápur* are rightfully regarded as its key, its core genre. It is beyond doubt that it was indeed the encomia that ultimatly determined the thematic set of concepts and notions in use in skaldic vocabulary and phraseology" (Smirnitskaya 1994: 338) – i.e. the set of referents that kennings serve to express.
9. This seems to be the first instance in which a scholar makes the extended kenning the principle target of research, as well as the first instance when *lausavísur* are treated as a central key genre of skaldic poetry (in contrast to encomia). This insight of Smirnitskaya is pivotal and serves as the basis for the broader idea outlined and preliminarily developed in Sverdlov 2003b: the MAN/WARRIOR kenning-lexeme *evolved* into a container for the system and, moreover, the system itself only emerged when this kenning acquired the ability to extend itself by other kennings. I further theorize that development of extension is an essential precondition and motivation for the very development of the famously extensive lexicon of heitis in skaldic diction, without which kennings in skaldic poetry would have probably remained in the basic embryonic shape we find them in *Poetic Edda* and, further afield, in *Beowulf*. Thus Smirnitskaya's insight concerning kennings found in Icelandic *lausuvísur* is interpreted as informing our understanding of the historical construction of skaldic diction, of which the essential features were maintained even where they were contextually removed from relevance – i.e. using the diction meant using the kenning system, at once contained within, and enabled by, the MAN/WARRIOR kenning-lexeme.
10. This claim is based on the survey of Meissner, where no examples of a kenning can be found in which the determinant is a MAN/WARRIOR kenning.

11. The same could be said concerning the metrical positions in which kennings appeared, which undoubtedly were observed at times, especially where phrasing was the same (cf. Frog 2014), but as such patterns did not have any place in the (generally implicit) theories about how the poetry worked, there was no motivation to draw attention to them, let alone subject them to analysis or put them within a framework of an authorship theory such as that of Parry–Lord and/or Steblin-Kamenskij (Frog, p.c.).
12. Most recently, Frog (forthcoming) undertook a pilot study of the relationship between kennings for BATTLE and the metrical positions in which they appear in *dróttkvætt* verses without initially considering whether the kennings were themselves determinants in extended kennings.
13. In most cases, the analysis of Meissner's examples was rather straightforward. However, a few cases, particularly where extra elements such as epithets were attached to the kenning-instance, were excluded from the present analysis in order to avoid committing to a position on the morphological and/or lexical status of a baseword or determinant which could subsequently affect the emerging system. To clarify, all MAN/WARRIOR kenning-instances with *æski-meiðr* type basewords (morphological status: unclear, either two-stem compound heiti or simple deverbative heiti), as well as all kenning-instances with *hungr-deyfir* type basewords (morphological status: two-stem compound heiti, discussed in detail in Sverdlov 2003a) were considered unproblematic and thus *were not* excluded from corpus.
14. For basic glossary of graph theory, please see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glossary_of_graph_theory.
15. The way the graph is drawn proceeds from the assumption that kenning extension works top-down (from the top element, the kenning for MAN/WARRIOR, down to the last kenning in the extension chain); this assumption seems to be tacitly accepted by the entirety of skaldic scholarship, implied by the very definition of an extended kenning as one where a determinant is replaced by another kenning. On the other hand, an equally well-established practice, whether in *skýringar* in Icelandic editions or in other scholarly works on skaldic poetry, is to *explain* (or, to use the technical term, *parse*) extended kennings bottom-up (see, e.g. example 1): the last (simple) kenning in a chain of extension is explained first, then it is replaced with its referent and the latter is added to the baseword of the next kenning on top of it, and so on; indeed, it is hardly possible to execute kenning parsing otherwise. This begs the question of which way the extension actually works, and whether it works in identical directions on different levels (structural vs. surface syntax). This is in fact an extremely interesting issue, currently unresolved and requiring much further research; some material bearing on this subject is discussed in Sverdlov 2009 and Frog forthcoming. This question is, further, closely related to the issue of the emergence of the ability of kennings to extend themselves, mentioned above in note 9 – it is not immediately clear whether it was acquired in a bottom-up process (by adding extra basewords on top of existing simple kennings) or in a top-down one (replacing single heiti determinants with full kennings); material discussed by Elena Gurevich (Gurevich & Matyushina 2000: Part I, Ch. 1) seems to implicitly indicate a bottom-up process, which also seems more natural and simpler.
16. I would like to thank David Baker for drawing my attention to this stanza and its nonce kennings.
17. Notice, as usual, the absence of any semantic relations of the meanings of constituent parts of the coinage and the label. The usual images and metaphors of alcoholic beverages in many cultures, including Scandinavian of that age, is that of a substance that negatively affects the ability to behave, so, if anything, *enhancing* arrogance; Snorri, instead, decides to call wine 'killer of arrogance', ignoring any metaphoric processes.
18. Meissner (1921: 432) mentions one other coinage by the famous Icelandic politician, historian and poet Sturla Þórðarson, Snorri's nephew, which he, following Finnur Jónsson, declares a kenning for WINE. However, everything about Sturla's coinage is problematic, including whether it is in any way related to Snorri's and whether it is, in fact, a kenning.

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The Old Norse Poetic Form *stikki*

Helen F. Leslie-Jacobsen, University of Bergen

Abstract: This paper evaluates the limited evidence of a particular Old Norse poetic form called stikki, *identified, or potentially identified, in only five sources. These sources are critically reviewed in order to assess what, if any, generalisations can be made about* stikki *poetry.*

Often unmentioned in general works about Old Norse poetry, little is known about the poetic form of the *stikki* (pl. *stikkar*) in Old Norse, or its associated meter, *stikkalag*. If we were to characterise the *stikki*, we could say that it is a type of poorly attested short poem; literally the word means 'needle'. Finnur Jónsson categorises the *stikki* form with poems that do not have a refrain (along with poems classed as *flokkr*, *vísur*, *bálkr*, *kviða*, *-mál*, *-ljóð*, *-tal* and *þula*) (1920 I: 142). We will return to this.

It is harder to say anything for certain about *stikkalag* ['needle meter']. Several of the surviving examples of *stikkar* identify themselves as examples of *stikki* in the verse and one could assume that their meter would be *stikkalag*, but this is not the case. There is thus a discrepancy between the name of the poetic form and the eponymous meter, but if there were a meter of *stikkar*, it would appear to be a variant of *fornyrðislag*. The current brief article evaluates the evidence for the *stikki* form.

The Sources

There are five sources, analysed in more detail below, that are relevant to a discussion of the *stikki*. The first is *Háttatal*, Snorri Sturluson's 13th century exemplification of Old Norse verse forms as the final section of his *Edda*. Here, right at the very end of the work, he appears to define and give an example of *stikkalag*. There is only one medieval manuscript in which *Háttatal* is complete. This is Gks 2367 4to, Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, known by the siglum R. The manuscript is dated from 1300–1350. The other manuscript containing *Háttatal* that is of interest is AM 242 fol., Copenhagen, Arnamagnæan Institute, known by the siglum W; the medieval sections of this manuscript are from ca.1340. However, the sections containing stt. 1–6 and 87–102, which include the section of interest to the present paper, are lost and have been replaced by paper pages written by a 17th century hand. The replacement text is copied from extant manuscripts.[1] It does, nevertheless, warrant a brief look.

Two stanzas identify themselves in verse as examples of *stikkar*. One is an anonymous stanza from *Knýtlinga saga* (written in the 1250s).[2] The other is the twelfth stanza of the poem *Rekstefja* by Hallar-Steinn,[3] from the end of the 12th century or slightly later (Stavnem 2012: 893–894), preserved in Bergsbók (Holm Perg 1 fol., Kungliga biblioteket, Stockholm, ca. 1400–1425) and in *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*.

Two further poems have *-stikki* as part of their title in accompanying prose: *Haraldsstikki* and *Sǫrlastikki*. The former is an anonymous stanza from *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar*, part of *Heimskringla*, from around 1230.[4] It is also in the kings' saga *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna* (manuscripts AM 66 fol., Copenhagen, Arnamagnæen Institute, dated 1350–1374, and Gks 1010 fol., Copenhagen, Den kongelige bibliotek, dated to the beginning of the 15th century, respectively). *Sǫrlastikki* is quoted in *Sǫrlaþáttr*, found as part of *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta* in the Flateyjarbók manuscript (Gks 1005 fol., Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar), on 36v–37v, from the end of the 14th century.

Although few in number, these sources can be sorted into three groups: firstly, sources for *stikkalag*, of which there is only one – *Háttatal*. Secondly, those strophes that mention the *stikki* form in the strophe itself (the stanzas from *Knýtlinga saga* and *Rekstefja*), and thirdly, poems that have the word *stikki* as part of their titles. We will begin by considering the *Háttatal* stanza.

Stikkalag *in* Háttatal

Snorri Sturluson's survey of verse forms in *Háttatal* is a remarkably important source for information about vernacular poetics, but the

great number of forms that are illustrated is in part attributable to Snorri's formalisation and regularisation of variations in traditional poetry. Consequently, we cannot say for certain whether or not *stikkalag* already existed as a meter before Snorri's account of it. The possible description of *stikkalag* comes after a quotation exemplifying the meter *bálkarlag*:

> Sú er grein milli þessa hátta at í fornyrðislagi eru í fyrsta ok þriðja vísuorði enn stuðill, en í ǫðru ok fjóða þá stendr hǫfuðstafr í miðju orði; en í stikkalagi eru tveir stuðlar en hǫfuðstafr í miðju orði, en í Bálkar lagi standask stuðlar ok hǫfuðstafr sem í dróttkvæðu. Starkaðar lag:
>
> (98) Veit ek verðari
> þá er vell gefa,
> brǫndum beita
> ok búa snekkjur,
> hæra hróðrar
> en heimdrega
> – unga jǫfra –
> en auðspǫruð.
>
> (99) Þeir ró jǫfrar
> alvitrastir,
> hringum hæztir,
> hugrakkastir,
> vellum verstir,
> vígdjarfastir,
> hirð hollastir,
> happi næstir.
> (Faulkes 1999: 38, my emphasis.)
>
> This is the difference between these verse-forms that in *fornyrdislag* there is in the first and third lines only one prop [alliterating syllable], while in the second and fourth lines the chief stave [alliterating syllable] stands in the middle of the line; but in Starkad's metre there are two props and the chief stave in the middle of the line, and in *Bálkarlag* the props and chief stave are placed as in *dróttkvætt*. Starkad's metre:
>
> I know of young princes that brandish swords and set up warships who are worthier of higher praise than a stay-at-home, ones who give gold than one sparing of wealth.
>
> These princes are all-wisest, most dangerous to rings [generous], most bold in heart, most hateful to gold [generous], bravest in war, kindest to the court, closest to good fortune. (Faulkes 1987: 219, my emphasis.)

These two stanzas do not appear outside of *Háttatal*. It is striking here that Faulkes has taken the editorial decision to replace *stikkalag* with *Starkaðar lag* in his translation of the text,[5] which implies that he considers *stikkalag* ['the meter of *stikki*'] an error for *Starkaðar lag* ['Starkaðr's meter']. Since the name of the meter *stikkalag* is given in the prose, we will now turn to why the two stanzas quoted to demonstrate the meter are introduced in the edition as *Starkaðar lag*, and why in his translation, Faulkes corrects *stikkalag* to *Starkaðar lag*. In order to understand the reason behind his emendation, we must consider the manuscript evidence.

In manuscript R (Gks 2367 4to), the only manuscript with a surviving medieval transcription of the end of *Háttatal* where our section is found, there is no title *Starkaðar lag* in the prose introducing the stanzas (i.e. where *Starkaðar lag* stands in the Faulkes' 1999 edition). The first stanza simply begins after *í dróttkvæðu* ['in *dróttkvætt*']. From the text of the prose, both of the stanzas are identified as *stikkalag*. However, the title *Starkaðar lag* has been added to the margin of the manuscript. This addition is not by the main scribe but by a second, contemporary hand, whose additions correct, amend and add headings to the text (Finnur Jónsson 1892: esp. 308). In the manuscript, this is on the last page of *Háttatal*, 53r. It cannot be said that the annotation is prominent. The annotation *Starkaðar lag* is written very carefully in tiny letters in the margin on the left-hand side of the text level with line 18 and, unusually, written perpendicular to the body text. Some effort has been made to keep it only to line 18 by writing very small and writing *lag* underneath an abbreviated form of *Starkaðar*.

The two strophes themselves appear in the manuscript as one unit. The first strophe, beginning "Veit ek verðari" ['I know worthier'] is marked by a gap between the end of the prose and the beginning of the verse, and a large initial "v". The beginning of the second strophe, the abbreviation for *þeir*, is not marked, except perhaps for a gap only a little bit longer than the space between words. The second stanza begins on line 18, the same line beside which we find the annotation, after the ending of the first stanza (line 18 begins:

"ra en auðspǫruð" then comes the second strophe). As is usual in Old Norse manuscripts, the verse is set out as prose. Given this lack of interest in marking the beginning of the second stanza, it is questionable whether we can consider the annotation *Starkaðar lag* as pertaining only to the second stanza.

In W (AM 242 fol.), although the original pages of *Háttatal* are missing, the pages have been replaced by a 17th century hand. On this replacement page (76v, or p. 152 in the numbering written in the top left hand corner of the manuscript), "stickalæge" stands in the prose, and the title above the verses is "Sarkadarlag" (without the *t* in *Starkaðr*). The title is not in the margin but it is written in a less cursive style than the body text, and there is a punctum both at the end of the preceding word, and at the end of *Sarkadarlag*. There is also a vertical stroke before the word. The title is clearly set off. Faulkes' edition (1999) is set up as the text in W: in both, the marginal title in R is incorporated into the body text. There is no medieval evidence for this, however.

The evidence from both R and W could indicate that *stikkalag* is an error for *Starkaðar lag*, and this is reflected in Faulkes' edition and translation (1987; 1999). However, there is the possibility that the heading *Starkaðar lag* may only relate to the second strophe, making the first strophe in the quotation above (stanza 98) an example of *stikkalag* and the second strophe (stanza 99) an example of *Starkaðar lag*. Stanza 98 meets the description of *stikkalag* in the prose, and the alliteration is placed in the middle of the line. Stanza 99 fits the description of *bálkarlag* to a degree (illustrated with stanza 97 in *Háttatal*), the difference lying in the presence of a medial light word between the two alliterating words found in odd lines in stanza 97, whereas in stanza 99, there are only two alliterating words. However, several reasons make this problematic: *Starkaðar lag* is mentioned nowhere else in the corpus of Old Norse, while we do perhaps have evidence of *stikkalag* in *Knýtlinga saga*; neither of the *stikkalag*/*Starkaðarlag* stanzas conform to the verses attributed to Starkaðr in *Gautreks saga* (for which see Heusler & Ranisch 1903: 38–43); neither *Stǫrlastikki* nor *Haraldsstikki* are in the meter of stanza 98, and stanza 99 is not metrically more similar to Starkaðr's stanzas in *Gautreks saga* than stanza 98 (Faulkes 1999: 73, 83).[6]

To conclude, we can say that in R, one or both of the verses may, according to a second medieval scribe, be in a meter called *Starkaðar lag*. According to the 17th century interpretation in W, both the stanzas could be understood as *Starkaðar lag*. If *stikkalag* is not an error for *Starkaðar lag*, then the division of the *fornyrðislag* meter put forward by Snorri is a theoretical one not seen in the texts we have preserved,[7] while *Starkaðar lag* is not preserved in any whole stanzas outside the example in *Háttatal*. Although stanzas 98 and 99 would be different meters in Snorri's systemisation, neither *Starkaðar lag* nor s*tikkalag* have a strong presence in the Old Norse corpus.

The stikki *in* Knýtlinga saga

The anonymous eddic *lausavísa* in *Knýtlinga saga* (it is not attested elsewhere), mentions the *stikki* form twice:

> Stundum vér til stikka;
> styrr vex í Danmǫrku;
> esat Sveins synir sáttir
> at sinn fǫður dauðan.
>
> Haraldr skal vígi verja
> – þás vel tamiðr stikki –
> jǫrð af œrnu magni
> fyr ellifu brœðrum.
>
> We are pondering a poem [*stikki*]; strife grows in Denmark; Sveinn's sons are not reconciled after their father's death. Haraldr must protect the land in battle with plenty of power against eleven brothers; now the poem [*stikki*] is suitably prepared.
> (Gade 2009: 826.)

The beginning of the strophe invites us to identify the lines as a *stikki*; the poet announces that he would like to compose one, and five lines later, informs us that the *stikki* is now prepared (cf. Kock 1923–1944 XVIII: §2324). What can we draw from this about the form of the *stikki*? Gade, the most recent editor of the stanza, suggests that *stikki* seems to be a general word for a short poem, rather than meaning a composition of any particular type (2009: 826). From what the verse itself

says, the poet does not seek to link the stanza to anything other than the subject matter that the stanza ultimately contains: it is a self-contained unit; it is not from a continuous run of stanzas. From this stanza in *Knýtlinga saga*, we can see that a *stikki* can be just one stanza without any apparent link to others. It can be used in a skaldic context to record an historical event, while at the same time it can be a mini-rumination on versifying saga history.

From the prose context of the poem, we see that the stanza is a so-called authenticating verse, used in an evidence-based role, as it is introduced with *svá sem hér segir* ['as it says here'] (Bjarni Guðnason 1982: 144; on the role of verse in saga prose, see Leslie 2012: 64–72). This means that strictly from the point of view of the narrative, the strophe was not written especially for this spot in the prose. Finnur Jónsson suggests that the stanza could have been composed by a Dane (1973: 397), since, as he also notes, the stanza is about unrest in Demark ca. 1080. There is no further evidence for Danish provenance. One reason to think that the strophe might be contemporary with the prose is that this stanza might show an awareness of the potential *stikkalag* meter found in stanza (98) in the section from *Háttatal* quoted above. In her commentary on the stanza, Gade states that *stikkalag* "is the name of a metre in which the main stave in the even ll. occurs further back than position 1 [....] That is the case in the present st[anza]." Otherwise, the stanza conforms structurally to *háttlausa* ['lack of form', i.e. there are no hendings/rhymes]. (Gade 2009: 826.) *Háttlausa* is a form of *dróttkvætt* lacking in internal rhyme, and is exemplified in *Háttatal* (Faulkes 1999: 29). There are however, some near rhymes in the stanza, whereas these seem to be avoided in stanza 98 in *Háttatal*. Snorri's description of *stikkalag* places the even-line alliteration within the line, customarily avoided in *dróttkvætt* proper. In the stanza from *Knýtlinga saga*, it is notable that the alliteration falls in the second position in three of the even lines. The likely author of *Knýtlinga saga* is Óláfr Þórðarson, nephew of Snorri Sturluson, and he seems to have been well acquainted with Snorri's treatise on poetic meter, even quoting from it. Óláfr's knowledge of the meters of *Háttatal* means that perhaps he was able to combine the meaning of the word *stikki* as a short poem with his uncle's designation of the meter when composing a strophe for this saga. The fact that Snorri uses *stikkalag* as a variant of *fornyrðislag* and in *Knýtlinga saga* Óláfr uses the term for a form that leans towards *dróttkvætt* (although the stanza is customarily labelled as eddic), serves to underscore the difficulty in pinning down absolute definitions for the *stikkalag* meter and *stikki* form.

The stikki *by Hallar-Steinn in* Rekstefja

While the *stikki* strophe in *Knýtlinga saga* is a standalone stanza, the other stanza to proclaim itself a *stikki* is the twelfth strophe of the long poem of 35 stanzas called *Rekstefja* composed by the poet Hallar-Steinn. The title of the poem is from what is considered to be the first stanza of the poem (which is in the Bergbók manuscript, but not Flateyjarbók). In the fourth line of this strophe we read "Rekstefju tekk hefja" ['I commence *Rekstefja*'] (Stavnem 2012: 897). The stanzas are in *dróttkvætt* meter. The first half of the twelfth stanza containing the *stikki* reference runs thus:

> Hafglóð hilmir sáði
> hjaldrríkr ok gaf skjǫldu
> – stétthrings stofnum veitti
> stikka – vǫpn ok skikkjur.
>
> The battle-mighty prince sowed sea-ember [GOLD] and gave away shields, weapons and cloaks; he provided cloak-pins (?) [*stikki*] for the poles of the path-sword [SHIELD > WARRIORS].
> (Stavnem 2012: 910.)

In the above quotation, *stikki* has been translated 'cloak-pins' by Stavnem, the strophe's most recent editor. This is because there is some controversy amongst scholars as to how this mention of *stikki* ought to be understood. As mentioned above, one meaning of *stikki* is 'needle'. On the one hand, we have for example Kock (1923–1944 XV: §2095), who argues that *stikki* is meant in this sense of 'needle', which would be used as a pin to secure the cloaks (*skikkjur*) mentioned in the same line. Stavnem (2012: 911), following Kock's interpretation, dismisses the interpretation of *stikki* as a short poem as "hardly

likely here", but there are reasons to re-evaluate this conclusion. The *Lexicon poeticum* (1931: 537) glosses "veita stikka" ['give/donate a *stikki*'] as "give stof til digt" ['supply material for the poem']. This interpretation commends itself if we read the *stikki* line as a parenthetical comment on the creation of the poem, such as Finnur Jónsson's translation does: "han gav mændene stof til digt(?)" (1973: 528) ['He gave the men material for a poem']. (Kock's interpretation of *stikki* in the sense of 'needle' should be viewed as a reaction against Finnur Jónsson's interpretation.) We have already seen in *Knýtlinga saga* that composing a *stikki* can give rise to abbreviated comments on the creative process preserved in the strophe. I suggest that the best way to understand the line is a combination of the two interpretations. Hallar-Steinn is trying to be clever and make the line mean both things. On the one hand, the prince literally gives cloak-pins to the warriors who are the bearers of the shields, to pin the cloaks he has given them mentioned in the preceding line. At the same time, we can understand that the prince, who gives gold, shields, weapons and cloaks, donates the content of a poem that is made by men to commemorate the event (i.e. this one) – another indication of the poetic process.

Even though we can consider this stanza as belonging to the longer poem *Rekstefja*, some verses of which have been excerpted into the prose of a saga narrative,[8] if we read the *stikki* reference here as pertaining to particular events within the poem, we can see that it only refers to events captured within a single stanza rather than other parts of the poem or poetic discourse. The meaning of the term *stikki* remains ambiguous, but here, as well as in the *Knýtlinga saga* stanza, the reference is to do with poetic creation.

Haraldsstikki *in the Kings' Sagas*

We have so far considered two stanzas that are self-proclaimed *stikkar*. Now we turn to the first of two poems that are identified as *stikkar* by their titles in the prose.

The anonymous poem *Haraldsstikki* is composed in the *fornyrðislag* meter and is quoted as stanza 154 in *Heimskringla*, a compendium of kings' sagas:

> Þessa drápu orti Steinn Herdísarson um Óláf, son Haralds konungs, ok getr hér þess, at Óláfr var í orrostu með Haraldi konungi, fǫður sínum. Þessa getr ok í Haraldsstikka:
>
> Lǫgu fallnir
> í fen ofan
> Valþjófs liðar,
> vǫpnum hǫggnir,
>
> svát gunnhvatir
> ganga mǫttu
> Norðmenn yfir
> at nǫm einum.
> (Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1951: 181.)
>
> This [i.e. a preceding stanza quoted] is from the poem which Stein Herdisarson composed in honour of King Harald's son, Olaf, and it makes it clear that Olaf took part in this battle with his father. This is also mentioned in *Harald's Poem* [*Haraldsstikki*]:
>
> Waltheof's warriors
> All lay fallen
> In the swampy water,
> Gashed by weapons;
>
> And the hardy
> Men of Norway
> Could cross the marsh
> On a causeway of corpses.
> (Magnus Magnusson & Hermann Pálsson 1966: 144.)

The stanza is given in the prose as part of the relation of the battle of Fulford. Its introduction is of note since directly before the prose in the quotation is another stanza by Steinn Herdísarson (stanza 153; Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson 1951: 1951: 180–181). The introduction to *Haraldsstikki* is thus first introduced to explain the composition of the previous stanza, and states what the stanza records. It uses this explanation to justify the inclusion of *Haraldstikki*, since it is about the same thing: *Þessa getr ok í Haraldsstikka* ['This is also recorded in *Haraldsstikki*']. No further comment is made about the stanza in the prose. In the kings' saga *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna*, this stanza is introduced with *þessa mannfalls getr ok í Haraldsstikka* ['this slaughter is also recorded in *Haraldsstikki*'] (Sveinbjörn Egilsson 1825–1837: 408; otherwise the introduction is the same as in *Heimskringla*). This stanza is used in a skaldic context as were the strophes discussed

above that were identified as *stikkar* on the basis of internal textual reference.

The *stikki* reference here forms part of the poem's name, and is not mentioned in the stanza itself. Townend, the most recent editor of the stanza, comments: "The meaning of the element *stikki* in the poem's title is unclear, though it appears to denote a particular type of poem or verse-form" (2009: 807). This is an interesting contrast to Gade's comment (quoted above) that *stikki* does not mean any particular type of poem (especially given that Townend is writing in the same series as Gade, and the volume containing Townend's comment is also edited by Gade).

There is no evidence that there were ever any other stanzas of *Haraldsstikki*. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (1951: 181), the editor of *Heimskringla*, comments that:

> vísa er ein varðveitt úr Haraldstikka. Verður ekkert vitað um uppruna þess kvæðis. Orðið *stikki* hefir verið haft um kvæði undir ýmsum háttum með stuttum vísuorðum, en ekki kunna menn að skýra það.

> the stanza is one preserved from *Haraldstikki*. Nothing is known about the origin of this poem. The word *stikki* has been used about poems in various meters with short lines of verse, but one cannot give an account of it. (My translation.)

He implies that there were once more stanzas of *Haraldstikki*. As we have seen from the use of the word *stikki* in *Knýtlinga saga* and arguably in the *stikki* reference in the stanza by Hallar-Steinn (if we accept that the *stikki* is mentioned in connection with the poetic creation of a single stanza), this need not be the case, since in both those instances the *stikki* seems to refer to only that strophe. We cannot thus conclude that a *stikki* functions as a short poem pulled out of a longer poem, since there is no evidence for this. Rather, the word perhaps highlights the opposite: a standalone composition, and, according to my interpretation, used in Hallar-Steinn's stanza to make it clear that he was referring to the composition of that strophe only rather than to the whole of *Rekstefja*.

Sǫrlastikki *in* Sǫrla þáttr

The final possible example of a *stikki*, *Sǫrlastikki*, is preserved in the short *fornaldarsaga* called *Sǫrla þáttr*. I will argue here that the stanza in the *þáttr* is not *Sǫrlastikki* at all, a poem that seems to have been lost. The *þáttr* contains only one stanza, the supposed example of a *stikki*, on 36vb42. The poem is reckoned by Finnur Jónsson to be from the second half of the 14th century and the stanza is in the meter *haðarlag* (1923 II: 159), a simple meter somewhat in between eddic and skaldic measures. The role of the stanza in the narrative is evidence-based:

> En Sörli lifði þeirra skemr ok fell í Austrvegi fyri víkingum, sem segir í Sörlastikka ok hér segir:
>
> Fell enn forsnialli
> fyst inn víglysti
> ygr í Austruegi
> allr á helpalla
>
> daudr vm dalreydar
> daadkunnr miskunnar
> beit at brandmoti
> brynstingr vikingum.
> (Nordal et al. 1944: 307.)

> But Sǫrli lived the shorter of them, and was killed out east by Vikings, as it says in *Sǫrlastikki* and says here:
>
> The foresighted one fell, the one foremost in desire for battle, fierce in the east dead on the dais of Hel, the brave one dead during the summer, a sword bit at the battle against Vikings.
> (My translation.)

Sǫrlastikki does not survive otherwise, and it is not clear from its context in the *þáttr* whether this strophe is indeed from *Sǫrlastikki*, as has been assumed, since its introductory formula is a little unusual: *sem segir í Sörlastikka ok hér segir* ['as it says in *Sörlastikki* and says here']. This introductory formula indicates in fact that the stanza given in the saga merely reports the same content as *Sǫrlastikki*, without stating that the stanza is indeed *Sǫrlastikki*. If the stanza were presented as a straightforward quotation from *Sǫrlastikki*, one might expect an introductory formula similar to this example from *Vǫlsunga saga*: *Sigurðr gekk í brott. Svá segir í Sigurðarkviðu*. (Guðni Jónsson & Bjarni Vilhjálmsson 1943: 65.) ['Sigurðr went away. Thus it says in *Sigurðarkviða*.']. A quotation then duly follows from *Sigurðarkviða*, a

stanza from an otherwise unknown poem about Sigurðr. In the introduction of *Sǫrlastikki*, we also see a different method employed to that seen in the introduction to *Haraldsstikki*, which talks about an event first (with reference to a stanza in a different poem) and then says it is also recorded in *Haraldsstikki*. As it is, the introductory formula in *Sǫrla þáttr* tells that the event is talked about in *Sǫrlastikki* and also in the stanza here. The most natural reading of the mention of *Sǫrlastikki* is that reference is being made to a different poem than the one quoted in the *þáttr*. The stanza quoted in *Sǫrla þáttr* simply refers to material similar to that found in the *stikki*, and its provenance could be from another unknown poem, or be contemporaneous with the saga prose.[9]

Further evidence for this interpretation is that *Sǫrlastikki* is mentioned before the quotation of the strophe elsewhere in the prose: *Síðan börðust þeir, sem segir í Sörlastikka*" (Nordal et al. 1944: 307). There then follows a list of men killed and by whom in prose. This suggests that perhaps the *stikki* may have contained a catalogue-type stanza naming the men, and this is what is referred to in *Flateyjarbók*. If so, this stanza likely also included the information about Sǫrli being killed by Vikings. The fact that the stanza is not given although the poem is named indicates again that the actual poem may not have been known to the author of the *þáttr*, even if he knew the story contained in it.

Previous scholars have assumed that the strophe quoted in *Sǫrla þáttr* was only one stanza preserved of the *stikki* out of presumably several more. For example, Finnur Jónsson comments that: "her anføres et vers af digtet Sörlastikki" (1923 II: 830) [‘here one verse of the poem *Sǫrlastikki* is quoted’]; Jan de Vries write that "der Verfasser verweist auf ein Gedicht *Sǫrlastikki*, aus dem er eine Strophe anführt" (1967: 542) [‘The author refers to a poem *Sǫrlastikki*, from which one strophe is quoted’]; and Elizabeth Ashman Rowe describes *Sǫrlastikki* as "a poem of which only one strophe survives" (2002: 40). If the stanza preserved in the *þáttr* is indeed a *stikki*, there is little to support the view that there was more than one stanza in existence. As noted, the fact that the stanza does not contain the additional information that the prose says it contains only serves to suggest that *Sǫrlastikki* itself is not present. If the author knew another *Sǫrlastikki* stanza, there is no reason that he would not have cited it in the prose where he mentions the poem, and if, as I suggest, *Sǫrlastikki* was a catalogue-type stanza listing men killed and by whom that has not been preserved, the reference in the *þáttr* to Sǫrli being killed by Vikings is well within the stanza’s supposed remit.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can say that the manuscript evidence of *Háttatal* cannot point one way or another as to whether *stikkalag* and *Starkaðar lag* are the same thing or not. Either way, as variants of *fornyrðislag*, the existence of either or both shows that Snorri was meticulous in his subdivisions of meter to the point where they need not have been operative in Old Norse poetic culture for them to be included in his scheme. Neither of the names of the meters are found elsewhere. Indeed, of Snorri’s names for *fornyrðislag* and its variants, only the names *bálkarlag* and *ljóðaháttr* are attested outside of *Háttatal* (Jón Helgason1953: 10).

If Snorri’s example of *stikkalag* is not counted, there are two types of *stikkar* preserved. The form *stikki* can be mentioned within a stanza, referring to that stanza only, and secondly, two poems have *stikki* within the title given in the prose. However, the poem *Sǫrlastikka* seems only to be referred to in prose rather than being quoted, and seems to have been information-carrying rather than a situational stanza. The poem *Haraldsstikki* is in *fornyrðislag* or a variety thereof and the poem could be short, without multiple strophes. One stanza which makes metadiscursive reference to *stikki* is in a variation of the *dróttkvætt* meter and appears to be composed as a single stanza. The second stanza which makes such a reference is in a long poem where it could refer to the composition of the stanza in which it occurs. These examples reveal that the *stikki* form can be in a variety of meters, and its use in saga prose, from the scant evidence that we have, is corroborative.

Now I come back to Finnur Jónsson's categorisation of the *stikki* with *flokkr*, *vísur*, *bálkr*, *kviða*, *-mál*, *-ljóð*, *-tal*, and *þula* (1920 I: 142). These are judged bedfellows since none of these verse forms have a refrain. I have sought above to show that it is unlikely that the *stikki* was ever a verse form that had multiple strophes. If this is the case, by nature it would also thus have been unlikely to have had a refrain. For this reason, it seems more reasonable to think of *stikkar* as a type of *lausavísa* rather than categorising it with multi-stanza forms. Nevertheless, as the stanza in *Rekstefja* that self-identifies as a *stikki* demonstrates, it was possible for a *stikki* to be included in a multi stanza poem, with the caveat that the *stikki* was not the whole poem, but identified as only one single stanza out of many.

There is no doubt that the *stikki* form in Old Norse is poorly attested. Nevertheless, as I have demonstrated, it is possible to draw some probable conclusions about its form and function.

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Helen F. Leslie-Jacobsen (helen.leslie[at]gmail.com) Universitetet i Bergen, Institutt for lingvistiske, litterære og estetiske studier, Postboks 7805, N-5020 Bergen, Norway.

Notes

1. The two other medieval manuscripts of *Snorra Edda*, T and U, both break off before the section that mentions *stikkalag*, at stt. 61 and 56 respectively. Therefore these manuscripts are not considered here.
2. See Gade (2009: 826) for the manuscripts she edits the stanza from.
3. *Rekstefja* is attributed to Hallar-Stein everywhere apart from in the *Flateyjabók* manuscript, where the stanzas are attributed to Markús *lǫgmaðr* ['law-man'], i.e. Markús Skeggjason (Nordal et al. 1944: 507). This is unlikely (see Stavnem 2012: 894).
4. See Townend (2009: 807) for the *Heimskringla* manuscripts the stanza is edited from.
5. Starkaðr is a legendary poet in Old Norse tradition, whose supposed verses are preserved in *Gautreks saga* (see Leslie 2012: 435-443).
6. But cf. the stanza attributed to Starkaðr in *The Third Grammtical Treatise*, which there is said to be in *bálkarlag* (Björn Magnússon Ólsen 1884: 68).
7. Cf. Finnur Jónsson's description of Snorri and his contemporaries creating *stikkalag* as a new verseform as a result of a systematic division of *fornyrðislag*. He concludes that the divisions between the types of *fornyrðislag* are so small we can see that there is in fact only one type of verse (1923 II: 85) and Svend Grundtvig, who argues that Snorri makes theoretical divisions that are not realised in existing verseforms, *stikkalag* being one them (1867: 89). Brate, in his treatment of the meter, takes *stikkalag* and *Starkaðar lag* as one and the same (1898: 40).
8. On the importance of reading such prosimetric skaldic stanzas in context, see Goeres 2013.
9. It is most likely to be contemporary with the saga prose. The *fyst* without an *r* carrying rhyme in the stanza belies the stanza's young age. The stanza in *Sǫrla þáttr* is also possibly an imitation of Sturla's *Hrafnsmál* (Finnur Jónsson 1923 II: 143, 830).

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Polyphemus: A Palaeolithic Tale?

Julien d'Huy, Institute of the African World (IMAF), Paris I Sorbonne

Abstract: This paper presents an analysis of 56 variants of European and North American examples of the so-called Polyphemus tale (international tale type ATU 1137) using phylogenetic software according to 190 traits. Discussion addresses a number of points of comparative methodology while considering the historical implications of a relationship between different versions of this tale type recorded in diverse cultures.

> Les objets qui posent à l'ethnologue un problème de classification sont certes moins nombreux que ceux soumis à l'attention des naturalistes. L'ethnologue n'en a que plus de raisons de chercher des enseignements peut-être, des stimulations certainement, auprès de disciplines qui travaillent sur les mêmes problèmes à une échelle incomparablement plus grande et avec des méthodes plus rigoureuses. (Lévi-Strauss 2002: 311.)
>
> The objects that pose a problem of classification to the ethnologist are certainly less numerous than those brought to the attention of the naturalists. The ethnologist also has all the more reasons to look perhaps for lessons, certainly for stimulation, from disciplines that work on the same problems on an incomparably larger scale and with more rigorous methods. (My translation.)

The Finnish School of comparative folklore research has an empirical and positivistic approach to using the so-called Historical-Geographic Method and its variations, which was recently discussed by Frog in an earlier volume of this journal (2013b). The scholars of this school tried to collect all variants of a tale, to analyse the diffusion and frequency of each of its individual traits, and to trace each motif's history and geographical spread. They also tried to reconstruct the ideal primeval form of the tale (*Urmärchen*) from which all the attested versions ultimately originated. Despite an initial enthusiasm, the reconstructive ambitions of the Finnish School have been strongly criticized. This method was conceptualized long before the development of computer-assisted methods, which may hold some potential for revitalizing this type of research. The present article considers the potential use and value of applying modern phylogenetic tools for the study of myths and folktales.

The Biological Model

A great advance in biology occurred when researchers realized that the lineage of organisms could be represented with a branching diagram or 'tree'. This structure visualizes the inferred evolutionary relationships among various biological species based upon similarities and differences in their physical or genetic characteristics. Each node from which branches of the tree stem represents a speciation event in which a lineage splits into two or more descendant lineages (i.e.

Table 1. Equivalence of elements and features in the comparison of genetic systems and of myths / folktales.

Genetic Systems	Myths / Folktales
Discrete heritable units (e.g. the four nucleotides, codons, genes and individual phenotypes)	Discrete heritable units (e.g. mythemes, motifs, tale-types)
Mechanisms of replication by transcription and reproduction	Teaching, learning and imitation
Slow rate of evolution	Fast or slow rate of evolution
Parent–offspring, occasionally clonal	Parent–offspring, intergenerational transmission, teaching, writing (more recent)
Mutation (e.g. slippage, point mutation and mobile DNA)	Innovation (e.g. variation, innovation, mistakes)
Natural selection of traits (individuals with certain variants of the trait may survive and reproduce more than individuals with other variants)	Social selection of traits (e.g. societal trends and conformist traditions)
Allopatric or sympatric speciation	Geographical or social separation
Hybridization	Mixture of two or more myths or tales
Horizontal transmission defined to be the movement of genetic material between bacteria or within the genome other than by descent in which information travels through the generations as the cell divides (e.g. viruses, transposons)	Extralineal borrowing or imposition
Geographic cline	Mythological transformations
Fossils	Ancient texts
Extinction	Disappearance

branches). Biological and mythological entities have many traits in common, as summarized in Table 1. The most important of these is the fact that both are formed by discrete heritable units which evolve progressively with time. The more two related species or two myths diverge, geographically and temporally, the more distant their genetic relationship probably is. Observing these parallels, software developed for assessing genetic relationships and relatedness can potentially be applied to assess corresponding relationships between examples of myths and folktales.

Applying the biological model to myths and tales is not new. According to Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (who himself was following a long tradition: see Hafstein 2005), folktales are like biological beings (von Sydow 1927; 1948 [1965]: 238–239): they tend to adapt to their environment and they evolve by means of natural selection. This explains why so many individual variants of tales differ from the abstract tale-types with which they are identified. As early as 1909, Arnold van Gennep stated that folkloric elements should be studied "comparatively, with the aid of the biological method" (van Gennep 1909: 84).

Initial published attempts using phylogenetic software to study mythology and folktales may date back to 2001. Jun'ichi Oda applied an alignment program used for genome informatics to Propp's "sequence of functions" concerning 45 fairy tales. Propp's sequence was reduced using the Greimas model to 16 functions, each of which was in turn coded as a given amino acid (e.g. fairy tale 1 = ACDEF; fairy tale 2 = ACFDEF; fairy tale 3 = ADPHW, etc.). The use of a program could then arrange the sequences of functions to identify regions of similarity that may be a consequence of functional, structural, or evolutionary relationships between the sequences in the same way it worked for amino acids in a genome. This approach presents some difficulty owing to limits of the genome model: the researcher can only work with only a limited number of functions (only 20 types of amino acids exist) and results were limited to only very short lines of code for each sequence (from 4 to 12 functions / amino acids). Under such circumstances, it is highly possible that convergent evolution could produce apparent

similarity between functions that are evolutionarily unrelated. More research would be necessary to arrive at any certainty that is impossible to obtain with this method. An additional problem is that the results depend on the specific order of sequences, in which case a variation in a conventional plot whereby e.g. the function of a donor occurs early could make tales appear to correspond in their formal sequence of functions that otherwise have nothing to do with one another. Oda's work holds a position in the history of research, but the effectiveness of Oda's method was never tested, for instance by changing the dataset or the method in order to control the results.

As far as I know, I was the first, in the beginning of 2012, to tackle many of the remaining problems with this sort of approach (d'Huy 2012a–c; 2013a–e). I studied many families of mythological narratives and folktales using different datasets of mythemes each time (vs. Oda's functions; see the definition below). I used as large a sample of versions as possible and multiplied the most up-to-date statistical and phylogenetical methods applied. This work has been then continued by other researchers, such as Jahmshid Tehrani (2013) and Robert Ross, Simon J. Greenhill and Quentin D. Atkinson (2013). Phylogenetic methods have been used to study many folktales and myths, including Pygmalion, the Cosmic Hunt, Polyphemus, the Dragon, Little Red Riding Hood and the Kind and the Unkind Girl.[1] Indeed, the phylogenetic approach is very interesting. It can offer answers to a lot of questions. At its most basic, it can be used to explore the extent to which examples of a given folktale exhibit a tree-like set of relations, and this can be interpreted as reflecting the relative contributions of vertical and horizontal processes in folktale evolution (d'Huy 2012a–b; 2013a–c; 2013e–f; Ross et al. 2013). It can be questioned whether the members of a so-called tale-type or motif indeed form a unity or should better be regarded as divided into phylogenetically distinct international types (d'Huy 2013e; Tehrani 2013), and whether we can reconstruct the proto-tale and its evolution (d'Huy 2012b; 2013a–c; 2013e–f; 2014a; Tehrani 2013). When the tree-like relations of variants of a tale or tales in a database of mythology appear interpretable as reflecting its historical spread through the world, it becomes possible to consider whether this correlates with reconstructions of human migrations that might be responsible for that spread (d'Huy 2012a–c; 2013a–c; 2013e–f; Tehrani 2013; d'Huy & Dupanloup 2015). More generally, the phylogenetic approach offers new resources for considering how folktales evolve (d'Huy 2013a; 2013c; 2013d; Ross et al. 2013). As the approaches of the Finnish School fell out of favour in the latter half of the 20th century and research paradigms changed, folkloristic research on folktales and myths moved away from questions about the history of tales and the historical relationships behind their various forms (Frog 2013b: 21–22). Returning to these questions now with the support of modern phylogenetic tools has the potential to produce new knowledge.

Confronting Methodological Problems

The Historical-Geographic Method (HGM), especially as it became internationally known in the first half of the 20th century or the 'Classic HGM' (esp. Krohn 1926), suffered from a number of methodological problems for which it received heavy criticism (Frog 2013b). Phylogenetic tools have the potential to resolve a lot of the problems addressed by its critics (d'Huy 2013a; Tehrani 2013). Several of these issues will be briefly reviewed here:

1. It is impossible to reconstruct the tale as it was first composed and told to others.

Phylogenetic tools statistically assess degrees of formal relatedness between items. Rather than shared mutations, the degrees of formal relatedness are hierarchically organized in a tree according to variations that they hold in common, which may be produced by historically shared innovations. This makes it possible to model the evolution of a tale inside a tree statistically. This approach is similar to the formal studies of the Classic HGM, but uses a computer rather than graph paper. It does not involve qualitative assessment of the features of variants and thus the statistical reconstruction is essentially a mathematical outcome of the correlation of

similarity of individual elements. Insofar as this method makes this statistical assessment quantitatively on the basis of the number of individual elements without being hierarchically structured according to larger units of narrative, it is (hypothetically) possible that variants could be grouped together owing to a concentration of formal similarity in the co-occurrence of motif elements in one episode even though the overall narrative form and structure was close to that of another set of variants. For this reason, the elements chosen for each motif need to be shared equitably throughout the whole story. Where formal relatedness of one example does not align with other shared variations of a group, the software makes this observable as a conflict in the data.

2. *The Classic HGM could not show how two or more seemingly different themes could stand in a structural transformational relationship to each other (Lévi-Strauss 1968: 185).*

The Classic HGM's focus on the presence or absence of story details neglected the logical relationships evident between different versions of a same myth. At least two additional principles (variation and selection) in the process of folklore transmission are compatible with both evolutionist and structural treatments: the more two myths diverge from each other or transform, the more distant their genetic relationship. This formal distance seems normally to correlate with geographical and/or temporal distance of the examples (e.g. Ross et al. 2013). However, phylogenetic tools allow for the process of divergence to occurr more quickly in one region and more slowly in another. The use of phylogenetic tools also can take into account the fact that the tradition in one cultural area can undergo an abrupt and radical transformation that rapidly becomes socially dominant (e.g. with religious change). These tools assess formal relationships: the interpretation of the history behind that formal relatedness is a subsequent analysis by the researcher.

3. *The reconstructive approach identified variation with dispersal and reconstructing the historical form of a tale was thus linked to identifying its location of origin.*

Any attempt to find the place of origin of tales seems to be doomed to failure. The evidence of individual tales has not been evenly collected among all cultures and the narrative has the potential to be transmitted across different areas, carried via contact networks and population mobility. This process of transmission has the potential for even the repeated displacement of earlier local and cultural forms as a historical process. The tale may also simply drop out of use in some areas without leaving evidence of the local form, and there may not be any evidence to link a tale to the geographical area of its origin. Moreover, the geographical emphasis developed from "confusing a continuum of typological similarities [in the distribution of variants] with a historical progression of developments accompanying geographic spread" (Frog 2013a: 117), which is roughly like interpreting variation across dialects of a language as reflecting a sequence of developments based on the language's progressive spread to new locations. Such continua may be better understood as related to contact networks in interaction, moderating and negotiating variation. This phenomenon of cultural adjacence (Frog 2011: 92–93) could make tracing locations of origin and processes of geographical spread problematic and most often impossible without support from other types of evidence or association with a broader system of material (e.g. a cultural mythology). Phylogenetic tools can easily accommodate incomplete phylogeny. Moreover, some tools (such as midpoint rooting) may enable the essential features of a tale from which all of the variants derive to be established. However, phylogenetic tools treat formal relationships between texts and not their geographical distribution. A researcher may take the information produced in a phylogenetic analysis and compare that with the geography of formal distribution and the history of cultures from which examples were collected, but that is another level of analysis and interpretation.

4. Early research gave preponderant attention to oral tradition, which it sought to distinguish from literacy influence.

This emphasis on oral sources was part of the text-critical strategy for tracing the history of text-type transmission according to which these variants would create an inaccurate impression if treated as conventional of the inherited oral tradition. However, this attitude could have consequences for handling sources, like discarding masses of variants, as was done for example by Jan de Vries (example in Frog 2011: 82–83). The concern is unwarranted when using phylogenetic methods, which analyze taxa as brothers or cousins rather than assessing them as a lineage *per se* (each example is at the top of the stemmatic tree of relations; none are in an intermediate position). Phylogenetic methods infer a lineage based on the proximate relation of many elements at the same level. It does not need to presume a gap between the true folktale and literary adaptations. The effect of horizontal transmission (i.e. if literary adaptations draw on elements from other cultural traditions and only partly reflect inherited culture) has been addressed in an optimistic fashion by Greenhill et al. (2009) and by Curie et al. (2010).

5. Source-critical problems.

Criticisms against the HGM in the latter part of the 20th century included issues raised by the sources used and source-critical standards. These criticisms were in part associated with changes in source-critical standards more generally (Frog 2013b) but a significant factor in broad comparative research was and remains reliance on edited and translated materials owing to the number of languages accessible to any one researcher. Lévi-Strauss (1958: 232) notes that a mythic message is preserved even through the worst translation. The translation could nevertheless have an impact on the encoding of specific traits for phylogenetic analysis if 'the worst translation' alters surface details of images and motifs through which the mythic message is communicated. A selection among the versions used in analysis is therefore necessary. The Classic HGM advocated the principle that analysis should be based on an as extensive and exhaustive a corpus as possible, but then those materials were assessed and sorted according to contemporary source-critical standards (cf. point 4 above). As noted, the introduction, omission or alteration of elements in e.g. a translation of low source-critical quality may affect results in a phylogenetic analysis. This approach needs to maintain qualitative valuations of individual variants and cannot be purely quantitative, because the validity of the outcome of analysis will be dependent on the quality and representativeness of the data. However, it may be noted that phylogenetic analysis could be used as a tool in a larger corpus to assess the probability that certain traits in variants of low source-critical quality accurately reflect local or cultural tradition, or whether these may have been introduced by a collector/author/redactor.

6. The decontextualization of sources and presumptions of relatedness

The decontextualization of sources is normally now thought of in terms of isolation from a performance context. It was problematic in earlier research because sections of text relevant for comparison were frequently cut from their context in more complex narratives. This was particularly problematic in motif analysis but also in tale-type analysis where, for example, certain traits of a tale were clearly outcomes of adapting the narrative to the context of a longer story or integrating it into that plot. Some such comparative analyses *presumed* a historical relationship and thus parts recorded in different tales might even be first combined as a reconstruction of the historical local or cultural tradition for comparison. However, this type of reconstruction presents a hermeneutical problem and such synthetic reconstructions should not be included rather than primary sources in a data-set to be analysed. The issue of decontextualization can then be in part mitigated by the coverage of the maximal amount of text for each example (in the present case, for example, not isolating the motif of the escape from Polyphemus' cave but also all of the surrounding tale).

7. The representativeness of sources.

The problem of the representativeness of sources is a question of whether isolated

examples can be considered representative of a local or cultural tradition. This is particularly relevant to phylogenetic analysis on the basis of individual formal traits. Some simple examples of this are the examples of ATU 1148b attested in Sámi, Latvian and Greek discussed by Frog (2011: 81, 84, 87). This is particularly significant for the types of interpretations discussed when different variants of a tale from a single cultural group do not systematically group together as more closely related to one another than to those of other groups (cf. the distribution of Sámi and Greek/Homeric variants in Fig. 1). This problem requires a close analysis to establish whether the variants present different locally established forms, which could be born/borrowed at different times, or if a local teller know both the traditional and an anomalous tale at the same time. Concern over whether an example is historically rooted in one culture as opposed to borrowed through contacts with another may be alleviated when focus is calibrated to a broader scope: for example, it becomes unnecessary to resolve whether a Sámi example reflects a borrowing from Russian or Norwegian tradition if comparison is between European/Eurasian traditions and traditions in the Americas and individual examples are considered in relation to those broad patterns (cf. below).

8. Researcher interpretation in type-identification.

The researcher's identification of an example or group of examples could be inaccurate or irrelevant, such as the Sámi examples reviewed in Frog (2011: 81) that are identified with ATU 1148b on the basis of the historical reconstruction of their relatedness to the abstract tale-type rather than purely on the basis of formal features of the individual examples. If this sort of identification is considered justified, it is then followed by the problem that many similar cases remain unidentified and the additional problem that such loose groupings may not in all cases be valid. This becomes a problem of hermeneutics: to what extent does looking for parallels produce parallels and their justification? In the background of this question appears to be the criticisms of Kaarle Krohn's (1926: 28–29) conception that each motif has a single unique origin, which rejects the possibility of 'multigenisis' of narrative elements (cf. Frog 2013b: 27, 31n.13). This is a very controversial issue that could be statistically evaluated for each motif thanks to statistical tools, for example by estimating how many founder events are necessary to explain the diversity of a studied corpus. A solution may also be to search for a sufficiently complex set of traits that could not be the product of many independent inventions around the world. The researcher's identification of motifs / elements of the text may nevertheless remain a problem. This problem is similar to the issue of producing parallels by looking for them: what qualifies as presence/absence or 'the same'/'different' remains dependent on researcher interpretation, and this is complemented by the problem of researcher subjectivity in determining which elements are relevant for observation and which are not. A solution could be to determine the maximal number of elements for each text subjected to analysis. It should also be noted that varying the number and categorisation of elements subject to analysis often does not change the overall result (d'Huy 2013c; 2013f).

Phylogenetic Analysis of the Polyphemus Tale

The reconstruction of the Polyphemus tale is a textbook case. The earlier reconstructions of the proto-myth, and of the significance which lies at the root of the story, can be safely dismissed as erroneous. This is a broad subject, too wide to be reviewed here, and the reader may consult Justin Glenn (1978) for an introduction. The most complete attempt to reconstruct the proto-version of Polyphemus was O. Hackman's analysis based on a Historical-Geographical approach (Hackman 1904). This study suffers from a total lack of explanation for the criteria used to limit the number of versions included in the corpus (Calame 1995: 143). The problem of the physical, geographical origin of this story also seems unsolvable (Glenn 1978).

I have previously applied phylogenetic methods to the historical reconstruction of the Polyphemus Tale elsewhere (d'Huy 2012a;

Table 2. Examples and sources used in the phylogenetic analysis.

Language / Langauge Family	**№ of Variants**	**Sources**
Algonquian	4	Ojibwa people (Desveaux 1988: 83) Atsina people (Kroeber 1907: 65–67) Niitsitapi people (Spence 1914: 208–212; Wissler & Duvall 1908: 50–52)
Iroquoian	3	Crew people (Lowie 1918: 216–217, 218–220; Simms 1903: 295–297)
Southern Athabaskan	5	Jicarilla Apache people (Goddard 1911: 212–214; Opler 1938: 256–260) Kiowa Apache people (McAllister 1949: 52–53) Lipan Apache people (Opler 1940: 122–125) Chiricahua Apache people (Opler 1942: 15–18)
Tanoan	2	Kiowa people (Parsons 1929: 21–24, 25–26)
Greek	4	Homer, *The Odyssey* (book IX) Modern Greek people (Athens: Drosinis 1884: 170–176; Cappadocia: Dawkins 1916: 551; Chios: Ludwig 1863: 287–289)
Albanian	1	Albanian people (Comparetti 1875: 308–310)
Italic	10	Abbruzzian people (Nino 1883: 305–307) Sicilian people (Crane 1885: 89) Jean de Haute-Seille, *Li romans de Dolopathos* Gascon people (Bladé 1886; Dardy 1884) Romanian people (Grimm 1857: 15–16) Valais people (Abry 2002: 58)
Balto-Slavic	3	Serb people (Karadschitsch 1854: 222–225, Krauss 1883: 170–173) Russian people (Ralston 1873: 178–181; Karel 1907: 38–39) Lithuanian people (Richter 1889: 87–89)
Germanic	2	English people (Baring-Gould 1890) West Highlands people (Campbell 1860: 105–114).
Indo-Iranian	1	Ossetian people (Dirr 1922: 262)
Caucasian	2	Abaza people (Colarusso 2002: 200–202; Dumézil 1965: 55–59)
Uralic	3	Hungarian people (Stier 1857: 146–150) Sami people (Poestion 1886: 122–126; 152–154),
Kartvelian	1	Mingrelia people (Frazer 1921: 449–450)
Turkic	2	Oghuz Turks people (*Book of Dede Korkut*) Kyrgyz from Pamir (Dor 1983: 34–36)
Afro-Asiatic	6	Berbers (Germain 1935; Frobenius 1996; 38–41) Palestinian-Israelian people (Patai 1998: 31–32) Syrian people (Prym et Socin 1881: 115)
Language isolates	5	Kootenays people (Boas 1918: 213–219, 303–304) Basque people (Cerquand 1992; Vinson 1883: 42–45; Webster 1879: 4–6)

2013a) and, in the preceding issue of this journal, I used a corpus of examples of this tradition to explore the potential of Natural Language Processing software for identifying motifs (d'Huy 2014c). My first preliminary attempts to reconstruct the evolution of Polyphemus faced major problems owing to the initial sample sizes (24 versions analysed according to 72 traits in d'Huy 2012a; 44 versions according to 98 traits in d'Huy 2013a). I here increase the number of versions (56) and traits (190) studied. In this paper, I will test my earlier results.

Stith Thompson (1961) counted five traditional elements or motifs in Polyphemuss tale-type: G100: Giant ogre, Polyphemus; K1011: Eye-remedy. Under the pretence of curing his eyesight, the trickster blinds the dupe (Often with a glowing mass thrust into the eye); K521.1: Escape by dressing in animal (bird, human) skin; K602: "Noman"; K603: Escape under ram's belly. Uther (2004)

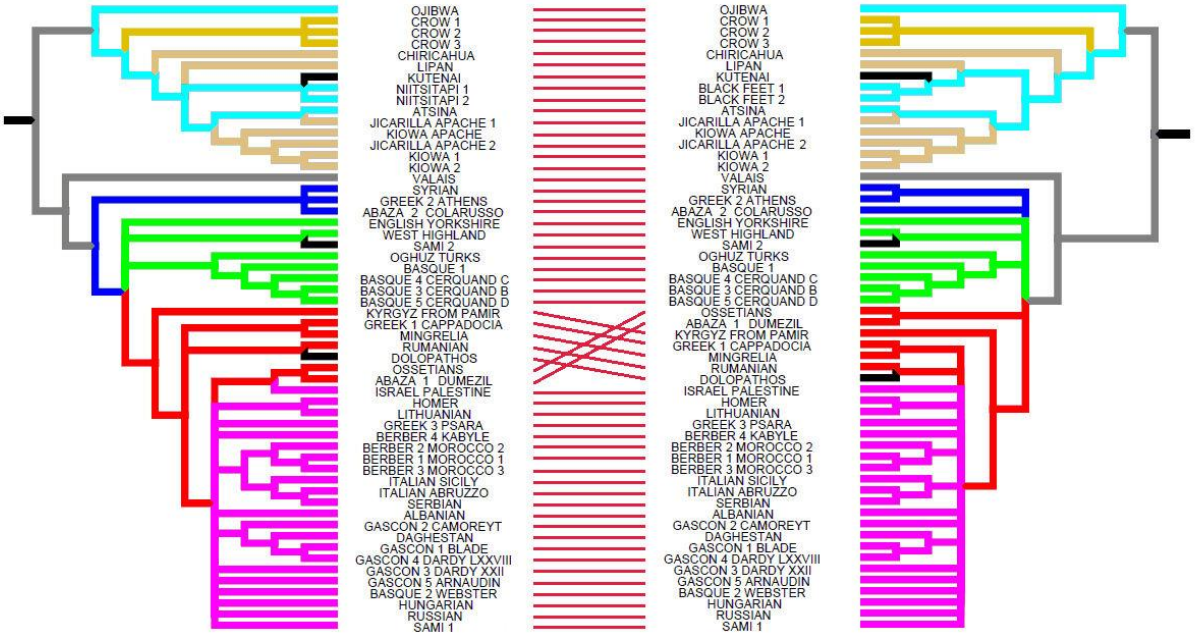

Figure 1. Tree under the maximum parsimony and consensus criterions (right) and bayesian tree (right).

adds five additional motifs: F512: Person unusual as to his eyes; F531: Giant; K1010: Deception through false doctoring; K521: Escape by disguise; D1612.1: Magic objects betray fugitive. Give alarm when fugitive escapes. These motifs can be found in disparate ways in other tales, and each of them has its own evolutionary story. So, in this study, I will only consider the motif of the escape from Polyphemus' cave (K521; K603) and I define the Polyphemus type as a tale in which a person gets into the homestead of a master of animals or of a monstrous shepherd; the host wants to kill the hero, but the hero escapes by holding on to to the fleece or fur of an animal who is going out, concealing himself under an animal's skin or with a living animal.[2]

The versions are drawn from diverse published sources in several languages (English, French, German, Italian). Some of the sources used were not available in forms that are up to modern source-critical standards and may have potentially been subject to significant editing for the earlier publication or could reflect summaries and paraphrases (although see discussion above). The present study is founded on the premise that the texts forming the corpus are sufficiently representative of the traditions of the cultures in question to make phylogenetic analysis reasonable. This also means that the reliability of the results remains conditional on the representativeness of the corpus.

Each version of the Polyphemus Tale has been analysed individually, breaking it into the shortest possible sentences. These sentences have then been added to an index to compare the mythological versions they contain. The sentences were coded according to their presence in (1) or absence (0) from each version, in order to produce a binary matrix. The coding also incorporated a symbol (?) for uncertainty in the data.

With Mesquite 2.75 (Madisson & Madisson 2011), a simple model to calculate the 100 more parcimonious trees was used. Then each tree was rearranged by subtree pruning and regrafting, before being summarized into one – consensual – tree (strict consensus; treelength: 608; Figure 1, left column). With MrBayes 3.2.1 (Huelsenbeck & Ronquist 2001; Ronquist & Huelsenbeck 2003), the posterior distribution of phylogenetic tree for all the versions was inferred. An ordinary Markov Chain Monte Carlo analysis for 20,000,000 generations with 4 chains was run, using a model of DNA substitution (the GTR) with gamma-distributed rate variation across sites. The trees were sampled every 5,000 generations, with relative burn-in discarding the first 25% of sampled trees. The fact that a stationary distribution of values had been reached was controlled with Tracer 1.5.0 (Drummond &

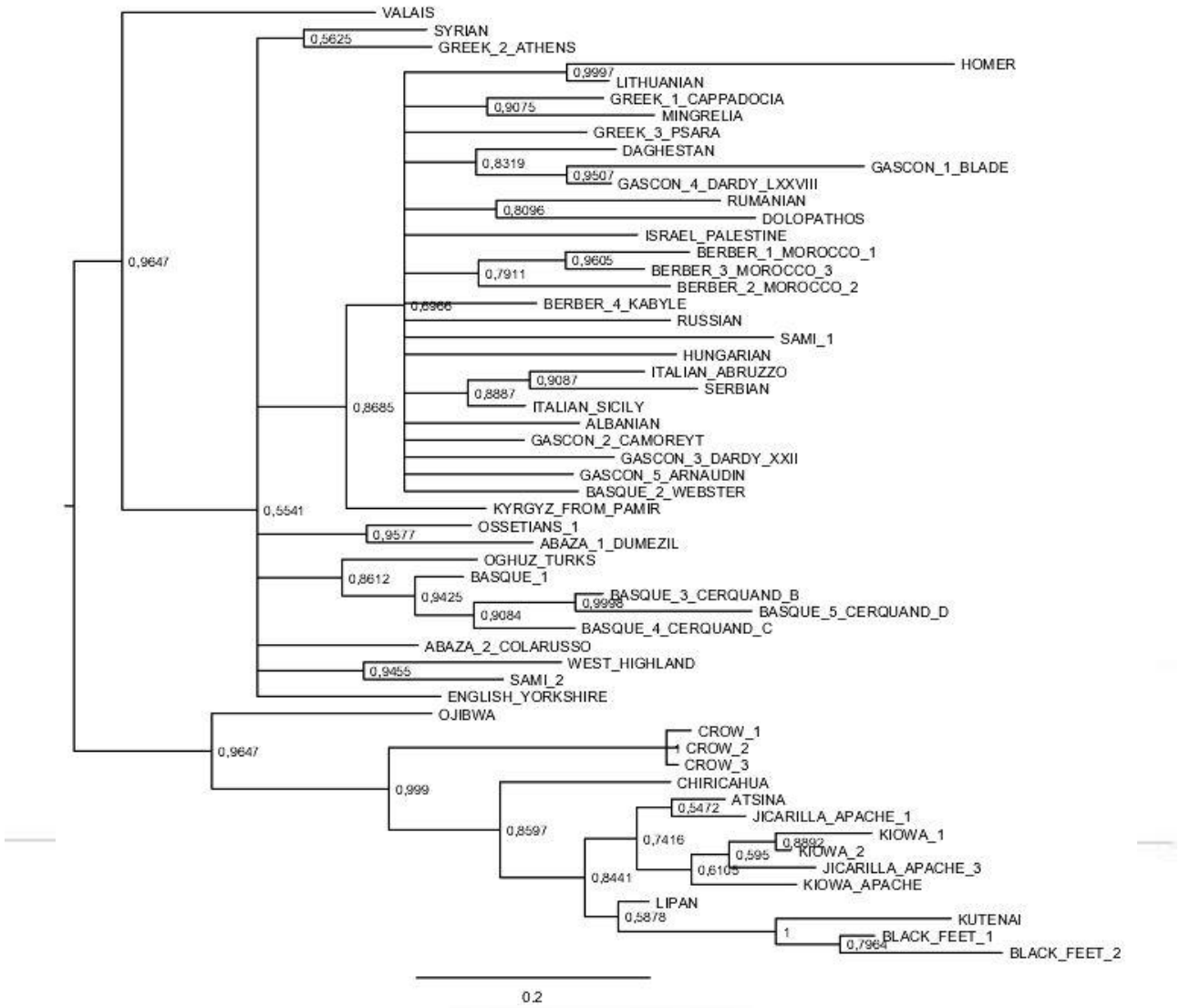

Figure 2. Maximum tree with a midpoint rooting.

Rambaut 2007). At the end of the run, the average standard deviation of split frequencies was 0.005. Both runs produced 8,002 trees, of which 6,002 were sampled. The tree obtained is a consensus tree from all samples (excluding the burn-in), created by a 50% majority rule. This means that a polytomy is introduced if a particular split occurs in less than 50% of all trees and so the program was unable to resolve this lineage (Figure 1, right column).

To root the trees, I used a midpoint solution with the MrBayes tree, which places the root directly between the Ojibwa and Valais versions (Figure 2). The phylogenetic link between both versions possess a very strong confidence degree (0.97) and was systematically found in the previous reconstructions (d'Huy 2012a; 2013a). On the one hand, the Valais is formally intermediate, between the European and Amerindian corpora, with a lord of wild animals similar to Amerindian versions found in the Valais corpus. It is likely that the European version exhibits the most archaic features.

Considering the monster in the earliest shared form of the tale as a lord of animals, as in the Valais[3] and North American variants, would be in agreement with Burkert's statement (1979: 33) that the Cyclops in Homer drew on a primeval mythological tradition older than the Indo-European tradition that included a belief in a lord of animals. As pointed out by Frog (p.c.), narrative traditions and the images of different categories of imaginal being adapt and are shaped historically in relation to dominant livelihoods of the cultural environment in both legends and mythology (cf. af Klintberg 2010: 168). The supernatural shepherd of

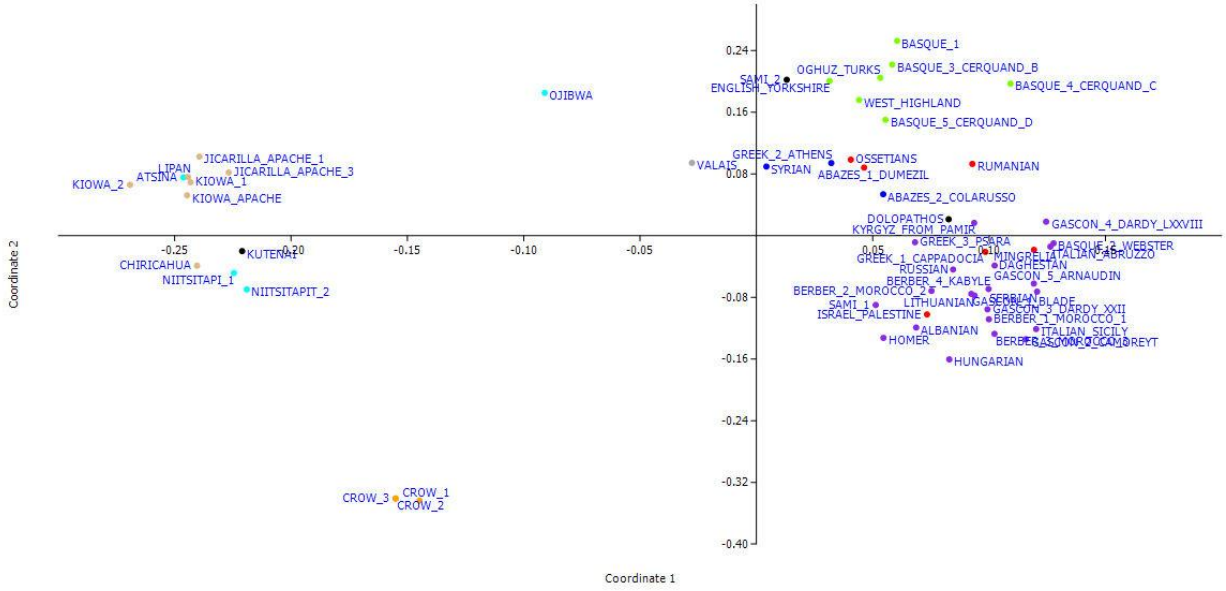

Figure 3. Principal coordinates analysis (Jaccard).

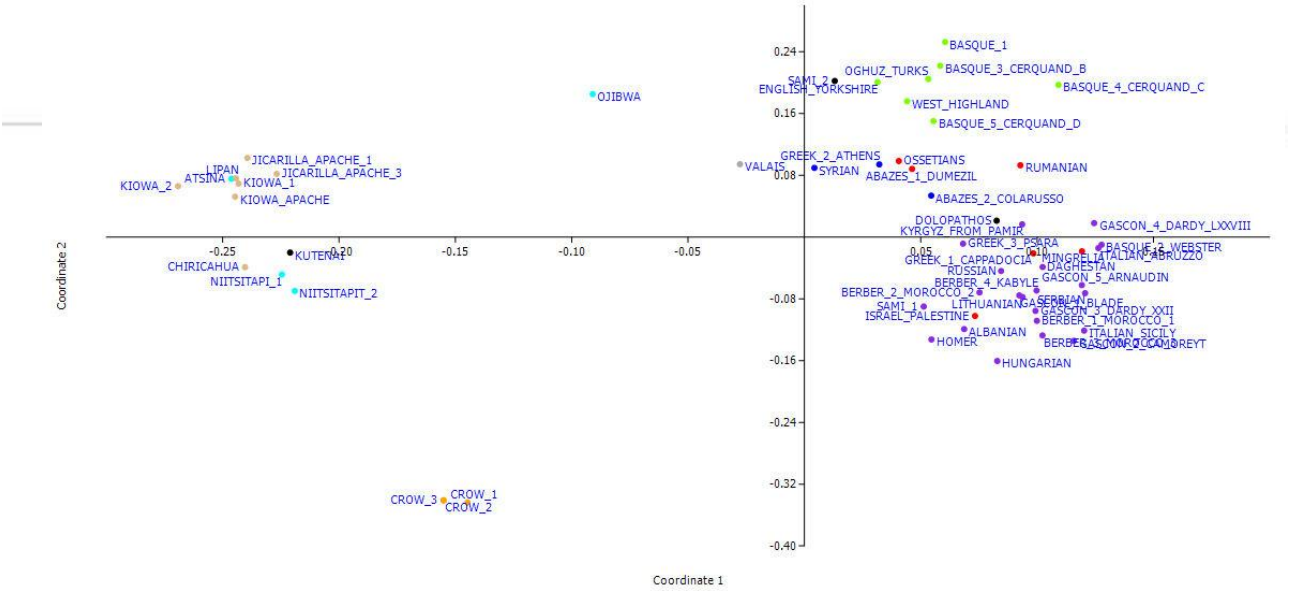

Figure 4. Principal coordinates analysis (Cosine).

European traditions is equivalent to the lord of animals in his control of resources while the resources concerned are connected to different kinds of livelihoods (cf. also Tolley 2012, which discusses a motif associated with the lord of animals also adapted to livestock).

The plot of the Polyphemus tale is structurally dependent on the monster being a keeper of animals, on which the hero's escape is dependent, and which would account for its long-term stability as an element of the plot (see also Frog 2011: 91–93; 2014). It is therefore probable that this feature of the tale was established already in the form from which the attested versions derive. *If* the North American and European versions of the narrative are historically related *and* the narrative was not carried to the Americas by late medieval colonization by Europeans,[4] *then* it is improbable that the necessary contact and exchange relevant to the spread of the European version with sheep antedated

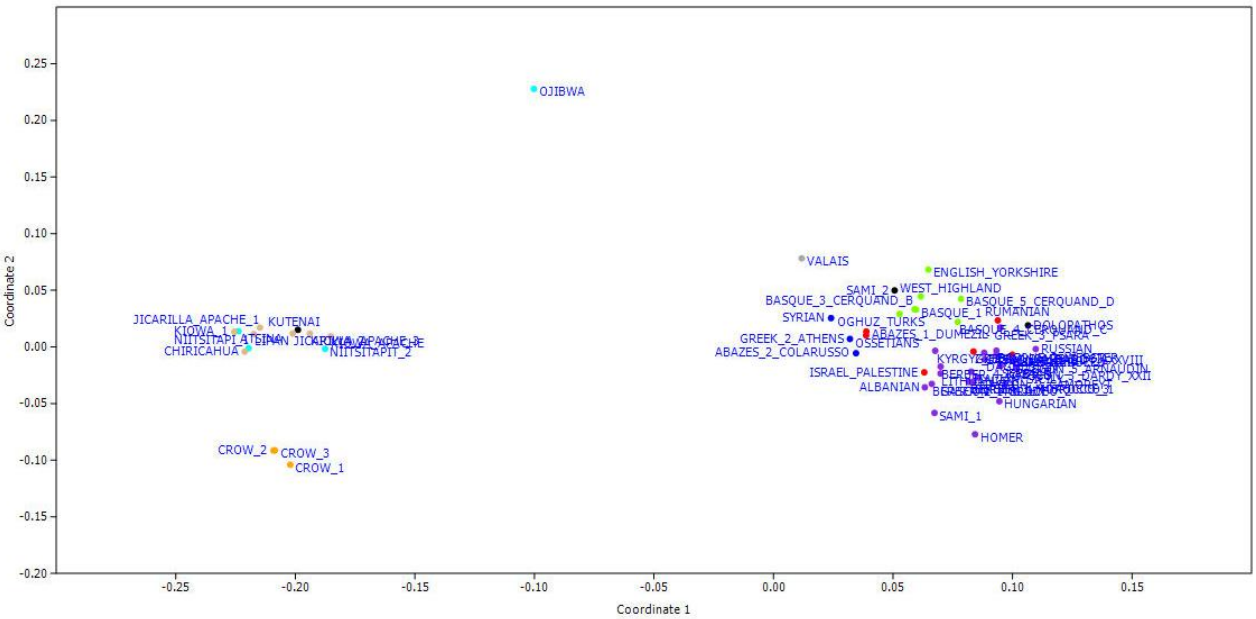

Figure 5. Non-Metric Multidimensional Scaling (Jaccard).

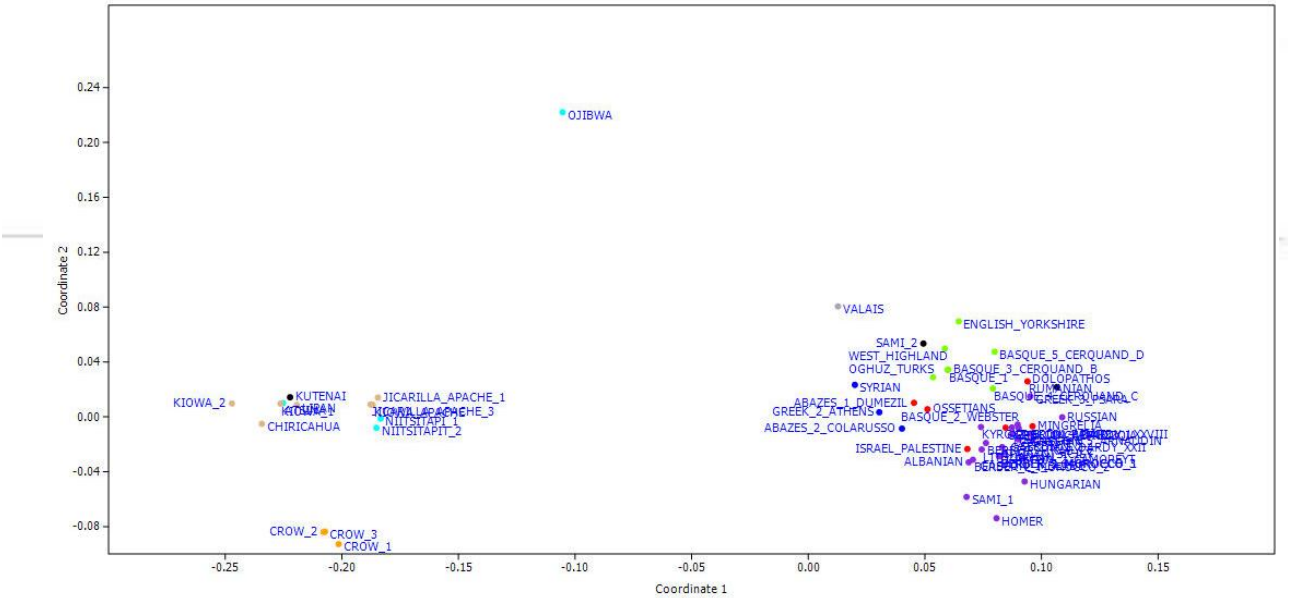

Figure 6. Non-Metric multidimensional Scaling (Cosine)

the domestication of livestock. Accordingly, the adversary was most likely a lord of animals or equivalent figure in the earliest construable form of the plot.

The lord of animals is attested among several peoples in Europe. It is therefore unclear why it would be maintained only in the tradition area of Valais where it is attested in only one variant. The appearance of a lord of animals in the Valais instance may not reflect a historical continuity from such an era before the domestication of livestock that was maintained in isolation in Western Europe. Yet the local evolution of this tale shaped it like the (Palaeolithic) proto-form, which explains its place in our analysis. On the other hand, the Ojibwa's branch is also situated in an intermediate place. A principal coordinates analysis (transformation exponent: c = 2; Similarity index: Jaccard; PC1: 29,859, PC2: 10,07; Cosine: PC1: 35,62; PC2: 11,74; fig.3 and 4) and a non-metric MDS (Jaccard, Cosine, 2D; Figures 5 and 6) conducted with Past 3.0 (Hammer et al. 2001) show a remarkably consistent pattern, geographically speaking (North America / Europe; nearest geographical versions tended to form sister clades), and confirm the intermediary situation of the Valais' and Ojibwa's versions

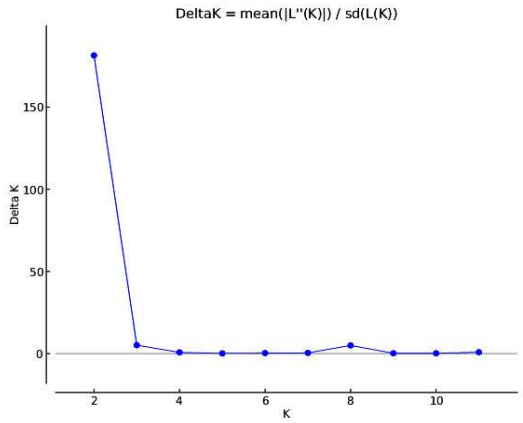

Figure 7. Delta K's score associated with 1 to 12 clusters.

as exhibiting formal distinction from these larger groups. I also used Structure2.3.4 (Pritchard et al. 2000; Falush et al. 2003) to detect the true number of clusters (K, test for 1 to 12 clusters) in the sample of versions studied. Using the software structure Harvester (Earl & von Holdt 2012), two main clusters are identified among the variants in the way that the variants within a cluster are more similar to each other than to the other cluster (Parameters: 10,000 Burn-in period; 50,000 MCMC Reps after burn-in; number of iteration: 10; recessive alleles model used for 0; Ancestry Model; Admixture model; Figure 7). The data align perfectly with the Amerindian/European distinction.

The software also computes the probabilities of each version for each cluster. The probability is by far the lowest for the Ojibwa (0.53% for the Amerindian cluster; 0.47% for the European cluster) and the Valais (0.28% for the Amerindian cluster; 0.72% for the European cluster); this again suggests that these two versions are in the middle ground between European and Amerindian developments. The limited number of examples from each culture in the corpus may not be sufficient to reconstruct the conventional form of the tradition for any one culture in a dependable manner. Nevertheless, the phylogenetic analysis clearly shows distinct groupings of the European and North American branches of the tale. Although the historical background behind the branching of the Ojibwa (as well as the Crow) and Valais examples is unclear, it remains noteworthy that significant formal variations in the European and North American clusters are inclined toward the center of shared features of the traditions rather than away from it at random. This makes it appear less likely that

Figure 8a. The 'Petit Sorcier á l'Arc Musical' ['The Sorcer with the Musical Bow'] in the Cave of the Trois-Frères in Ariège, southwestern France, Magdalenian, may be the earliest pictographic representation of the Polyphemus tale (Breuil 1930: 262).

the two major branches of this complex narrative emerged independently of one another.

An Example from Palaeolithic Rock Art?

An illustration of the Polyphemus tale can potentially be interpreted from the Palaeolithic cave drawings found in the Trois-Frères. This cave is located in Montesquieu-Avantès, in the French Ariège *département* and the cave drawings appear to date to the Magdalenian period, long before the first domestication of animals.

The potential case is included as a scene within a dense, superimposed and complex representation of a herd (Figure 8a). The scene in question depicts a bison-man with a bow in his hand (on which see further Demouche et al. 1996). This figure is striking in that it appears to be a rather detailed representation of a bison standing on its hind, human, legs and holding or pointing a bow. This being observes one of the animals which – if correctly interpreted – has a human thigh (see discussions in Breuil 1930: 263; Leroi-Gourhan 1971: 97) and a very detailed, large anus / vulva (Breuil 1930: 261; Vialou 1987: 116), as seen more clearly in Figure 8b.

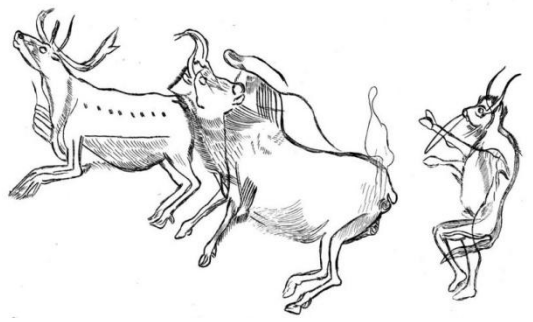

Figure 8b. The images of Figure 8a that may be relevant to the Polyphemus tale (Breuil 1930: 262; Breuil's drawing).

Interpreting such images is necessarily speculative and problematic. A popular interpretation is that the figure of the human-bison is a 'shaman'. The bison-man could be interpreted as some type of magical hunter, but the bison-man head identifies him with the herd of animals and suggests his identity is somehow connected to the herd by the features he has in common with it, rather than those that are different from it. Some believe that they represent hunters in animal disguise (Demouche et al. 1996), in a way similar to the one used by the North American Lakota hunters approaching their prey. The 'Petit Sorcier à l'Arc Musical' has also be described as a man with a bison head playing an instrument, a flute or a musical bow (Bégouën & Breuil 1958: 58). Another possibility is that this figure is not separated from the herd as a hunter or predator but rather aligned with them as their protector, guardian or other agent and representative (Clottes & Lewis-Williams 1996: 94).

The peculiar image of the animal with a human thigh and prominent rear orifice is equally obscure, but can be compared to the Amerindian versions of the Polyphemus tale, in which the hero often hides inside an animal itself by entering through its anus. This enables the hero to escape the monster who controls the beasts from his dwelling. A motif of the hero hiding in this way would account for the prominence of the anus / vulva on the depicted animal and the co-occurrence of this with the peculiar feature of a human thigh on the animal. In addition, it would also account for the relationship to the upright bison-man looking at the animal within the context of a herd: the bison-man would then fill the role of a supernatural guardian of a herd watching for the hero who escapes by hiding within one of the animals.

Interpreting narrative through image systems of a remote earlier period is inevitably problematic and speculative. If this set of images elements indeed belongs together, they can reasonably be presumed to reflect some sort of a narrative through its constituent elements. The narrative depicted might be random, local or reflect an imaginal depiction of a historical event, but its choice as a subject for representation could also be connected to some type of social prominence or relevance. Comparative evidence supports the probability that the Polyphemus tale was current in some form in the Palaeolithic era, and its *longue durée* is a relevant indicator that it held social interest and relevance. Provided that the set of image-elements have been more or less accurately interpreted, they would appear to parallel elements that stand at the core of the Prometheus tale – i.e. the escape of the hero. The bison-man would also be consistent with the proposed evolution of

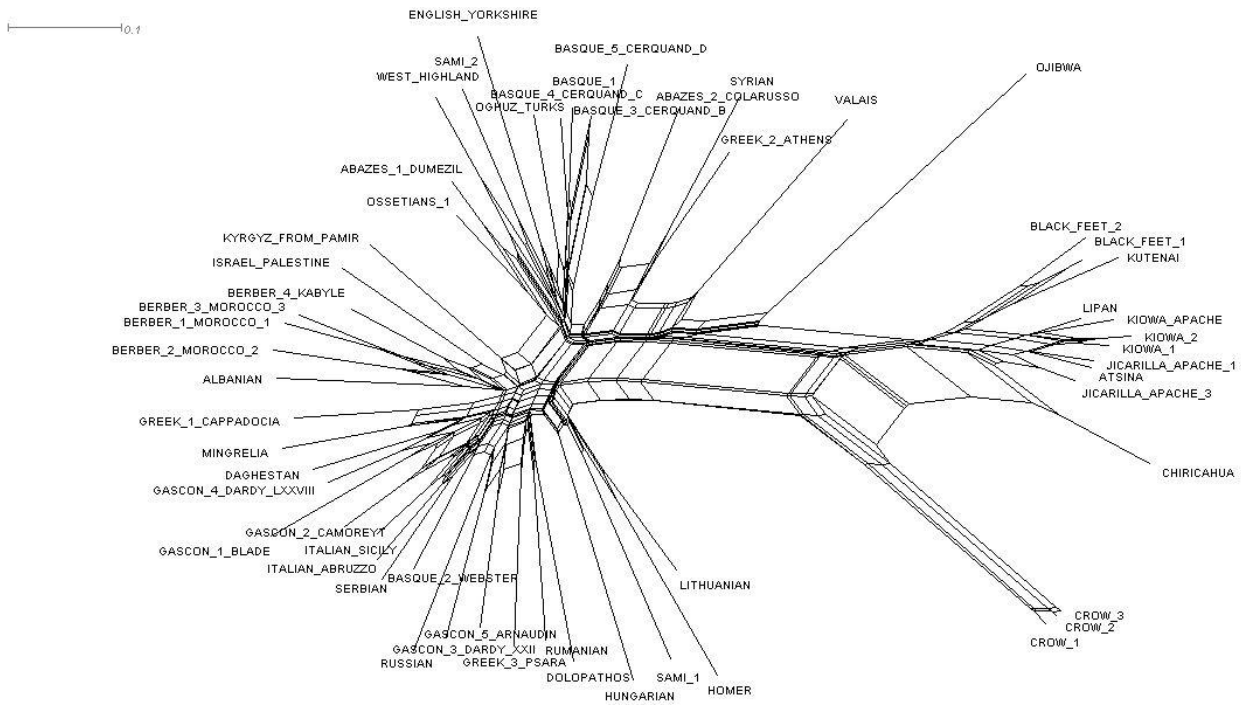

Figure 9. NeighborNet graph of the Polyphemus variants.

the tale's protagonist in Europe/Eurasia from a guardian of animals into a herdsman of domesticated livestock (noting that here he may be guardian of a particular species, notably a herd animal). This interpretation is speculative, but it is not unreasonable and is worth putting forward owing to what we know of the tale and can infer about its history.

The Tale's Retention Index

If Polyphemus is a Palaeolithic tale, then, in the model of its history, we would expect the rate of borrowing of mythemes to be low. To test this, the Retention Index (RI) has been calculated for both our trees. The Retention Index is a traditional tool in cladistics and evaluates the degree to which a trait is shared through common descent. An RI of 1 indicates that the tree shows no borrowings, while an RI of 0 indicates the maximum amount of borrowings that is possible. The RI calculated with Mesquite was 0.57 for the Mesquite tree and 0.63 for the Bayesian tree (Jukes-Cantor model; 1000 characters simulated). These indices indicated that most of the mythemes were shared through common descent. Indeed, high RI values (for instance, greater than 0.60) usually show a low horizontal transmission (Nunn et al. 2010). Both RIs obtained (0.57 and 0.63) are broadly the same as the mean RIs for the biological data sets presented by Collard et al. (2006), whose mean RI is 0.61. The biological data sets of Collard et al. were structured by speciation. Thus the vertical transmission (from mother to daughter populations) should be the dominant evolutionary process in both biological and folktale data. However, note that the RI for the Polyphemus myth does not look sufficiently high enough to consider it completely significant rather than, for example, explaining it as an interpretive bias in selecting, labelling or interpreting data.

The results also should be controlled with NeigbhorNet (implemented in Splitstree4.12; Bryant & Moulton 2004; Bryant et al. 2005; characters transformation: Jaccard; Figure 9). This algorithm makes it possible to see conflicting data, noise, doubt, uncertainty as webbing, and proposes good representations about both clusters and evolutionary distances between the taxa. A real conflicting signal between versions (box-like structures) was found. However, NeighborNet correctly brings the major part of these versions together into coherent geographical or cultural clusters, similar to those found in both trees (see below), suggesting a good conservation of the stories. The main delta-score is here 0.3422. The delta-method scores individual

taxa from 0 to 1; a relatively high delta score (close to 1) shows a strong conflicting signal in the data (Holland et al. 2002). Whichmann et al. (2011) calculates delta scores across the world's language families. Their average is 0.3113. Thus, contrary to Ross and al.'s claims (2013), some families of folktales, including K603, are at least as tree-like as languages, if not more so.

The Reconstruction of a Protoversion

Two phylogenetic comparative methods (Maximum Likelihood with model Mk1 and Parcimony reconstructions) implemented in Mesquite 2.75 have been used with maximum parsimony and consensus criterions tree to reconstruct the probable form of the first Palaeolithic state of the Polyphemus family. These phylogenetic reconstruction methods are applied to each mytheme of the family. Then mythemes reconstructed with a high degree of confidence – i.e. with more than a 50% probability using both methods – have been retained. In the text, mythemes with more than 75% probability have been underlined.

> [The enemy is a completely solitary figure, who is affronted alone.] A human hunter enters in the monster's house [which is a hut, a house or something similar]. [The hero does not know whom he will meet.] The monster possesses herd of wild animals. [He traps the man and his own animals with an immovable or a large door.] Then he waits for the man near the entrance to kill him. [To escape, the hero clings to a living animal.] In this story, a vengeance occurs that is connected with fire.

This abstract is very close to what has been found previously (d'Huy 2013a) using fewer versions and another choice of traits to study the tale. It could be the Palaeolithic myth of the first appearance of game on Earth. Phylogenetic methods cannot discover the original form of a story in the sense of an Urform with certainty, yet they can propose statistical reconstructions, where reconstructed traits are not necessarily those which occur most frequently. Note that this model is linked to features that are also correlate with the Amerindian traditions.

We can attempt to correlate the trees with a model of historical spread. However, this is a very hypothetical reconstruction. In Europe, the palaeolithic populations may have migrated toward the South (fig. 3, in blue) during the Last Glacial Maximum (Pala et al. 2012; Peričić et al. 2005) and probably preserved at least partially a reconstructed version of the story in which the monster was a master of animals. If the Valais variant is left aside as an exceptional outlier in the data and the branching of the Syrian, Greek 2 and Abaze variants' cluster treated as the root point of the European variants' stemma (fig.3, tree at the left), the following text, which may approximate the features of versions of the European Neolithic proto-tale, can been reconstructed:

> The enemy is a completely solitary figure, a giant who has one eye in the forehead, and is affronted alone by the hero. A human [perceives a light in the distance and does not know whom he will meet]. He enters the monster's house. The monster possesses a herd of domestic animals (sheep). [He traps the man and his own animals with an immovable or a large door.] Then he falls asleep and a vengeance occurs that is connected with fire. The monster waits for the man near the entrance to kill him. [To escape, the hero clings to a living animal.]

According to the reconstructed origin of the European type (Figure 3, Greece / Syria / Abaze, in blue), this new version where the monster was in a shelter and the animals were sheep may go back to about the domestication of the species. Indeed, the domestication date of sheep is estimated to fall between nine and eleven thousand years ago in Mesopotamia. If the new Polyphemus' tale type was linked to the early stages of animal domestication, it may have been disseminated through successive migrations from the Mediterranean area across millennia.

This model has been tested by removing the Amerindian data: the Bayesian tree remains almost the same (Figure 10). This makes the outcome appear relatively consistent with what would be developed from stemmatic models developed by other means, because the whole branch is stable (cf. a stemma for Germanic languages should appear more or less the same even if we were

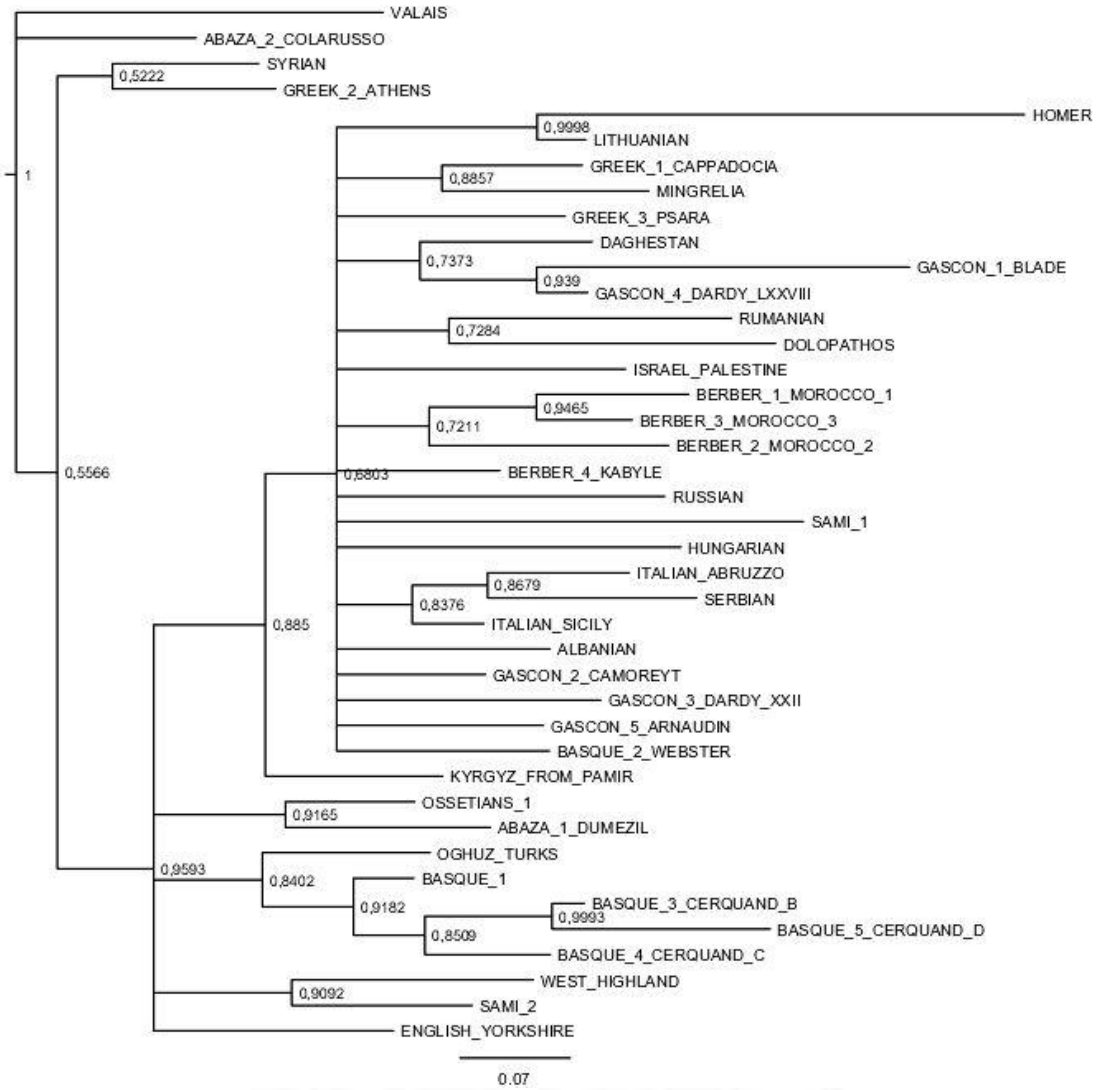

Figure 10. Bayesian tree calculated without the Amerindian versions.

unaware of a connection to Indo-European). Yet this tree alone would not resolve which features in the primary split should be considered probable for an antecedent form other than those shared across that split. For example, Burkert's hypothesis that an earlier form of the tale incorporated a belief in a lord of animals requires the Amerindian branch of data in order to advance beyond speculation to have empirically based support, conditional on the improbability of multigenisis.

Trends of Stability and Contrasts

Following the working hypothesis that complex narratives of the escape from Polyphemus are unlikely to emerge independently of one another, these stories could only have spread across Eurasia and North America when a former land bridge joined present day Alaska and eastern Siberia during the Pleistocene ice ages. In this case, it becomes necessary to account for the tale-type's distribution in two very large areas that are geographically remote from one another and diversity within these different areas which only partly seems to correlate with cultural and population histories.

A 10,000 year model of population movements and cultural changes have probably had transformative effects on traditions across Europe and America for millennia. For instance, one can propose that one of the first steps of diffusion in Europe includes Basque, Oghuz Turks, Yorkshire and the West Highlands. I have observed a similar cluster previously (d'Huy 2013) with the use of other mythems to study the Polyphemus' tales. It could be easy to explain. During the first millennium BC, Celtic languages were spoken across much of Europe, including Great Britain, the Pyrenean area, the Black Sea and the Northern Balkan Peninsula. The Basque versions may be a borrowing from the neighbouring Celtiberian (spoken in ancient

times in the Iberian Penninsula) or Gaulish languages. Yorkshire belongs to the Brittonic area, and the West Highlands is included in Goidelic. The link between the Pyrenean area and Oghuz Turks could be explained by the Gallic invasion of the Balkans in 279 BC. More precisely, the Tectosages, one of the three tribes who settled Galatia (an area in the highlands of central Anatolia) ca. 270 BC, came from southern France and could potentially be the vector of transmission. However, an account of the Celtic establishment of a branch of the tradition could not be shown to be 'true', but as a possible but indemonstrable explanation that would be the outcome of the effect of population movements and cultural changes of traditions. If this has happened repeatedly, it would suggest that different versions of the story have been 'seeded' through Europe again and again, superseding one another and receding in the wake of history. This would consequently seem to make it difficult to correlate the earliest, palaeolithic reconstructable version of the tale with any particular geographical space.

To test the multiple migration hypothesis, I realised a Mantel test using a Jaccard\s coefficient matrix (permutation: 10000) on individual version data with SAM v.4.0 (Rangel et al. 2010). If correct, there should be low relationship between geographic distance and similarity between versions, each new version taking the place of older versions, breaking the continuity of linear diffusion. The geographical locations of each version were estimated using information included in the books and papers. I adopted the centroid of geographical coordinates for each language area when no precise geographical information was available (using the websites Glottolog and Wals). I found that geographical distance explains 7% of the variance (r^2 = 0.07; p = 0.043) in the Amerindian data and 0.8% (r^2 = 0.008; p = 0.3) among European data. The correlation coefficient detects only linear dependencies between two variables, so this low result suggests a very complex evolution for the European versions, with many waves of diffusions (rather than a single one), and the long-distance influence of certain versions, such the Homeric one, could explain the clade joining closely Israeli, Berber and Russian versions (see Ross et al. 2013 for higher results about a European folktale). In these conditions, the result may imply that the diffusion of versions could be more phylogenetic (only the existence of a parental version needs to be taken into account) than geographical. Another hypothesis could be a very good conservation of the structure of the tale, which would be borrowing without major modifications.

How could the Polyphemus' tales – and other tales – evolve and survive from the Palaeolithic period? Biology may propose a model (d'Huy 2013a; 2013c–d). The theory of punctuated equilibrium states that when significant evolutionary change occurs in a species, it is generally restricted to rare and very fast events of branching speciation (Eldredge & Gould 1972; Gould & Eldredge 1977). If an analogy may be drawn, newly mythological sister versions would tend to diverge rapidly, which would be followed by extended periods of stability with little net evolutionary change, or what Frog (2011: 91) has described as "the evolution of tradition [...] in fits and starts." One sign of the punctuational evolution of myths is the correlation between branch length and the number of speciation events (Webster et al. 2003; Pagel et al. 2006). Where many speciation events (nodes) have occurred, there should be more total genetic change (longer path lengths). A gradual model of evolution predicts no relationship between node and path lengths.

The mean length has been calculated for each branch of the Bayesian tree (Figure 2) from the final version to the first polytomy – more than two based branches, which is also a sign of punctuational evolution (Wagner & Erwin 1995), and not necessary from the root of the tree to each final version. The mean linear relationship (Pearson + Spearman[5]) square between path lengths and nodes in the MrBayes' tree has been used to give an estimate of the punctuational effect on the clock-like behaviour of these trees. The result was 0.85 (Pearson: 0.91; p(uncorr): 2.15E-22; Spearman's rs: 0.79; p(uncorr): 6.77E-13). The results have been far superior to those

obtained from biological data (r = from 0.22 to 0.69; mean R^2 = 0.18; Pagel et al. 2006), showing a greater change of the tree length attributable to punctuationnal effects. The remaining variation in path could be explained by independent gradual effects.

A well-known artifact of phylogenetic reconstructions (the so-called 'node-density artifact') may lead us to believe in a false punctuated equilibrium effect. To avoid this, the coefficient of determination (R^2) has been calculated. An R^2 near 1.0 indicates that a regression line fits the data well, while an R^2 closer to 0 indicates a regression line does not fit the data very well. Here, the R^2 with a linear regression (R^2 = 0.83) is higher than the R^2 with a logarithmic regression (R^2 = 0.75). Trees also did not show the curvilinear trend that characterizes the node-density artefact (Venditti et al. 2006). The punctuational effect for this folktale is stronger than the punctuational effect in biological species (22%; Pagel et al. 2006) or in languages (10–33% being the overall vocabulary differences among languages within a language family; see Atkinson et al. 2008). It should contribute 75% to the evolution of the Polyphemus tale, a result close to what was obtained for another tale-type: the Cosmic hunt (84%: d'Huy 2013c: 100).

Ethnology provides a model that could explain these mythological punctuations. Folktale variations are largely defined by people drawing a line between 'us' and 'them' (Ross et al. 2013). Punctuation may thus reflect a human capacity to enhance both the group identity and the identification of individuals with this group. For instance, a story of the origin of fire was told by an Amerindian to offset another story by an Indian of another tribe (Goddard 1904: 197), and people belonging to a certain tribe explained that another tribe with whom it shares many myths did not know how to tell them (Désveaux 2001: 85). The punctuational effect also could be due to a mythological founder effect; small social communities tend to lose part of their mythological complex and experience something similar to founder events and drift, which increase the rate of change (for an example, see d'Huy 2013f).

Conclusion

To conclude, phylogenetic and statistical tools used to study folktale allow us to return to considerations of the past behind the documented evidence. They can offer insights into how a tale evolves, into the tale's possible prototype, and to what extent the versions studied belong to a same tale-type, with a common ancestor. Concerning the family of this folktale, the trees obtained are better and more coherent than those obtained in previous studies, which shows the importance of experimental replications and using a larger database. The proto-myth reconstruction and the punctuational evolution of the folktale, also found in previous works, have been corroborated here.

Julien d'Huy (dhuy.julien[at]yahoo.fr) Institute of the African World (IMAF, UMR 8171), Aix-Marseille University, Paris I Sorbonne; (CNRS/IRD/EHESS/ Univ.Paris1/EPHE/Aix-Marseille Univ-AMU), Centre Malher, 9, rue Malher, 75004 Paris, France.

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Notes

1. Pygmalion: d'Huy 2012c; 2013a; 2013f; the Cosmic Hunt: d'Huy 2012b; 2013c; Polyphemus: d'Huy 2012a; 2013a; the Dragon: d'Huy 2013e; 2014a; Little Red Riding Hood: Tehrani 2013; the Kind and the Unkind Girl: Ross et al. 2013; d'Huy 2014b; d'Huy & Dupanloup 2015.
2. Traits were selected for the whole tale in order to avoid the possibility that variants could be grouped together in analysis owing to a concentration of formal similarity in the co-occurrence of motif elements in one episode even if the overall narrative form and structure was close to that of another set of variants. Another approach, not used here, could be to use the tools belonging to the field of Natural Language Processing. With these tools, the closer the contents of two narratives (as reflected through their surface texts), the shorter the distance between the narratives would be. This coding would concern the whole text and avoid the pre-selection of traits (which is perhaps not so significant: see d'Huy 2013f). However, such an approach would require taking many precautionary measures (d'Huy 2014c), such as asking which elements should be compared (individual sentences, groups of sentences, parts of text or structural formations) and whether certain words, sentences, paragraphs or the whole text should be rewritten to facilitate the analysis based on the textual surface of a heterogeneously written corpus. It is also necessary to consider how to prevent ambiguity in the identification of unique terms and terms with many

possible significations as well as how original transcriptions and translations, long and short versions, tales collected on site or tales collected from Westernized people under different conditions such as special ceremonies or evening around the campfire (which can influence the content of the tale), be compared if the proximity of elements within a text is a factor. The potential for these tools, partially explored in d'Huy 2013e and d'Huy 2014c, needs to be explored further, but that is a matter for another paper.

3. An initial potential indication that the Valais variant might maintain archaic features appears at the end of the story: the dwarf (structural inversion of the giant) tries to punish the hero by creating an avalanche. Note that, according to old Tyrolian traditions, certain giants protected the singing birds and sheep; they opened the stables for sheep that had been kept indoors too long, set free badly treated cattle and punished cruel people with... avalanches (Rohrich 1976: 142–195). Yet this motif is not strong support for the lord of animals in the Valais story as representing a historical continuity in the form of the protagonist from an *Urform* of the tale.
4. The hypothesis that the tale was carried to the Americas in the late medieval colonization by Europeans is unlikely because of *a*) the coherent clustering of European variants on the one hand and American on the other; and *b*) because of the widespread dissemination of the motif in North America).
5. The Pearson correlation coefficient is sensitive only to a linear relationship between two variables; the Spearman correlation is sensitive when two variables being compared are monotonically related, even if their relationship is not linear. If the variables are independent, Pearson's and Spearman's correlation coefficient is 0; the coefficient is 1 if the variables are perfectly correlated.

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De situ linguarum fennicarum aetatis ferreae, Pars I

Frog and Janne Saarikivi, University of Helsinki

Abstract: This article is the first part of a series that employs a descendant historical reconstruction methodology to reverse-engineer areas where Finnic languages were spoken especially during the Iron Age (500 BC – AD 1150/1300). This opening article of the series presents a heuristic cartographic model of estimated locations of groups speaking Finnic languages and their neighbours in ca. AD 1000.

The aim of this article is to provide the first of three maps of the Uralic-speaking peoples in Northwest Europe in three approximated periods: ca. AD 1000, AD 1 and a map indicating the linguistic *Urheimat*s of reconstructed intermediate proto-languages within the Uralic language family (Proto-Finnic, Proto-Sámi, Proto-Mordvin, etc.). For reasons of length, the aim of providing three different maps which involve different materials and present different issues has required presenting the investigation as a series. The present article is only the first part

of this work and it focuses on the first map for the period ca. AD 1000.

The goal of presenting maps for these three periods developed as a satellite of the Viking Age in Finland (VAF) project. The VAF set out to examine cultures and historical changes during the Viking Age in territories of Finland and Karelia[1] as well as the discourse surrounding them as viewed from the perspectives of different disciplines (see Ahola et al. 2014b). Written sources with detailed information about groups inhabiting these areas in general significantly post-date the Viking Age. Each discipline is thus heavily reliant on findings of other disciplines when developing a perspective on culture formations in that period, and they generally frame the Viking Age in relation to preceding and subsequent periods. In the VAF project, it rapidly became clear that maps could provide a significant tool in negotiating the perspectives of different disciplines, especially when seeking to relate data in the archaeological record, which can be pinpointed in cartographic space on an absolute chronology, with intangible cultural phenomena such as language, folklore and cultural semiotics, of which a chronology and geographical spread can only be reconstructed through later evidence. Suitable maps were lacking and the present work has set out to fill that need, especially for Finnic language areas during the Iron Age.

The multidisciplinary impetus and methodological concerns led the authors to combine a wide range of information so that the first map presented here concentrates on cultural areas of speech communities and their networks rather than seeking to outline dialect areas *per se*. This map concentrates on historically attested groups that can be identified with Finnic speakers as well as neighbouring groups relevant to contextual-izing them. The resulting image offers an impression of the language situation in Northeast Europe in roughly the Viking Age in the light of scarce evidence that is often difficult and problematic to interpret. Needless to say, the image developed in this article remains hypothetical and heuristic. Nevertheless, this does not diminish the value of such a model as a frame of reference for the *status quo* in current research and for the purposes of future discussion. Articles of the present series are especially important owing to fundamental changes in understanding of the history of West Uralic languages across roughly the past decade.

This investigation employs the methodology of descendant historical reconstruction. Focus here is on the spread of languages as an inter-generationally transmitted dynamic and evolving social and historical phenomenon, not on the specific features of lexicon or linguistic structures. Modelling language distribution and change across the Iron Age has highlighted the need for a developed discussion and presentation of the methodology applied here. As the issues of methodology are dependent on the empirical evidence as a frame of reference for discussion, it was decided that the outcomes of the study should be presented first. Therefore the methodological framework will only be briefly outlined here along with introductions to relevant terms and concepts with a concentrated presentation discussed in relation to the model of all three maps to follow in a later issue of this journal.

The presentation offered here opens with some general remarks about language and culture along with an outline of methodological points and issues. The body of the article introduces the groups indicated on Map 2 (e.g. F13: Satakunta) with comments on sources, points about language and other distinctive details, and also remarks on etymologies of names in those cases where these are possible to establish with a reasonable degree of certainty. In organizing this information, it was decided to present first those groups and cultures neighbouring the Finnic peoples to reduce repetition. Introductions to Germanic and Slavic groups in particular provide frames of reference for subsequent groups. Additional probable Uralic groups speaking non-Finnic languages will be presented following the Finnic groups. Ethnonyms and toponyms from Old Norse and Old Russian sources are given in standardized forms for orthographic convenience and consistency (with exceptions noted). In the case of Old Norse, this means that forms are Icelandic/West Norse, although

even these are not necessarily unproblematic,[2] and the term 'Norse' is used here as generally inclusive of all Scandinavian dialects (which were mutually intelligible in AD 1000) unless otherwise specified. Both Old Russian and Modern Russian forms are given in Latinized transcription. The model presented here is centrally intended to provide for researchers of different disciplines a general frame of reference that, on the one hand, can be advanced and refined through future discussion and, on the other hand, can provide a platform for modeling language distribution and spread in earlier periods of history that will be developed with maps in future parts in this series.

Language and Culture: Preliminary Remarks

When discussing language spread, it is necessary to distinguish between different aspects of linguistic heritage that may have different distributions. A language is typically transmitted inter-generationally within a community as a mother tongue, or in between different communities as a *lingua franca* (an intergroup language). They can spread areally by the migration of a population, or, what is likely to be a more widespread phenomenon, through a language shift caused by a language spreading in culturally dominating social networks. Although a language shift typically involves some migration of socially influential people, this phenomenon is to be kept distinct from mass migrations of language communities which are typically restricted to particular historical frameworks and ecological zones (e.g. they would seem to have been commonplace on the Southern Eurasian steppe; on which, see Mallory 1989; Anthony 2007).

In addition to a *spread of language* there is also a *spread of linguistic heritage* such as words, structures, sayings, proverbs and other genres of folklore, etc. This kind of spread involves different types of contacts between speech communities that cause language change. It is a widespread phenomenon in the history of languages that a large amount of vocabulary, entire morphosyntactic structures and whole conceptual realms are transmitted from one language to another in a process involving a large-scale cultural shift without an actual language shift taking place. In this type of process, changes in a language reflect a cultural change, but the inter-generational transmission of language is unaffected (Thomason & Kaufman 1988; cf. also Saarikivi 2014).

Cultural and thus also linguistic change can be considered a prerequisite for the preservation of cultural heritage in the changing world. A lot of cultural and thus linguistic change takes place in horizontal cultural networks where neighbours borrow technologies, raw materials, artifact types, religious concepts, cultural habits, traditions and socio-cultural ideologies from each other, or imitate each other's culture (on borrowing in a typological perspective with a review of the fields of vocabulary that are most salient for borrowing, see Haspelmath & Tadmor 2009).

On the other hand, language also represents a kind of linguistic heritage that is straightforwardly attached to concrete geographical areas, most notably, toponymy, and the vocabulary denoting locally bound features of geography, flora and fauna. These are local phenomena attached to concrete places, for locally bound features, and they typically spread in vertical cultural networks – i.e. they are transmitted from one language to another in a specific area, even if a language shift takes place (cf. Saarikivi 2000). However, the spread of toponymic types (i.e. naming models) has also been associated with migrations and quite remarkable results regarding the movement of people have been reached by studying their spread (cf. Kuzmin 2014a; Vahtola 1980; Kiviniemi 1977). Thus, toponyms may demonstrate both local language substrates (i.e. earlier languages of a particular region) as well as the spread of people within one language area, although the methodologies and materials needed for their analysis in each of these cases are different.

It is quite self-evident that the dynamics of spread differ considerably for *a*) a language as a full-fledged semiotic system, *b*) only the lexical or structural features of a language, and *c*) locally bound linguistic heritage. These three categories of linguistic phenomena also have different counterparts in community change and in the archaeological record. To

simplify somewhat, the words and elements of speech that spread in horizontal networks are typically labelled as cultural borrowings and those words that spread in vertical networks are labelled as substrate borrowings.

The spread of lexical and structural features is typically associated with horizontal human networks of cultural contacts such as trade, taxation, the spread of technologies, artefact types, religious practices, use of raw materials, etc. The spread of areally bound linguistic features tends to be associated with language change in a particular region, often associated with the cultural assimilation of the incoming groups or indigenous population of the area. However, typically the words denoting local features of geography do not spread outside a particular region, and the same is also true of words for flora and fauna unless some cultural innovation makes them, for example, a commodity in trade. In such cases, it is not entirely uncommon that a toponym or a local term turns into a wide-spread cultural borrowing (cf. the word *copper* that originates from the toponym *Cyprus*, or *bronze* that originates from the denomination of the city of *Brindisi*, Italy).

Those elements employed as a mother tongue in inter-generational transmission, or those elements learned from the prevalent social environment, represent linguistic continuity, i.e. languages as semiotic systems that, however, are a subject of constant evolution.

Historical Language Mapping

The orienting principle of the *descendant-historical reconstruction methodology* is that each step of the reconstruction of the historical past must be based on the reconstruction of the more recent past. The methodology is thus a step-by-step approach to the past with a priority given to direct linguistic data (rather than e.g. archaeological speculation of the languages related to groups and types). Needless to say, the interpretation of evidence must comply with models for understanding the relationship between language spread and language change

For drawing a prehistoric linguistic map of a particular region or language group, methodologies of areal linguistics, linguistic taxonomy, palaeo-linguistics and language contact studies need to be calibrated to the sources and data from other historically oriented disciplines. In the following, each of these methodologies is briefly described for the purposes of understanding the map presented here. The core methodology underlying the specific methodologies mentioned above is from historical-comparative linguistics (cf. Anttila 1988; Fox 1995).

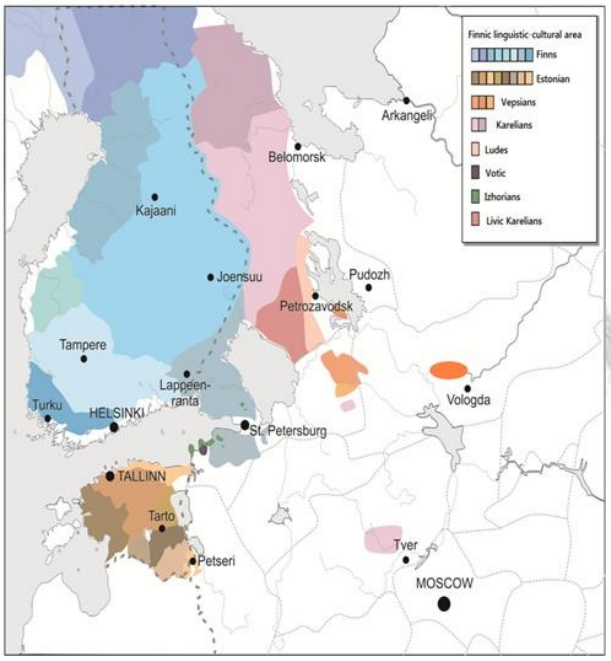
Language, Community and Ethnicity

Linguistic areas in the present are the outcome of linguistic areas of the past. These areas have traditionally been pictured using maps, although such mapping is notably problematic.

First and foremost, a map often conceals the fact that there may be remarkable social and situational variation within a single linguistic area. For instance, it is not uncommon in Europe that city dwellers have spoken a different language than the surrounding countryside, or that an upper class and 'the masses' have belonged to different linguistic groups. It is also commonplace to have communities that use different languages for different purposes. For instance, the literary languages used in many communities differ from their spoken languages, code-switching may occur in multilingual communication, etc. There have been many areas around the globe where the linguistic map has, even traditionally, been extremely complicated. In Europe, such areas have included, among others, Transylvania and most of the Balkans (especially Bosnia and its surroundings), the Volga region, and so forth.

Second, there may be notable bi- or multilingualism across large areas. Scholars are just becoming aware of the fact that language communities have been notably more multilingual in the hunter-gatherer past of mankind than in the modern and agricultural present, where language communities are larger and inequality between the members of the community may be much greater (cf. Saarikivi & Lavento 2012). Furthermore, picturing, for instance, the area around the Gulf of Finland as a region of Finnic minority languages (Ingrian Finnish, Izhorian and Votic) conceals the state

of affairs that, in fact, the whole region is Russian-speaking and the individual speakers of minority languages only speak Finnic languages in very restricted social networks. What is more, the linguistic maps of most of the regions of the western world have been notably blurred by recent urbanization that has caused the relocation of the large swathes of the rural population to cities and the extinction of many traditional rural communities. Regarding new urban communities, sociolinguists sometimes describe them as 'superdiverse' (Blommaert & Rampton 2012), meaning that many communities exist simultaneously in one geographical space and employ very complex social networks.



Map 1. The current distribution of Finnic languages.

One more word of caution is needed regarding the relationship between ethnicity and language. In many contexts of present-day Europe, there is a deep-rooted connection between a perceived ethnicity and the mother tongue of an individual. We may be sure that language was also an ethnically meaningful factor in many historical contexts, as is revealed, for instance, in numerous written accounts identifying people according to their language (e.g. in the Russian *Primary Chronicle*). Nevertheless, it is also clear that the borders between ethnicities were, in many cases, not confined to those of the linguistic groups (as far as these can be seen as distinct). Medieval and later state formations seem to have been in many cases linguistically and ethnically fairly neutral – at least as far as this can be assessed on the basis of historical documents. It needs to be noted here that the Russian state emerged especially from diverse Finno-Ugrian and Slavic groups under the rule of a Scandinavian nobility (S1) and that the later state of Sweden appears to have emerged from a multicultural trans-Baltic maritime network (G1).

With such prerequisites, it can be noted that the maps of language areas have not lost their value even in research today. Such maps must, however, be read with care. It is necessary to make an effort not to project linguistic-cultural groups of the present onto the past, nor to think that the groups indicated on the map have been monolingual or lived in a community that resembles a modern language community. The information presented by such maps is best understood in light of the analogies of the particular cultural area found in cultures of similar social structures and livelihoods that have been documented in the ethnographic record. From the point of view of hunter-gatherer cultures, there are many parallels in Northern and Southeast Asia, South America or Papua New Guinea. For purposes of understanding Northern European prehistory, Siberian and Northern American analogies are probably the closest. Iron Age agricultural societies may not be so close to these analogies, but there is more evidence in the historical record for some of these cultures, their ways of life are more observable in the archaeological record, and these types of data enable much more sensitive and sophisticated comparisons with different ethnographically described cultures in order to model relationships of technologies, livelihoods, social structures and so forth reflected in the evidenc available.

Taxonomy

The languages known today that belong to either the Indo-European or the Uralic language family are, in most cases, offspring of at least two levels of proto-languages that can reasonably be differentiated. Such a two-level structure of the language family is easily perceived in the Finno-Ugric languages, where there is little written record of older phases of the languages. Thus, Finnic

languages, i.e. Finnish, Estonian, Karelian, Vepsian, South Estonian (Võru–Setu), Livonian, Votic, etc. go back to Proto-Finnic, an unattested but certainly real language that was spoken in the Iron Age (see below). The mutual resemblance of the languages of the Finnic group is much greater than the resemblance of any of the Finnic languages to any other language of the Uralic family. Thus, one can safely assume that all the Finnic languages are offspring of Proto-Finnic, which is in turn a descendant of Proto-Uralic.

Similarly, the Sámi languages, neighbours of the Finnic groups in the North, are a group of mutually more or less comprehensible languages that form a dialect continuum and that can be traced back to a Proto-Sámi language. Proto-Sámi was in its turn also a daughter language of Proto-Uralic and a 'sister language' of Proto-Finnic. Proto-Uralic, the predecessor of both Proto-Finnic and Proto-Sámi, as well as several other proto-languages, was a Stone Age proto-language that is reconstructed on the basis of more recent proto-languages (i.e. a reconstruction based on other reconstructions) and, therefore, much more poorly known about in research than those proto-languages closer to us in time.

A similar basic structure of language relatedness can also be found on the Indo-European side. Thus, for instance, present Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, Danish, German, Dutch, English and several minor languages such as Frisian, Elvdalian, Faroese, etc. are all Germanic languages, and daughter languages of Proto-Germanic that is in turn a daughter language of Proto-Indo-European, from which also Proto-Slavic, the predecessor of Modern Russian, Novgorod Slavic, Pskov Slavic and so on derive. Several other major groups of languages are branches of the Indo-European family (Romance, Celtic, Greek, Indo-Iranian languages, etc.) and thus derive from the same proto-language.

From the point of view of linguistic taxonomy, it is a reasonable goal to develop a series of linguistic maps representing the reconstructed prehistory of the areas of the intermediate protolanguages (Proto-Finnic, Proto-Sámi, Proto-Germanic, Proto-Slavic, etc.) on the basis of the distribution of modern languages and other relevant information (discussed below), and then, on the basis of locating and dating several such intermediate proto-languages, to proceed to reconstruct the Proto-Uralic and Proto-Indo-European proto-languages (such a methodology has been followed, among others, by Mallory 1989 and Anthony 2007, but never for Uralic languages).

In order to achieve such a goal, one needs to take into consideration that within a group of languages such as Germanic or Finnic there are many clues to be found that can shed light on the question of how the Proto-Finnic or Proto-Germanic unity evolved into the branches and languages of the present. Thus, it is possible to propose the order of sound shifts and vocabulary layers of the individual languages and, on the basis of such information to find out which language forms were the first to separate from the Proto-Finnic or Proto-Germanic unity (cf. Heikkilä 2014a). In the Germanic group, we also possess prerequisites for a much closer inner reconstruction of the process of the disintegration of the proto-language, since there are numerous dialects and a rich amount of written materials that allow us to reconstruct the language development in detail on an absolute chronology of nearly two thousand years.

Areal Linguistics

Every language has variation that, in past agricultural, nomadic and hunter-gatherer societies, has been overwhelmingly areal (in modern large speech communities, social variation may be at least as important). In dialectology, it has been found that language areas are typically more conservative at their periphery than in their central areas. This is because many linguistic changes from the centre do not reach the peripheral dialects that are geographically most remote and historically the first to lose contact with the core language area. Of course, there are also linguistic innovations taking place in the peripheral language forms that typically have different contact languages than those dialects of the core language area, but these innovations are likely to be confined to the periphery. Thus, the area with most of those innovations shared with a number of individual branches of a language family will

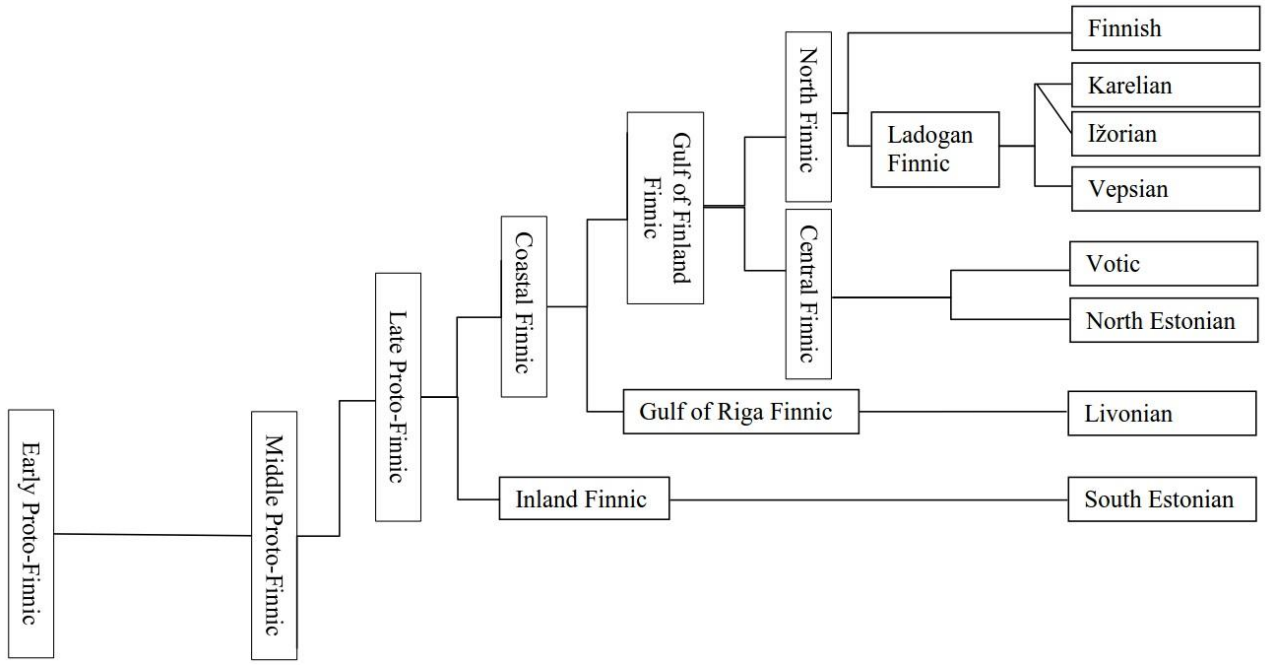


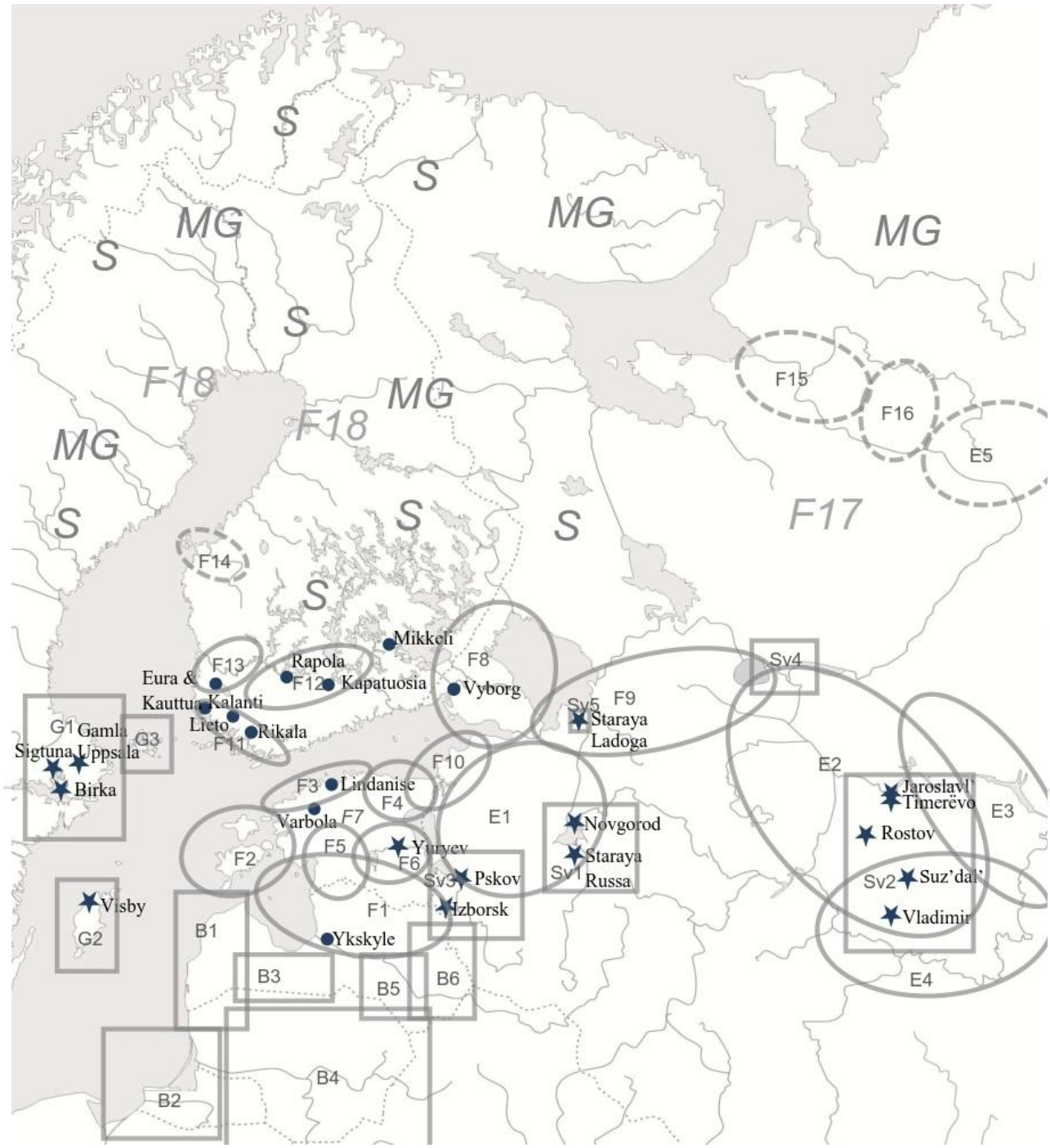
Figure 1. A Finnic language family tree (source Kallio 2014: 163).

typically be closest to the historical core area of the proto-language. Therefore, from the point of view of locating the old significant areas of proto-languages and their contacts, it is important to identify those variables of the present languages that point to the oldest splits of the proto-languages. This usually can be done with the help of a methodology that investigates the phonemic contexts of the established sound shifts, especially in borrowed vocabulary (some words of which have undergone a particular sound shift whereas others have not; cf. Heikkilä 2014a). With the same methodology, it is possible to establish a family tree for the closely related languages. This has been done several times for the Finnic languages, most recently by Petri Kallio (2014), who also discusses earlier taxonomies (see Figure 1). As is clear from his investigations, the core area of the Finnic languages has been south of the Gulf of Finland, since the isoglosses that distinguish groups of present-day languages are most numerous and oldest here.[3] What is more, several of these isoglosses would seem to split the Estonian language into two historically distinct language forms: Northern Estonian (or the Estonian literary language) and Southern Estonian (Võru-Seto).

Sometimes only the historical peripheries of an earlier, much larger language area may remain after the rest of it has disappeared. The Celtic languages, for instance, were spoken in most of Central Europe but now survive only in the British Isles and Brittany, at the north-western periphery of the European continent, an area nowhere near the presumed old homeland of the Celtic languages. As for the Sámi languages, a similar process would seem to have occurred. There is a firm evidence that Sámi was spoken in most of what is now Southern Finland (cf. Aikio 2007), but the language is only preserved in Northern Fennoscandia (S). In a future article of the present series, an early split into a southern group (Southern and Ume Sámi) and other groups (central and eastern) is proposed with the assumption that the predecessors of the languages of the southern group would have been carried from southern Finland to Central Scandinavia across the Gulf of Bothnia during the Iron Age (Häkkinen 2010).

Palaeolinguistics

A classical, and often probably over-stressed methodology for locating and dating proto-languages is that of the palaeolinguistics, i.e. reasoning based on the vocabularies of the reconstructed (or otherwise attested) early forms of the language. Thus, from the point of view of dating Proto-Finnic, it is of crucial importance that it has vocabulary related to metal (*rauta* ['iron'], *kulta* ['gold'], *hopea* ['silver'], *miekka* ['sword']), sedentary



Map 2. Distribution of Finnic-speaking groups and their neighbours ca. AD 1000. Circles indicate roughly approximated areas of Uralic language groups (dashed lines indicate uncertainty in the identification); squares indicate the same for Indo-European language groups. Stars represent centers that existed in ca. AD 1000; dots indicate corresponding sites that are only probable. F = Finnic tribes; B = Baltic tribes; Sv = Slavic groups and activity areas; G = Scandinavian groups; E = Other (extinct) Finno-Ugrian groups; S = Sámi groups; MG = Mobile groups (the languages of which are unclear). Specific groups are listed by number below.

chiefdom society (*kylä* ['village'], *kuningas* ['king'], *linna* ['fortification']), agriculture (*pelto* ['field'], *ruis* ['rye']) and cattle breeding (*lehmä* ['cow'], *porsas* ['swine']). From the point of view of locating the proto-language, it is equally significant that there is maritime vocabulary (*laiva* ['ship'], *purje* ['sail'], *meri* ['sea']). None of this vocabulary was present in Proto-Uralic, which had a Neolithic or early Palaeolithic character with a vocabulary pointing to nomadic ways of life, a hunter-fisher society with minimal social stratification and no elaborate agriculture or use of metals (cf. Häkkinen 2007). As for Proto-Sámi, a recent discussion on the relevant cultural characteristics has been provided by Ante Aikio (2012).

Layers of borrowings

In a similar manner to the semantics of the proto-language vocabulary, the origin of the vocabulary is also of interest from the point of view of dating and locating the proto-language. Much of the vocabulary that points to culturally more developed characteristics of Proto-Finnic and Proto-Sámi speech communities in comparison with Proto-Uralic speech communities derives from Indo-European, most notably, Baltic and Germanic. Proto-Finnic has had direct contacts with both of these languages, while Proto-Sámi has likely had direct contacts only with Proto-Finnic.

Since the existence of such large layers of borrowings is beyond doubt, one has to reconstruct the areas of Proto-Finnic and Proto-Sámi so that they have been adjacent to Proto-Germanic (cf. Saarikivi 2009; Aikio 2012). Proto-Finnic must in turn have been in touch with the early sources of Slavic vocabulary. Proto-Sámi likely did not have direct contacts with either Baltic or Slavic (cf. Aikio 2012) but the common predecessors of Sámi and Finnic had very early contacts with the satemized Indo-European languages including both Indo-Iranian and Baltic languages (Joki 1973; Holopainen 2014). These contact histories will be addressed more fully in later articles of the present series.

Germanic Groups

Scandinavians seem to have played a fundamental role in the opening of the *austrvegr* or 'Eastern Route', which passed first through areas settled by Finnic-speaking peoples. Changes in trade activity are apparent already in the 8th century (Ahola & Frog 2014: 40–44; N.B. – language contact between Germanic and Finnic has roots much older than the Viking Age, as later articles of the series will discuss in more detail). This anticipated the opening of trade networks trading especially northern furs for Islamic silver around ca. AD 800.[4] The Eastern Route seems to have been maintained centrally by multi-ethnic networks of Scandinavian, Finnic and Slavic language groups, although the relative prominence of those languages seems to have varied.

Although Scandinavians seem to have played a fundamental role in the opening of the Eastern Route, polities that developed through those trade networks should be assumed to have been multilingual and they were almost certainly not dominated linguistically by the Scandinavians ca. AD 1000. Groups of Scandinavians settled along the Eastern Route and Scandinavian culture seems to have been dominant in establishing such polities in the 8th and 9th centuries, which then evolved as distinct cultural arenas within the developing multicultural networks (e.g. Callmer 2000; Duczko 2004). Silver trade along the Eastern Route was disrupted in the mid-10th century, and Birka in Central Sweden as well as other trade centres eventually collapsed. A subsequent restructuring of Scandinavian trade networks is reflected in silver beginning to arrive primarily from the west rather than the east. Political as well as trade networks between Scandinavia and especially Novgorod remained vital, but the polities had evolved from satellites of Scandinavian trade into centres of political and economic power. The role of Scandinavian languages in the major polities to the east can be deduced to have declined with the restructuring of trade networks toward the end of the 10th century, leading to the clear impression of the dominance of Slavic dialects in these polities by the time of their written sources from the 13th century. The lively contacts especially connected with nobilities indicated in Old Norse kings' sagas and elsewhere allow the inference that Scandinavian language was still current in these networks in ca. 1000. Nevertheless, these polities are grouped as predominantly Slavic language areas on Map 2, noting that the actual language situation remains obscure.

No attempt will be made to locate and differentiate all Germanic language groups west of the Baltic. As far as is known, Finnic language areas did not extend to the western side of the Baltic in the Viking Age (with the possible exception of the Kven/Kainuu population along the north of the Gulf of Bothnia, on which see F18). It is possible that small Finnic speech communities could have been established in conjunction with trans-Baltic maritime mobility which was certainly

not unidirectional.[5] Viking Age contacts with most Scandinavian groups west of the Baltic seem to have been more limited, as were contacts with other more distant Germanic groups engaged in maritime networks on the Baltic. Only three Germanic groups will be introduced here for their significance in contacts with Finnic groups and these groups will be introduced with emphasis on those contacts.

G1: The Svear

The Svear are well attested in numerous historical sources. The first probable attestation of the ethnonym is Tacitus's mention of the Germanic-speaking *Suiones*, said to be powerful at sea (*Germania* 44; ca. AD 98). Probable references can be found through later sources and are reliably identified in medieval texts as Old Norse *Svíar*, Old English *Sweonas* and Latin *Sueones* (Valtonen 2008). Old Norse medieval sources in particular represent the Svear as a major sea power in the Baltic during the Late Iron Age, emanating from Central Sweden and associated with the major trade centre of Birka. Their political expansion included the subordination of other polities on the Swedish Peninsula and the island of Gotland, even if the process and precise polities remains unclear (Peel 1999: 6–7; Line 2007: 35ff.). They extended their authority across the Baltic Sea and seem to have subordinated polities in Latvia and Lithuania during or prior to the Viking Age (Valtonen 2008: 137–138; also Tvauri 2012: 28; cf. B1).

The Svear were also active in opening the Eastern Route and likely formed the centre of the multi-ethnic network that emanated from the major trade centre commonly called Staraya Ladoga (Sv5). This centre was founded in a region that, by that time, was likely dominated by Eastern Finnic tribes that subsequently evolved into the Vepsians (F9). The main sailing route from the central territory of the Svear across the Baltic was from the area of Roslagen in Central Sweden via the southern parts of the Åland Islands and the archipelago to the south-western tip of Finland. From there, the sailing route to Staraya Ladoga could pass along the northern coast of Estonia, although they could also follow the largely uninhabited southern coast of Finland. The route to the Gulf of Riga would cut to the south between the Estonian mainland and the large islands of Hiiumaa and Saaremaa.

A legendary history of early kings of the Svear also reports the subjugation of *Finnland* by the Svear across the Baltic (*Ynglinga saga* 22; see also Aalto 2014) and the later defeat of one king in a battle in Estonia (*Ynglinga saga* 36). Archaeological evidence supports the image that the Svear were a significant source of Germanic cultural influences for Finnic groups as well as for other groups addressed in this article (e.g. Salo 2000; Tvauri 2012: 28). The subjugation of other polities in the centralization of power around the king of the Svear gradually linked to the Christian Church and eventually manifested the state that became Sweden.

The early extension of Svear power involved compelling other polities to acknowledge a political and ritual centre, taxation and also the *hundare* system and associated *ledung* system of conscription for support in military campaigns. They did not impose an administration for local governance and laws on other polities, limiting direct local interference. The development of the *hundare* and *ledung* systems and their forms in different periods are difficult to estimate (Salo 2000; Line 2007). The question is relevant because if a Svear system of military conscription was extended to territories across the Baltic (cf. F13), Finnic groups could potentially have been involved in the organization of multi-ethnic fleets, although it has also been hypothesized that conscription would have been compensated by taxation in places like the Åland Islands (Heininen et al. 2014b: 340–341 and works there cited). Svear authority undoubtedly reached polities of Finland, but it is unclear what form this took.[6]

It has been argued that the geography of Swedish dialects in recent times generally "reflects the political and demographical situation of the Viking Age and Early Middle Ages quite strikingly" (Rendahl 2001: 170). The *Sveamål* dialect area, which is the eastern-most in Sweden proper, mostly corresponds to those East Norse language areas that became subject to the Svear's *ledung* (Rendahl 2001: 141). This suggests a

historical connection between the Svear kingdom and the development of this dialect group from East Norse. The Svear also seem to have been central in the later spread of dialects of *Östsvenska mål* to coastal areas of Finland by the end of the 12th century and to Estonia from the 13th century (Rendahl 2001: 147, 153).[7]

The etymology of the ethnonym *Svea* is generally seen as originally an endonym deriving from a reflexive pronoun meaning something like 'our own (people)' (e.g. Brink 2008: 60). In practice, the term likely varied its referent by time and by context from referring to members of a specific tribe, polity or local culture to referring to members of a multiethnic confederation.

G2: Gotlanders

The Gotlanders are attested in diverse historical sources, of which the most central is the locally produced vernacular compendium *Guta lag* ['Laws of the Gotlanders'] that is prefaced by *Guta saga* ['The Saga of the Gotlanders'], a saga of the origin of their society. These are dated to ca. AD 1220–1275 (Peel 1999: lii–liii; 2009: xxxix). The population of Gotland played a central role in Baltic Sea trade throughout the Iron Age. Gotlanders were especially active on the Eastern Route: more coins from the 8th–12th century have been found in Gotland than in the rest of Fennoscandia combined (Talvio 2014: 134). The polity of Gotland was subjugated by the Svear, apparently in the Viking Age if not before (Peel 1999: 6–7). *Guta saga* reports an emigration from Gotland to "Dagaiþi", today's Hiiumaa / Dagö, one of the major islands off the coast of mainland Estonia (cf. F2), where they established a fortified settlement before travelling the Dvina (Daugava) River opening the Eastern Route (Peel 1999: 4–5). Contacts with Gotlanders were more significant for Finnic areas to the south of the Gulf of Finland (Tvauri 2012; cf. Salo 2000).

The language of the Gotlanders likely constituted a distinct branch of Norse by the Viking Age (Palm 2004: 329). In light of the Gotlanders' central position in Baltic Sea trade, direct lexical borrowing from Gotlandic in to Finnic may well have occurred, but the issue has not yet received a scholarly treatment.

The ethnonym *Gutar* is likely of the same origin and similar to those of a number of other Germanic groups (Geats, Goths etc.). This makes it difficult to distinguish references to Gotlanders in Classical and early medieval sources. The number of different groups identified with this ethnonym has been interpreted as a sign of its great age, but its etymology remains unclear (e.g. Lehmann 1986: 163–165). The ethnonyms have been considered derivatives of a verb meaning 'to pour', reconstructed to **gautaz* ['out-pourer'] (e.g. Andersson 1996; cf. de Vries 1961: 159), but the etymology cannot be considered certain as the implied object of the verb remains unclear.[8]

G3: Ålanders

Viking Age Ålanders and their polity or polities are completely absent from the historical record (on which, see Heininen et al. 2014b: 342–343). Several major toponyms of the islands relevant to navigation may be datable to the Viking Age or perhaps somewhat earlier. These appear to be predominantly of Scandinavian origin.[9] The production of such toponymy may be directly connected to increased sea traffic between the trade centres of Birka and Staraya Ladoga in the Viking Age rather than necessarily reflecting place names used by local inhabitants of the islands. (Schalin with Frog 2014.) A riddle of Åland has been the lack of toponyms that are both dependent on continued use by inhabitants of the islands and can also be reliably dated to before the Scandinavian colonization of Åland and coastal Finland beginning from the 12th century.[10] This apparent discontinuity in toponymy has been interpreted as a general discontinuity of settlements.[11] However, no systematic search for Uralic substrate toponymy has been conducted in Åland.

The probability that a Scandinavian dialect was a dominant social language in Åland is inferred based on archaeological evidence. At the beginning of the 6th century, Åland appears to have been culturally linked to cultures of mainland Finland, but probably substantial immigration from mainland Sweden later in that century caused a shift in culture and population expansion in which the indigenous groups were assimilated. The

immigration process can be viewed in the broader context of settlement expansion and change in regions of the Svear at that time (Line 2007: 39; cf. also B1, F13). The changes in burial practices and settlement patterns led fairly rapidly to a distinct and remarkably uniform cultural area that can be archaeologically classed as 'Scandinavian' (e.g. Callmer 1994; Gustavsson et al. 2014). The comprehensiveness of discontinuity from the indigenous culture suggests that changes extended to, for example, systems of laws and social behaviours (Heininen et al. 2014b: 338). A Scandinavian dialect likely became socially central (Ahola et al. 2014a). Later evidence suggests that the islands were viewed from the Swedish mainland as linked to the archipelago or mainland Finland rather than as part of Svealand proper (Sjöstrand 2014: 120–123; also Heininen et al. 2014b: 340–341). Especially north-eastern Åland exhibits intensive contacts with polities of Finland (Gustavsson et al. 2014: 179–182; Heininen et al. 2014b: 334–339). Thus Åland became a kind of a frontier zone for early Finnic–Germanic language contacts. It can be assumed that Åland would become a distinct Scandinavian dialect area in the centuries leading up to AD 1000.

The etymology of Swedish *Åland*, first attested in 13th century sources, and its possible relationships to the corresponding Finnish toponym *Ahvenanmaa*, remain disputed. The theory that the name goes back to a Proto-Germanic loan into Proto-Finnic later reborrowed into Scandinavian (Schalin 2008) has gained attention. On the other hand, it has recently been pointed out that the name may date to the Viking Age with a naming basis of topographical features relevant to seafaring along the Eastern Route (Schalin with Frog 2014: 289–297).

Slavic Groups

Around AD 1000, the Slavic areas southwest of the Gulf of Finland were far from uniform, either culturally or linguistically. There were several centres of Slavic habitation. They formed a number of local, multi-ethnic polities along the Eastern Route in order to seek economic control over those networks and over one another. The whole vast region through Kiev to the south was thus referred to generally in Old Norse as *Garðar*, the plural of *garðr* ['yard; fenced or walled area; a property; town; realm'; cf. Russian *gorod* 'town' < Proto-Slavic **gradъ* < **gardu* that is, ultimately, the same word], which was later commonly replaced by the secondary formation *Garðaríki* ['Realm of Towns']. As discussed above, Scandinavians seem to have initially been at the centre of the establishment of many of these polities. As will be discussed below, the same phenomenon seems to have involved the mobility of Finnic-speaking groups and the spread of Finnic dialects especially to the east and north. The chronology and mechanisms of the Slavicization of the region are subject to debate.[12] However, the mid-10th century disruption of the silver trade seems to have played a key role in this process.

In the Middle Ages, the North Russian region was subject to rule by several emerging Slavic states. These developed around the most influential towns that competed for the domination of the surrounding countryside and especially for control of northern regions where furs, waterways and people could be taxed. Most notably, Staraya Ladoga, Lake Beloye, Novgorod, Pskov, Rostov, Suzdal, Vladimir, Polotsk and Smolensk can be mentioned. The republics and principalities that developed on the basis of such towns had fluctuating borders and multi-ethnic populations. By the end of the 14th century, Novgorod was just about the only one of these that was still independent. By the 15th century, all of the Slavic states were subjugated to Muscovite rule. The gradual Slavicization of the area between the town centres has been investigated by Nikolaj A. Makarov (1997) on the basis of archaeological material from the watersheds between the major Northeastern European rivers. In the material assumed to be associated with the places where people portaged from one water route to another, the local artifact types associated with the Finno-Ugrian groups are replaced during the Middle Ages by, for instance, turned ceramics associated with southern Slavic centres.

From the perspective of linguistics, a central question regarding the early Slavic

populations has been the character of some Northern Russian language forms, most notably of the Novgorod and Pskov vernaculars, as intermediate language variants between West Slavic (Polish, etc.) and East Slavic proper (Russian literary language). Although the forms of Slavic in this region are presently classified as Russian dialects, they are still substantially different from Russian literary language or East Slavic proper (Zaliznjak 2004). There is firm evidence of early contacts between Finnic and Slavic languages that have taken place already before fundamental Slavic phonological changes such as the disappearance of nasal vowels and reduced vowels, or *polnoglasie*.[13] This can be considered to have taken place during the Iron Age, although dating on an absolute chronology is unclear. From a Finnic perspective, the Slavic borrowings form the youngest layer of the Proto-Finnic vocabulary, although in a few cases the boundary between Slavic and Baltic borrowings may appear slightly blurred due to the fact that they evolved from a common antecedent and in a sense, owing to some common features rooted in the Balto-Slavic period, the Slavic languages represent a "further developed Baltic" (Kortlandt 1977). Significant Slavic language contact with Finnic seems to correlate chronologically with the opening of the Eastern Route or the following period and Finnic speakers borrowed their core vocabulary related to Christianity via these contacts (Kallio 2006b: 156–157). On the other hand, the ethnonym for the Scandinavian group called *Rus'* as well as many for Finnic groups appear to have been borrowed into Slavic via Finnic rather than via Scandinavian dialects (Sv1 and Finnic groups below).

Sv1: Novgorodians

What we refer to as Novgorod emerged as a major trading centre in the 9th century. In 13th-century historical sources, Novgorod seems to be conflated with Gorodišce or Rjurikovo Gorodišce. The latter pre-urban site with a fortification was established on the north of Lake Ilmen and seems to have exerted control over the trade route to the north and developed a pronounced Scandinavian presence with resemblances to Birka (Hedenstierna-Jonson 2009: 160–161). According to the *Primary Chronicle*, Scandinavians subjected tribes of the region to pay tribute in 859, and the entry for 860–862 reports that these Scandinavians were driven out but, because the different cultural groups were divided by conflicts and in-fighting, they invited princes of the Scandinavian *Rus'* to come and rule them. This was done by three brothers who ruled from Novgorod (or more probably Rjurikovo Gorodišce), Lake Beloye and Izborsk, but two of the brothers died within two years and control of these areas purportedly then fell to Novgorod. The request to be subordinated by a Scandinavian rulership is, without doubt, a retrospective authorization of a more aggressive conquest.[14] Historians today generally agree that the Scandinavians had a significant role in early Novgorod as an upper class, although many details remain obscure.

The Hypatian codex of the *Primary Chronicle* presents Staraya Ladoga in the place of Novgorod in the account of the three Scandinavian rulers of the *Rus'*, and it describes how the king subsequently founded *Novgorod* [Ru. 'New Town']. The logic of this account may be deceptive. Novgorod is known in Old Norse as *Hólmgarðr* ['Fortified Island']. This designation seems most likely to have referred (at least originally) to Rjurikovo Gorodišce, the site of which became an island seasonally (Price 2000: 265; cf. Callmer 2000: 38), although it seems in Scandinavian sources to refer to what is later understood as the political entity of Novgorod.

Novgorod became the most prominent political and economic centre of North Russia across the Viking Age, apparently extending authority over the nearby proto-urban centres of Staraya Russa, Staraya Ladoga and Lake Beloye that had been founded already quite early. It seems that the Novgorodians were also oriented to assert control to the south. It is possible that the chronicles could exaggerate the position of Novgorodian princes in what may have begun as some sort of politico-military confederation (cf. Hedenstierna-Jonson 2009: 166), but the outcome was control of the silver trade to the north and from there to Scandinavia. Novgorod developed into a major economic and political power in the east. According to

the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, Christianity was adopted there in AD 989. The city became a significant population centre during the Middle Ages, with as many as 40,000 inhabitants mentioned in some sources. From the mid-12th century, it functioned as an independent principality that colonized large northern territories, most notably those around Lake Ladoga and Lake Onega as well as the Northern Dvina river basin.

According to a historical document written when Novgorod emerged as a sovereign principality (the *Ustavnaja gramota knjazja Cvjatoslava Olgoviča*), northern parts of the Dvina basin were already under Novgorod's control in 1137 (cf. Nasonov 1951; Makarov 1997: 18–20). The population of those areas was certainly overwhelmingly non-Slavic. In addition to those exhibiting similarities to the area populated by the Finnic tribes (F15–17), some, such as those in the Kokšen'ga and Sukhona basins, had intensive contacts with groups of the Upper Volga region (Ovsyannikov 1980; Rjabinin 1997; Kolpakov & Ryabtseva 1994). (Saarikivi 2006: art. 2, pp. 7–8.)

The language of Novgorod has been preserved well thanks to multiple birch bark documents (cf. Zaliznjak 2004). These also preserve the oldest texts in Finnic languages (Laakso 1999). The dialect spoken in Novgorod and its colonized areas exhibits several archaic or West Slavic characteristics that deviate notably from the Russian literary language of later times. In addition to Slavic, there seems to have been a wide array of Finnic and probably other West Uralic language speakers residing in Novgorod and adjacent areas. This is, among other facts, visible in that a quarter of Novgorod was referred to as *Čudskij konec* ['*Čud'* Part'] (on *Čud'*s, see E1 below).

In Old Russian sources, the inhabitants of Novgorod are referred to as the *Rus'*, which is in turn the ethnonym for the ruling Scandinavian group, and which has become the present ethnonym for Russians today. This early ethnonym presents a complex problem. The Slavic form is now widely agreed be a borrowing of a Finnic ethnonym for Scandinavians or, more specifically, for the Svear (later attested in all Finnic languages; cf. Fi. *Ruotsi* ['Sweden'], *Ruotsalainen* ['Swedish']).[15] This pattern of borrowing would be consistent with the number of other ethnonyms borrowed from Finnic for groups along the Eastern Route. The term has been considered likely to be borrowed from the first element of a Scandinavian denomination *roþs-karlar* or *roþs-män* ['row-men']. Although a final consensus has yet to be reached concerning the precise etymology of the Finnic ethnonym (cf. Anderson 2007), it is generally agreed that the Finnic term is of Scandinavian origin for the group with which they first had significant contacts, somehow associated with the toponym *Roslagen* (cf. Brink 2002: 765–766), and most likely initially referred to the Svear (e.g. Andersson 2007: 7). The Norse ethnonym *Ruz* (*Ryz* in eastern dialects), found referring only to the *Rus'* and not to people in Scandinavia (cf. DONP, *s.v.* 'ruz'), seems in its turn to be a loan derived from the use in Slavic.

Sv2: Central Russian Principalities

In the Middle Ages, the core area of present-day Russia was controlled by several independent principalities (Rostov-Suzdal', Vladimir, Jaroslavl') that competed with Novgorod in the colonization and taxation of the Northern Finno-Ugrian regions. These principalities collapsed under the emerging Muscovite rule earlier than Novgorod. Nevertheless, they were significant players in the ethnohistorical map of the 11th–13th centuries. In the dialects of the Arkhangelsk region (cf. F15–17, E5), two waves of Slavic influence can be discerned corresponding to two different colonization centres, those of Novgorod and Rostov-Suzdal (Komjagina 1997).

The opening of the Eastern Route into Central Russia during the 9th century is indicated through especially Scandinavian presence (Duczko 2004), but even at this stage the development should not be assumed linguistically homogeneous. For example, Timerëvo (superseded by the founding of Jaroslavl' a few kilometers away in ca. AD 1000) seems to have developed as a multi-ethnic polity that was likely characterized by a collective identity (Androshchuk 2008: 523). It may be assumed that the area was originally inhabited by the Meryans (E2), but

the prominence of Scandinavian presence in the first half of the Viking Age was followed by a shift to Slavic during the Middle Ages. Similar Scandinavian burial customs have also been documented at Lake Beloye (Makarov 1993; cf. Sv4), suggesting they were part of the same contact network (cf. Ahola et al. 2014: 255, 260). A distinctively Ålandic (G3) funerary rite appears along the Eastern Route only in Timerëvo and the surrounding area, where it was adapted into a local form that became remarkably prominent, suggesting a different ethnic and presumably dialectal Scandinavian component.[16] The constellations of groups forming these polities were not uniform and they developed on a local basis leaving the relative prominence of languages and dialects uncertain.

Among these principalities, names for two areas are attested in Old Norse. Rostov appears as *Rostofa*, which does not appear to be of Scandinavian etymology, but a Slavic etymology is also not clear. Suzdal' appears as *Súr[s]dalar* and *Suðrdalaríki* ['Realm of the South Valleys']. The element *dalar* (gen. *dala*) is the plural of *dalr* ['valley, dale'] and would be unsurprising for an Old Norse place name. The first element is uncertain (cf. *súrr* ['sour']) and the attested forms could reflect folk-etymologization of a non-Norse element (Valleys of X) or of a fully foreign toponym. The toponym could also be a Slavic formation, in which case it would mean 'founded by Suzda' (in which the personal name would not appear to be Slavic).

Sv3: Principality of Pskov

Pskov formed an independent republic up to the mid-13th century and Pskov retains its character as a dialect area up to the present day. In a similar manner to Novgorod, Pskov also presents an independent language form and cultural area that, however, represents characteristics closer to the Novgorod dialect group than to Russian literary language or East Slavic proper. The Pskov principality consisted of those lands closest to Estonia that were most likely Slavicized early on, probably motivating the breakup of the Proto-Finnic language area. The exact mechanisms of the Slavicization of this area are not known, but there are grounds to suggest that some parts of Southern Estonia were linguistically Slavic in the Middle Ages, as proposed already by Harri Moora (1982). The overwhelmingly Slavic settlement names of the Seto area (Kiristaja 2013) seem to corroborate this hypothesis.

Sv4: Lake Beloye (Beloozero or White Lake)

Lake Beloye is one of the three centres of political control identified in the foundation myth of the *Rus'*. Archaeological evidence points to a strong Scandinavian presence (identified through types of clothing and weapons) in this area beginning from the 8th and 9th centuries (Makarov 1993). However, references to it in Old Russian chronicles suggest that it became integrated into the political sphere of Novgorod. The *Primary Chronicle* mentions that people called the *Ves'* resided in this area and it has thus been customary to interpret the Finnic peoples in the vicinity of Lake Beloye as Vepsians (F9). Lake Beloye is by now entirely Russified linguistically, but not far away from it there are Vepsian settlements in the west of the Vologda region even today. Since this is the only area customarily considered as Finnic-speaking in the Volga basin (otherwise the Finnic languages are only spoken along the waterways that flow to the Baltic Sea), it has been argued that it probably functioned as a contact zone between Finnic languages proper and the extinct Finno-Ugrian languages of Central Russia, most notably Meryan (E2).

In the toponymy, no Scandinavian elements are discernible. There is, however, a very rich Finnic toponymic substrate and, in addition, there are probably some toponyms from other Uralic languages (Makarova 2012).

Sv5: Staraya Ladoga

One of the most important centres for trade along the eastern route is now commonly known as Staraya Ladoga, known in Old Norse as *Aldeigjuborg* ['Fortified Town of Ladoga'] and described in some sources as ruled by a king. Dendrochronology dates its founding to ca. AD 750 (Kuz'min 2008). This is also not surprisingly the area where the earliest Scandinavian finds along the Eastern Route appear concentrated (Androshchuk 2008: 520). The site appears to have centrally developed as a Scandinavian outpost or settlement in a Finnic cultural area. Scandinavian–

Finnic contacts were thus initially predominant whereas the Slavic contacts became significant here later (Duczko 2004: 64). Staraya Ladoga seems to have developed into a multi-ethnic trading community that was an important site for contacts along the Eastern Route. Its status as a polity and its history of political alignments nevertheless remain obscure. The possibility that Novgorod was founded by a king of Staraya Ladoga (Sv1) is a curious possibility, but it seems more likely that Novgorod developed out of a trade centre that emerged as an independent polity. Staraya Ladoga came into the field of Novgorod's authority at an early stage, but it is unclear when or how this may have occurred (cf. F8). Vepsian is still spoken in the upper reaches of the rivers flowing into Lake Ladoga and a strong Vepsian substrate prevails in the toponymy of the Pasha and Volkhov Rivers in the vicinity of Staraya Ladoga (cf. Mullonen 1994; 2002).

Baltic Groups Relevant as Neighbours of Finnic Speakers

In comparison with the Germanic and Slavic groups, the Baltic groups are relatively little studied and there is also less direct evidence of their language. Finnic languages were in direct contact with the Baltic languages in an early period, and it has been proposed that the contact was of a substrate character – i.e. that the Finnic languages spread into an area around the Baltic Sea where Baltic languages were spoken at that time (Kallio forthcoming). There is an old assumption that the Baltic contacts are older than the Germanic contacts, and this is corroborated by the fact that the Sámi languages likely did not have direct contacts with Baltic (cf. Saarikivi 2009; Aikio 2012). From the point of view of comparative Indo-European studies, the Baltic languages are very conservative, and it is thus not always possible to distinguish Baltic borrowings from other early satemized Indo-European languages. On the other hand, Baltic borrowings are not always easily distinguished from Early Slavic borrowings, which is understandable in view of Slavic characterized as a "further developed Baltic" (Kortlandt 1977).

The main linguistic division within the Baltic groups has been that between Western and Eastern Baltic. The living Baltic languages belong to the Eastern type, and the now extinct Western languages were substantially different from them.

B1: Curonians

The Curonions are well attested in medieval sources, called *Kúrir* living in *Kúrland* in Old Norse, and *Curones* living in *Curland* in Latin, as for example in Henry's *Chronicle*. They are associated with the Courland Peninsula on the eastern side of the Gulf of Riga. Although there are no direct sources for Curonian languages, some scholars (for instance, Vytautas Mažiulis) classify them as Western Baltic. Valentin Kiparsky (1939) was of the opinion that the Curonians did not form a unified group but consisted of diverse people residing on the Curonian Peninsula. Multiethnic immigration from Scandinavia established settlements in the area of Grobiņa apparently from the beginning of the 7th century, and these seem to have been or come under Svear authority in the 9th century when rebellion compeled an expedition to regain authority (Callmer 2000: 29; Ferguson 2009: 110–111). However, the fact that the region is currently Latvian-speaking and, in the north, Livonian-speaking (F1) is a strong argument for the Eastern Baltic character or (partly?) Finnic character of Curonian language forms. More arguments are probably to be found in the over-whelmingly Baltic toponymy of the region. It has also been pointed out by some Estonian scholars that in the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia, there are Finnic words associated with the Curonians (cf. *kiligunden* ~ Estonian *kihelkond* ['administrative division']).

B2: Old Prussians and Other West Baltic Tribes

The Old Prussians are the only Western Baltic group whose language has been attested in writing. There are numerous literary documents in Old Prussian including catechisms, word lists, prayers, etc. and these allow a preliminary reconstruction of the Old Prussian language. It was notably different from both modern Lithuanian and Latvian. The nucleus of Old Prussian was in the area of the present-day Kaliningrad enclave of

Russia and Northwest Poland. The language has likely been closely related to other Western Baltic languages, most notably Sudovian and Galindian, and was spoken probably until the beginning of the 18th century when it was replaced by German. The region inhabited by the Old Prussians seems to correspond to the region inhabited by the tribes of the *Aestii* described by Tacitus and the later location of *Estland* and the *Este* in the 9th century account of Wolfstan (on which, see Valtonen 2008: 402–447).

B3: Semigallians

The Semigallians are a Baltic group involved in conflicts with the Scandinavians, Germans and likely also with Finnic peoples that seem to be mentioned in a number of early sources. This is unambiguous in the *Chronicle* of Henry, where the *Semigalli* of *Semigallia* are noted for their long-lasting resistance against the Crusaders. It is inferred that *Semigallia* is identical to the place(s) referred to as *Samland* in Old Norse, *Semland* in Adam of Bremen's work and *Sembia* in Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum*. The name and identity of the Semigallians live on in the name *Zemgale* denoting a region in southern Latvia. The sources suggest that this group had close contact with Samogitians, another Baltic tribe in the territory of present-day Lithuania.

B4: Lithuanians

The most influential of the Baltic tribes formed a kingdom (later a Grand Duchy) in the mid-13th century. The Lithuanian kingdom was the last major state in medieval Europe to become Christian and was involved in multiple conflicts with the Teutonic Knights, Kievan *Rus'* and Poland. The heyday of its might was the 14th century, when Lithuania was one of the largest countries in Europe, extending from present-day Lithuania to the Black Sea, although only a small part of this region has been Baltic-speaking. There is enough evidence of a continuum of Baltic dialects from the region of present-day Lithuania eastwards, up to the Middle Volga area where, in the medieval period, a group of Galinds (Old Russian *Goljad*) resided (cf. Trubachev & Toporov 1962). The character of these language forms *vis-a-vis* present-day Lithuanian and other Baltic languages is not known, however. The Lithuanian language is traditionally considered the most archaic of the currently-spoken Indo-European languages. It exhibits several archaic features, most notably in declension and accentual paradigms, but also in vocabulary. There are two present main variants of Lithuanian, the lowland dialect (*Samogitian*) and the highland dialect (*Aukštaitian*).

B5: Selonians

The Selonians are a Baltic tribe mentioned in several medieval sources, including the *Chronicle* of Henry. The area of the Selonians was between the Semigalls, Latgalls and the Lithuanians. However, little is known about the cultural traits that may have differentiated the Selonians from these other groups. They are mentioned by Henry as the allies of the Lithuanians, and their region has likely been subject to the rule of the Slavic principality of Polotsk. The name of the Selonians is preserved in the place name *Selija*, denoting a region in southern Latvia.

B6: Latgalians

An ancient Baltic tribe that has a modern offspring in the Latgalian ethnic and minority group of Latvia. The Latgalians were subject to influences both from the Teutonic Order as well as the Pskov principality. Of those Baltic tribes mentioned by Henry, the Latgalians were the easternmost. It is widely assumed that a substantial part of the former Baltic-speaking area east of present-day Latvia has been Slavicized, and a number of Baltic etymologies have been put forward for Belarus and Pskov hydronyms that would bear witness to earlier Baltic habitation in this area (Trubachev & Toporov 1962).

Hunter-Fisher Cultures of the North

In ca. AD 1000, the majority of today's Finland, Karelia and large parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula were inhabited by groups that had mobile ways of life, without fixed settlements. As a consequence, these groups were generally not clearly defined or described in early written sources. They are (weakly) discernible in the archaeological record, which exhibits patterns of continuous change from the Stone Age up through the Metal Period, with far-reaching networks

transporting metal artifacts from the Urals and beyond to present-day Finland (Makarov 1997; Saarikivi & Lavento 2012). These groups were significant participants in the economy of the north and had on-going contacts and relations especially with the North Finnic groups who progressively expanded through their areas of habitation.

S: Sámi groups

The Sámi are well attested through sources and informants of Scandinavia although the sources are highly problematic in many respects. The Sámi appear generally referred to as *Finnar*, adapted into Old English as *Finnas* and into medieval Latin as *Finni*. In eastern dialects of Old Norse, this term seems to shift its referent to inhabitants of *Finnland* (F11) and mobile groups became designated with the term *Lappir* (cf. Mundal 2000; Aalto 2014). The late 9th century account of Ohthere of Halogaland is exceptional for his references (in Old English) to *Finnas* and *Terfinnas* on the Kola Peninsula. The latter term can be considered to differentiate a subgroup or tribe within the broad category of *Finnar*, especially as *Ter-* seems to correspond to the later attested ethnonym for the Ter Sámi of the Kola Peninsula and a toponym of the relevant region (Valtonen 2008: 381–386; cf. SámiKld *Ta'rje* ['Eastern part of the Kola Peninsula'] ~ Russian toponym Old Russian *Тьрь* > Modern *Terskij bereg* ~ Finnish *Turja*, *Tyrjä*; SSA III: 334). Already at the end of the 1st century AD, *Fenni* is attested in Tacitus's *Germania* (ch. 64), where it is identified with the most primitive culture of the North; the term later became an ethnos mentioned in Classical literature on geography, especially in a compound that appears cognate with later Old English *Scridefinnas*.[17]

Although the *Fenni* mentioned by Tacitus are commonly interpreted as speakers of Proto-Sámi (cf. Valtonen 2008: 75), later attestations of the Scandinavian term reveal it to be a broad category of culture without clear reference to language: the term is applied to mobile groups with livelihoods based on hunting, fishing and gathering without fixed settlements. Current knowledge of the spread of Proto-Sámi suggests that Tacitus is rather early to presume that the *Fenni* as learned through Germanic groups would have been associated with speakers of an earlier form of Sámi. Ante Aikio (2012: esp. 76) has recently argued that Proto-Sámi's intensive contacts with Germanic speakers only began in ca. AD 200 at the earliest. There is no reason to assume that Tacitus's term *Fenni* was used with reference to speakers of either Proto-Sámi or Proto-Finnic; it seems more probable that Germanic speakers would have used the term primarily for other mobile groups with which they had more immediate contacts (Ahola & Frog 2014: 48).

In the later sources, Norsemen were clearly involved in reciprocal economic relations with *Finnar*. However, these sources almost invariably present a constructed image of *Finnar* that seems largely divorced from ethnographic realities. In Old Russian chronicles, it is impossible to determine whether some mentions of *Čud'*s (E1) might refer to Sámi language groups (cf. Frog 2014b: 443), and it is possible that other groups referred to in medieval literature could have been Sámi-speaking (F18). The Old Russian ethnonym *Lop'* or *Lopari* seems not to be attested before the 14th century (first referring to '*Lop'*s and *Čud'*s' in the Northern Dvina River basin), although the terms become frequent in 16th century tax registers etc. (Korpela 2008: 48).

In later Swedish sources, the term *Lapp* should be understood mainly as a notion denoting the hunter-fisher population that paid tax in fish, whereas the agricultural population paid tax in cereals. These sources reveal multiple cases where people have shifted from *Nybonde* to *Lapp* or vice versa (cf. Barth 1969). The primary distinction of these groups by their livelihoods or ways of life makes it possible or even probable that Sámi speakers living in fixed-settlement communities would have been referred to by other ethnonyms. Although there was a cultural differentiation between the agriculturalists and the Lapps of Häme and Satakunta already in the Middle Ages (Salo 2002), the cultural Fennicization of the Sámi population continued up to the 20th century in Finnish Lapland, roughly following the change in settlement patterns.

Notable toponymic and historical evidence regarding the Sámi is found in the Finnish Lakeland Region (F12). The toponymic data has been discussed by, among others, T.I. Itkonen (1948), Alpo Räisänen (2005) and Ante Aikio (2007). However, no up-to-date monographic treatment of the topic has been published so far. In addition to toponymy, there are multiple historical accounts of *lappalaiset* ['Lapps'] in the Finnish Lakeland regions and in the Finnish forests. Corresponding Sámi substrates are observable in Karelia from western and northern areas around Lake Ladoga up to the White Sea (Kuzmin 2014). In the Northern Dvina River basin, there is toponymy that has been considered as Sámi (Matveev 2001–2007; Kabinina 2012), but it has also been argued that it rather represents an extinct branch of Uralic that shared features with both the Finnic and Sámi languages (Saarikivi 2004). In the later Swedish evidence, there is every reason to believe that the *Lappar* or the inland hunter-gatherers consisted mostly of the speakers of Sámi languages and their spread would seem to be similar to the area of Sámi toponyms. The emergence of the Finnic-speaking population in the Finnish Lakeland and especially Savo has traditionally been considered the result of rapidly expanding slash-and-burn agriculture, but recently Korpela (2012) has suggested that a cultural assimilation and language shift of the Sámi speakers played an important role in the process.

Although it still remains common to use 'Sámi' (or 'Lapp') as though it refers to a linguistically and culturally homogeneous group, this image is artificial. Dialectal diversity is already apparent in Proto-Scandinavian loans prior to the Viking Age (Aikio 2012: 77–78). When considering Sámi groups in ca. AD 1000, it warrants stressing that there was certainly linguistic diversity among Sámi speech communities at that time, even if cultural diversity may have been greater than diversity of dialects (Aikio 2012: 94; cf. Saarikivi & Lavento 2012: 200–201). In this regard, it should be noted that Sámi dialects on the Scandinavian Peninsula are not necessarily the result of a geographical extension of the language area from the north. The Sámi languages of Central Fennoscandia, Southern and Ume Sámi, have been argued to have spread to their present area from Southern Finland across the Baltic Sea (Häkkinen 2010).[18] In this case, these Sámi languages have backgrounds in different Proto-Sámi dialects (cf. Aikio 2012: 88–92).

The etymology of *Finnr* (pl. *Finnar*) has been much debated (see e.g. Grünthal 1997). Many of the arguments are somewhat romantic and are problematized by the appearance of *Fenni* in Tacitus. *Fenni* (sg. **Fennus*) suggests a Germanic form **Fennaz* or **Finnaz* already in the 1st century or earlier (depending on the source of the information, which could potentially have been a written work). If *Fenni* is considered related to Old Norse *Finnar*, many proposed etymologies would require a different form in that period. Consensus on the etymology has yet to be reached. The etymology of Old Norse *Lappir* similarly remain obscure (Aalto 2014: 206 and works there cited). Although the Old Russian *Lop'* could be a Scandinavian loan, it seems more probable that it derives from a Finnic language (*Lappi* ['Lapp (language)'], *Lappalainen* ['Lapp']) as with many other ethnonyms for Uralic groups. There are approximately 1,000 toponyms derived from the term *Lappi* in most parts of Finland and Karelia. Many are without doubt an indication of an earlier Sámi habitation (cf. Saarikivi 2004; Aikio 2007), but it might well be that others are to be derived from *lap(p)e(a)* ['side; brink']. A borrowing from Finnic to Scandinavian would also not be surprising if Scandinavians first designated Finnic speakers in *Finnland* as *Finnar* and developed their differentiation of these groups from *Lappir* through those contacts.

The word *Sámi*, in turn, derives from the Sámi endonyms *Sápmelaš* and *Sápmi* ['Sámi area']. These words have an ethnonym cognate in Finnish, the tribal and province name *Hämäläinen*, *Häme* (F12) that point to a south-western part of inland Finland. Many further etymologies have been proposed for these words, most of them either related to the concept of 'even land' (~ Baltic, cf. Latv. *zeme*) or 'dark people' (~ Proto-Germanic **sǣma-*) (Kallio 1998; cf. SSA I: 207). It has been argued that there is an oral tradition related to the Fennicization of the Sámi in

Upper Satakunta (the region of present-day Tampere; Salo 2000: 49) and that this would explain the use of the same ethnonym by both Finnic and Sámi people (SSA I: 207), although there is no reason to believe that such local oral history would have a time-depth of roughly a millennium.

MG: Mobile Groups

An ambiguous areal identification for 'mobile groups' appears on Map 2 to indicate regions where cultural groups practicing livelihoods based on hunting, fishing and gathering without fixed settlements were active. The movements of these groups should not be assumed free and random but probably at least in most cases followed customary geographical patterns interfaced with the seasonal livelihoods of the individual group or network of groups. The languages of these groups cannot be determined with certainty. By AD 1000, the majority of these groups would probably have spoken forms of Sámi, but the language situation to the north of clearly Germanic and Finnic language areas is highly ambiguous in the Late Iron Age. Proto-Sámi seems to have spread in the centuries surrounding the beginning of the present era and across the first millennium AD and it would seem likely that also the spread of the Sámi languages to their present area is related to this process. The Proto-Sámi area has probably been somewhere around Lake Ladoga in inland Karelia and/or Finland. When Sámi began to spread, there was likely a great deal of linguistic diversity in the regions of the north. A substrate or substrates of Palaeo-European language(s) can be identified through non-Uralic (and non-Indo-European) features in Sámi languages, as has been extensively explored especially by Ante Aikio (e.g. 2012; see also Aikio 2004 and works there cited). There may be a similar though notably less strong substrate interference also in the Finnic languages (cf. Saarikivi 2004).

Aikio (2012: 80–88) has recently offered compelling evidence for the main period in which shifts to Proto-Sámi from Palaeo-European language(s) occurred in northern Fennoscandia. He also takes the position that this period would correspond to the extinction of Palaeo-European languages in these regions, dating the process's completion to the beginning of the Viking Age at the latest (2012: 87, 106). The present authors consider the inference of extinction improbable. The ability to correlate the main period of language shift with the period of Proto-Scandinavian loans allows it to be situated on an absolute chronology as transpiring in AD 200–700 (Aikio 2012: 87) or perhaps continuing as late as ca. AD 800 (cf. Schalin 2014: 405). This correlates with a period of AD 250–800 during which the lack of evidence in the archaeological record makes it impossible to assess what was happening culturally in the present Sámi area (Aikio 2012: 104). According to this model, the language shift would appear to have been completed before Germanic (via the Barents Sea) and Finnic (via inland waterways) trade routes to the White Sea region became active. It is nevertheless probable that linguistic diversity was maintained across these areas and that later language shifts of additional speech communities had little or no impact on broader dialect networks, especially once Proto-Sámi had been equipped with vocabulary to refer to relevant features of ecology and livelihoods.[19]

Finnic Groups of Today's Estonia

Among the 13th century written sources, groups inhabiting regions of today's Estonia are addressed in the greatest detail. These sources corroborate archaeological evidence that the Finnic polities south of the Gulf of Finland were more significant to Scandinavian groups than those farther north or east, which easily blur into the fantastic (cf. F15). For example, *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* reports that King Óláfr Tryggvason was captured as a child by Estonian Vikings when fleeing with his mother to Novgorod and thus spent six years as a thrall in *Eistland* (Aðalbjarnarson 1941: 230). Accounts of the conversion of the different groups of Estonia are presented in especially rich detail in the account of the Baltic Crusades in Henry of Livonia's *Chronicle*, written in the early decades of the 13th century (although Henry's work should not be confused with ethnography; Kivimäe 2011).

In his treatment of Finnic peoples of this region, Henry seems to address them according

to three main categories. Most tribes or polities are described with terms related to a particular region or political area which may be discussed as having a clear division into distinct districts (*provinciae*) but the people are still referred to more generally as *Estones* ['Estonians'] (F3–7). Old Norse *Eistland*, Latin *Aestland* and their variations are well attested. However, Henry does not refer to the *Lyvonenses* ['Livonians'] (F1) as *Estones*, nor does he normally refer to the *Osilienses* ['Oeselians'] (F2) in this way.[20] This three-fold division between 'Estonians', 'Livonians' and 'Oeselians' seems to be generally present in the western medieval sources, although its precise basis is not entirely clear.

It may be preliminarily observed that Estonian toponymy, with no discernible pre-Finnic substrate of any kind (at least in the light of present research) suggests that all regions of today's Estonia were predominantly Finnic language areas in ca. 1000. Estonia represents a notable number of pre-Christian anthroponyms present in toponyms and their main bulk must date from Finnic prior to AD 1000 (cf. Kallasmaa 1996–2000; Saar 2008). The identification of groups in Estonia as Finnic-speaking is therefore fairly secure, although the area has been inhabited by various groups, none of which can be considered as the forefathers of the present Estonian ethnos in any straightforward sense. In the archaeological record, there appears a broad divide into two cultural areas: one spans from Saaremaa and adjacent coastal areas across the northern part of Estonia (F3–4, F10) and the other is a southern, inland cultural area (F5–6) (see Tvauri 2012: 323–325). These seem to roughly correspond to the dialectal boundary between Central and South Estonian. The medieval Swedish language areas of Estonia are generally thought to be the result of immigration beginning in the 13th century following on the political and religious changes imposed in the Northern Crusades (e.g. Rendahl 2001: 153), in which case these language areas emerged slightly later than the Swedish-speaking areas of Finland (but see also the view in Markus 2004).

The terms designating 'Estonia' and 'Estonians' have a complex background (terms for Livonians and Oeselians will be discussed in the relevant sections). The Old Norse ethnonym *Eistr* ['Estonian'] and its Latin equivalent seem to make its first appearance in Classical sources. At the end of the 1st century AD, Tacitus refers to the *Aestiorum gentes* ['tribes of *Aestii*'], apparently situated on the southern part of the Baltic Sea, and whom Tacitus considers culturally similar to Germanic peoples but linguistically different (*Germania* 46). Although the plural *Aestii* is normally interpreted as an ethnonym, it could also be a toponym for the place inhabited by these groups (Valtonen 2008: 74). The *Aestiorum gentes* appear to correspond to the *Este* of *Estland* described in the Old English account of Wulfstan from the late 9th century where the location is geographically quite precisely situated in the south-eastern corner of the Baltic Sea, identifying what was most likely a Baltic language area (Valtonen 2008: 414–420). The toponym and ethnonym therefore seem to have been used for different cultures and places by different groups and at different times (Grünthal 1997: 215–222; cf. also F2 below). The evidence of these terms is too limited to allow a chronology for the use of the toponym and ethnonym in different areas (cf. also F12). A satisfying etymology of the ethnonym has yet to be found (for discussion, see Grünthal 1997: 213–240). However, it would seem quite likely that the ethnonym of the Estonians is the same as the denomination of the presumably Baltic tribes called *Aestii* or *Aestiorum gentes* by Tacitus.

F1: Livonians

Livonia and Livonians have a central position in the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia. The toponym is known in Old Norse as *Lífland* (Simek 1990: 343), also found on a commemorative rune stone from Södermandland, Sweden (Sö 39), and the Livonians are referred to as *Lib'* or *Ljub'* in Old Russian chronicles (Grünthal 1997: 247). Some early possible references to the Livonians or uses of an equivalent ethnonym (*Leuonoi*/*Levoni*) might be found already in the Classical period, but these are problematic.[21] At the time when Henry was writing, Livonians occupied the region north of the Western Dvina or Daugava River and

they formed a significant group along this access to the Eastern Route. The fortified town of Uexküll or *Ykskylä* [lit. 'One-Village', although the etymology of the toponym is likely something else] formed a major centre especially in the first stages of Christianization until it was superseded by Riga. Livonians were centrally involved in the Baltic Crusades, first as adversaries and then as allies of Christianity. *Livonia* (and its variations) then came to designate the majority of these regions, but this should be regarded as a political outcome of the crusades which considerably expanded its territory.

Livonians survived in the Salaci River basin into the early 19th century, when their language was described to some extent (Winkler & Pajusalu 2009). In Curonia, the Livonian language has been preserved into the 21st century. The ethnic group and their language appears to have a direct continuity from the medieval period. There has been a very notable difference between Livonian spoken in Courland and the Livonian in Northern Livonia. A noteworthy number of Finnic toponyms found throughout Northern Latvia bear witness to an earlier Livonian population residing in the region (Boiko 1993).

F2: Saare / Sýsla / Oeselians

The Oeselians are well attested in early sources. The island of Saaremaa was called *Eysýsla* in Old Norse and *Oeselia* in Latin with ethnonyms derivative from these. Henry of Livonia clearly and consistently differentiates between the Oselians and Estonians (Kivimäe 2011: 95–96). As an island, the geographical space referred to appears unambiguous. Within the context of his *Chronicle*, this suggests that he perceived a marked ethnic or cultural divide rather than merely a distinction of polities. Some traces of such cultural difference can also be observed in the material record (cf. Tvauri 2012: 106, 136, 140, 179–180, 196–197, 213, 264, 289, 322–323). Later, the nobility of Saaremaa formed its own house within the Baltic nobility alongside Estonian, Livonian and Courland houses. Although all of the coastal areas exhibit ongoing contacts with Scandinavia, the mainland shows evidence of contacts with south-western Finland while Saaremaa maintained contacts in the direction of Courland and Livonia (Tvauri 2012: 327). The contacts with Saaremaa are likely also the reason why the Livonian language was preserved on the Courland Peninsula into the 20th century (F1). Sources from the 13th century suggest that the Oeselians were viewed as a formidable political, military and economic power at that time, and that they were known especially as a sea power. This position seems to develop with an unbroken continuity across the Viking Age (cf. Tvauri 2012: 322).

Some of the features that set Saaremaa apart also seem to be shared with the coastal territories of Rotalia or today's Läänemaa province on the mainland. This area is attributed with a centre in Lihula and had strong ties with Saaremaa. The Rotalians are mentioned by Henry as a maritime group politically associated with the Oeselians (HCL XV.2, 5; XIX.1, 3). In Old Norse sources, *Eysýsla* is paired with *Aðalsýsla* (Rotalia?)[22] as another region, which seems to be the mainland rather than the other major island Hiiumaa. Although *Guta saga* tells that Gotlanders immigrated to Hiiumaa at some point during the Iron Age (G2), this island seems to be lacking archaeological sites from the Viking Age (Tvauri 2012: 322). The toponym *Sýsla* also appears in the sagas and has commonly been inferred to be identical to *Eysýsla*, but might also be a broader area including *Ey-sýsla* and *Aðal-sýsla* (and *Sýslir* varies with *Eysýslir* ['Oeselians'] in manuscripts of *Óláfs saga helga*). In the reconstruction of areas of Finnic groups in ca. AD 1000, this ambiguity made it appear reasonable to tentatively consider *Eysýsla* (Saaremaa/Ösel) and *Aðalsýsla* (Rotalia?) as a networked region (*Sýsla*?), even if there were likely differences between the island and mainland cultures. The island of Hiiumaa is included in this cultural and political sphere because, even if it was not a significant settlement area, it appears that by the Viking Age "Saaremaa had become one of the most densely populated regions in Estonia" (Tvauri 2012: 322) and Hiiumaa was most likely utilized for its natural resources by inhabitants of both Saaremaa and the adjacent mainland coast (cf. Heininen et al. 2014b).

Henry's chronicle includes quotations ascribed to the Oeselians, such as *Laula! Laula, pappi!* ['Sing! Sing, priest!'] (HCL XVIII.8). The expression is unambiguously Finnic and supports the identification of Oeselians as a Finnic language group. This is further corroborated by the Finnic toponymy that does not seem to include substantial earlier substrate layers (at least in the light of research today; cf. Kallasmaa 1996–2000). Being an island culture may have impacted language development much as in the case of Gotland (G2) and Åland (G3) mentioned above (cf. Ahola et al. 2014a: 251–253). The different contact networks in which Oeselians engaged suggests that their dialect was inclined to develop in different directions from those on the mainland. In later periods, dialects spoken in Rotalia on the mainland exhibit a great resemblance to dialects spoken on Saaremaa (Pajusalu et al. 2002).

The name *Saaremaa* is semantically transparent: 'Island Land' (*-maa* 'land' referring here to a largish island, in a similar manner to the island names *Hiiumaa*, *Muhumaa*, etc.; Saaremaa could thus be interpreted meaning roughly 'archipelago land'). In Old Norse *Eysýsla*, the first element *ey* means 'island' while the first element *aðal* in *Aðalsýsla* could refer to nobility in some sense but most likely denotes its referent as primary – i.e. '*Sýsla* Proper' as opposed to 'Island *Sýsla*'. In Old Norse, *sýsla* can either refer to activity or business or refer to an administrative district, although the former is unlikely for structural reasons.[23] Viewing *sýsla* as 'district' would potentially make *Eysýsla* semantically equivalent to *Saaremaa* with a meaning 'Island District' and seems likely to be how the name would be interpreted by 10th century Norsemen. However, the etymology is not satisfying when *a*) there is no evidence that *Eysýsla* was seen as a district of a larger polity or even geographically as part of *Eistland*; *b*) this interpretation does not produce a satisfying explanation for *Aðalsýsla* ['District Proper'?]; *c*) use of *sýsla* for an administrative area is found to the west but only infrequently and late in Sweden, which makes it generally odd in the Baltic Sea region; and *d*) *sýslur* are relatively small stewardships to which Saaremaa seems disproportionately large and which makes the term rather incongruous as a naming element for a foreign polity.[24]

In his Old English translation of the *Orosius*, King Alfred states that *Wenda land* is called *Sysyle* and situates it geographically on the southern end of the Baltic (Sweet 1883: 16). If Old English *Sysyle* is etymologically related to Old Norse *Sýsla*, the latter would have been established in Scandinavian dialects prior to syncope, and thus presumably by roughly AD 600. In this case, the *Sýsla* of *Eysýsla* and *Aðalsýsla* would appear to be connected to a toponym and culture at the southern end of the Baltic Sea, paralleling what is also observed for *Estland* (above). This would also correlate well with the fact that the theonym *Tharapitha* identified as a god of the Oeselians by Henry in several contexts appears to correspond to the theonym *Turupið* of the Wends according to *Knytlinga saga* 122 (see also Sutrop 2004: 34–37). In its turn, the ethnonym associated with the Wends in Germanic languages (e.g. Norse *Vinðr*, Old English *Winedas*) pops up in the Finnic languages as the denomination of the Russians (Fi. *Venäjä*, Est. *Vene* < Proto-Finnic **Venät*).

F3: Revala / Härjamaa

Revala is attested as a district or polity on the northern coast of Estonia around the city known today as Tallinn and also as a name for the city itself. The names is well attested from the 13th century onward. It is *Rafali* or *Rafaland* in Old Norse sagas, where it may be referenced in accounts of journeys and events purportedly occurring in the Viking Age or earlier (Simek 1990: 341–343; Tvauri 2012: 31), and where it is better attested in a number of variations in Latin sources (e.g. FMU 100, 155, etc.). In the 13th century *Liber census Daniae*, there is an account that the area of the Reval province consisted of around 16,000 hectares of arable land, which is considerable for that period. A major sailing route between the trading centres of Birka in the Mälaren region of Sweden and Staraya Ladoga passed along this coast in a contact network that seems to have had a long history (see e.g. Schalin with Frog 2014). It can be inferred that this was a central region of Finnic-speakers already before the Middle Ages. Henry of Livonia also refers to Revala in a

number of contexts, addressing it as a tribe or polity of Estonia (e.g. HCL XV.3). The Christianization of Revala appears to have been associated with the Danes and resulted in this region initially falling under Danish control (e.g. described as a Danish fortress: HCL XXIX.7).

From the point of view of language, the region represents the Northern Estonian heartland. The language of Tallinn has subsequently become the Estonian written standard.

The area seems to have originally consisted of two entities, *Härjämaa* in the inland (the denomination of which the Estonian province name *Harjumaa* subsequently derives) and *Revala* along the coast. Both names likely originally derive from personal names. *Härjämaa* probably derives from a personal name *Härkä* ['ox'] (used in a toponym; cf. surnames such as Finnish *Härkönen*, *Härkänen*). Similarly, *Revala* is likely derivative of a personal name *Repa* that originally denoted 'fox' (cf. Estonian personal names *Repane*, *Rebbase* (Rajandi 2005), Finnish *Repo*, *Reponen* (SN, 536) from *repo* or ***repä*). Other names for the town of Tallinn are also attested: *Kesoneemi*, *Lindanuse* (probably **Litnanaluse*, i.e. *Linnanalusen* with a sense like 'downtown' as the place below a fortified settlement), *Kalõvan* and *Tallinn*, each with its own history of emergence.

F4: Virumaa

Virumaa [Est. '*Viru*-land'] is the eastern major historical province of Estonia clearly attested from the 13th century as a polity also along the eastern route. The Old Norse form *Vírland* is weakly attested in saga literature but mentioned on three commemorative rune stones in Sweden (Tvauri 2012: 31–32) and corresponding forms are found in other/later Germanic languages. It is referred to as *Vironia* in Latin. Henry of Livonia mentions in his chronicle that an elder of the Viru was baptized by Gotlanders (HCL XXIII.7). Later, Henry arrives with a companion to spread Christianity through the population, but as representatives from Riga, this produces conflict with the Danes; the conflict is resolved by having the Danes carry out the baptisms (HCL XXIV.1–2), which was tantamount to subjecting the population to Danish political control. Henry preserves the names of Viru fortified settlements (*Tarvanpää*, *Agelinde*; HCL XXIX.7) as well as personal names of Viru inhabitants (*Kyriavanus*, *Tabelin* of Pudiviru; HCL XXIII.7). Henry makes repeated reference to *Vironia* consisting of five districts which seem to form some type of unified polity: Virumaa seems to have formed a notable entity of its own with a complex internal political structure.

Virumaa had intensive ties with both the Votic and Ižorian populations of Ingria as well as across the Gulf of Finland with the Karelian, and later Kymenlaakso settlement. Later, the Estonian dialect spoken in this area shows significant resemblance to Finnish dialects. A recent detailed investigation shows that the resemblance is mainly to dialects spoken on the other side of the Gulf of Finland rather than with dialects in Ingria (Björklöf 2012; Söderman 1996).

The ethnonym *Viru* has also given the name of Estonia to Standard Finnish language (*Viro).* Regarding its further origin, several theories have been put forward, none of them very reliable (cf. SSA, s.v. *viro*; Grünthal 1997).

F5: Sakala

Saccalia and the Saccalians are mentioned in medieval sources and especially in the *Chronicle* of Henry. Henry frequently refers to Saccalians simply as Estonians, but also uses an ethnonym derivative of *Saccalia* for them (e.g. HCL XII.6). As elsewhere, he refers to personal names (e.g. the elders *Lambito* and *Meme*; HCL XV.1) as well as, for example, the province name *Aliste* (today's Hallist; HCL XV.7). The identification of provinces suggests a relatively complex political structuring of *Saccalia* before the introduction of Christianity. According to Henry, when the Ugandians (F6) conceded to the hostile pressures of the Germans and asked for baptism, the Saccalians also asked for baptism in order to avoid a similar fate.

By today, the area is (northern) Estonian-speaking but the dialects of the region (Mulgi) bear traits of substrate influences from Southern Estonian hinting at a different character of the local language form in the Middle Ages (Pajusalu 1996).

F6: Ugandi

The *Ungania* and the Ugandians are first referred to in Henry's *Chronicle*; corresponding names are not known from either Scandinavian or Old Russian sources (Grünthal 1997: 205–206). Although Henry uses an ethnonym derivative of the toponym for the Ugandians, he also refers to them as Estonians (e.g. HCL XII.6). Within the archaeological record, this region belongs to the relatively homogeneous inland, but it also appears that the waterways of Lake Peipsi and of the Emäjõgi River were the channels through which cultural influence from Novgorod and Pskov spread (Tvauri 2012: 86). Old Russian chronicles also recount the conquest of the region by Jaroslavl' the Wise in the 11th century. Slavic influences on this region thus appear more significant and more direct than farther north and northeast. Henry claims that, in the early 13th century, forces from Novgorod and Polozk invaded Ungania, at the outcome of which a number of Ugandians were baptized (HCL XIV.2). However, Henry later goes on to describe how they were under duress from Germans and they surrendered and asked for baptism from them (HCL XIX.4).

Toponymy of the region mentioned by Henry suggests a Finnic language area. For example the fortress *Odenpäh* ['Bear Head'] seems to have been a, if not the major centre for the territory. In more recent times, this is the region of the South Estonian speaking groups, Võru and Seto. The eastern parts of the region are the area inhabited by the Orthodox Seto groups. The rich Slavic substrate nomenclature of South Estonian constitutes significant evidence of the Slavicization of the region (Kiristaja 2013). The historical Ugandi extended up to the city of Tartu, which would still seem to have been largely South Estonian in terms of language even in the 17th century. The great linguistic difference between the dialect spoken here and Estonian proper has been preserved up to the present era.

The name *Uguani* is historically related to Latvian *Igaunija* as the common term to denote Estonians. The Latvian term appears to be generalized from the polity or tribe with which they had direct and ongoing contact. The relationship between the terms is nevertheless not entirely clear and it is interpreted in relation to the reconstructed etymology, but the name is probably ultimately of Slavic origin, deriving from the word root denoting 'south' (see further Grünthal 1997: 207–213).

F7: Minor Finnic Groups in Estonia

Additional Estonian provinces are mentioned in the historical sources, most notably in the *Chronicle* of Henry. These have been small units but have nevertheless usually been considered independent mini-states that had their own groups of elders as authorities, their own strongholds and to have formed alliances independently. These provinces have been referred to as 'small provinces' (*väikemaakonnad*) and they included the Central Estonian *Alempois*, *Jogentagana*, *Mõhu*, *Nurmekund*, *Soopoolitse* and *Vaiga* (cf. F10). Some of the names of the small provinces have archaic Finnic traits pointing to the fact that many Estonian sound changes had not yet occurred by the 13th century in the relevant dialects. It is also possible that other similar small semi-independent formations have occurred, although there are no historical accounts regarding them. It remains unclear how these minor polities should be viewed in relation to the districts of larger regional polities.

Finnic Groups on the Eastern End of the Gulf of Finland and in the Ladoga Region

The present Finnish language represents an amalgam of the types of old Finnic vernaculars. It is reasonably clear that whereas one of them entered Finland from the south across the Finnish Gulf, others came via the Karelian isthmus and the Ladoga region. These latter areas have a very notable evidence of the early presence of Finnic groups both in the archaeological record (Uino 1997) as well as in the anthroponymic types from pre-Christian periods (cf. Saarikivi 2007). The division of the Modern Finnish language area to two entities is visible in the division line between the eastern and western dialects through a number of isoglosses of different features. From the point of view of cultural history, the western dialect area has been associated with the networks of the emerging Swedish state and the Western

Church, and the eastern with Novgorod and the Eastern Church. The inner Finland Lakeland area stands between these two areas and is where Savo dialects are today spoken. Linguistically, these belong to the eastern dialects, but from the point of the history of statehood, the Savo region was integrated into Sweden early on. The mechanisms of the Fennicization of this region, where Sámi languages were likely preserved longer than in the western or eastern core areas, still remain to be clarified (cf. Korpela 2012).

F8: Karelians (and Ižorians / Ingrians)

The Karelians and Karelia are mentioned in Norse, Slavic and Latin sources beginning from the 13th century (Grünthal 1997: 78–80). References in western sources are only occasional, often ambiguous and lack reliable linguistic or ethnographic information. Old Norse sources situate *Kirjálaland* ['Land of the Karelians'] as the next 'land' after *Finnland* in a topogeny circumnavigating the Gulf of Bothnia (*Egils saga* 14; on this topogeny, see the discussion of *Finnland* below), or otherwise situate it on the Eastern Route before *Garðaríki* (*Fagrskinna* K27). The Gulf of Finland in Old Norse was *Kirjálabotn* ['Bottom/Gulf of the Karelians'] (*Hálfdanar saga Eysteinssonar* 15–16, 24–26), as in Icelandic today. (See also Grünthal 1997: 79.) The extent to which *Kirjálaland* was understood to extend to the east and north is difficult to assess. The 14th century *Erikskrönikan*, for example, situates Karelia to the north of Lake Ladoga (Klemming 1865: 51). Slavic *Korela* ['Karelia'] is first and foremost an ethnonym but geographically it refers to the north-eastern coastal areas of the Gulf of Finland and areas around Lake Ladoga. At least in the 13th century sources, it is not normally considered to extend to control of the Neva river, beyond which would be *Ižora* ['Ingria'] (Korpela 2008a: 46–47).

Western sources generally leave the political status of Karelia ambiguous, although a late 13th-century Old Norse account mentions that it was subject to taxation by Novgorod around that time (Kjær & Holm-Olsen 1910–1986: 623). However, especially Slavic sources suggest that *Korela* was independent of Novgorod into the mid-13th century (Korpela 2008a: 46–47).[25] This would account for characterization of Karelians through their alliance with the Novgorodians or *Rus'* (even if subject to taxation), undertaking joint military action (cf. Grünthal 1997: 78–79), as well as being attributed with the destruction of Sigtuna in 1187 as an independent action.[26] Indications of longstanding independence suggest that 'Karelians' formed a distinct polity or confederation of polities already by ca. AD 1000.

The concept of Karelian language is an ambiguous one. It comprises different types of Eastern Finnic language forms. Some of the current forms are classified as Finnish dialects and others as Karelian language. Today's Ludic dialects are classified as an independent language form in the Finnish research tradition and as a dialect group of Karelian in the Russian tradition. And those dialects considered as Karelian form a complex dialect continuum between Finnish and Vepsian dialects. The probable historical core area of the Karelian tribe, at the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland, has, in the 20th century, been Finnish-speaking: much of the original population was displaced to Central Russia in the 17th century when the region was seized by Sweden. It is not quite clear what the relationship between this earlier population and the Ingrian ethnos has been to the Karelian community that subsequently evolved. In the 13th century, Ingrians or Ižorians also appear as an ethnic group to the south of the River Neva in *Ižora* or Ingria. However, the Ižorian language appears to have developed from a dialect of Karelian and there is evidence that at least some Ižorian speakers had earlier used the ethnonym *Karielaizet* for themselves (Nirvi 1971: 137). Many questions remain open about the cultural history of the Ižorians, but it is in any case not clear that they formed a distinct tribe or polity already in AD 1000 and they are therefore not differentiated on Map 2.

The Karelian community seems to have centrally spread from the western and northern shore of Lake Ladoga in many directions, for instance to the Kemi river valley on the northern end of the Gulf of Bothnia (Vahtola 1980), through Northern

Karelia (Kuzmin 2014) and probably also to the coast of the White Sea. This can be correlated with an archaeological culture that established settlement areas on the Karelian Isthmus and also around accesses to inland water routes to the northwest and north from Lake Ladoga, with the implication of a capacity to exert regulatory control over those water routes (Heininen et al. 2014a: 313). Later evidence of language spread would thus be connected to the association of Karelians with precisely these inland routes to the Gulf of Bothnia and the White Sea. The background of these groups that became Karelian by ca. AD 1000 seems to be complex. Immigrant groups arrived from Southwest Finland in the 8th century and settled in the areas identifiable with Karelians, where they merged with indigenous groups, becoming a distinct culture in the archaeological record across the Viking Age (Uino 1997). This process accounts for the pronounced western substrate in later Karelian linguistic heritage that separates the cultures of Finland and Karelia from those of other Finnic groups (Frog 2013). Viking Age Karelia thus appears to have at least initially been a multi-ethnic environment.

It has been proposed that the Finnic toponym *Karjala* ['Karelia'] (and ethnonym *Karjalainen*) derives from *karja* with the affix *-la* commonly used in forming toponyms. Thus, it is fairly clear that the name *Karjala* is originally a toponym but we do not know the original denotation of that toponym, something that makes the attempts to etymologize it fairly suspicious. The likely etymology of *karja* is from a Proto-Germanic or North Germanic **χarjaz* ['army, host, crowd, mob'], which would originally have been borrowed presumably in the Roman Iron Age.[27] There are, however, notable arguments against the etymologization of *Karjala* from *karja*. For instance, the commonly spread name form *Kariela* that, on the basis of the Russian early written forms, could be the original form of the toponym and would point to some other kind of stem word for the etymology. Judging by the ethnonym structure, the most likely explanation is that it is derived from a settlement name. The original settlement could have been that of the fortress of *Korela*, the later fortress of Priozersk/Käkisalmi. In this case, the Karelians of the early documents were a group of Eastern Finnic speakers centred around a particular fortified settlement, in a manner somewhat similar to several communities of early Slavs (cf. Sv1).

F9: Vepsians / Ves'

The *Ves'* are mentioned in a number of contexts in Old Russian sources and the ethnonym seems to appear as *Wasu* in an Arabic travelogue (Grünthal 1997: 103–104, 106–107). Jordanes may nonetheless refer to the same group as *Vas* already in the 6th century (*Getica* 23) at the beginning of a series of peoples that appears to represent a trade route to the east:[28] *Thiudos Inaunxis Vasinabroncas Merens Mordens Imniscaris*.... When ethnonyms are distinguished from (probable) prepositional phrases identifying locations in this text, it can be read: '*Thiudos* in Aunus Vepsians in Abronkas(?) Meryas Mordvins in Meštšora...'. Possible but problematic references to *Wizzi* are found in Adam of Bremen's Latin *History of the Bishops of Hamburg-Bremen*: he states that the *Albini* speak *Wizzi*, but the two terms look suspiciously like the respective Latin and German words for the colour 'white' (Matthews 1951: 40). It is striking that the ethnonym is *not* found in lists of Finnic groups in annals or ecclesiastical documents (e.g. FMU, 84), and the ethnonym does not seem to appear in medieval Scandinavian sources.[29]

If Jordanes does in fact present a topogeny, this would suggest that the *Vas* (in the 6th century, too early to distinguish Vepsian language) were between the *Thiudos* and the *Merens* along that route. In the Old Russian chronicles, the *Ves'* are mentioned already in the *Primary Chronicle* as located on Lake Beloye, whereas *Čud* or more specific ethnic terms are used for closer groups (Grünthal 1997: 104–105; cf. E5). If Jordanes' *Merens* indeed is related to Merya (although see note 52), this location (or direction) would seem consistent with his topogeny. Arabic sources also would appear to situate the *Wasu* considerably to the east (Grünthal 1997: 106–107). The geographic remoteness of this group would help explain why the ethnonym

is not attested in Scandinavian sources. On the other hand, this location does not accord with the area south and east of Lake Ladoga with which Vepsians are associated in more recent times. In these areas, there appears to be a correlation between toponymy of early Vepsian habitation and landscapes suitable for the variety of agriculture practiced there, suggesting a correlation between language and culture/livelihoods in the region (Kuzmin 2014: 287–291). Archaeology has also considered that the area on the south-eastern shore of Ladoga that is characterized by the type of mound graves called *sopka*s would have been the core of Vepsian settlement. The later identification of Finnic groups in the Ladoga region with this ethnonym indicates that either ethnonym of a tribe or another language group has been inherited by the Finnic-speaking Vepsian population (Mullonen 2002), or that the current Vepsian population is a direct continuation of the historical *Ves'*.

This picture can be developed by reverse-engineering the background of Vepsian language areas on the basis of linguistic data. Terho Itkonen (1983: 216–217) has argued that a substrate of another Finnic language can be detected in Vepsian, a substrate that has resulted from the spread of Gulf of Finland Finnic to the east. Investigation into Vepsian toponymy suggests that the Olonets Karelian and Ludic language areas emerged in an area of earlier Vepsian habitation (Mullonen 1994; 2002). The Vepsian language area was thus much more considerable in these western regions at an earlier time. This would confirm Itkonen's hypothesis that there is a Vepsian substrate in Olonets Karelian (cf. Mullonen 1994). Detailed investigation into the toponymy of the Lake Beloye region has confirmed some parallels with Vepsian vocabulary, but also other types of substrate, most notably parallels with what has been considered the Meryan core area in Russian toponymic research and also some parallels with Sámi toponyms (Makarova 2012; Saarikivi 2004). When the ethnonym *Ves'* is attached to groups in this region and only later to groups in the core region of the Vepsian language, it can be inferred that *Ves'* probably earlier designated a different group and (whether or not that group underwent a language shift to Vepsian) contacts with that group seem to have somehow led the ethnonym to be transferred to Vepsian speakers in other cultural areas.

The etymology of this ethnonym remains obscure (Grünthal 1997: 108–109), and even its language of origin has not been convincingly identified. In the 20th century, only a group of Southern Vepsians used this ethnonym to refer to themselves; other Vepsian-speaking groups employed the ethnonyms *Lydiläzet* ['Lude'] or *Cudid* ['*Čud*"].

F10: Vatja / Vod'

The earliest reliable references to the Votes are from the 13th century in Old Russian chronicles and in a few references in Latin. Perhaps the most prominent use occurs in the 15th century: when Novgorod fell to Moscow and its territory was divided into five districts, one of these was called the *Vodskaja pjatina* ['Votic Fifth']. This is a testament to use of the ethnonym. The region that it describes extends north from Novgorod through Ingria, between Lake Ladoga and the border of the Swedish realm, and continues to the north of Ladoga (thus including *Korela/Kirjálaland*; F8). The ethnonym had already earlier been used for a *volost'* ['district'] of Novgorod and a similar concept appears to be behind references to *Watland* beginning from the first half of the 13th century (e.g. FMU 84; see Grünthal 1997: 123–125). The ethnonym is also associated with a different region to the west called *Vaiga* (etymologically related to *Vatja*), mentioned already in the *Chronicle* of Henry of Livonia; *Vaiga* is on the north-western side of Lake Peipsi, beyond the scope of the Novgorod Fifths (Grünthal 1997: 125–127). In more recent times, Votes and the Votic language are situated in the culturally complex region of Ingria alongside Ižorians (F8) and later also groups of the so-called Ingrian-Finns who immigrated from north of the Gulf of Finland (most notably from Savo) probably in the 17th century, following the Stolbova peace agreement and mass emigration of the earlier orthodox inhabitants that were linguistically likely close to the Ižorians.[30] The area associated with the Votes in more recent times is only a tiny area within

the Votic Fifth. It is unclear how prominent the Votes were in the period of the Fifth's formation as its designation could be based on the naming of the earlier *volost'*. The earlier *volost'* seems unlikely to have originally included *Korela/Kirjálaland* insofar as this seems to have remained largely or wholly independent at least through much of the 13th century (F8). The Votic *volost'* therefore presumably did not originally extend beyond the River Neva on the Karelian Isthmus.

The Votic language is a Finnic language that, in many respects, can be considered an intermediate language between the eastern, southern and northern groups of Finnic. It is clearly distinct from Ižorian and so-called Finnish-Ingrian dialects as well as from Estonian. Many questions about the historical background of this linguistic and ethnic group remain open. This is also true of defining its boundaries in the context of many intertwined language forms of Ingria. For instance, the Kukkosi dialect has traditionally been considered Votic, although it lacks many central features of Votic language such as the affrication of the **k* and its speakers have not used the corresponding ethnonym. In the archaeological record, certain burial types in the *Vaiga* region of north-eastern Estonia from the 12th century and later have been interpreted as Votic or Votic and Slavic (Grünthal 1997: 117–118). However, cremation burials predominated in these regions in the Viking Age, which aligns the region with North Finnic cultural areas and distinguishes it from territories of Estonia (Tvauri 2012: 268).

Most of Ingria reveals an old agricultural region that is also reflected in the old settlement names derived from pre-Christian personal names (Kepsu 1995). The *Vaiga* region east of Lake Peipsi has traditionally been viewed in scholarship as the ethnic homeland of the Votes. S.A. Myznikov (2003) points to the peculiar character of the Finnic lexical substrate in the Russian dialects of this area that supports the hypothesis that this region was inhabited by a distinct cultural group.

The etymology of the ethnonym *Vatja* has a long history of being interpreted on the basis of phonetic similarity to a word meaning 'wedge' (~ Fi *vaaja* < Proto-Finnic **vakja*), which has in turn been linked to the Old Russian expression *Čud' v Klinu* ['*Čud'*s in Wedge'] as a reference to Votes, where *Klin* would be a calque. The ethnonym *vatja* also has a somewhat dubious etymological counterpart in Sámi, a *hapax legomena wuåwiåsh: wuåwiåha* ['Lapp person'] that is only mentioned in the (1787) dictionary of Christfrid Ganander (cf. Korhonen 1981: 43); this word has been connected to a Lule Sámi word denoting to a wedge (*vuoi`ve*). In earlier scholarship, this etymology had been pushed into an interpretation of not 'wedge' but 'club' with a fanciful idea that it referred to some sort of baton as a mark of identity or authority. This interpretation has been debunked (Koivulehto 1997), but not before being linked to the obscure Old Norse ethnonym *Kylfingar*.[31] Riho Grünthal has argued for an alternative etymology linking it (or the toponym *Vaiga*, from which the ethnonym could derive) to a Latvian ethnonym for Germanic peoples (Lv. *Vācija*, Lith. *Vókia* ['Germany']; cf. SSA III: 418), which raises questions about the history of this group and the region. (See Grünthal 1997: 113–149 and works there cited.)

Western North Finnic Groups

For territories north of the Gulf of Finland in today's Finland, the few early historical sources provide almost no information about the indigenous language and culture. A few general remarks are warranted about the Finnic language groups identified in this section. First, toponymy reveals that the Swedish language areas of Finland were only established from the 12th century onwards, even if a few scattered micronyms might be open to question (e.g. Schalin 2014; Heikkilä 2014b; Pitkänen 1985).[32] Toponymic borrowings from Finnic languages into Old Swedish suggest that communities practicing fixed-settlement livelihoods and co-occurring funerary practices in these territories were Finnic speaking at the time Swedish language areas in present-day Finland became established. Sámi language presence in present-day Southern Finland is indicated by Finnic toponyms and dialectal vocabulary of substrate character (Aikio 2007; Aikio 2009).

The substrate becomes increasingly observable to the north of the archipelago area and inland through areas where the fixed-settlement culture of the Häme region was gradually expanding. The relationship of this Sámi habitation to the present Sámi groups and the chronology and mechanisms of the Fennicization of the area of present-day Finland remain poorly investigated.

More than a century ago, Alfred Leopold Fredrik Hackman (1905) argued that the Finnic language entered Southwest Finland in the Iron Age due to a migration from Estonia. This 'migration theory' (*maahanmuutto-teoria*) remained the basic paradigm for the prehistory of Finland up to the 1970s and 1980s when it was replaced by a 'continuity theory' (*jatkuvuusteoria*), which attempted to prove that the early contacts between the predecessors of Finnish and the Indo-European languages, most notably Germanic, took place in Finland during the Bronze Age or even earlier. During the 2000s, the continuity theory has been increasingly criticized (e.g. Aikio & Aikio 2001), and the paradigm has been gradually shifting again to dating the arrival of Finnic languages in Finland to the Iron Age or even into the present era, as will be discussed in a future article in this series. However, the arrival of Finnic languages is presently not understood as simple migration, but as a more complex phenomenon.

On the basis of abundant pre-Christian anthroponyms in the toponymy of Finland Proper (F11), Häme (F12) and Satakunta (F13), it is clear that this region received a bulk of Finnic-speaking settled population well before Christianity. In this respect, these regions are also notably different from other regions of Finland. However, when considering the historical language situation and language contacts, Christianization has potential relevance, not least by incorporating polities and populations into a broader cultural sphere of communication and shared practices. The change to inhumation burial practices across ca. 1000–1150 has been customarily interpreted as the general conversion of Finnic populations to Christianity (Huurre 1979: 224). However, there is nothing to suggest that this change in burial practices was directly connected with the Church or even with organized missionary activity.[33] The areas under consideration were extremely peripheral both politically and economically at that time, before Christianity had secured its position in the emerging states of either Sweden or Russia, and long before the Baltic Crusades. These changes in practices should therefore be assumed to be linked to internal social, religious and political changes in the networks of these groups (cf. Ahola & Frog 2014: 42–43, 68). The change in practices remains noteworthy, however, because the first inhumation graves appear in cremation cemeteries at the same time through the regions of Finland Proper and Häme (Wessman 2010: 78): whatever languages were spoken by in the local polities at that time (most likely, already predominantly Finnic), they were clearly closely networked in interaction. The rate of spread of cultural practices through these networks suggests some type of shared or convergent identities.

The Old Norse term *Finnland* appears to refer to territories inhabited by Finnic speakers of southwest Finland with continuity through the present day. The name *Finland* (its eastern form) appears on commemorative rune stones in Uppland, Sweden (U 582, lost, undated), and on Gotland (G 319, 13th century). The ethnonym *Finnlendingar* ['people of *Finnland*'] is found in a skaldic verse dated to the early 11th century (Sigv Víkv 3I.3).[34] From the 13th century onwards, the toponym is attested in various written sources in Latin and Old Norse.[35] The precise geographical space that it designated in the Viking Age and early Middle Ages nevertheless remains rather vague. Old Norse sources written in distant Iceland generally seem to present *Finnland* as across the Baltic Sea from the lands of the Svear (e.g. *Ynglinga saga* 19) and probably adjacent to *Kvenland* (F18) (*Orkneyinga saga* 1) or between *Kvenland* and *Kirjálaland* ['Land of the Karelians'] (F8) (*Egils saga* 14), and perhaps north(?) of *Eysýsla* ['Saaremaa/Ösel'] (F2) (*Óláfs saga Helga* 8–9).

In Old Norse topogenies listing a geographical series of 'lands', these may refer only to spaces characterized by fixed-settlement habitation without necessarily

mentioning wilderness areas between them. Thus *Finnland* could be next to *Kirjálaland* because there seems to have been no settled area of note between them (e.g. Huurre 1979: 158–159).[36] This observation is relevant because the location of *Kvenland* remains uncertain and thus so does the northern extent of *Finnland*. It is equally unclear whether or to what extent *Finnland* may have included the archipelago (see also G3). Nevertheless, only two Old Norse terms for large territories of later Finland are attested – *Finnland* and *Tafeistaland* (F12) – of which the latter later refers to the inland areas of Finnic habitation whereas *Finnland* seems to have had a more coastal referent. Later Swedish names for other districts seem to be of medieval origin rather than having continuity from the Viking Age. This implies that the areas were not toponymically distinguished at that time. Thus the Scandinavian term *Finnland* seems to have been rather broad in scope.

The name *Finnland* is etymologically more or less transparent: it is a compound *Finn-land* of which the latter part indicates an inhabited territory and the former element is Old Norse *Finnr* (S) with the meaning 'land of the *Finnar*'. Where Old Norse sources narrate about the inhabitants, they call them *Finnar* and present narrative plot-types associated with that ethnonym (cf. Aalto 2014: 216–218) or describe only marshal conflicts rather than cultures (cf. Schalin 2014: 422–425). When this toponym was established and who the *Finnar* were at that time (cf. S) remain obscure, but the formation suggests a *land* or geographical space inhabited with fixed settlements by people that the Scandinavians called *Finnar* (Aalto 2014: 214). In the development of a geopolitical relation with these groups, dialects of (Central) Sweden adopted a new term *Lappr* to designate the mobile groups for which the term *Finnr* had been used previously (S). It is not clear how this ethnonym shifted from one group to another, whether groups identified as *Finnar* were practicing fixed-settlement livelihoods and later underwent a language shift to Proto-Finnic or arriving Finnic groups were initially called *Finnar* as a broad category of 'other' and the political and economic relations with them gradually motivated distinguishing them from the mobile groups.

The authors wish to stress that the four cultural areas of Western Finland considered here for ca. AD 1000 follow from territorial divisions customary to research traditions. These research traditions build centrally from the archaeological record and have evolved in dialogue with (and have sometimes been conflated with) historical provinces with the relevant designations. Patterns in the archaeological record have supported distinguishing these cultural areas (cf. Raninen & Wessman 2014: 331). It must nonetheless be stressed that each contained multiple communities, some of which exhibit settlement continuity from the beginning of the Iron Age (Asplund 2008: 365), others emerged through at least some degree of immigration from Scandinavia in earlier centuries (Wessman 2010: 35) while others emerged and/or expanded during the Viking Age. The communities in each region should not be considered culturally uniform and it cannot be assumed that they were linguistically homogeneous. It does not appear that any of these regions experienced a centralization of power under a single king. The networks formed by different polities remain only poorly understood.

F11: Suomi / Finland Proper

The Scandinavian term *Fin(n)land* and corresponding Finnic *Suomi* seem to have been established early on. Although not before the 16th century, they became general terms to denote the whole of what in the Middle Ages was called the Swedish *Österland*, or the Swedish territories east of the Baltic Sea. By or around AD 1200 (Sjöstrand 2014: 95), the bishopric was established in Åbo/Turku in the Aura River valley at the heart of what became the medieval province of (Finnish) *Varsinais-Suomi* or (Swedish) *Egentliga Finland* ['Finland Proper']. These factors suggest that this region was considered central in the integration of territories north of the Gulf of Finland into the emerging Sweden. In the Viking Age, the cultural area seems also to have extended farther to the west into what is now western Uusimaa / Nyland (Haggrén 2011). This territory consists now of both

Finnic-speaking and Swedish-speaking areas, mainly in the archipelago. Toponymic evidence reveals that the Swedish-speaking population did not develop before the 12th century (e.g. Heikkilä 2014b) but archaeological evidence of this process east of Åland remains limited (Asplund 2008: 377–381). A pronounced Finnic substrate toponymy points to Germanization during but not before the 13th–15th centuries (cf. Pitkänen 1985). It is unclear when *Finnland* and *Suomi* converged to refer to the same geographical space. The identification of 'Finland Proper' nevertheless identifies a core area from which 'Finland' was generalized. Prior to the 12th century, *Finnland* does not seem to have been complemented by terms for other territories along the coast whereas the Finnic term most likely (at least initially) referred to a culturally defined space as perceived by its inhabitants.

It is possible (but speculative) that, near the beginning of the present era, the Greek geographer and historian Strabo offers the earliest attestation of the name *Suomi* [Fi. 'Finland'] (*Ζούμοι* / 'the Zūm-M.PL') as an ethnonym for a northern tribe (see Grünthal 1997: 53). This would however only attest to continuity of the term likely connected with place rather than indicating either the culture or language of the tribe in question. A more probable attestation is the appearance of *Suomi* as a personal name in a list of names in a Frankish annal from AD 811 (Grünthal 1997: 54).[37] The term *Sum'* appears as an ethnonym in Old Russian chronicles. Although not all uses of this ethnonym seem consistent, the *Sum'* are identified as allies of the Swedes in connection with the Battle of Neva (AD 1240), in which context *Sum'* could quite possibly be a rendering *Suomi* (Korpela 2008: 45–46). Forms of *Suomi* are also found in most Finnic languages as referring to Finns and Finland (Grünthal 1997: 51).

Considering the cultural area identifiable with *Suomi/Sum'* as Finland Proper concentrates it around the Aura River valley and surrounding region. On the basis of the archaeological record, it is generally agreed that this area has been continuously settled by a Finnic-speaking population since at least the 7th century AD, even if scholars have held different views on how long Finnic languages had been spoken in the region prior to this (e.g. Hackman 1905; Lehtosalo-Hilander 1984; Edgren & Törnblom 1993; Salo 2000). The area at the northern end of the archipelago known as Vakka-Suomi appears to be part of this broad territory, and Finland Proper seems to have been closely networked with the inland region of Häme / *Tafeistaland*, for example in the more or less simultaneous widespread appearance of inhumations in the cremation cemeteries under level ground (Wessman 2010: 28). At the same time, this region does not appear to have been completely homogeneous: Vakka-Suomi maintained particular connections to north-eastern areas of the Åland Islands (Heininen et al. 2014b: 332, 334, 339), and whereas Finland Proper and Häme / *Tafæistaland* both exhibit silver hoards beginning in the 11th century (Talvio 2014: 135), Vakka-Suomi aligns with Satakunta in the lack of evidence of such hoarding (Raninen & Wessman 2014: 331).

The origin of the name *Suomi* has been variously interpreted, mostly as a borrowing (meaning 'low land' or some kind of a person) from Baltic or another Indo-European language (cf. Grünthal 1997; Kallio 1998; SPK, 430 for various etymologies). The early attestation of *Suomi* as a personal name is not counter-evidence to its earlier connection with a geographical entity. On the basis of analogies, it seems likely that such an entity would not have been a territorially large one. Toponyms derived from *suomi* or its cognates are also found outside the area of modern Finland, most notably, in Estonia (Grünthal 1997: 53–55) and could perhaps shed more light to the issue despite the long history of research on this topic.

F12: Tafeistaland / Tavastia / Häme

The core area of the culture of the so-called Lake District of inland Finland had a sedentary settlement centred around the Kokemäki River basin and the southern part of the Lake Päijänne area (cf. also Raninen & Wessman 2014: 331). This area later becomes identified as *Häme* in Finnish, which is correlated with Old Norse *Tafeistaland* and Latin *Tavastia*; it is not clear that the region is referred to in Old Russian sources.[38] The

cultural area of ca. AD 1000 seems to have extended into northern parts of what is now western Uusimaa / Nyland (Haggrén 2011; cf. F11). The name's earliest appearance is in an 11th century commemorative runic inscription (Gs 13) and it begins appearing in other written sources in 1237 (Schalin 2014: 416–418).[39] Especially the Kokemäki River basin has a very rich layer of pre-Christian settlement names that point to continuous sedentary habitation from the Iron Age. Review of these names has led to a theory that the distinctive Finno-Karelian mythology developed in this region before spreading to dialect areas in the Ladoga region (Siikala 2012). In later periods, the Häme manor houses (*kantatalot*) had large wild forest and taxation areas in Keski-Suomi and Ostrobothnia. It has been argued that migrants from Häme had an important role in the settlement of the latter areas. It has also been demonstrated on the basis of the spread of toponymic types that Häme was the core area from which migrants spread to the Tornio River valley and the lower Kemi River valley (Vahtola 1980).

Although Finnish *Häme* and Swedish *Tavastia* now translate one another, the history that led to their identification remains unclear. The province name *Häme* derives from the tribe name *Hämäläinen* that is an etymological cognate of the name of the Sámi people, *Sápmelas*. It has been argued that Häme was inhabited by Sámi (or Lapp) people who subsequently Fennicized (Salo 2002; Aikio 2012; cf. also Korpela 2012). The Scandinavian name appears to have been *Tafeistaland* (or *Tafœistaland* in eastern dialects) which seems to follow a common pattern of an ethnonym **Tafeistr* in genitive plural followed by *land* (Jackson 1993: 43; Schalin 2014: 416–421). This finds support in the Latin ethnonym *Tavastus* (e.g. FMU 82) of which the Latin toponym *Tavastia* appears to be derivative.[40] The etymology nevertheless presents difficulties, but Johan Schalin (2014: 416–421) has recently argued for the basis of the toponym on an ethnonym (eastern dialectal) **Taf-œistr* ['luggard(?)-Estonian'], pointing out that this appears as a name or designation in runic inscriptions (U 467; U 722). The later adoption of the Latin *Tavastia* into Swedish may have developed under influence of the spread of the Church and role of ecclesiastical discourse from the time of the medieval Swedish immigration.

F13: Satakunta

The toponym *Satakunta* is first mentioned in 1331 (Salo 2000: 108). The language of groups in this area in ca. AD 1000 is inferred especially through toponymy correlated with evidence of cultures in the archaeological record. The broad territory exhibits some degree of distinction from the regions of *Tafaistaland* and *Suomi* in the absence of evidence of hoarding silver, yet more scales have been found in Satakunta than in the rest of Finland combined (Talvio 2014: 134–135).

The Kokemäki River seems to have been a route by which, according to the earliest cemeteries, the culture on the coast advanced into ancient Häme in the 4th century AD (Salo 2000: 85). The burial type of the area is characterized by earth-mixed cairns with cremations and a cremation cemetery under level ground is also found in the river valley (Wessman 2010: 33, 78). The Kokemäki River valley was likely an independent centre of Finnic settlement already in the Iron Age (Salo 2000). This is demonstrated by the rich layer of pre-Christian anthroponyms in the settlement names, pointing to a pre-Christian sedentary settlement. Toponyms have also been used to argue for traces of "early Germanic migration" into the area (Vahtola 1986; Salo 2000: 84–88). However, the evidence is very limited and not unproblematic; the few indisputable etymologies on the basis of anthroponyms do not reveal the language of their bearers (cf. Schalin 2014: 401).

Finnic cannot be considered the exclusive language of this region in the Middle Ages. There is notable evidence of Sámi settlement in the area in the toponymic material (Salo 2002).[41] It seems likely that there was in some period some kind of an ethnic boundary between the Finnic population in the lower Kokemäki River and the Sámi population in the water basins upstream. Not far to the south, the area around Lake Pyhäjärvi in Lower Satakunta along the Eura River stands out in the archaeological record. When elsewhere throughout Finland burial practices

were based on cremation, inhumation cemeteries begin appearing here in the at the end of the 6th century, some of which are used continuously into the 13th century (Lehtosalo-Hilander 1984: 297). Although various Scandinavian burial practices seem to have influenced cultural areas in Finland in the Migration and Merovingian periods (e.g. Lehtosalo-Hilander 1984: 272–284), these cemeteries suggest a more significant impact of Germanic funerary customs more likely indicative of at least some degree of immigration (see also Wessman 2010: 35 and works there cited).[42] This distinctive cultural area can be viewed in relation to immigration to Åland (G3) and population expansion in Svealand (G1) during the same period. The general absence of Germanic toponymy apart of anthroponymic settlement names from before the medieval immigrations nevertheless suggests that these communities did not speak a Scandinavian dialect in the Viking Age. If they spoke a Finnic dialect, the archaeological record still suggests a marked distinction from the communities in the Kokemäki River basin.

The toponym *Satakunta* does not designate an ethnic group, yet it is of interest because it could mean 'hundred-company (of men)' as a calque for a Germanic *hundare* or 'hundred' found widely in Germanic place names. A *hundare* was a political area subject to the military subscription system requiring the polity to organize a 'hundred' (then 120) men on demand for military support in war or raiding. This etymology would suggest that the territories of coastal Finland were under obligation to the kingdom of the Svear. (See Salo 2000: 114–128.) This would not be surprising considering the geopolitical situation of Finland in relation to the activities of the Svear (G1), particularly when relations between the culture of the Lake Pyhäjärvi area and the Svear might have had a *longue durée* (Heininen et al. 2014a: 298–299, 300–301). The etymology nevertheless remains uncertain.

Satakunta might also have originally simply referred to a 'harbour place': Fi. *satama* likely derives from a Germanic **staþa* ['shore; landing place'] (SSA III: 160, LÄGLW III: 224-225) and *kunta*, [orig. 'group of men'] has denoted both an entity of people as well as a land area or (later) an administrative district (Heikkilä 2014a: 181–199). This etymology is phonetically appealing, but it is difficult to account for why it would be generalized to the larger inhabited area. The region was not characterized by harbours (cf. Salo 2000: 92, 100), was more generally remote from major sailing routes (Heininen et al. 2014b: 333), and the major settlement areas were inland, apparently remote from e.g. the harbour on the Kokemäki River rather than characterized by it (cf. Wessman 2010: 32). This presents one possible explanation for the toponym, but the grounds for calling either this region or formalized administrative district 'Harbour Place' remain more arbitrary than compelling.

F14: Kyrö Culture

The northern-most cultural area in the Baltic Sea region that can be tentatively inferred as Finnic-speaking in the Mid-to-Late Iron Age is the early centre of habitation in the Kyrö River valley in Southern Ostrobothnia. This area exhibits cremation cemeteries under level ground (Wessman 2010: 20, Figure 4, sites 2 and 4), although exceptional water-burial cemeteries appear in relatively close proximity to each of these (*ibid*., sites 1 and 3) and other burial types are also found. The cemeteries under level ground are a distinctive cultural type customarily identified with Finnic speakers. They are found in the respective cultural areas of Satakunta, Häme and Finland Proper, and are observable also in Karelia where their appearance is considered a relevant indicator of immigration from these western regions beginning from the 8th century (Uino 1997: 174–179). Similar practices also appear in Estonia from roughly the same period as those in Finland (Jonuks 2009). The spread of these practices to the area of the Kyrö River are therefore suggestive of Finnic language presence, but this is not unproblematic.

This type of burial seems to have spread through contact networks. The cemetery type is also found on the Courland Peninsula (cf. B1) and more recently may have been found in Svealand in Central Sweden (Wessman 2010: 21). The cemetery type can be correlated with Finnic-speakers in most areas

where it occurs in Finland and it seems associated with Finnic language areas in Estonia and (possibly) on the Courland Peninsula. Nevertheless, it cannot be considered as an uncontroversial criterion for language identification in the fairly remote area of the Kyrö River. More significantly, use of the burial grounds in this northern periphery gradually declines prior to the Viking Age and the culture of this area becomes very unclear in the archaeological record by ca. AD 1000 (e.g. Huurre 1979: 128–136, esp. Maps 15–17; Edgren & Törnblm 1993: 229–233), leaving the language spoken in this area uncertain.

No ethnonym for this culture has been identified. There is the possibility that the people could have been called 'Kvens', insofar as *Kvenland* can seem to be a geographical territory of a fixed-settlement polity adjacent to *Finnland* to the north (*Orkneyinga saga* 1). However, the referents of *Kvenr* and *Kvenland* are so problematic that the possibility remains speculation (see F18). The ethnic and linguistic character of the Kyrö region is disputed, but Vahtola (1980) suggests that some Finnic toponymic types have spread from this area to the Tornio River valley in the north.

Poorly Attested Finnic Groups

In addition to those groups well attested in the historical sources that have offspring associated with documented Finnic languages, there is notable evidence on extinct and Russified Finnic groups both in the Scandinavian sagas as well as in the Russian chronicles. The toponymic investigation into Northern Russian nomenclature has corroborated that the spread of Finnic languages in the medieval period was substantially different from the present (cf. Matveev 2001–2007; Saarikivi 2006).

F15: Bjarmians

With the Viking Age, a sailing route opened to circumnavigate the northern coast of Norway and the Kola Peninsula to the White Sea. In this area, the Norsemen encountered groups with fixed settlements and practicing some form of agriculture there were referred to as *Bjarmar*, and have customarily been identified as Finnic-speaking. The earliest record of encounters with these groups is that provided by Ohthere of Halogaland recorded in Old English in the late 9th century: Ohthere mentions different groups of *Finnar* (S) and contrasts them with the Bjarmians (see Valtonen 2008). References to the Bjarmians and *Bjarmaland* ['Land of the Bjarmians'] are subsequently found in the histories and literature of Scandinavia in both Old Norse and Latin. The Bjarmians appear as a historical group or groups in the White Sea region, but they also became popular as a semi-fantastic 'other' dwelling at the periphery of the inhabited world, in which case they are depicted with a society and culture paralleling those of the Norsemen (see e.g. Jackson 1993; Koskela Vasaru 2008). Many accounts of the Bjarmians nonetheless appear ultimately rooted in historical encounters with fixed-settlement groups on the White Sea.

The precise location of the Bjarmians is not consistent. The term *Bjarmar* is contrasted with *Finnar*, apparently to distinguish groups in the region according to fixed-settlement and mobile ways of life. As noted above, *Finnar* was used as a broad category that could include a variety of linguistic-cultural groups. The Norsemen only refer to two categories of culture in the White Sea region. Use of the term *Bjarmar* in this way makes it probable that it referred to just such a broad category of culture type without necessary reference to language. In other words, Norsemen would most likely refer to any fixed-settlement group on the White Sea as 'Bjarmians', whether they spoke a Finnic, Sámi or some other language.

The primary grounds for identifying the Bjarmians as Finnic speaking are problematic. This identification has developed on suppositions that: *a*) the extent of the Finnic language area in the Viking Age was more or less the same as it is today; *b*) there were only two languages in the region, 'Finnish' and 'Sámi'; and *c*) language can be directly correlated with culture-type. When these are premises, it is quite natural to conclude that the mobile *Finnar* were all Sámi-speaking and the fixed-settlement agriculturalist *Bjarmar* were 'Finnish'-speaking.

Ohthere reports that the Bjarmians spoke almost the same language as the *Finnar*

(*Finnas* in OE; Sweet 1883: 17). This has been interpreted as a contrast between Sámi and Finnic as uniform languages (e.g. Jackson 1993). However, it could equally represent a contrast between different Proto-Sámi dialects or between different Uralic languages of the region.

Two Old Norse texts present raids on temples of the god *Jómali* (infl. *Jómala*) among the Bjarmians.[43] This theonym has long been considered a loan from a Finnic *jumala* ['god'] and thus treated as evidence of the language spoken by the Bjarmians, which would be consistent with Ohthere's comment on the Bjramian language (e.g. Koskela Vasaru 2012: 42).[44] Outside of a few macrotoponyms of the region (e.g. the *Vína* River; cf. *Ter-* in the discussion of Sámi above), *Jómali* seems to be the only non-Norse name or term associated with the Bjarmians in these or other sources. The earlier of these sources was written more than two centuries after the events described, while the second is set in mytho-heroic time and quite probably dependent on the first (Koskela Vasaru 2008: 303–304). Both sources present the name in a popular mytho-heroic legend plot about a raid on a pagan temple (Power 1985). It is improbable that a Bjarmian theonym would circulate for centuries in the oral tradition when corresponding anthroponyms and toponyms did not. The theonym was most likely simply added to a popular plot in a historical saga to give it a more authentic touch (which is common for this literature), and then borrowed directly into the fantastic saga. The name *Jómali* may be a Finnic loan, but cannot be taken to indicate that the Bjarmians were Finnic-speaking. Instead, it suggests that the Bjarmians had a culture-type for which a fixed-structure temple and (exotic) Finnic god could be appropriate. The borrowing of *Jómali* itself most likely reflects contacts in the Baltic Sea region. (Frog 2014b: 443; cf. also Schalin with Frog 2014: 286–289.)

Neither the comparison to the language of the *Finnar* by Ohthere nor the theonym *Jómali* in sagas provide reliable evidence that Bjarmians spoke a Finnic dialect. If the term *Bjarmar* is accepted as referring to cultures in the White Sea region according to fixed-settlement lifeways, then Finnic-speaking groups practicing the appropriate culture would be called *Bjarmar* – even if not all *Bjarmar* were necessarily Finnic-speaking.

Several Old Norse sources situate the Bjarmians on the river *Vína*, which is generally identified with the Northern Dvina (see e.g. Jackson 2002: 7–8). An early and noteworthy Finnic-speaking population has been demonstrated in the Dvina basin on the basis of toponymic evidence (cf. Matveev 2001–2007; Saarikivi 2006). There are thousands of relatively well-studied substrate toponyms denoting both macro- as well as micro-objects in this region. They derive from at least two different types of substrate languages, namely Eastern Finnic languages and other, phonematically archaic West Uralic languages that exhibit resemblance to South Estonian and also to Sámi (Saarikivi 2007). Thus, irrespective of the exact cultural character of the Bjarmians, there should be no doubt that many parts of the Dvina basin, such as the Pinega basin (Saarikivi 2007), the Lower Dvina (Kabinina 2012) and the Vaga basins had substantial Finnic settlements. Presently, a rich oral tradition everywhere in the Dvina basin tells about the *Čud'*s – white-eyed original inhabitants of the region who fought with the Novgorodians and, in some cases, escaped to more remote lands or were buried under ground (Saarikivi 2007: 11). Some parts of the Finnic settlement of this region may be of relatively recent origin, for instance, those ethnotoponyms pointing to Karelian immigration. However, the stratified character of the toponymy, as well as early Finnic–Permian contacts both point to a relatively early presence of a West Uralic language form bearing resemblance to Finnic and Sámi in this region (cf. Saarikivi forthcoming).

In addition to the Scandinavian sources, Slavic literary sources are also suggestive of Finnic speakers in the Dvina basin in several connections, including chronicles, administrative documents and hagiographies. In the *Primary Chronicle*, the inhabitants of the area are called *Zavolockaja Čud'* [*'Čud'* beyond the portage', i.e. in the next water basin (presumably beyond the Baltic Sea basin)]. The denomination is derived in connection to

the ethnonym *Čud'* that is also mentioned in the *Primary Chronicle* (cf. E1) as one of the constituent tribes of Russia. *Dvinskaja letopis* also mentions the *Zavoločkaja Čud'* as a population residing in the Dvina area: the *Zavoločkaja Čud'* were baptized and were then called the *Dvinjane* ['Inhabitants of the Dvina'] (cf. Saarikivi 2006: 29 and works there cited). The *Dvinjane* would seem to correspond to the culture associated with the Finnic language toponymy of this area and can also be inferred to be the *Bjarmar* of the *Vína* River in Old Norse sources.[45]

At least some parts of the Finnic population in this region (those associated with Karelians and other clearly Western tribes) would be the result of migration. These can be contextualized in the movements of Finnic populations in the Viking Age associated with the rise of the fur trade as well as changes in climate that enabled agriculture in new areas (Ahola & Frog 2014: 47–48, 66–67). However, the relatively large number of Western Finnnic borrowings into Komi-Zyryan and other Permian language forms suggests that such an explanation cannot account for the toponymic phenomenon in its totality (cf. Saarikivi forthcoming). If the identification of the *Vína* River with the Northern Dvina is correct, then the Finnic groups encountered here would most likely have been regarded as *Bjarmar* by the Norsemen. However, it should be stressed that the economic draw of these northern regions was not exclusive to any one language or culture. The toponymy shows a social prominence of Finnic dialects, but it should not be underestimated that Iron Age immigration to the region was most probably multiethnic from the outset. It also seems that, within a few centuries, Slavic languages became common in the region (Saarikivi 2006: 295).

On the basis of phonetic similarity and proximity to the White Sea, *Bjarmaland* was identified with Old Russian *Perm'* or *Perem'* by scholars already in the 17th century (see further Koskela Vasaru 2008: 31–59). The Old Russian term is attested already from the 13th century and could be connected with a large geographical area extending from the White Sea to the Ural Mountains (Koskela Vasaru 2008: 394). An etymological relationship between the terms is not improbable, but the etymology itself remains opaque. Comparison has also been made with the Finnish term *permi* used to refer to traders coming from Viena Karelia (cf. Koskela Vasaru 2008: 43–44) – i.e. from the Russian side of the border of the region extending to the White Sea. All of these terms may be historically related through the multiethnic trade networks that connected the cultures of this region, but the etymology seems irresolvable.

F16: Sura poganaja

Old Russian chronicles also refer to the *Pinežane* and *Sura poganaja* ['pagans of the Sura River'] inhabiting the river basin of a tributary of the Northern Dvina. The area has a rich layer of Finnic toponyms, and there is a notable oral tradition regarding the *Čud'*s of the area. There is no doubt of the Finnic character of the Iron Age settlement in the area even if the details are fairly scarce (on the historical sources, see Saarikivi 2006).

F17: Važane and Additional Possible Finnic Settlement Areas

The *Važane* are mentioned in Old Russian chronicles as inhabiting the Vaga River basin. The spread of Finnic language groups to river basins on the Baltic Sea and to the east suggest that additional settlements were also established in intermediate regions, but the toponymy of these areas has not yet been sufficiently explored. For this reason, the *Važane* and possible additional groups of this type are not identified with specific locations on the map. However, the Vaga region is especially rich in substrate toponyms of Finnic origin. Old maps also indicate that the river valley has been densely inhabited. A birch bark letter from 1315 mentions three persons with Finnic names from the Vaga region (Saarikivi 2007).

F18: Kvens

The *Kvenir* ['Kvens'] in Old Norse[46] (> *Cwenas* in Old English) are identified in various sources as travelling overland from the northern end of the Gulf of Bothnia to raid in northern Norway; in other sources, they appear to be on the eastern side of the Gulf.[47] Since the 19th century, there has been a

presumption that these groups were Finnic-speaking. This interpretation seems to have been arrived at on the basis of the Kvens being distinguished from *Finnar* (interpreted as Sámi) and also from Norsemen, in which case the only other linguistic group inhabiting the region acknowledged at that time was Finnic (cf. F15). This evolved an etymological identification of *Kvenr* with the Finnish toponym *Kainuu* and ethnonym *Kainulainen* [‘*Kainu*-person, person of *Kainuu*’]. Although *Kainuu* now designates a region inland and to the east, it is argued to have originally designated a coastal territory of the northern part of the Gulf of Bothnia (see below). These groups can also be compared with the *Kajan’* in Old Russian sources: the *Kajan’* seem to have been in eastern areas at the northern end of the Gulf of Bothnia, at the outlet of river routes from Karelia. (Valtonen 2008: 386–389.) Possible references to the same culture in Latin sources (e.g. as Adam of Bremen’s *terra feminarum* [‘land of women’]) have also been suggested, but these are problematic (Valtonen 2008: 76–77, 390n).

The location of *Kvenland* [‘Land of the Kvens’] also seems inconsistent in the sources.[48] The Norse toponym element *-land* suggests fixed settlement livelihoods. The difficulty may be that the Kvens were not strictly identified with any particular polity but were rather seen in contrast to the mobile groups referred to as *Finnar*. Use may thus have varied, but it is noteworthy that information about the Kvens does not seem to be recorded among groups who encountered them on the Baltic Sea. Whether use of the term varied in different dialects is less relevant here than whether the term, which is never distinguished through language in any source, would be identified with Finnic language groups.[49]

A crucial problem for identifying the Kvens with Finnic language groups is that there is little reason to believe that Finnic-speakers had spread to the northern end of the Gulf of Bothnia already in the 9th century in order to undertake the overland raids into Norway described by Ohthere and in *Egils saga*. On the other hand, some of these sources also situate *Kvenland* adjacent to *Finnland* along the Gulf of Bothnia (*Egils saga*, *Orkneyinga saga*). Just as *Bjarmar* were contrasted with *Finnar* on the White Sea, it may be that *Kvenir* were contrasted with *Finnar* on the Gulf of Bothnia, in which case the culture of the Kyrö River valley (F14), at a geographical remove from other groups in *Finnland*, could also have been called *Kvenir* living in *Kvenland*.

During the early Middle Ages, Finnic groups gradually spread to the north both in the east and the west. This can be seen as a continuation of Finnic mobility and spread that characterized the Viking Age, but the precise mechanisms and chronologies as well as the degree of these processes are not clear (Ahola & Frog 2014: 56). The overland trade routes from Karelia (F8) may have resulted in more permanent settlement or the establishment of Finnic dialects on the Gulf of Bothnia.[50] The identification of the Kvens as one or more Finnic language groups in ca. AD 1000 remains problematic, and a clear identification of Kvens in the archaeological record is lacking (cf. Kuusela 2014). However, the contact networks of trade with which this region was linked suggest that there was at least some penetration of Finnic language into the region in much the same way that Slavic and Scandinavian languages were penetrating into Uralic language areas elsewhere. The Kvens have therefore been listed as tentatively associated with the Finnic language here, although it is quite possible that the *Cwenas* mentioned as coming overland into Norway in the 9th century may have spoken a dialect of Sámi.

The etymology of Old Norse *Kvenr* is obscure and problematic. Its similarity to Old Norse *kven* [‘woman’] is almost certainly coincidental. The phonetic similarity to Finnic *Kainu-* does not offer a good reconstruction of a loan from either language into the other (Koivulehto 1995). The Finnic term is generally argued to be a loan. The proposal that it derives from a Proto-Germanic (**χwainō*) or later derivative word referring to ‘lowland’ has found appeal but is phonetically problematic; Jorma Koivulehto (1995) has made an interesting argument that the Finnic word derives from a Proto-Scandinavian **gain-* and was applied in the sense of ‘gap’ to the northern part of the Gulf of Bothnia,

offering an account that is phonetically viable but semantically problematic (see Kylstra et al. 1997–2012: II: 11–12).

(Extinct) Non-Finnic West Uralic Groups

In addition to groups that can be identified with the Finnic language, several other groups can be identified in the historical sources with West Uralic languages that were probably not Finnic-speaking, although the precise relationship of their languages to surviving Uralic languages is not necessarily clear.

E1: Čud'

For the purposes of the present discussion, *Čud'* is used as a practical term to designate the cultural group or groups between clearly Finnic language areas and Novgorod and that were described as *Čud'* in the chronicles without other ethnonymic identification. However, the ethnonym *Čud'* and its cognates present a number of difficulties.

The earliest potential attestation is from the topogeny in Jordanes' *Getica* mentioned above (F8): *Thiudos inaunxis*. The term *Thiudos* is often viewed as referring to *Čud'*s (cf. Grünthal 1997: 153–154). If *in* here is a preposition, this would seem to read '*Thiudos* in Aunus'. If this is both correct and Aunus was in roughly the region it is today (which cannot be assumed), Jordanes would seem to situate the *Thiudos* somewhere in the vicinity of Lake Ladoga. However, the prepositional phrase could also be read with the following ethnonym *Vas*, as pointed out above (F9). An equivalent ethnonym does not seem to be found in Norse sources and later Latin materials. In Old Russian sources, *Čud'* appears as broadly applied to a category of cultures whereby it could be used interchangeably with more specific ethnonyms for West Uralic groups. Different ethnic groups could also be distinguished as *Čud'*s of a particular type or location – e.g. *Čud' v Klinu* (F10) or the *Zavoločkaja Čud'* (F15). In this respect, the term functioned similarly to Old Norse terms like *Finnar* and probably *Bjarmar* and *Kvenir*.

In later evidence, *Čud'* and its cognates appear widely in folklore as an ethnonym for various groups of 'others' in many regions, a number of which can be identified as Finnic-speaking, as has been discussed with regard to the *Zavolockaja Čud'* above (F15). The term appears in North Russian folklore in regions where *Čud'*s were known in the chronicles, rendering fantastic accounts of their disappearance from the region (Davydov 2009: 20–21). It has been used by parts of the Vepsian population as an endonym (Grünthal 1997: 152, cf. 150) and groups in the Northern Dvina River basin continue to distinguish themselves as *Čud'*s as opposed to Russians although they speak the Russian language (Saarikivi 2007: 11). A cognate in Sámi is often translated as e.g. 'enemy' and appears in folklore to refer to a people who subjected the Sámi to taxation and engaged with them in hostile conflicts and warfare (Saarikivi 2007: 11; cf. Itkonen 1948: 537–545). These tales may refer more specifically to 'Russian *Čud'*s' or 'Karelian *Čud'*s', and in northern Norway these are groups coming 'from the east' (see e.g. Drannikova & Larsen 2008). The term equally appears in Komi folklore to describe primal beings at the beginning of the world (Konokov et al. 2003: 57–58) and it has also been used of the old inhabitants of the Komi-speaking area that partly assimilated to Komi, or escaped to the other regions, in a similar manner to *Čud'* in Russian folklore.

The area east of Lake Peipsi (Russian *Čudskoe ozero* ['*Čud'* Lake']) has been identified with the *Čud'* tribe already in the Russian *Primary Chronicle*. Substrate place names of the area were first investigated in detail by Pauli Rahkonen (2011), who argues that this toponymy is attributable to a non-Finnic group speaking a West Uralic language. Rahkonen stresses the prominence of *Čud'* as an element in the toponymy of the region. The toponymic material treated by Rahkonen is not of the best quality and he is somewhat inclined to construct *Čud'* as a clear historical linguistic group and ethnos rather than simply applying the term as a practical tool to refer to a broad linguistic group as done here. Taking into account that the assimilation of the *Čud'*s east of Peipsi must have occurred relatively early, many of the substrate toponyms must have disappeared and it is probably not possible to study them without archive materials deriving from fieldwork. Rahkonen's findings must therefore be considered to remain conditional on the degree to which the data used is indeed representative.

Nevertheless, Rahkonen (2011: 227) observes a geographical boundary in the distribution of hydronyms that can be assigned a clearly Finnic etymology, which suggests some type of marked linguistic distinction. This boundary roughly extends east from Lake Peipsi. This boundary in the toponymy also roughly corresponds to the boundary of the so-called Long Barrow Culture in the region (Rahkonen 2011: 209–210). The latter cultural phenomenon in the archaeological record penetrates only into the periphery of later Finnic language areas of Southwest Estonia or the edge of the *Ugandi* territory (cf. Tvauri 2012: 270, Fig. 199). It otherwise generally appears to extend to the south and east of unambiguously Finnic language areas. It has been a subject of debate whether the long barrows should be considered as culturally Slavic (as suggested by Sedov, e.g. 1997) or Finnic (as suggested by, for instance, Selirand or Tvauri, e.g. 2008).

As the area is in the vicinity of many notable centres of Novgorod Slavs, it has likely been a subject of a relatively early Slavicization. V.L. Vasil'ev (2005) has convincingly argued that the Slavic habitation around Novgorod is fairly old on the basis of many old Slavic anthroponymic types. However, the spread of this type of burial practice into territories of south-eastern and eastern Estonia in the second half of the 6th century would antedate significant Slavic–Finnic language contacts by more than two centuries (cf. Kallio 2006b). The linguistic evidence does not support Slavic cultures extending into Finnic language areas and becoming their south-eastern neighbours significantly prior to the Viking Age.

The etymology of the term *Čud'* remains obscure. Outside of the possible *hapax* reference in Jordanes' *Getica*, it has been proposed that the ethnonym has only had an established place in Sámi and Russian languages, of which cognates in other languages are derivative; however, the term cannot be reduced to a clear loan from either one of these two languages into the other (Grünthal 1997: 164–171). In Russian, the ethnonym becomes associated with the partial homonym *čuda* ['wonder, miracle'] which has given rise to a folk-etymology of the term having an earlier sense of 'strange, foreign'. Different forms of the term are found in all Sámi languages (Grünthal 1997: 164: Kulonen et al. 2005: 57). Evidence of the term in Sámi and also in Komi make it probable that the ethnonym was borrowed into Slavic dialects. *Thiudos* in Jordanes' Latin exhibits a striking correspondence to Gothic *þiuda* ['people'],[51] which is derivative of Proto-Germanic *þeudō* ['people']. This would be quite natural as an endonym (cf. de Castro 1998). Insofar as such an ethnonym would not be expected east of the Baltic, this should be viewed with caution: it could also reflect a Germanic interpretation of a phonetically similar term in another language. The etymology of *Čud'* should be left open.

E2: Meryans

The *Merya* is a tribe mentioned in the Old Russian literature on several occasions. This ethnonym has also been interpreted as the same as the *Merens* referred to by Jordanes among different Finno-Ugric peoples (F10).[52] Already the Russian *Primary Chronicle* notes that the Meryans reside in the vicinity of Lake Plesceevo and Lake Nero. They are thereafter mentioned in the sources up to the 15th century and there is even a layer of archaeological findings attributed to Iron Age and medieval Meryans (Leont'ev 1997). Their relatively late survival appears interesting in light of the fact that the Meryans resided in the core area of the emerging Moscow principality, which subsequently developed into the core of modern Russia. Toponymic evidence shows that the Meryan language area extended to the Lake Beloye region (Makarova 2012).

In the scholarly sources on Russian ethnohistory, it has usually been taken for granted that the Meryans were a Finno-Ugric tribe. Several attempts to reconstruct the Meryan language on the basis of toponyms, dialectal vocabulary and jargon lexicon have been made, and practically all of them consider Meryan as an independent extinct branch of Finno-Ugric (cf. Tkachenko 1985). A.K. Matveev (1996) stresses the many parallels between Meryan and Mari toponymy, whereas Arja Ahlqvist (2001) has considered Meryan to be more closely related to the Finnic languages. However, Ahlqvist also

points out some notable differences, such as the river names with a word-final element –*gda*. Tkachenko (1985) and others consider Meryan to be a more independent branch of Uralic, and Rahkonen (2012) points to a probable sound shift (Uralic **a > vo* in anlaut) that connects Meryan to the Sámi languages.

Most of the linguists who have considered the etymology of *Merya*, have connected it with the Indo-European borrowings in the Uralic languages indicating 'people', as in *Mari* 'man', Komi *mort*, *Ud-murt* ~ Fi. *marras (: marta-)* ['person; mortal']. On the basis of careful analysis of the early context of the Meryan people in the Central Russian lake district, Ahlqvist (1998) has argued for an alternative etymology from a compound meaning 'people of the big lake(s)' (the hydronym **Enä-järvi > Nero > MerV*).

E3: Muroma

Another tribe known from Old Russian sources to inhabit areas between modern branches of the Finno-Ugric languages are the *Muroma*. Less is known about the *Muroma* than about the Meryans. They are first mentioned in the Russian *Primary Chronicle*, where they are said to be the first inhabitants of the centre Murom (mentioned as *Moramar* in Old Norse) and to be more generally on the Oka River. They are said to pay tribute to the *Rus'*, but the geographical area they were associated with as well as their ethnic and linguistic character and possible cultural attributes all remain extremely hypothetical.

Pauli Rahkonen (2013) has recently argued on the basis of toponymic evidence that Muroma was linguistically quite close to Meryan and that these could have been two dialects of the same language. However, such positions are highly problematic, not least because of the limitations of the sources concerning the historical groups. The question requires further investigation and the detailed analysis of archive materials deriving from fieldwork. It also may prove that definitive answers to this question are impossible.

E4: Meščera

The *Meščera* are another tribe known from Old Russian chronicles that inhabited territories that later underwent Slavicization. Little is known of this group and the area they inhabited is difficult to define. Rahkonen (2013) has argued on the basis of substrate toponymy that the *Meščera* were a Permian tribe.

E5: Tojmicy poganaja

The heathens of the Tojma River have been mentioned in the preserved fragments of the *Slovo o pogibeli Russkoj zemli* ['Story of the Fall of the Russian Land'], where they are mentioned as people residing near the north-eastern border of the *Rus'* on both the Upper and Lower Tojma, tributaries of Northern Dvina in the vicinity of Komi. The Tojmicy have been considered a Permian tribe by A.I. Turkin (1989). There is, however, almost nothing known of this group.

Conclusion

Many of the groups above that have been placed on Map 2 are mentioned in the earliest historical sources related to the area of the present Finnic-speaking region. Some of these sources (some oral poetry of the Scandinavian sagas, Old English literature) antedate the estimated time period of the map, AD 1000, by some hundreds of years. Others (Russian and Latin chronicles, saga literature) are slightly later and mainly date from about AD 1200 and later. In addition, some groups have been included on the maps that are not to be identified on the basis of such early texts, but that have certainly existed as observable in concomitant archaeological material. The authors have made an effort to linguistically identify the groups under consideration on the basis of the research tradition, ethnonyms, toponymic data and, above all, historical descendant reconstruction of the later linguistic map.

As far as is known, none of the literary sources referred to above have been written by the Finnic-speakers themselves. Thus, the groups portrayed above are, first and foremost, identified by representatives of the other, culturally dominant groups. The ethnonyms are thus exonyms used by merchants, priests, warriors, chronicle writers, etc. Although the explicit aim of the authors of this article was to provide a map of the linguistic groups, the languages of many of the groups treated above cannot be identified with great certainty. Moreover, there are many grounds to believe that, in fact, many of the groups mentioned in

the medieval written sources were not linguistically uniform nor did they form monolingual speech communities or exclusive and clearly definable language areas.

It is equallylikely that the languages spoken by a number of the groups in question have not been direct predecessors of present-day language forms. It is now often assumed in scholarly literature that the linguistic diversity in the past (especially among hunter-gatherers) has been greater than at present. This is an inevitable conclusion related to the absence of forces such as communications technologies, literary languages, formalized education and so forth that create and maintain linguistic similarity in the present. Many lines of development of Finnic, Sámi, Germanic, Baltic, Slavic and other languages have certainly also died out. Today, such extinct language forms are discernible mainly either as some peculiarities in dialects that have intruded as borrowings into the present language forms or as (for the most part little-studied) linguistic substrates (cf. F9). Especially in the case of substrate languages of Northern Russia, it has been proposed that there have also been languages that represent characteristics of both Finnic and Sámi, which should be considered an independent course of development of Uralic languages that have gone extinct (cf. Saarikivi 2004b). It is likely that Meryan, Muroma, Meščera and other similar tribes mentioned in early Russian chronicles may have also represented similar extinct language groups.

There are certainly many problems related to the identification of the groups on the Map 2, yet this cartographic visualization still highlights many aspects of linguistic history that are of importance for understanding of the present linguistic map of the eastern Baltic Sea area. The working model remains a heuristic sketch that has been developed to provide a broad framework for multi-disciplinary discussion of culture formations in the past, a stetch to be refined and developed through future discussion. Although general and still hypothetical in many respects, this model nonetheless brings some significant points into the light.

First, it underscores the degree to which language areas have changed during the last millennium and that the present (Map 1) and past (Map 2) linguistic maps do not resemble each other very closely. This observation is natural on the basis of analogies from other regions. One must still remember that the changes in the linguistic map between the approximately AD 1000 and the present occurred not only because of migrations and the displacement of earlier linguistic groups but, more notably, because groups changed their languages. This also reminds the reader that the groups presented on the map are far from uniform and stable: they have been subject to a continuous flux of people, multi-lingualism, and multi-language networking that have connected them with their neighbours.

Second, the map reveals the wide Finnic and Uralic periphery to the east of Finland and Estonia that has been relatively little discussed in scholarly literature. Most of the discussion regarding the ethnogenesis of the Finns and Estonians has taken place in their respective countries, but this has been done by researchers more familiar with Germanic than non-Finnic Uralic languages. A notable amount of information regarding the Finnic languages east of the Baltic Sea area has thus been left without thorough scrutiny. If the Finnic language area today stretches some 1,200 kilometers from south to north in a stretch some 500 kilometers wide, in the Iron Age and early Middle Ages, the opposite has been the case: the language area has probably been more than 1,000 kilometers from east to west but substantially less so from south to north, while north of the Finnic area, Sámi languages and unidentifiable substrate languages of Northern Fennoscandia were spoken.

Third, the map points to the fact that the historical centre of the Finnic languages, and the centre of Finnic linguistic diversity, is south of the Gulf of Finland. There is a long tradition of considering the whole region surrounding the Gulf of Finland as the Proto-Finnic homeland (cf. Itkonen 1983; Koivulehto 1983). Notable arguments against this hypothesis have been put forward since the turn of the new millennium (Aikio & Aikio 2001; Saarikivi 2006; Häkkinen 2009), as will be discussed in the next article in this series.

The model presented here has concentrated on groups or populations that can be

reasonably identified as speakers of particular languages with varying degrees of probability. This has been possible in large part because the target period of the map is relatively close to numerous written sources referring to the groups and even to their languages. The farther removed from those sources reconstruction becomes, the more abstract, hypothetical and problematic it is to identify language with specific groups or cultures attested through other types of materials. The next articles in this series will address the longer-term perspective according to two interreated aims. The *Urheimat*s of different branches of Uralic and how those can be situated on a map will be explored, locating Finnic and Sámi language families in relation to other Uralic and non-Uralic language families. Reverse-engineering the dispersal of Finnic languages and antecedent Proto-Finnic dialects will also be done with the goal of targeteting a particular period in that history for cartographic representation: ca. AD 1. The model developed for rendering Map 2 above provides essential information for considering parts of that reconstruction.

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Frog (mr.frog[at]helsinki.fi) Folklore Studies / FHKjT Department, P.O. Box 59 (Unioninkatu 38 A), 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland.

Janne Saarikivi (janne.saarikivi[at]helsinki.fi) Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, P.O. Box 4 (Fabianinkatu 24), 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland.

Notes

1. The Viking Age in Scandinavia is customarily dated to ca. AD 800–1050. The VAF project led to the proposal of a calibrated dating for Finland to ca. AD 750–1250 on the basis of historical processes east of the Baltic Sea and especially the later Christianization (see Ahola & Frog 2014).
2. The standardizations are in essence reconstructions that have become established in the scholarship. Especially in cases of infrequent terms, the reconstructed forms have been shaped by interpretations or by prioritizing certain sources: they require a thorough review. Here, uncertainty mainly concerns vowel quantities, which were often not indicated in early manuscripts (e.g. in *Jómali*), and some diphthongs (e.g. *Kven-* often appears with the vowel *-æ-* and *Kirjál-* with the diphthong transcribed *-ia-*). Variant transcriptions are not listed: without manuscript contexts and their relations, the forms and their representativeness may be misleading (e.g. "Kyrialar", "Karelar" and "Kereliar" for *Kirjálar*). Examples of transcribed forms can be found under the entries of the DONP (N.B. – some variant forms appear under separate entries).
3. It may be noted that the earlier dominant research paradigm considered Proto-Finnic to be a phenomenon extending around the Gulf of Finland (cf. Itkonen 1983). In this connection, it was also assumed that the development of Finnic from Proto-Uralic took place in the this area. This had the consequense that the areal linguistics of the Finnic language area was not considered relevant for the study of the early history of Finnic languages.
4. The opening of the Eastern Route was not simply a function of changes in trade activity in the North. It is also associated with political changes that produced a demand for furs in the south (Kovalev 2001) and changes in the geopolitical situation of intermediate regions that made trade routes through them viable (Talvio 2014: 132–133).
5. Evidence of Finnic material culture found in areas to the west suggests contacts and probably some degree of mobility from east of the Baltic (e.g. Raninen & Wessman 2014: 336). Place names with the elements *Finn-* ['Finn-'] and *Est-* ['Estonian'] in Roslagen, eastern Central Sweden, may indicate evidence of Finnic speakers in the region connected with maritime networks (Sjöstrand 2014: 110n), depending on the interpretation of the toponymic type. Even if the individual toponyms are only from the medieval period and later, there is no reason to believe that the mobility of Finnic groups from the east only began with immigration from Sweden to Finnic language areas rather than during Finnic language spread in the Iron Age.
6. Insofar as it is likely that the Svear sought, at a minimum, to extort taxes from groups in Finland, the fixed-settlement polities would be more comparable to Norse groups than to mobile *Finnar* or Sámi, and thus it becomes a question of whether and to what degree the systems applied to such Scandinavian communities might be transposed on non-Scandinavian communities.
7. For the present discussion, it is not necessary to resolve whether immigration to coastal Finland happened under motivation or encouragement of the king of the Svear (e.g. Hellberg 1987: 274; Haggrén 2011: 160–163) or was undertaken by

peasants independently (Lindqvist 2002: 47; cf. also Sjöstrand 2014: 112–115). Emphasis is here placed on the implication that immigration, which spread through areas that had been depopulated during the Viking Age, was associated with geopolitical changes in the region associated with the Svear and can be assumed to have been initially within domains of Svear authority (and protection) in 12th-century Åland and Finland. The Swedish-speaking settlements of Estonia have been generally believed to have been established slightly later, following on the 13th-century Northern Crusades, which established Christian political authority in these territories. However, the development of these populations remains poorly researched and little understood. Felicia Markus (2004) has argued that the Scandinavian language population in Estonia may have been established already in the Viking Age (cf. B1).

8. Interpretations like 'out-pourer of semen' as a self-reference emphasizing virility remain speculation. Interpretation is further problematized by the fact that the ethnonym corresponds to a theonym identified as the mythic progenitor of the race (identified with Odin in later evidence: see e.g. de Vries 1956–1957 II: 41–42). The link to a theonym has led, for example, to interpreting the ethnonym as having religious significance (North 1997: 139–143). A mythological frame of reference also multiplies the potential significations: effusion of fluid was symbolic of the expression and transfer of mythic knowledge, supernatural power and poetry, symbolized as an intoxi-cating drink (also associated with spittle/semen).
9. The island-name *Jomala* (in Swedish) has been interpreted as deriving from a Finnic *jumala* ['god'], but this is not unproblematic. A similar toponymic type is attested in Finnic-speaking regions and in regions with Finnic substrate. On this etymology and the relevant place names in Swedish, see Sjöstrand 2014: 97–100; Schalin with Frog 2014: 284–289.
10. For a possible localized (Scandinavian) name in Åland that may have been established in the Viking Age, see Heikkilä 2014b: 310–311.
11. For discussion and a review of the literature, see Sjöstrand 2014; see also Ahola et al. 2014a: 229–238.
12. For two fundamentally different perspectives, especially in respect to the ethnic affiliation of the so called long-barrow graves, see e.g. Sedov 1994; Tvauri 2007.
13. Such loans may be fairly limited, but there are problems is assessing their precise number (Kallio 2006b: 163 and note).
14. This sort of mythologization of history to validate conquest can be compared to the description of Etruscan rulership in Roman histories or the Gotlanders' account of their relation to the Svear mentioned above.
15. On the complexity of the issue of ethnicity behind the term *Rus'*, see Lind 2007; on the borrowing from a Finnic dialect into Slavic, see e.g. Heide 2006: 76; Schalin 2014: 428–429 and works there cited.
16. Duczko 2004: 193; cf. also Callmer 2000; Ahola et al. 2014a: 255, 257; on the Ålandic rite's development in this region, see Callmer 1994; Tarsala 1998; Frog 2014a: 379–398.
17. The latter term is thought to render an Old Norse 'Skiing-*Finnar*', but such a term is not attested in Old Norse among the many uses of *Finnar*, although it is found in a number of texts in Latin and Greek from earlier centuries (see Valtonen 2008: 106–108, 246–248).
18. Populations and cultures had been moving between Finland and the Scandinavian Peninsula already for thousands of years (cf. Ahola et al. 2014: 230) and thus the spread of Sámi language in this way is not at all surprising.
19. Aikio (2012: 105–106) tentatively suggests that the rise of the Scandinavian fur trade was the probable socio-economic motivator for the spread of Sámi and the language shift of Palaeo-European speech communities. Although this may have been a relevant factor in some parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula, it should be observed that expansion of the fur trade seems to have been especially around the beginning of the Viking Age, which also seems to be the period *a*) when Scandinavian sailing routes began to reach as the White Sea region (Valtonen 2008), *b*) when Finnic groups were drawn to the same region, presumably for trade (Ahola & Frog 2014), *c*) when evidence in the archaeological record suggests a change in orientation of cultural activities from the coast on the northern Gulf of Bothnia to inland or to overland networks probably linked to trade (Kuusela 2014), and *d*) when the so-called 'fur road' of trade along the Eastern Route opened with transformative effects on the fur economy in the North (Kovalev 2001). The period identified as primary for the language shift on the basis of linguistic evidence would thus seem to conclude with the period when significant change in long-distance fur trade began reaching especially the more remote regions where Sámi became dominant. Aikio's proposal that the fur trade may have been a socio-economic factor in the processes of language change is not unwarranted, but viewed in this light, the Viking Age may have been a catalyst in the gradual eclipse of other languages by Proto-Sámi dialects.
20. See Kivimäe (2011: 95–96), noting that there are places where *Estones* is used as a broader blanket term with reference to Oeselians in addition to other groups (e.g. the conflict described in HCL XV.2–5), but this seems to be practically motivated by the context. Henry also makes reference to *Vinlandia* ['Finland'] as the place from which another priest has come (e.g. HCL XIX.4).
21. Ptolemy refers to the *Leuonoi* as the people inhabiting the centre of Scania, but the ethnonym appears to be based on a misreading or misspelling of Tacitus's *Suiones* (G1), whose work seems to have been a source (Valtonen 2008: 80–81). Pliny

the Elder's description of the *Hilleviones* inhabiting 500 villages or districts of *Scantinavia* has been interpreted as a corruption of **Levoni*, but this interpretation is based on comparison with Ptolomy's *Leuoni* (Valtonen 2008: 69 and works there cited).

22. In *Ynglinga saga* 32, *Aðalsýsla* seems to be presented as a part of *Eistland*. This is in the elaboration of a rather ambiguous verse in which the king attacks *Sýslu kind* ['kin of *Sýsla*'] and is defeated by an *eistneskr herr* an ['Estonian army'] (not necessarily *Sýslu kind*). The identification of *Aðalsýsla* with *Eistland* here may be the outcome of trying to interpret the verse and an etymologization of Old Norse *sýsla* as 'district' (see below).
23. *Eysýsla* could thus mean 'Island-Business', which would conform to the economic activities of the Oeselians, but normally *ey* would be the second element in such a compound and this interpretation would not account for another location as 'Business Proper' (*Aðalsýsla*).
24. There are, for example, seven *sýslur* in the Faeroe Islands (half the size of Saaremaa); on *sýslur*, see further Andersen et al. 1972.
25. In some historical contexts, the name *Karjala* would also seem to point to the old fortress of Karela (*drevnjaja Korela*) by what is now the town of Priozersk in Priladozh'e (cf. below).
26. This is attributed to Karelians in the 14th century *Rhymed Chronicle of Erik*, which also appears to reference their alliance with Novgorod in that context (Klemming 1865: 17). It is not improbable that the Papal request for trade embargoes against the 'un-Christian Russians' until they stopped causing trouble for the 'Christian Finns' refers to activities also involving Karelians (FMU, 74–76).
27. This would produce $\chi > k$, after which $\chi > h$ (i.e. ***harja*).
28. Napolskikh 2006; 2014; on early lists of ethnic groups linked to trade routes, see also Valtonen 2008. This part of the text was interpreted as a list of ethnonyms and locations already in 1882, although identifying *Thiudos* with *Čud'*s and without viewing the list as an ordered topogeny (see the review of interpretations in Christiansen 2002: esp. 164–168, 176–177).
29. Comparison with the Old Norse personal name *Vísinn* and Latin version *Wisinnus* found in Saxo Grammaticus' *Gesta Danorum* (e.g. Grünthal 1997: 105–106; Valtonen 2008: 367) is based on a reading of the ethnonym in Jordanes as *Vasina*. The Old Norse personal name (and its feminine counterpart *Vísna*) can be better explained on the basis of other possible Old Norse lexemes than on the basis of an otherwise unattested ethnonym.
30. For a brief historical overview of the culturally dynamic region of Ingria, see Nenola 2002: 54–58.
31. The ethnonym is found in a single chapter of *Egils saga*, where the *Kylfingar* (like the *Kirjálar* in another chapter of the saga) have arrived on the Scandinavian Peninsula from the east at the nothern part of the Gulf of Bothnia and are defeated by the hero's men. It also appears as an element in a toponym in a geographical treatise in which *Kylfingaland* ['Land of the *Kylfingar*'] is identified with *Garðaríki* – i.e. Novgorod (Einarsson 2003: 15). The ethnonym *Kolbjagi* in Old Russian sources and Greek *Κούλπιγγοι* (*Kūlpingoi*) mentioned in Byzantine sources in association with the Varangians seem to reflect adaptations of the Scandinavian term, whether it is an ethnonym *per se* or designates some other form of league or society (see Koivulehto 1997: 152–155).
32. Although this is generally accepted today, the topic was surrounded by political controversy in the past owing to the desire of the Swedish-speaking population of Finland to construct a heritage with linguistic and cultural continuity in Finland going back to the Viking Age.
33. Traditions of a so-called First Finnish Crusade appear to be retrospective constructs, but some degree of organized missionary activity could potentially have been initiated already in the first quarter of the 12th century, and certainly in the second half of that century (when place names borrowed into Swedish are established), with the bishopric of Finland being founded by or around AD 1200 (Line 2007: ch. 12; Sjöstrand 2014: 95).
34. The ethnonym *Finnlendingar* is not attested in prose (it receives no entry in the DONP) and could have been produced for metrical reasons (cf. Schalin 2014: 422–425). It is nevertheless relevant as evidence of the toponym *Finnland* from which it is formed, which in this case is found in verses referring to contemporary events there.
35. Some references that might be identified with *Finnland* are problematized by ambiguous use of the ethnonym *Finnar*/*Finnas*, as in the reference to *Finna land* ['land of the *Finnas*'] in *Beowulf* (Valtonen 2008: 207–210).
36. Recent research suggests some degree of probably Finnic-speaking habitation during the Viking Age, on which see Alenius et al. 2014. Johan Schalin has also been working on the question of the geographical scope of Old Swedish *Finland* at least back to the mid-12th century.
37. *Suomi* is also later found as a personal name in Finnish dialectal sayings and proverbs.
38. Jukka Korpela (2008b: 20) has suggested a possible reference with the obscure ethnonym *Jem'*, but the *Jem'* and their location remain mysterious and problematic (see Korpela 2008a: 44–45).
39. The second vowel is unwritten in the runic inscription (reconstructed for the dialect as*Taf[æi]staland*) and is later attested in the Hauksbók redaction of *Ǫrvar-Odds saga* in the (West Norse) form *Tafeistaland* among a list of toponyms for non-Scandinavian places in the Baltic Sea region (Simek 1990: 343). Part of the runic inscription was earlier interpreted as referring to *Tafeistaland* being subject to the military conscription or taxation system of Sweden, but this reading is problematic and the inscription may instead indicate martial conflicts (see Williams 2005).

40. The Latin toponym is not a straight loan from Old Norse *per se*, which would presumably yield ***Tavastalandus* (cf. *Finlandus*). Instead, it can be seen as formation for the realm of an ethnos with the ending *-ia* in the place of Scandinavian *-land* (cf. Old Norse *Bjarmaland* appearing as *Biarmia*). If the ethnonym were derivative of the Latin toponym, the people would be ***Tavastiani* rather than *Tavasti* (cf. *Oselia* and *Oseliani*).
41. Unto Salo (2000: 49) has also argued on the basis of more recent oral history that the earliest groups in the region to practice slash-and-burn agriculture in Satakunta were Sámi speaking, but the period in question is so remote from the oral sources that use of this evidence is problematic in the extreme.
42. Cf. also the question of genetic evidence in Salama 2014: 357.
43. *Óláfs saga helga* ['The Saga of St. Óláfr'] (Aðalbjarnarson 1941–1951 II: 294) and *Bósa saga ok Herrauðs* ['The Saga of Bósi and Herrauðr'] (Jiriczek 1893: 25, 29); we would like to thank Bent Chr. Jacobsen (e-mail 28.12.2007) at the *Dictionary of Old Norse Prose* for confirming that this term has not been identified in any additional Old Norse texts according to their archive index.
44. The inference has seemed reasonable insofar as the development **juma* ['sky, god'] > **juma-la* ['god'] is only attested in Finnic languages.
45. This theory was first put forward in the 19th century; see Koskela Vasaru 2008: 43 and works there cited.
46. As observed in note 2 above, the form *Kvænir* is commonly found in West Norse manuscripts.
47. They also appear in exceptional contexts, such when it is stated in *Norna-Gests þáttr* that the king of the Svear had to oppose threats from the *Kvenir* and *Kúrir* ['Curonians' (B1)]. Although the specific account is certainly fictionalized, it raises the question of whether the Svear were thought to have subordinated the Kvens at times as they did the Curonians.
48. On different theories of the location of *Kvenland*, see e.g. Vilkuna 1957; Julku 1986.
49. For an investigation of the routes across the Scandinavian Peninsula from the point of view of Sámi toponyms pointing to *kainu* ~ *kvens*, see Korhonen 1982; but see however Koivulehto 1995).
50. The 13th century annals reporting *Kirjálir* harrying in northern Norway (F8) suggests that, at least by that time, Karelians had been taking up activities earlier associated with Kvens. It is interesting that in the annals Karelians are mentioned with Kvens or only Karelians are mentioned, which may indicate a change in the significance and/or recognisability of Kvens in this role.
51. Most recently, Napolskikh (2006; 2014) has revived this position and the interpretation that it represents an inflected common noun, reading it as introducing the list of 'peoples' rather than as an ethnonym. The latter interpretation has the benefit of reading the subsequent three ethnonyms as each paired with a location whereas reading *Thiudos* as an ethnonym presents four ethnonyms to three locations. This reading would be more compelling if it were corroborated by evidence that Gothic words with immediate Latin equivalents were used more widely in *Getica*.
52. However, the ethnonym *Merya* is similar to terms for other groups such as *Muroma* (E3) and the attested groups *Mari* and *Mordvin* slightly farther to the east. Although *Merens* appears to correspond most closely to *Merya*, the specific identification remains speculative. The term *Merens* nevertheless resembles ethnonyms of Finno-Ugric groups concentrated in this region.

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Events

Seminar-Workshop Report – Repetition with a Twist: Parallelism in Verbal Art and Performance

26th–27th May 2014, Helsinki, Finland

Antti Lindfors, University of Turku

Parallelism had the honor of following up on the heels of the concepts of genre and register in a seminar held at the end of May, the fourth of its kind in the past few years organized by the Department of Folklore Studies of the University of Helsinki in cooperation with the Finnish Literature Society. *Parallelism in Verbal Art and Performance* comprised two keynote lectures and the presentation and discussion of ten working papers (published: Frog 2014) – hence the description of the event as a hybrid of seminar and workshop. The arrangements for the event were organized to celebrate the ideals of interaction and dialogue overall: the time limit for a single presentation was set at 20 minutes, whereas the space for ensuing conversation clocked at 40 minutes. This sort of loose and conversation-oriented setup seemed to have the effect of relaxing the overall atmosphere as well as foregrounding the attention enjoyed by the papers themselves, insofar as everyone in the audience had their chance to pose questions for the speakers.

Poetic parallelism, being a broad and inclusive area of investigation, proved apt as a conceptual nexus for the seminar-workshop, as was already to be seen from a quick glance at the delightfully diverse papers. Parallelism, with its tendency to evade conclusive definitions, is certainly a form of repetition in verbal art, yet not exclusively that. It is preferably understood as "recurrent returns" (Jakobson 1981 [1966]), as repeating structures with patterned variation (e.g. Brown 1999) – that is, as repetition 'with a twist'. These structures and patterns, furthermore, are rendered meaningful only in relation to each other: in a synonymic, analogical, cumulative, comic, antithetical, etc. fashion. From an even broader perspective, parallelism is a *set of relations* between any two or more units of utterance: it is not restricted to merely dyadic structures but can just as well organize itself around the 'magical' number three, or even structure extended interactional sequences as a provisional context of sorts (see Glick 2012).

To get a grasp of the scope of the subject, parallelisms can manifest themselves at multiple, and potentially interacting, linguistic and communicative levels: i.e. at least on the lexical and phonetic levels, semantics, syntax, grammar, as well as on the more symbolic dimensions of motifs, images and narrative sequences. In addition, their functions vary considerably according to genres and contexts of use. Parallelism has its part to play not only in terms of the formal cohesion of texts but also in terms of semantic coherence, rhetorical force and various forms of performative heightening (such as elevated style or poetic ascension). For instance, conjunctives (*if*, *then*, *because*), often deemed signs of 'bad' poetry, are easily eschewed by parallelistic structures: parallelism connects two units and furthermore renders their mutual relation vaguely open. Finally, ideological or linguistic heterogeneity can be introduced by parallelisms. Even though not explicitly tackled as a subject in the seminar, repetition in general tends to foreground discourse as a material and sensible phenomenon in contrast to its referential aspect. By, for example, embellishing pure repetition with semantic variation, parallelism could perhaps be seen to mediate or bring together the sensible and the intelligible dimensions of culture (see Urban 1996).

Variably identifiable from several folklore genres (and coined in the mid-18th century by the Oxford professor of poetry Robert Lowth), parallelism has enjoyed, however, rather meagre amounts of theorization and analytical conceptualization so far. It has often been taken into consideration, surely,

but can hardly be regarded as a folkloristic 'keyword' in the historical sense, which provoked Frog (University of Helsinki) to refer to a "tendency of under theorization" in his opening speech. The self-reflexive observations of the participants could actually be seen to echo something similar: curiously, for many, parallelism had presented itself as an object of study or a tool only thanks to the present seminar.

Poetic, Prosaic, Hypnotic

The ensemble of two days commenced with a keynote lecture by James J. Fox (Australian National University), whose latest monograph aims specifically for the subject of the seminar at hand (Fox 2014), had regrettably been delayed, appearing only some weeks after the event, but now can be found available open-access on-line. Having specialized in the verbal art of the island of Rote in Eastern Timor since the 1960s, Fox is known as an authority on especially *canonical parallelism*. The latter refers to parallelism regulated by the culturally defined requirement that certain terms be paired or combined to create a proper utterance. Fox's decades-spanning, awe-inspiring work can perhaps be seen to culminate in the concept of 'dialect concatenation' in the analysis of parallel terms connecting the differing dialectal domains of the island, also illustrated with a promising vector diagram. His elegant presentation was followed by a conversation focusing particularly on the normativity of canonical parallelism and the lapses in the performances of poems, the analysis of which could open interesting perspectives on the motivations of parallelism on the level of symbolic structure.

The most detailed statistics regarding parallelism in Kalevala-meter poetry were offered by Jukka Saarinen from the Finnish Literature Society, who is significantly advancing the seminal work of Wolfgang Steinitz (1934) on this topic. According to Saarinen's calculations, 39% of the individual poems by the master poet Arhippa Perttunen – divided practically into narrative poems, incantations and 'other' (mostly lyric poems) – could be defined as parallel verses, on top of which we should also consider parallel half-lines and parallel pairs of verses. In conclusion, Saarinen defended parallelism as a constitutive feature of Kalevala-meter epic poetry, to be separated from stylistics, under which category it has sometimes been pigeonholed. Notable was also the speaker's observation on how the initial line is always more 'referential', more constitutive in alliterative kalevalaic poetry, whereas the parallel line more often than not merely complements the first one. Alliterative poetry is, in other words, referentially 'front-loaded' also in terms of parallelisms, in opposition to poetry based on rhymes. Saarinen's presentation resonated nicely with what Venla Sykäri (University of Helsinki) had to say about the semantic and functional aspects in the composition of improvised rhyming poetry, especially Cretan *mantinádes* and Finnish freestyle rap. It should be stressed how Sykäri's discovery of the primary function of the second line of rhyming couplets was exclusively confined to improvised poetry: this tendency of 'back-loadedness' is diminished for instance in written rap-texts, and perhaps also evened out in cases of especially talented freestyle rappers.

The relations of alliteration, rhyme and parallelism were also touched on by Jonathan Roper (University of Tartu), whose primary material consisted of Old English charms. Roper brought forth a hypothesis by Arvo Krikmann, according to which alliteration would in general be more compatible with parallelistic structures, in contrast to rhymes. After cross-examining a few examples with an eye on the parameters of text-type (charms) and verse-type (alliterative), Roper concluded by calling for comparative research on charms from the specific perspective of parallelism, which could potentially verify the noteworthy hypothesis – and naturally bring about yet other questions.

The multiple functions of parallelism and repetition were clearly common interests among the speakers. Parallelisms could be seen to orient themselves on the level of plot, for instance by depicting movements in the narrated space in the epic poetry of the tundra Nenets people discussed by Karina Lukin (University of Helsinki), or to take over the

functions of descriptive discourse, as in Kalevala-meter poetry (Saarinen). The communicative functions or even a division of labor between parallelism and repetition could, however, be seen most clearly in the oral narratives of Banda Eli of the Kei Islands, scrutinized by Timo Kaartinen, professor of anthropology at the University of Helsinki. Kaartinen showed how parallel expressions in narratives reflect the people's awareness of diverging linguistic communities. Such an observation points towards the disposition of poetic and rhetorical devices such as parallelism in highlighting the metalinguistic ideologies functional in a given culture.

As was proven by Kaartinen with his counter-examples, oral poetry is only one of the natural habitats of parallelism, even if obviously a prominent one. A wholly different realm of repeating structures is opened up by more prosaic or oratorical genres. In these genres, the "metered frame" (Silverstein 1984) favorable to parallelisms can be produced by many other parameters: by pauses, rhythms, expletives, intonation and various other paralinguistic devices, which partition the flow of discourse into discrete sequences. Richard Bauman (Indiana University), the second keynote lecturer of the event, turned to the latter when speaking about his latest scholarly interest, the performative remediation in the context of early sound recordings – i.e. the adaptations of traditional oral performances onto wax cylinder.

Of these highly popular recordings of the late 19th and early 20th century (before the introduction of radio), Bauman had concentrated on 'burlesque sermons', parodic imitations of black preachers by (mostly) white vaudeville and minstrel artists. Verbally and performatively rich documents were unveiled as complex ideological signs, hotbeds of colliding interpretations by separate social and racial groups positioned in uneven power relations. Bauman's presentation was a fascinating and illustrative study on how parody can simultaneously function as a critique, a mockery and a tribute on several different levels. From the perspective of performance analysis, the racist parodies by white (and some black) performers could be seen to represent the perceptiveness of whites in recognizing and acknowledging the verbal, poetic skills and techniques of the black preachers.

Karelian laments, analyzed by Eila Stepanova (University of Helsinki), are another genre building on melodic rhythms and alliteration, not strict meter. It is specifically the rhetorical functions of parallelisms and repetitions which were also seen to dominate in laments: insofar as 'my son' is referred to with eight different euphemisms, circumlocutions and poetic metaphors in eight parallel 'strings' of verse, it is safe to assume that the repeating patterns function as emphasizing the significance of these, if not intensifying the overall effect of the performance. Stepanova's contention was, however, that parallelism serves functions other than mere emphasis: cultural competence ('showing off') is displayed with profuse and ornate repetitions, and, in addition, we should also consider parallel structures as mnemonic aids in the production of improvised verses.

Yet another genre of investigation was unlocked by Lotte Tarkka, professor of Folklore Studies at the University of Helsinki, who had tapped the rich sources of proverbial speech by Anni Lehtonen, a poet and singer from Vuokkiniemi, Karelia. Tarkka had adopted the concept of 'finalization', coined by Mikhail Bakhtin, as her methodical tool and studied its relation to parallelism in the production of proverbs and aphorisms. First off, parallel structures contribute to the entextualization of proverbs into discrete units of discourse. Furthermore, they tend to construct an argumentative composition for the proverbs, to create an 'ascension' of the poetic speech by hypnotic repetition, as already phrased by H.G. Porthan in the 18th century. In a similar fashion to that observed by Tarkka, one could actually note the tendency of parallelism to gradually rise towards a climax in the examples of Stepanova, Lukin and Roper. Over the course of the event, parallelism was understood primarily as a textual phenomenon, without, however, shunning the prospects of identifying its manifestations in other

communicative channels as well – e.g. as highlighted in Kati Kallio's (Finnish Literature Society) presentation dealing with the interaction between the melodies and texts of sung poetry.

Proliferations of Parallelism, and Where to Stop Them?

The final speaker of the event, Frog, approached this shared field of interest by explicitly inquiring into the borders and limits of parallelism, and had edited the title of his presentation at the last moment accordingly to "'Parallelism' versus 'Not Parallelism'". His metatheoretical argument held that intuitive definitions drawn on the basis of the materials and their features have predominated in the conceptualizations of parallelism. Parallelism is an analytic tool and, naturally, like other tools, just as useable and valid when circumstantially applied by the scholar. Certain self-reflexivity regarding the use of analytic concepts is, however, mandatory, if research is hoped to proceed.

Frog succeeded not only in illuminating the variability and multidimensionality of the phenomenon of parallelism but also in posing noteworthy questions for anyone entering its bewildering field. Where exactly is the line between repetition and parallelism to be drawn, and to what extent do they overlap? Could we possibly include not only the verbal and the textual but also the gestural as well as choreographic elements of a performance under the heading of *parallelism* – and would such a move be practical? What is the relation between poetic and prosaic parallelism, and is one of them more fundamental than the other? Is parallelism primarily intratextual or could it also be seen as having an intertextual aspect, for instance in parodic references to other texts? Proliferating possibilities proved compelling, but what is to be gained by generous experimentation? Furthermore, do we need to find a definitive definition for the concept at all? Indeed, Frog's open-ended questions pointed twofold towards the richness of the concept as well as towards the methodological self-reflexivity required from the researcher.

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Conference Report – The Old Norse Folklorists Network's Conference "Sagas, Legends and Trolls: The Supernatural from Early Modern back to Old Norse Tradition"

12th– 14th June 2014, Tartu, Estonia

Kristel Pallasma, University of Tartu

The international Old Norse Folklorists Network's conference "Sagas, Legends and Trolls: The Supernatural from Early Modern back to Old Norse Tradition" took place in Tartu, Estonia from the 12th to the 14th of June 2014. The conference brought together both seasoned trollologists and interested students from various universities in a variety of countries.

There were six keynote speakers – two on each day of the conference – each of whom gave a presentation of approximately half an hour on his or her topic. On the 12th of June, Catharina Raudvere (University of Copenhagen) had the honour of kicking off the official conference program as the first keynote speaker with her presentation on the topic "Same Theme – Different Contexts: Blood in Performance, Narration and Belief: Long and Short Term Perspectives". On the same day, a second keynote presentation was provided by Ármann Jakobsson (University of Iceland), who discussed the short prose narrative *Bergbúa þáttr* ['The Tale of the Mountain-Dweller'].

While these plenary sessions allowed everyone present to listen to the keynote speakers, things became more challenging for attendees thereafter; due to the fact that there were so many keen trollologists yearning to present their topics, all additional presentations took place as two parallel sessions. All in all, there were six pairs of parallel sessions with as many as 28 additional papers. One was therefore in the unfortunate position of making a tough choice and deciding which presentations to attend later on. When, in the first parallel sessions of the day, one was about aspects of late heathen cult and the other was about myth, then I believe that the choice proved to be quite a headache for many participants – especially when all of the presentations were incredibly spellbinding.

The second parallel sessions for the first day were more about trolls: one of these was entitled *The Troll* and the other called *More Trolls.* Out of the *More Trolls* session, I would like to point out Frog's (University of Helsinki) amazing presentation with the title "Are Trolls, Bears and Sámi People too? – Approaching Vernacular Categories of Being". In this context, he spoke about how we think about categories, how categories of being create imaginal models as a basis for understanding and hence raise the question of what is real and what is not.

With one day from the conference's three-day program behind us and with the minds of everyone filled with numerous new ideas and interesting subjects, the second day then brought more various topics on sagas, legends and trolls. Friday the 13th – a very superstitious date indeed – started with the conference's third keynote speaker, Marteinn Sigurðsson (University of Copenhagen), whose lecture was on the topic of Grettir and Guðmundr *góði*. This was followed by another pair of parallel sessions *Genre Crossroads* and *Narratives and Narratology*.

The fourth keynote speaker, Bengt af Klintberg (Stockholm University), gave a stimulating presentation of Scandinavian folklore parallels to the Selkolla episode in *Guðmundar saga biskups*. The official program for that day ended with a closing pair of parallel sessions, which consisted of two engrossing presentations; one on *Byskupa and Riddara sögur* and the other featuring a most intriguing title, *Fantastic Monsters*.

And thus the final day of the conference began with Barbara Hillers from University College Dublin. Hillers gave an interesting presentation on supernatural healers and spoke of healing charms of the Second Merseburg type in medieval literature as well as in modern folklore with an Irish focus. While the program was drawing to a close, there was still time for a final pair of parallel sessions. By merely looking at the themes for these two sessions – *Magic and Sorcery* and *Law and the Supernatural* – one could clearly see that the organisers had successfully managed to keep the conference incredibly fascinating until the very end.

The final word was given by Joseph Harris (Harvard University), the last of the six keynote speakers, with his presentation "Edda and Ballad: *Svipdagsmál* and the Challenges of 'Retrospective Methods'". Harris began by presenting the story outline of the ballad scene by scene and thereafter pointed out and discussed some of the problematic passages of this poem.

One can barely grasp the extent of the planning and the tremendously hard work the organisers had to do for this conference so that everything could go smoothly (which it did). Apart from the conference itself, all the participants were granted the opportunity to participate in numerous social events. Everyone had the chance to discuss their topics and views and also the opportunity to

chat for a while during coffee breaks, lunch hours, and on excursions, such as the trip aboard the reconstructed Viking Age ship Turm on the river Emajõgi.

To conclude, I would say that the conference was a great success. During these three days it was a place for agreeing and disagreeing, for open discussions, a place where everyone managed to find something just to their taste. I certainly believe that everyone left the conference with ideas for future research, perhaps even having been exposed to entirely new concepts or views, and certainly with new acquaintances and pleasant memories.

RMN

PEOPLE

Research Reports

Are Trolls, Bears and Sámis People too? – Considering the Mythic Ethnography of Old Norse Culture

Frog, University of Helsinki

Paper presented (with the subtitle "Approaching Norse Vernacular Categories of Being") at the international conference of the Old Norse Folklorists Network, Sagas, Legends and Trolls: The Supernatural from Early Modern back to Old Norse Tradition, held 12th–14th June 2014 in Tartu, Estonia, and also (with the present subtitle) at the Second International MEWSC Workshop, Indigenous Ontologies: Reassessing Human and Non-Human Relations, held 29th–30th July 2014, Tartu, Estonia.

Categories are fundamental to the ways in which we think. The aim of this paper was to problematize how we think about categories of being through the case of Old Norse culture. It is an investigation of what I refer to as *mythic ethnography*: if ethnography is the scientific study and representation of cultural phenomena that foregrounds the perspective of the group being studied, mythic ethnography is the study of the mythic conceptions and understandings of those groups that structure their perceptions and experiences of both unseen and empirical realities. In the present case, attention to categories of being was centrally concerned with bringing into focus the modern ontologies through which we think and to highlight that categories we easily take for granted may not fully correspond to those of the culture under investigation. The paper considered whether, from the perspective of Old Norse culture, being 'human' was only a matter of degree. Three cases that would fall into different modern categories are briefly reviewed to reflect on this issue: Sámi people (today: human); bears (today: animals); trolls etc. (today: imaginary).

Modern ontologies view Sámi people as human according to a biological definition. Medieval Scandinavian sources present Sámis as people interacting with Norsemen in trade and war; they had sex with Norsemen, intermarried and produced children with them. Sámis interacted with Norsemen in much the same way that different groups of Norsemen did with one another. However, the Sámis were distinguished by having sorcery – more or less Sámi shamanism viewed from a Norse perspective. Shamanism, like other ritual technologies (or modern medicine), functioned in relation to imaginal conceptions of the body and how it worked. This ritual technology was associated with an image schema of the body as having a separable soul, which can be seen reflected in the Scandinavian sources. Clive Tolley (2009) has argued that these representations contrast with Norse cultural conceptions of which a separable soul does not seem to have been an integrated part.[1] This view is paralleled by evidence of later Swedish legends, in which Sámis exhibit separable souls but Swedes (and Finns) do not (af Klintberg 2010: 264–265, types M151–160; cf. Christiansen 1958: 54–56, type 3080).[2] The same is found in Finno-Karelian traditions (Jauhainen 1998: 167–168, types D1031–1040).[3] Thus the Sámis were identified with a different image schema of the body from the groups telling the legends: Sámis were different at an imaginal level – at the mythic level of having a separable soul.

Modern ontologies would class bears as 'animals'. However, bears exhibit a number of similarities to people – they nurse their young sitting up, they can walk upright, cry, and they look like they have a human body when their skin is removed. This animal is attributed a special status in most of Eurasia and associated with traditions of totemic ancestry in a number of cultures (e.g. Janhunen 2003). A bear cult *per se* is not attested in Medieval

Scandinavia and accounts of human–bear transformations will here be left aside as will the problematic question of whether *berserkr* warriors were in any way linked to 'bears'.[4] Nevertheless, the so-called Bear's Son Tale tradition represents bears as capable of lust for, and able to produce offspring with, human women (Panzer 1910; Frog 2014b: 393–394). Bears are also shown in Old Norse sources as capable of social interaction and communication with humans (e.g. *Finnboga saga* 11). Put another way, the bear was attributed with a form of 'personhood' (Ingold 1986: 258). Bears are represented as monstrous and outside of society, yet they seem to be similar to people (cf. outlaws), albeit lacking the capacity for human speech.

Today, we are inclined to see trolls, gods, land spirits and so forth as 'imaginary' beings that, from a scientific viewpoint, do not exist. Classing them as imaginary is, however, hazardous insofar as it suggests that these beings lacked any reality; they might better be described as 'imaginal beings'. The understandings of Sámis and bears are at an *imaginal* level in the sense that understanding extends beyond empirical experience, involving imagination. This imaginal level is constructed through discourse – i.e. people talking about Sámis and bears – but it remains in dialectic with empirical realities: Norsemen encountered Sámis and their societies and at times some of them even witnessed shamanic practices; they also encountered bears as solitary rather than social beings, unable to articulate human language. Trolls differ from these in that they are removed from empirical realities: they are constructed more or less completely through discourse. Such discourse would include others' or one's own interpretation of personal experience (or the causality behind it) as well as others' claims and attributions of encounters and experiences. Trolls and other imaginal beings appear as 'people' with culture, family structures and social order much like Sámis and Norsemen. The frame of reference for fully imaginal beings nevertheless connects with social realities. Thus the representation of trolls in different regions of (pre-modern) Sweden reflect the dominant livelihoods of people telling stories about them: trolls are associated with agricultural practices in the south and herding cattle in the north.[5] Generally speaking, such beings seem only to differ from 'humans' in one or more qualities to varying degrees: they are like Norsemen but stupid, ugly, magical, exceptionally strong, or some combination thereof. They are represented as able to engage in trade, war, sex and marriage with Norsemen as might any human society, but in Old Norse terms this might be considered to qualify them only as *menn* ['men, people'], but not as *mennskir menn* ['humans', lit. 'manly men'] (cf. Lindow 1995).[6] Categories of imaginal beings such as trolls are potentially no less different from Norsemen than the Sámis (who sometimes blur with categories of supernatural being; see Mundal 2000) and can equally be viewed as ethnic groups.

When considering categories of being from the perspective of another culture, our own ontologies may be misleading. The imaginal conceptions addressed here are not simply floating free in a culture: they are connected to formal units of expression that are socially circulated and communicated, and it is through such units that we study them. In other words, these categories are not simply constructed through discourse; they are constructed through conventional patterns of representation in discourse. Nature and culture converge as Sámi cultural practices of shamanism fuse with the image of Sámis having a separable soul; the inarticulate and solitary nature of bears interfaces with the understanding of bears as human-like agents in the world.[7] These categories can be practically approached as *mythic images*; they are imaginal models that provide a basis for understanding. Distinguishing what is empirically 'real' as opposed to 'not real' is not relevant.

The images can be formally differentiated from motifs as different types of meaning-bearing integers or formal units of tradition. I treat an image as a unit equating to the grammatical category of a noun, and I distinguish a motif as a construction incorporating the equivalent of a verb (whether involving change or placing two or more images in a relation). As emphasized above, the images of each group or ethnos are constructed and communicated through

discourse. The distinction between image and motif is relevant because the social construction of the image of an ethnos is constructed through motifs as conventional integers of expression. As a consequence, the image of an ethnos becomes interfaced with predictable behaviours, livelihoods, social structures or whatever aspects of life are conventional to the motifs. Thus trolls in southern Sweden are especially associated with baking and baked goods as well as brewing beer (af Klintberg 2010), whereas Ugnius Mikučionis (2014) has recently highlighted that Old Norse sagas are embedded with information about the family life of dwarves and their feelings of social responsibility in relation to their children in particular. The construction of these imaginal beings is not limited to the beings themselves: it extends to whole societies and cultures. The images of those beings and the societies and cultures characteristic of them are both communicated and investigated through the motifs, narrative patterns and traditional plots with which they are associated.

Notes

1. Tolley structured the scope of his extensive study with a linguistic emphasis concentrating especially on *seiðr*, which left certain descriptions of ritual activity largely unexplored (cf. Tolley 2009 I: 260). Tolley's findings are here regarded as reflecting mainstream discourses within which extant sources were produced rather than a culturally hegemonic model. The question of multiple models co-existing in the culture will not be explored here.
2. An exception to this is the so-called Guntram legend and its relatives (af Klintberg 2010: 299–301, legend types Q1–2 and cf. Q3–4), in which the model of the separable soul is structurally interfaced with the plot and carried with it rather than reflecting common conceptions of the soul *per se* (Frog 2014a: 128n.12). There are otherwise certain legends in which the question of a separable soul may be considered open to interpretation, but it is noteworthy that the legends of supernatural movements of Swedes seem in general to identify the individual as transforming and moving bodily rather than the individual's body remaining elsewhere in an unconscious state.
3. As I have discussed elsewhere, the image schema of a penetrable body without a separable soul became established in Finno-Karelian cultures under especially Germanic influence. This was part of the process of the spread of a new ritual technology that displaced inherited forms of shamanism. (See Frog 2013.)
4. For a critical view on the question of the bear in Scandinavia, see Tolley 2009 I: 559–580.
5. I am thankful to Bengt af Klintberg for pointing this out in the discussion of this paper at "Sagas, Legends and Trolls"; see also Bengt af Klintberg 2010.
6. I am grateful to Ugnius Mikučionis for discussing the category of *mennskir menn* with me following the presentation at "Sagas, Legends and Trolls".
7. Such imaginal constructs are also found in conceptions that view social classes or roles in terms of inherited qualities, like that represented in the eddic poem *Rígsþula*.

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Published Articles

Statistical Methods for Studying Mythology: Three Peer Reviewed Papers and a Short History of the Dragon Motif

Julien d'Huy, Institute of the African World (IMAF), Paris I Sorbonne

The article "Le motif du dragon serait paléolithique, mythologie et archéologie", published in Préhistoire du Sud-Ouest *21(2), 2013, 195–215.*
The article "Mythologie et statistique: Reconstructions, évolution et origines paléolithiques du combat contre le dragon", published in Mythologie Française *256, 2014, pp. 17–23.*
The article "Une méthode simple pour reconstruire une mythologie préhistorique (à propos de serpents mythiques sahariens)", published in Les Cahiers de l'AARS 17, 2014, pp. 95–104.

Today we all know stories about dragons, yet for how long have tales about dragons been told? These three peer-reviewed papers suggest a Palaeolithic origin for the figure of the dragon.

In the paper published in 2013, I investigate the possible relationships between different dragons around the world. In this study, I define a dragon as a serpentine animal associated with water. I look at 23 regions around the planet, focusing on 69 plot variables. Then I control each result by using another, smaller database with 9 areas and 26 plots that were used by Robert Blust (2000) to define the dragon. Following these methods, I was in these works the first to apply both mathematical tools belonging to evolutionary biology (Parsimony consensus tree, Bayesian tree parsimony and NeighborNet) and statistics (principal component analysis, principal coordinate and non-metric multidimensional scaling). I also could present trees and tables that show how the motif may have evolved.

I demonstrate the existence of a historical link between multiple representations of the dragon motif, whose evolution follows some of the great migrations that led to the settlement of the planet. So, by comparing similarities between the area variables, I was able to statistically determine that most of the figures of the dragons existing today around the world ultimately came from the same source. According to the trees, the motif first left Africa and reached the Far East, followed by a version brought to Australia, and another was subsequently diffused into the Americas. Soon after this diffusion, the motif was also diffused around the Mediterranean Sea. A final wave of migration was diffused from the Mediterranean area and could be connected to the Indo-European expansion.

As shown in my paper elsewhere in this volume, phylogenetic and statistical methods could also provide powerful tools to classify groups of motifs based on a common ancestor (which remains hypothetical because language does not fossilize), trace their evolutionary past, and identify borrowings and hybridisation across cultural area. In this case, I statistically reconstructed the *Urform*, first during human migration from Africa and then its spread into Paleolithic Europe. The *Urform* was most probably the following:

> *The dragon is a snake with scales, horns and human hair. It is a guardian of springs or other bodies of water and is capable of flight. It appears where sun and rain are closely interspersed. It is opposed to thunder/light or is connected with them. It causes tornados and floods.*

This reconstruction has been put in comparison with the decapitated snakes discovered in the Palaeolithic caves of Montespan and Tuc d'Audoubert in the French Pyrenees, near two underground rivers. The Paleolithic rock art at Tuc d'Audoubert strikingly depicts dangerous animals (bison, lions) as wounded or headless. As a result, the serpent may have been considered both dangerous and linked with water at this time. Accordingly, it is also noteworthy that one side of a pierced baton found in Montgaudier Cave in southwestern France features an engraving of two snakes (Vialou 2008: 73) while its other side bears

images of at least two seals and a fish (De Nadaillac 1887: 8). Like the seal, the two snakes may also be linked with saline water and may therefore be representations of mythical beings (as European snakes do not live in saline water). The association between two snakes and many fish is found again on the Magdalenian baton of the Magdalene shelter in southwestern France: on one side, two snakes can be seen, and on the other side, one can see two other snakes, with fish, in a stylized design (Breuil & de Saint-Périer 1927: 150). These two images show a link between snakes and water, a link which corroborates the 2013 reconstruction of the motif. Finally, I try to answer the question of why such a motif could stay popular over the millennia, and I propose a neural mechanism, connected with evolution, able to explain the permanence of the pattern through time.

The second paper corroborates the first. In it, I attempt to perform an analysis of the types of dragons (and not mere geographic area) and new elements. Most of the data comes from Joseph Fontenrose's study *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins* (1959), a study of the dragon motif in antiquity. The analysis uses MrBayes, parsimony trees and Neighbornet to show two main clusters for the motif. The first cluster includes Amerindian, North African, Basque, Hittite and Mesopotamian dragons, which would correspond to the migration from the Far East both to the Americas and to the Mediterranean area. The second includes most of the Indo-European versions and would correspond to a later (probably Indo-European) expansion. The invention of the narrative of the fight against the dragon may go back to the Asian stage of the evolution of the motif and from there spread until Europe and the Americas. Moreover, I reconstruct the *Urform* of this type of tale at many steps of its evolution: proto-myth → European proto-myth → Indo-European proto-myth.

Finally, in the third paper, I perform new calculations involving the 2013 database. Seriation shows the closeness between the migration of the motif into Australia and into the Americas, probably occurring within a short timeframe, and the following evolution of the motif:

Africa → Far-East →
- → Australia and the Americas
- → Eurasia and North Africa

A cluster-analysis with the software Structure yields the following reconstruction:

Africa → Far-East →
- → Australia and Mesoamerica
- → remaining Americas, Mediterranean area, Basque, Greek & Indo-Iranian
- → Celtic, Germanic & Slavic area

In addition, I show in this paper that the phylogenetic reconstruction of the proto-form of the dragon presented in the 2013 paper is corroborated by many rock art finds around the world, especially those depicting horned snakes connected with water. In each instance, there are even today similar stories about snakes with a mammalian (and, in most cases, a horned) head, which inhabit permanent waterholes and can often provoke floods. These beings are always connected with rain, storm, thunder and lightning. In all cases they can fly or live in the sky. In most cases, there is an identified connection between the shape of a rainbow and the shape of the snake. The beings can take the form of a human and mainly attack women. They are also associated with crystal. Each of these elements is shared by most cultural areas of the rock art images studied. The number of similar correlated elements for each area is unlikely to establish polygenesis (or convergent evolution) and corroborates our phylogenetic reconstruction.

Included with these three publications are three datasets with three pre-selections of data and terms. A variety of methods were used, all of which yield more or less the same results! Moreover, archaeological data tends to corroborate the results involving mathematical analysis. Therefore, the conclusions seem very robust and ready for further testing.

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Books

Fibula, Fabula, Fact – The Viking Age in Finland

Joonas Ahola, Frog, University of Helsinki, and Clive Tolley, University of Turku

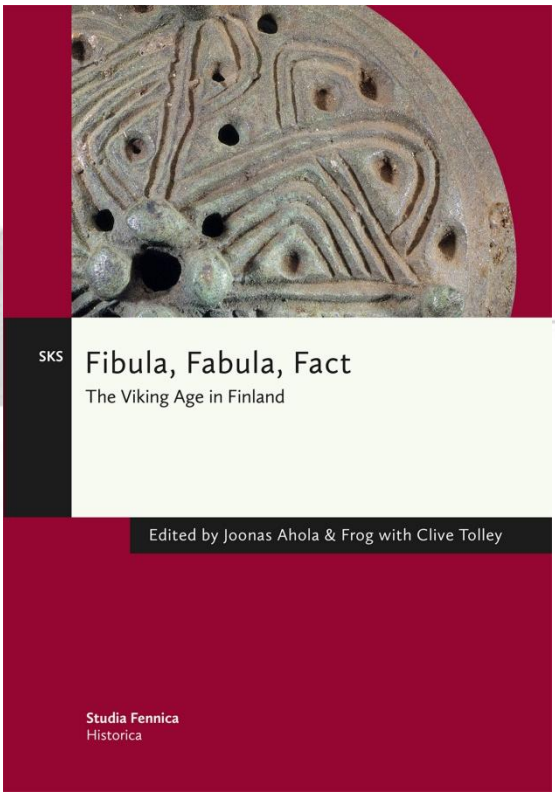
A collection of scientific articles edited by Joonas Ahola & Frog with Clive Tolley published as volume 18 in the series Studia Fennica Historica by the Finnish Literature Society (SKS) (Helsinki 2014, 516 pages).

The Viking Age is a term used to refer to a period of history in Northern Europe in the Late Iron Age. This period is often defined as roughly 800–1050 AD and was characterized by the mobility and expansion of Germanic populations from Scandinavia. In spite of the several multidisciplinary volumes that have been produced on the Viking Age in the past few decades, Finland has been left largely outside of these discourses whereas extensive research has been done on the cultural and historical significance of this period for Germanic cultures of Scandinavia and for other cultures to the west.

The chapters of *Fibula, Fabula, Fact – The Viking Age in Finland* are intended to provide essential foundations for approaching the Viking Age in Finland. This means re-evaluating many fundamental concepts and commonplaces that have been connected to the topic. This volume is oriented to provide introductions to the sources, methods and perspectives of diverse disciplines so that these resources and the history of discourse from which they emerge are accessible to specialists from other fields, specialists from outside Finland, and also to non-specialist readers and students.

Background

The chapters of the book are based on the discussions in two multidisciplinary seminars held at the University of Helsinki. These seminars were organized by the project “Viikinkiaika Suomessa – the Viking Age in Finland”. The aim of this project was – and still is – to promote the development of as holistic and multifaceted an image as possible of the circumstances that prevailed in Finland and the adjacent areas during the Viking Age. This is done by bringing the insights of different disciplines into a discourse that enables the recognition of intersections of their research and the development of shared terms and concepts with which to inspect them.



Introducing current perspectives into an extensively multidisciplinary discussion

environment situates every discipline's data in new light, generating innovative new perspectives and new understandings that lead to new knowledge. These discussions open new research questions and provide foundations for further investigations that are fully interdisciplinary in nature. Perhaps the most significant overall outcome of these discussions was the general consensus that every discipline was dependent on others in order to appropriately contextualize its data. Interdisciplinary discussion and networking was therefore recognized as essential for progress in this area of research and the chapters brought together in *Fibula, Fabula, Fact* are a concrete product of such interdisciplinary discussions. As a totality, they help to contextualize the results in individual disciplines within a wider multidisciplinary frame.

Organization

Two intersecting areas of discussion were introduced already in the title of the "Viking Age in Finland" project. The first is the 'Viking Age' as a period of time and accordingly *Time* is the opening thematic section of the volume. The second area is 'Finland', a term which is notably anachronistic when talking about the Viking Age but nonetheless presents a recognizable designation for the relevant territories under scrutiny. The second thematic section of the volume is thus *Space*. These two sides of investigation are invariably concerned with inhabitants of these territories during this period. The third section of the volume is thus *People*. Each section offers introductions to material from different disciplines allowing the reader to consider the many facets of these broad thematic areas from multiple, complementary perspectives.

The three sections within which individual articles have been organized are preceded by a general introduction that offers a broad overview and synthesis of perspectives developed through the project. This introduction is intended to provide the reader with a broad frame of reference for considering individual contributions as well as for future investigations. The three sections of the volume are also followed by an

afterward that brings together some of the various strands that have linked the chapters through the course of the volume.

Time

The six chapters organized in the section *Time* provide necessary perspectives on how this period and its relevance emerge from the perspective of different disciplines. These chapters offer broad introductory discussions addressing languages and linguistics, archaeology and also ceoncerning academic discourse surrounding the Viking Age in historiography. A view from palaeo-climatology situates the Viking Age in relation to preceding and later periods while a view from numismatics (the study of coins) allows cultures of Finland to be situated in relation to the economy of the *austrvegr* or 'Eastern Route', which has been considered characteristic of the Viking Age.

These chapters simultaneously reveal the relevance of the Viking Age both to the contemporary inhabitants of the relevant territories and as a tool and resource in discourses of later periods. They simultaneously show that this period can be extremely elusive from the perspective of any one discipline and expose how, as a period in the history of this part of the world, the Viking Age can be – and has been – interpreted in various ways according to the point of view, context of discourse, and nature of the evidence on which the interpretation is based. The frames of reference provided by these chapters are then subsequently engaged and explored from additional perspectives in later parts of the volume.

Space

In international research, the territories of Finland and Karelia are often viewed merely as a periphery or even as a staging point along the eastern route of Scandinavian Viking trade. At worst, these territories are reduced to an uninhabited wilderness or considered only inhabited along a narrow stretch of southern coastline of Finland (although somewhat ironically the southern coast seems to have been without permenant settlements). The seven chapters constituting the section *Space* offer diverse perspectives on the problems of relevant to the construction space associated with Finno-Karelian areas of habitation. They illustrate that a strictly delimited geographical space will not necessarily provide a relevant frame for observation and demonstrate how such constructions and conceptualizations are dependent on perspectives.

Within this section of the volume, the groups inhabiting these areas are discussed in terms of 'reach' and 'supra-local consciousness' and their polities and networks are considered from a geopolitical perspective. The historical circumstances of different spaces are revealed through traces of human activity. Archaeological evidence of the little-studied areas of Northern Finland are reviewed as is evidence of the so-called 'Bjarmians' of 'Bjarmaland' on the White Sea. Evidence of place names for insights into earlier language groups and their spread in Finland and Karelia are introduced as is the potential of palaeobotanical evidence to offer insight into local cultures and their subsistence strategies.

The chapters highlight that it is not easy to divide space into periodical cultural or language areas on the basis of these traces alone. The dynamics between cultural centers and peripheries are shown to depend on other, temporally bounded factors such as mobility and established patterns of intercultural relations. Together, the contributions of this section demonstrate that problematizing the fundamental and intuitively obvious dimension of space is fruitful and necessary when constructing an image of Viking Age Finland and its spatial reaches.

People

Every discussion of the Viking Age is implicitly anthropocentric: as a historical period, the Viking Age is relevant and defined in terms of people who inhabited it. The transitions that took place in that period had a transformative affect on the populations that lived during that time. The distribution of linguistic or cultural groups was radically altered in combination with remarkable changes in conceptual models of the world, mythologies and social practices, not least among which was the early arrival of Christianity. The Viking Age marked the beginning of developments that would eventually lead to the distribution of languages and cultures that have become recognizable to us today.

The chapters of the third section, *People*, illustrate how linguistic, poetic and material expression bear traces of lively intercultural contacts and exchange. These discussions return to the problems of constructing images of the Viking Age through academic discourse, which is challenging if not impossible to completely disentangle from contemporary political and ideological discourses. The potential and problematics of genetic research is introduced, while most chapters turn attention to aspects of culture, looking at language, contacts, epic and religion. Despite the relative homogeneity and distinctiveness of individual cultures that have been addressed through these many complementary studies, the cultural heterogeneity of the area under discussion becomes obvious in this section. It is certain that there were people during the imprecise period of history called the 'Viking Age' in this vaguely definable area called 'Finland', but who exactly those people were and how precisely they relate to the cultures and populations we recognize in our modern-day surroundings, is another, more intriguing question.

Perspectives and Future Directions

The Viking Age was a significant period within Finnish history. This period was the threshold of so-called prehistory and history (as the era when written evidence begins). It was a period of transition in many ways. The

history that followed was marked by the changes of that era, which becomes observable in retrospect even if the significance and future consequences of the period could not even be imagined at that time. Moreover, it was during the Viking Age that key cultural areas of Finland, and partially also of adjacent areas, evolved. These cultural areas have, for example, affected how political borders have been drawn in the following centuries. It is the comprehensive image of the Viking Age in Finland that enables positioning the territory and cultures of Finland and adjacent areas within the picture of Europe in this period and may contribute to its understanding. As the chapters of this volume make clear, the Viking Age stands out as a pivotal era of transition in the history of Finland and Karelia.

Fibula, Fabula, Fact is, however, not intended as a conclusive work of definitive anwers. Instead, it should be viewed as a beginning, an introduction to the topic that has drawn together a variety of perspectives in order to provide a solid foundation for truly interdisciplinary discussion. The views presented are intended to open rather than close discussion and they have been put forward to enable that discussion. Those views can now be considered from additional perspectives and further refined. They can also be taken up in an international context of discussions of the Viking Age and the history of Northern Europe. In addition, they provide a platform for future explorations in the multitude of phenomena warranting attention in the Viking Age in Finland.

For more information, please visit the publisher's website at: https://kirjat.finlit.fi/index.php?lang=1.

Rituals of Death and Dying in Modern and Ancient Greece: Writing History from a Female Perspective

Evy Johanne Håland, National and Kapodistiran University of Athens

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Multidisciplinary or post-disciplinary research is what is needed when we are dealing with such complex subjects as ritual behaviour. This research therefore combines ethnography with historical sources to examine the relationship between modern Greek death rituals and ancient written and visual sources on the subject of death and gender.

The central theme of this work is women's role in connection with the cult of the dead in ancient and modern Greece. The research is based on studies in ancient history combined with the author's fieldwork and anthropological analysis of today's Mediterranean societies. Since death rituals have a focal and lasting importance, and reflect the gender relations within a society, the institutions surrounding death may function as a critical vantage point from which to view society. The comparison is based on certain religious festivals that are dedicated to deceased persons and on other death rituals. Using laments, burials and the ensuing memorial rituals, the relationship between the cult dedicated to deceased mediators in both ancient and modern society is analysed. The research shows how the official ideological rituals are influenced by

Photo 1. Memorial service performed for a deceased person with offerings of food at the tomb on the second of the three psychosabbata (plural of psychosabbato, psychē=soul, sabbato=Saturday), i.e. All Souls' Day, during Carnival and Lent, at the end of the winter. Serres (Greek Macedonia), 7 March 1992. © Evy Johanne Håland.

Photo 2. Sarcophagus of Mourning Women. Pentelic marble, mid-4th century BCE, Royal Necropolis of Sidon, Chamber no. 1 (inv. no. 368 T. Cat. Mendel 10). © Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.

the domestic rituals people perform for their own dead, and vice versa, that the modern domestic rituals simultaneously reflect the public performances. As this cult has many parallels with the ancient official cult, the following questions are central: Can an analysis of modern public and domestic rituals in combination with ancient sources tell us more about the ancient death cult as a whole? What can such an analysis tell us about the relationship between the domestic death cult and the official? Since the practical performance of the domestic rituals was—and still remains—in the hands of women, it is crucial to discover the extent of their influence to elucidate the real power relations between women and men. This research makes a new contribution to earlier presentations of the Greek "reality", but mainly from the female perspective, which is highly significant since men produced most of the ancient sources.

This means that the principal objective for the endeavour is to question the ways in which history has been written through the ages, to supplement the male with a female perspective, perhaps complementing an Olympian Zeus with a Chthonic Mother Earth. The research aims to bring ancient and modern worlds into mutual illumination; its relevance therefore transcends the Greek context both in time and space.

For more information, please visit the publisher's website at: http://www.cambridgescholars.com/search?Q=h%C3%A5land&As=true&As=false&Mid=0&Sid=true&Sid=false.

Folklore in Old Norse – Old Norse in Folklore

Daniel Sävborg, University of Tartu, and Karen Bek-Pedersen, University of Southern Denmark

A collection of scientific articles edited by Daniel Sävborg and Karen Bek-Pedersen as volume 20 in the series Nordistica Tartuensia by the University of Tartu (Tartu 2014).

During the 20th century, Old Norse philology has been strongly textually oriented. This is especially evident in saga scholarship, where the book-prose ideology of the "Icelandic School" turned the issue of the origin of individual sagas into an issue of direct influences from other written works. This focus has had methodological advantages by reducing the scope for unwarranted assumptions and speculative reconstruction. But it has also meant that equally valuable folkloristic knowledge and methods have been neglected. Now a volume has been published which targets the advantages, the problems and the methods of using folklore material and theory in Old Norse scholarship: *Folklore in Old Norse – Old Norse in Folklore*.

An important theme in folklore is the encounter with the supernatural and such stories are indeed common in saga literature generally. Since, however, the sagas of Icelanders are famous for their 'realism', scholars have tended to focus on elements that fit this view, including valuable studies on feuds and the social structure of the sagas. This attention has left much less room for encounters with otherworldly beings. Four of the contributions in the present volume specifically examine one of the sagas of Icelanders which deals most consistently with supernatural beings, namely *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*. In these articles, the supernatural themes in the saga are discussed by means of several approaches, some folkloristic, some traditionally philological.

The volume consists of nine articles. Daniel Sävborg and Karen Bek-Pedersen introduce the volume in "Folklore in Old Norse – Old Norse in Folklore: Introduction". Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir offers an insightful discussion in "The Other World in the *Fornaldarsögur* and in Folklore". Vital topics are then addressed by Stephen A. Mitchell in "Continuity: Folklore's Problem Child?" and by Thomas A. DuBois in "Anatomy of the Elite: 'Learned' vs. 'Folk' in the Analysis of Avowedly Pre-Christian Religious Elements in the Sagas". Karen Bek-Pedersen presents old problems in a stimulating new metaphorical light in "Reconstruction: On Crabs, Folklore and the History of Religion". Annette Lassen then turns concentrated attention to *Bárðar saga* as a major theme of the collection in "The Old Norse Contextuality of *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*: A Synoptic Reading with *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*". Camilla Asplund Ingemark carries this theme forward in "The Trolls in *Bárðar saga*: Playing with the Conventions of Oral Texts?", which is further complemented by Ralph O'Connor's important treatment in "*Bárðar saga* between Orality and Literacy". The volume closes with Eldar Heide's "*Bárðar saga* as a Source for Reconstruction of Pre-Christian Religion?".

The volume is available for order from the publisher's website at: http://www.flgr.ut.ee/et/osakonnad/telliorderbestall.

PhD Projects

Концепт мироздания в карельских эпических песнях – The Concept of the World Creation in Karelian Epic Songs

Maria Kundozerova, Institute of Language, Literature and History, Karelian Research Center, RAS

Thesis defended for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Folkloristics at the Department of Literature and Folklore, Institute of Language, Literature and History, Karelian Research Center, Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS), Petrozavodsk, Republic of Karelia, Russian Federation, on 18th November 2013. Published summary: M.B. Кундозерова, Концепт мироздания в карельских эпических песнях: Автореферат диссертации на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. *Петрозаводск, 2013 (22 pages).*
Supervisor: Neonila Artemovna Krinichnaja (Institute of Language, Literature and History, Karelian Research Center, RAS).
Opponents: Tatjana Grigorjevna Vladykina, Udmurt Institute of History, Language and Literature, Uralic Branch, RAS, and Elina Gansovna Rahimova, A.M. Gorky Institute of World Literature, RAS.

Karelian epic songs and incantations in the Kalevala-meter[1] have since ancient times[2] until quite recently borne the reminiscences of mythological ideas about the creation of the world and its organization. These poems are here collectively referred to as 'runosongs' (*runo* being the modern term in Karelian and Finnish research for referring to poems of this type). These cosmological concepts are the core of cosmogonic myths, which, in turn, lie behind the plots of Karelian runosongs, occupying the central or peripheral position in texts where plots have been varied and combined.

The interest and relevance of this study arises from the lack of specialized or summarizing studies on Karelian cosmogony in Russian folklore studies, as well as from the growing interest in the mythologem of the World Tree. This thesis represents the first time in the history of Karelian folklore studies that the set of cosmogonic plots formed in this tradition has been investigated as a distinct cycle, which includes models of creation linked to both ornithomorphic and anthropomorphic beings. The study was based on the entire body of material gathered over two centuries. Textological analysis was

carried out on the complete set of variants of individual plots. The mythological sources, the polysemy of the images and interconnections that had not previously been specifically addressed were identified.

The objective of the study is to identify the mythological sources and the semantics of the plots and motifs found in the cycle of thematically cosmogonic Karelian runosongs. These are runosongs containing the plots known as the World-Creation, the Origin of the Island, the Forging of the Sky, the Singing Competition, the Great Oak, and also including the Girls from Viena, spells against colic/lumbago and against magic shot (*pistos*) as well as the Origin of Magic Shot. It should be noted that plots as discussed here may occur as independent songs, as parts of songs or as a narrative portion of an incantation.

Methodology and Materials

The theoretical dimension of the study is based on a number of papers by Russian and Finnish folklorists. These are, first of all, the fundamental monographs of E.M. Meletinsky, V.Ya. Propp, B.N. Putilov, V.N. Toporov, and N.A. Krinichnaya. Various aspects of Karelian epic poetry have been covered by V.Ya. Evseev, E.G. Karhu, E.S. Kiuru, A.S. Stepanova, V.P. Mironova, and E.G. Rahimova. The also study relies on over two centuries worth of research on the Karelo-Finnic (or Finnic in a broader sense) epic in Finnish folkloristics. These include seminal works by J. Krohn, K. Krohn, E.N. Setälä, U. Harva, M. Haavio, M. Kuusi, A.-L. Siikala, L. Harvilahti, L. Tarkka, and Frog. These scholars have, at different times and from different angles, considered the poetry in the Kalevala-meter, including the plots of interest here.

The primary methodological approach in the study is the textological analysis of folklore materials. Historical-comparative, historical-typological, and structural-typological methods are employed. The latter suggests that the typology of components in question is determined by comparing them through the analysis of all runosong variants. With this approach, one can study folklore phenomena not only at the synchronic but also at the diachronic level. Other approaches used in the thesis are the linguistic, ethnographic, system description methods and elements of complex analysis.

The material for the study is 385 texts of epic and 68 texts of kalevalaic incantations with narrative material related to the plots in question. The variants were retrieved from various published sources,[3] as well as from archives.[4] By the time the study was carried out, real-life usage of runosongs with the plots in question was no longer to be witnessed.

Table 1. Number of variants of runosongs used in this study.

Region	**# of variants**
Viena	245
Olonets	37
Ladoga	171
Total	453

Geographically, the material falls into three conventional regions: texts recorded from the Viena/White Sea Karelia (the northern region), texts recorded in Olonets/Aunus Karelia (the southern region), and those recorded in Ladoga Karelia. Owing to this division, one can also distinguish the most characteristic, specifically local features of each of the named traditions, although this has so far been beyond the scope of the study. The chronological limits of the set of plots are drawn by the material itself. The earliest of the texts now available to the author were recorded in 1820. These are variants of the epic Singing Competition and the epic narrative introducing an incantation against colic. The most recent text in this study is a lyric-epic runosong of the Great Oak recorded in 1997.

Analysis of the material has highlighted the qualitative and quantitative heterogeneity of the epic and incantation heritage from different parts of Karelia. This heterogeneity necessitated a differentiation between three regional traditions: those of Viena, Olonets and Ladoga.

Quantitative heterogeneity stems from the uneven intensity of folklore collection from the areas in different periods. The most poorly represented in this study among these regional traditions is the Olonets tradition, as shown in Table 1.

At the time when the region was surveyed by Finnish collectors, the Olonets territory was considered song-free; the collectors turned attention elsewhere and the traditions of this region remained the least studied. Records made by Karelian folklore researchers in the second half of the 20th century contain far fewer cosmogonic plots and themes. The gradual decline of the runosinging tradition has 'weathered' many mythological plots and themes out of later recorded runosong texts.

Qualitative heterogeneity appears in the different usage patterns of runosongs in the plots in question. A runosong about the creation of the world from an egg among Viena Karelians was included in the epic cycle about the creation and theft of the mysterious, mythic object called *sampo*, whereas among Olonets and Ladoga Karelians, the same plot was found as a separate song. There was a runosong in the Ladoga area telling about an island born from an egg laid on a ship and that subsequently dropped off the ship into the depths of the sea. The theme of Väinämöinen shaping the seabed is found only in the Viena tradition in runosongs of the Sampo-Cycle. The plot of the mythic smith Ilmarinen forging the sky is mainly included in texts where material from plots has been transposed, presenting only a small fragment about creation of the sky or reference to that event. In the Olonets tradition, where the blacksmith character was the most prominent, only a hint of this feat has been preserved, referenced in the hero's regular epithet – 'forger of divine iron'. Every runo singing group had in their repertoire a version of the Singing Competition runosong as well as a version of the Great Oak. Epic and incantation runosongs render different versions of the image of the great oak image that existed simultaneously; this was especially vivid in the Viena Karelian runosinging tradition, and less so among Olonets and Ladoga Karelians.

Context in the History of Research

In the history of research, it appears that no folklorists in Russia have specifically studied the plots of the World-Creation, the Forging of the Sky, the Singing Competition, and the Great Oak plots in Karelian runosongs. V.M. Žirmunskij (1962: 330–372) E.M. Meletinskij (1963: 95–156), E.G. Karhu (1994), and E.S. Kiuru (2001) did mention these plots in their works, but they did not study them *per se*. Some of the plots in question have been touched upon by the founder of Karelian epic studies in Russian scholarship, V.Ya. Evseev (1957: 112–125). The aims of Evseev were however very different from the present study: he sought to consider the traits of the ancient material that could offer insight into the spiritual culture, occupations and social organization of the culture in their primitive communities. However, when volumes of Karelian collected epic poetry were compiled, the plots were commentated.[5] The comments largely relied on studies by Finnish researchers. Karelian – or *sensu lato* Karelo-Finnish – cosmogonic plots, including that of the Great Oak, have been mentioned by Russian researchers in a number of comparative papers on Finno-Ugric and world mythologies.[6]

The greatest contribution to the study of plots in the Karelo-Finnish and more broadly Finnic epic poetry has been made by Finnish researchers, beginning especially with Julius and Kaarle Krohn, the founders of the so-called Finnish School of folklore studies. The dominance of the Historical-Geographic Method developed by the Finnish School for a long time set the guidelines for the study of folk poetry. Quite a number of prominent Finnish researchers have approached the plots from various angles. They seek to trace the potential paths of plots' migration and to identify the time of their emergence; they explore global and biblical parallels, the genesis of images, their historical roots and conflation with one another; they study the contexts of the images but have only addressed their semantics erratically. At the same time, the key problem of primary relevance for this study (identification of the mythological sources and semantics of the images and mixing of the cosmogonic cycle in runosongs) long remained in the shade, or was only a part of the context of other problems studied. The comparativist and the anthropological approaches now prevail in modern Finnish folklore studies investigating

poetry of the Kalevala-meter. Thus, in Russian folkloristics, this study is the first study focused on cosmogonic plots of Karelian epic and involving all variants of the runosongs associated with the given plots.

Findings

Karelian runosongs have preserved ideas about the genesis of parts of the universe that reflect the worldview systems pertinent to different historical periods. Apparently, the most archaic motif is that of world creation from an egg (a zoomorphic model of the Universe) laid by a demiurge waterfowl onto the knee of the demiurge Väinämöinen, perceived in the plot as the first man (the proto-being), as he drifts on the primal waters,. A successive linkage to the theme of the world creation from an egg is seen in the widespread motif of the formation of the earth from the mud lifted by a bird from the bottom of the ocean. Rudiments of this motif are also present in Karelian runosongs. The Karelian runosong about the emergence of the universe out of an egg also features some typological similarities to the biblical world creation plot, but nevertheless belongs to an archaic stage that antedates contacts with Christianity.

Karelian mythology includes a theme of the first man emerging through involvement of three elements (earth, water, and air), as well as a theme in which parts of the universe are born from the first man's body. These appear in the episode of Väinämöinen shaping the contours of the sea and sea floor. This anthropomorphized model of the cosmos is the product of a later period in the myth of creation (compared to the zoomorphic model). The myth of world creation by an anthropomorphic demiurge also echoes in the Singing Competition. In the latter runosong, the heroes match their knowledge against one another culminating in claims of their personal contribution to the creation of the world. Finally, the concept of the Forging of the Sky, its constellations and stars by an anthropomorphic demiurge, the mythic smith Ilmarinen, appears to be the youngest of these cosmogonic plots.

Karelian runosongs show the traits of a vertical, two- or three-tiered world model. It is structurally built upon the image of the Great Oak, which is a central image of Karelian mythology, appearing here and there in runosongs with different plots. This image was perceived as a *Tree of Life* or a *World Tree* that connects worlds. The Great Oak plot in Karelian runosongs existed in different versions, and these different versions mixed both with one another and with other plots. The Great Oak runosong was also performed in the ritual context of healing colic/lumbago in people or animals. An oak tree that grows to reach the sky is found in epic, lyric-epic, incantation runosongs, as well as in cumulative songs for children.

The substances from which the oak grows and its locations vary among runosongs. The episode with the description of the great oak that reaches the sky and blocks the light of celestial bodies is nearly invariable throughout the plot's range of usage. The meaning of the three-tiered vertical division of the oak tree is disclosed in the plot about Seeking for Timber for a Boat, which is has become intertwined with the Great Oak plot. These details, as well as the uses and functions of the Great Oak, suggest that these runosongs portrayed the idea held by the Karelian people that there was a World Tree binding together the layers of the universe and having the functions of the Tree of Life. However, the Great Oak, the symbol of the world's structure and vertical partitioning, the cornerstone of universal wellbeing, will gradually lose its beneficial functions. The tree begins to symbolize a threat to the world order, and therefore has to be felled. This is an eschatological motif in the Karelian epic, which has wide parallels globally. To be fair, however, one must say that the oak is not always felled completely – sometimes only a splinter is cut off. In one of the versions, even after the tree had been cut and positioned across the River of Tuoni ['Death'], the tree still connects the worlds – this world and the other world. All these ideas were combined in the great oak image in Karelian runosongs, which have grown somewhat less strictly differentiated with time. The ambivalence that I found in the great oak image in Karelian runosongs has, with all due respect, created ground for some polemic in the work of those researchers who tend to ignore the

mythological connotations of the oak tree image and its association with the World Tree concept (see Березкин 2012; Напольских 2012).

In conclusion, it may be said that further research into the mythologems of Karelian epic appears to be a matter of high interest and demand in epic studies in Russia. This study's major statements and conclusions can help promote further theoretical investigation of the mythological sources of the epic and of other Karelian oral folklore genres. It can also be of use for comparative studies of the mythologies of Finnic and *sensu lato* Finno-Ugric cultures, as well as the mythologies of all the world's cultures, for the compilation of indexes of world plots, themes, etc. The materials and conclusions from this study can be used to prepare a course of lectures on Karelian-Finnish folklore, or in cultural education.

Notes

1. Owing to the ancient syncretism of genres in the Kalevala-meter, similar cosmogonic plots and themes occur in epic and incantation poetry. It is on this ground that charms, or epic-incantatory runosongs, are also involved in the study.
2. The emergence of the Kalevala-meter, which was the form for various genres of Finnic folklore, and especially for epic folklore, is dated to the 1st millennium CE.
3. SKVR $I_{1–4}$, II, $VII_{1–5}$, КС, КЭП, КФНЭ, АКЕР, KKR; additional volumes of collected folklore used also include Киуру & Лавонен 1985; Лавонен 1989; Степанова 2000; Киуру 2001.
4. The Audio Record Archives of the Institute of Language, Literature and History of the Karelian Research Center, RAS (7 variants of the Great Oak runosong); Scientific Archives of the Karelian Research Center, RAS (6 variants of the Great Oak runosong); Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (8 variants of the World-Creation plot; 8 of the Great Oak plot; one sample of an audio record of the Great Oak runosong was found on the website of the Juminkeko Information Center for the Kalevala and Karelian Culture (original stored in the center's archives).
5. See e.g. КЭП, pp. 480–481, 501; КФНЭ II, pp. 448–451, 456–459; Киуру 1990: 174–177, 183–184; Киуру & Лавонен 1985: 231–233, 235, 242–243.
6. Петрухин & Хелимский 1980–1982; Айхенвальд et al. 1982: 163–166; Напольских 1992; Лимеров 2002; Юрченкова 2009: 54–61, 142–174; Напольских 2012; Березкин 2012; etc.

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Registers of Seesjärvi Karelian Lamenters: Research on the Uses, Themes and Conceptions of Lamentation

Eila Stepanova, University of Helsinki

Thesis defended for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Helsinki, Finland, Department of Folklore Studies on 18th October 2014.
Supervisors: Academician Anna-Leena Siikala (University of Helsinki), Professor Emerita Aili Nenola (University of Helsinki) and Professor Lotte Tarkka (University of Helsinki).
Opponent: Adjunct Professor Lauri Harvilahti (Finnish Literature Society).

This thesis concentrates on the lament genre of Karelian oral poetry and its distinctive speech registers. The study focuses on the Seesjärvi region, with a corpus of 446 documented laments from 58 lamenters. One of these laments was recorded in 1871, while the rest were recorded during the period of 1937–2007. The approach to this topic differs from previous research in two significant ways. First, emphasis is placed on the lamenters who used this poetry, how the lamenters understood it and how they used the poetry both socially and individually. Second, the study employs a theoretical and analytical framework that was not used in earlier research. This framework makes it possible to look closely at the use of lament by individual lamenters in practice and also at the genre and its speech register's potential to produce and communicate meanings as well as knowledge and understandings about the mythic world. This is done by triangulating three interrelated aspects of the tradition and their uses in practice. These are the *lament register*, which is made up of the language, grammar, poetics and performance features of the genre; the *lament themes and compositional structures*, or the traditional elements of content that are represented and communicated through the register and how these elements are organized; and the *mythic conceptions* of laments, which are forms of knowledge and understanding of the unseen that are actualized and communicated through lament performance. The analysis of these three interconnected aspects of the tradition makes it possible to discuss how individual lamenters use, adapt, innovate and interpret

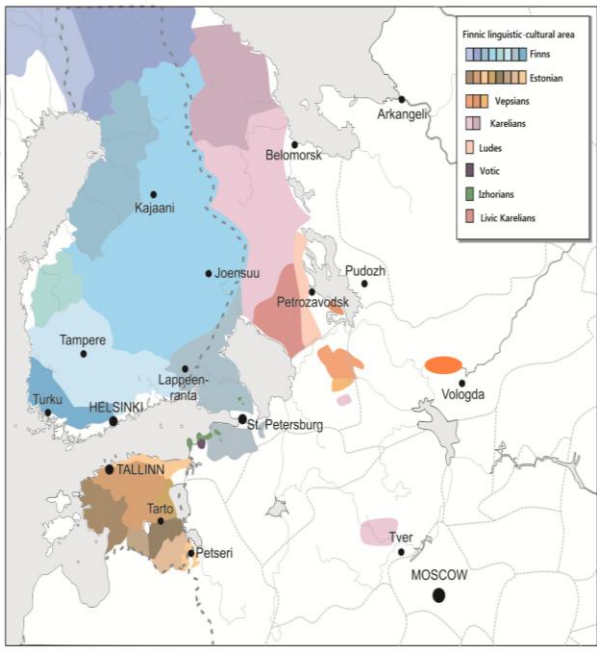
the tradition to achieve meaningful expressions and communications, and to discuss how lament was perceived in society more generally. The overview of the thesis offered here introduces the topic and the thematic progression of the discussion and analysis. Rather than organizing this overview as a series of abstracts of individual chapters, certain chapter divisions have been smoothed over in order not to distract from the coherence of the argument.

Laments of Seesjärvi Karelia

Laments can be defined as sung poetry of varying degrees of improvisation, which nonetheless follows conventionalized rules of traditional verbal and non-verbal expression, most often performed by women in ritual contexts and potentially also on non-ritual grievous occasions. Karelian laments are here approached as women's sung improvised poetry with its own conventional organizational restrictions. Laments were performed in funerary rituals, where it was believed that laments were necessary for the deceased to successfully make the journey to the otherworld and become integrated into the community of ancestors. They were also performed ritually on other special occasions for the dead, e.g. at the graveyard, as well as at other major rituals of separation – weddings and ceremonies for young men conscripted into military service (from which they would not return for years, if at all). The register of laments was above all a medium for communication: it was a special language which was the only language that the dead could understand. More generally, however, lament was a resource that could be used for grievous expression in non-ritual contexts, and in some situations lament could also be used as an elevated speech register for expressing respect and esteem, such as when lamenters wished to express thanks to folklorists.

The Finnic lament tradition includes Karelian, Ižorian, Votic, Vepsian and Seto laments. These regional lament traditions all share certain pan-regional features of verbal and non-verbal expression (or organizational restrictions of speech and other behaviours common to lament performances across the region), while exhibiting variation in other features that indexically differentiate the context, setting or locale of each individual performance. It is important to point out that Finnic linguistic-cultural groups were not isolated, but rather have a long history of contact with each other as well as with the Russian, Baltic and Sámi peoples. These inter-group encounters have played an important role in shaping the oral traditions of this large, multi-cultural area, and not least in shaping traditional lament poetry. (See Stepanova 2011.)

Karelia is a territory situated on both sides of the Finnish-Russian border, extending from the Gulf of Finland to the White Sea. This large area is now populated by multiple ethnic groups, including Finns, Russians, Ukrainians and Karelians. Until around the 1930s, the majority population was Karelian, with their own distinctive language, culture and ethnic identity. Today, however, Karelians have been largely assimilated into Russian and Finnish cultures. They are now a minority in the Republic of Karelia of the Russian Federation as well as in Finland. The Karelians are a Finnic linguistic-cultural group closely related to Finns, Ižorians and Vepsians, and more distantly to Estonians, Votes and Setos. Karelian laments belong to the broader Finnic lament tradition preserved primarily among Orthodox populations in the Russian Federation and in Estonia.



Map 1. Finnic language areas.

The Karelian lament tradition divides geographically into four large regions as illustrated in Map 1. From north to south, the first three regions are Viena Karelian, Seesjärvi Karelian and Aunus Karelian. The fourth region, Tver Karelian, was established in the vicinity of Moscow by seventeenth-century immigrant communities. However, the distribution of these areas does not fully correspond to the borders of Karelian dialect areas. The tradition areas of Viena Karelian

and Aunus Karelian are clearly differentiated from one another. The Seesjärvi region has historically received less attention from folklorists. Early collectors did not find genres of Kalevala-meter poetry such as epic there and turned their attention elsewhere from the outset. This region's history of settlement and cultural contacts have also made it distinct. In addition to its own specific features, it exhibits elements of Viena Karelian as well as from Livvi Karelian and Ludic Ludic Karelian (both of the Aunus region) and also from North Russian traditions. Although the Seesjärvi lament tradition is unquestionably part of the broader tradition of Karelian laments, this combination of features makes it unique.

The Register of Karelian Lament

Oral poetry can be approached as *poetically organized discourse*, a type of discourse in which speech acquires certain constraints on formal organization through "meter, rhythm, morphosyntactic parallelism, assonance or other procedures" (Banti & Giannattasio 2004: 315). The influence of scholarship in Oral-Formulaic Theory has led to an understanding of oral poetry as having a lexicon not simply of 'words' in the sense of modern dictionary entries, but also of conventional formulas or groups or sequences of words that have taken shape in relation to the poetic system, in which they act as whole units of meaning. A complex unit of utterance like this can be described as a 'word' by performers, as is also done by Karelian lamenters, and John Miles Foley (2002: 109–117) refers to these as 'words' of the poetry. These poetic 'words' can be assumed to have an exclusive entry in the mental lexicon of performers (Wray 2002; 2009). Oral-Formulaic Theory has also led to a recognition that oral poetry varies in every performance and in many traditions is situationally 'composed' in performance. This accurately describes Karelian laments, which were not learned by heart, but rather were created anew in each concrete situation: there are no fixed texts of laments, and different lamenters will give different performances in equivalent situations, and the same lamenter will give different performances on every occasion. However, all lamenters follow a conventionalized traditional register. Thus each lament exhibits features that index its membership in a common tradition, as well as being unique within the tradition.

Traditional lament poetry has a register organization that differentiates it as a channel of cultural expression from ordinary speech and from other genres of folklore. In ethnopoetics, registers are identified as "major speech styles associated with recurrent types of situations" (Hymes 1989: 440). In linguistics and linguistic anthropology, registers are understood as different modes or models of speech behaviour associated with specific social situations. According to Asif Agha (2007), registers can then reciprocally offer cultural models of speech and action. The register of a particular genre of oral poetry can be approached as involving a distinctive linguistic repertoire (Agha 1999: 216). However, as John Miles Foley (2002: 91) reminds us: "Just like different languages, oral poetries have their own sets of operating rules. We reduce them to a single simplistic model at our peril."

The most pronounced feature of Karelian lament is its distinctive lexicon of poetic 'words' used as circumlocutions – terms for avoiding personal names and most common nouns, especially for referring to individuals alive and dead, kinship relations and the objects and actions connected with ritual activities. In addition to this highly specific and idiomatic lexicon, laments were characterized by extensive but regularized use of diminutive and plural forms for nouns as well as frequentative forms for verbs and special syntax. Alliteration was an essential poetic feature which also shaped the poetic 'words' of the register, while parallelism, repeating larger units of expression in different ways and with different patterns of alliteration, also promoted an increase of the lexicon in that connection. The poetic register maintains both a *core lexicon*, which is common across laments performed in different situations and ritual contexts (e.g. circumlocutions for 'mother', 'daughter', 'son', etc.), and also a *situation-specific lexicon*, or 'words' of the register that are linked to particular ritual contexts (e.g.

circumlocutions for ‘bridal sauna whisks’) or situations (e.g. circumlocutions for ‘automobile’ or ‘tea’). Whereas all lamenters become competent in the core lexicon, which also equips them to perform laments in any contexts, different lamenters develop varying competence in the *situation-specific lexicon* according to interest and experience, becoming better with the poetic lexicon associated with weddings than with funerals, for example.

Within this poetically organized discourse, verbal features are inseparable in practice from their non-verbal features (e.g. melody and paralinguistic features). Both types of features jointly give the lamenter the freedom to be creative within the traditional framework of rules, and thus to convey both traditional and personal meanings through her laments. Verbal and non-verbal features of laments are resources with which the lamenter can emphasize, intensify, highlight and specify the symbolic influence of her poetry. Put simply, lament could be called sung poetic language (see also Feld 1990: 241–266; Leino 1981) that a lamenter uses to create unique expressive utterances. At the same time, lament is tightly bound to its cultural context and cultural meanings (cf. Foley 1995), for which it provides a channel of cultural expression.

Themes and Structures

The term *theme* refers here to traditional units of content expressed in laments. Main themes describe units of larger scope surrounding which a whole lament may be organized. Subthemes are smaller units of content that are often clearly identifiable as being the units repeated in parallelism. These are the minimal units of content that are organized in realizing a main theme. The organization of subthemes is subject to structural conventions associated with individual main themes. These conventions limit and prescribe a framework within which these smaller units are used, although they also offer the lamenter possibilities for variation, elaboration and digression in performance.

Whereas the register has both a core and situation-specific lexicon, the main themes of Karelian laments are not normally used across different situations. Thus the main themes used in wedding laments will not be used in connection with laments for a deceased individual and themes used in connection with the deceased will not be used in a wedding context. In ritual laments, each main theme tends to be situationally specific to the particular stage or rite within the ritual: it will be an integrated part of that phase of the ritual and not used elsewhere. Exceptions to this are connected with the situation-dependence of use. For example, certain themes in funeral laments, such as awakening the deceased, are used in any context where the deceased is visited as a necessary part of opening communication. Many subthemes are similarly situation-dependent but others can be used across a greater range of contexts. Subthemes remain the essential units from which so-called occasional laments, or laments performed outside of ritual contexts, are composed. Like the register, the themes and associated structures for organizing them provide a lamenter with an essential set of resources for both accomplishing ritual actions and also for expressing her own emotions.

Mythic Conceptions

As a medium of communication with inhabitants of the unseen world, the lament genre is interfaced with conceptions about that unseen world, how to communicate with it and a whole ideology surrounding interactions with it. Rituals associated with the dead in particular use traditional themes and the register to both communicate with the dead and also to actualize and animate the unseen world – to summon the ancestors to open their gates and prevent the dog guarding the road from barking, to receive the newly deceased with candles and integrate him or her into that community. Lamenters thus simultaneously express and communicate knowledge about the unseen world, how it functions and the ideology of the interactions in which they engage. Internalizing the tradition equally involves the internalization of this mythic knowledge – conceptions linked to the traditional integers of expression, to both ‘words’ of the register and thematic units of content. In practice, the

engagement with this knowledge involves mythological thinking.

Mythological thinking is a mode of approaching and understanding the world that is not organized by logically connected concepts so much as working and acting on the dependence of images, motifs and conceptual schemas (see e.g. Lotman & Uspenskij 1976; Siikala 2002). 'Mythology' mediated through traditions works as a modelling system: images, motifs and conceptual schemas become loaded with values and associations. These modelling systems are projected onto the seen and unseen world in order to understand and explain them. They provide the framework for strategies to interact between social groups, man and nature, and between worlds. They are correspondingly mapped over events and phenomena in the world, infusing them with meaningfulness as well as making them understandable to the people who experience them. When a lamenter's performance engages with the deceased and other agents of the unseen world, she is engaging precisely this type of model for understanding them as active and interactive agents in the world and for understanding death more generally.

Karelian laments do not usually offer a clear, concrete or detailed picture of the world of the dead (Konkka 1985: 62; cf. Mansikka 1924). Most often, lamenters simply state that the deceased is departing to the otherworld where dead members of the family come to meet him or her with candles. Different mythic images, motifs and conceptions are often shared across genres, but they may also vary significantly between them, as well as by region, community, and even from one individual to the next. The otherworld of Karelian laments is constructed of multiple, diverse elements in different regions. Even within the genre, concepts and images of the otherworld are stratified, and sometimes these stratified elements may also be inwardly contradictory. (Tarkka 2005: 308.) The stratified nature of mythological thinking is most readily seen in the synthesis of Christian concepts, mythic figures and beliefs into a pre-existing vernacular tradition. For example, lamenters believed in the Christian God, prayed to God and saints in front of icons and celebrated Christian holidays. At the same time, they actively used laments to communicate with a vaguely defined category of divine powers (often referred to as *syndyzet* ['origin.DIM.PL'] and the Christian-derived *spuassuzet* ['savior.DIM.PL']), in addition to maintaining the cult of the dead as a vital part of social life. For the lamenters, these ideas were not contrastive or contradictory where they co-existed within the lament tradition: as they learned the tradition, these concepts were synthesized into a comprehensible whole.

Whereas Christian influence is often considered to come from 'outside' of a traditional milieu, some adaptations can be observed as an interaction between the core lexicons bound to mythic knowledge of two vernacular traditional genres within a coherent milieu. Developments of this type highlight the internal diversity of mythology in a culture while emphasizing the dynamics of internal developments of folklore. Developments across genres at intersections of mythic knowledge begin at the level of the individual specialist and performer who make the connections and in some cases seek to resolve what they perceive as inconsistencies, or perhaps seek to steer the mythic knowledge of laments into better accord with the personal understanding of Christianity. However, such restructuring of knowledge manifests restructuring or reinterpreting the lexicon and themes, as can be clearly observed in the repertoire and mythic knowledge of Praskovja Saveljeva, who was socially recognized as an exceptional lamenter and as a healer, as well as very competent in a wide range of genres of folklore.

Idiolect, Situational Practice and Identity

The register and genre of lament is internalized and developed on the basis of individual experience. Each lamenter has her own attitudes toward the tradition, her own interest, and each lamenter will reflect on the mythic knowledge of the tradition to different degrees, which may ultimately lead to questioning the traditional structures or attempting to resolve them to accord with a personal understanding. Consequently, each lamenter develops her own unique variation of the register or *idiolect*, with corresponding

understandings of themes as integers of tradition and also of the mythic knowledge with which these are all linked. This is a fundamental aspect of the tradition which gives each lamenter the potential to influence others as they internalize the tradition as a social process. In other words, the tradition was not based on petrified models, but rather on models which continuously develop within the interaction between people in different situations (cf. Agha 2007).

Interaction is fundamental to the lament traditions. The lament register was, first and foremost, a ritual variety of language with an exceptional capacity for interaction with unseen powers in the otherworld. It was also a resource for moderating and mediating individual expressions of grief, but it must be stressed that laments did not exist in isolation, and the lamenter did not only express her own grief. She also lamented on the behalf of others. At funerals, she gave voice to the grief of the community and acted as their voice addressing the deceased and she could also act as the voice of the deceased to express feelings and concerns to members of the community. She could fulfil corresponding roles in communication for the bride in wedding rituals. In these contexts, she animated and orchestrated the grief of the community. On ritual occasions, such as at funerals and weddings, the interaction between a lamenter and her audience is obvious. The lamenter shows her intensive emotional state in the four ways: all of these are shown or transmitted in the performance of lament in four ways: (1) audibly, through the icons of crying; (2) through the verbal expressions (circumlocutions and themes of laments); (3) with the help of grammatical features, e.g. diminutive forms; and (4) visually with body language, e.g. leaning toward the object of the lament or swinging back and forth while lamenting. Participants of the ritual engage with her sadness. For example, crying and even wailing at funerals are natural parts of the ritual, creating a soundscape of grievous emotions, from which a lamenter's voice rises up and clearly leads the ritual process. The special language of laments is mostly directed to the deceased and to the dead members of the family in the otherworld, but the soundscape of laments supports this communication which guarantees the successful outcome of these ritual events – i.e. to successfully get the dead to the otherworld and to satisfy the deceased.

When a register such as the register of laments is socially distinguished and recognizable, it can be described as a metasemiotic entity – it is recognized as a whole that can develop associations with the situations and users that it is encountered with. In other words, people recognize the way of speaking *as* lament, and recognizing it *as* lament links it to grievous occasions and lamenters. The lament register is only one of many registers for different social situations and practices that will exist within a particular community. Members of a community are able to recognize a wide range of different registers and most individuals cannot use all of them fluently. Thus a person's social identity forms in relation to the range of registers that he or she is able to use. (Agha 2004: 23–24.) Competence in the lament register can thus be assumed to both express and construct aspects of the lamenter's identity. The register of Karelian laments consists of an intersecting and complementary system of verbal and non-verbal features in performance. In practice, its exclusive use by women leads this register, as a socially recognized metasemiotic entity, to be treated as an indexical of gender: all members of a community perceive it as a register characteristic of women and thus the practice of lamenting simultaneously confers identity on the lamenter.

Within this thesis, register, themes and structures, and mythic concepts have been separated for the sake of analysis and discussion. In closing, it is significant to stress that this division is artificial. Distinguishing these three aspects of the tradition is a methodological strategy that facilitates viewing how each of them functions, how they interrelate, and how individual performers affect and adapt them in practice. However, the tradition was maintained as an organic whole. These features can be distinguished and isolated in analysis, much as it is possible to address a lexicon without grammar or grammar without a lexicon when

analysing a language. However, performative practice was a social reality undertaken and experienced by embodied individuals in concrete situations. Under such conditions, the different aspects of lament were never wholly independent of one another any more than a lexicon and grammar in a friendly conversation.

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Master's Projects

Religion and Sacral Rulers in the Pre-Christian North: Typologisation of Religion, Cultural Evolution, Comparison and Chiefdom Religion

Simon Nygaard, Aarhus University

Master's thesis in Danish in the Study of Religion, Aarhus University, completed September 2014.
Supervisor: Jens Peter Schjødt (Aarhus University).

It has often been noted that there are differences between pre-Christian Scandinavian religion and Christianity, which is due to their belonging to two fundamentally different types of religion. This must be kept in mind by scholars of pre-Christian Scandinavian religion, but when these scholars fail to do so, we are left with a methodological problem.

The problem of viewing secondary religions[1] like Christianity or Judaism, as providing the paradigm for all other religions is frequently seen when working with definitions of religion, but it is also present in the subsequent work with specific religions. For this reason, the typologisation of religion as a phenomenon must be the basic starting

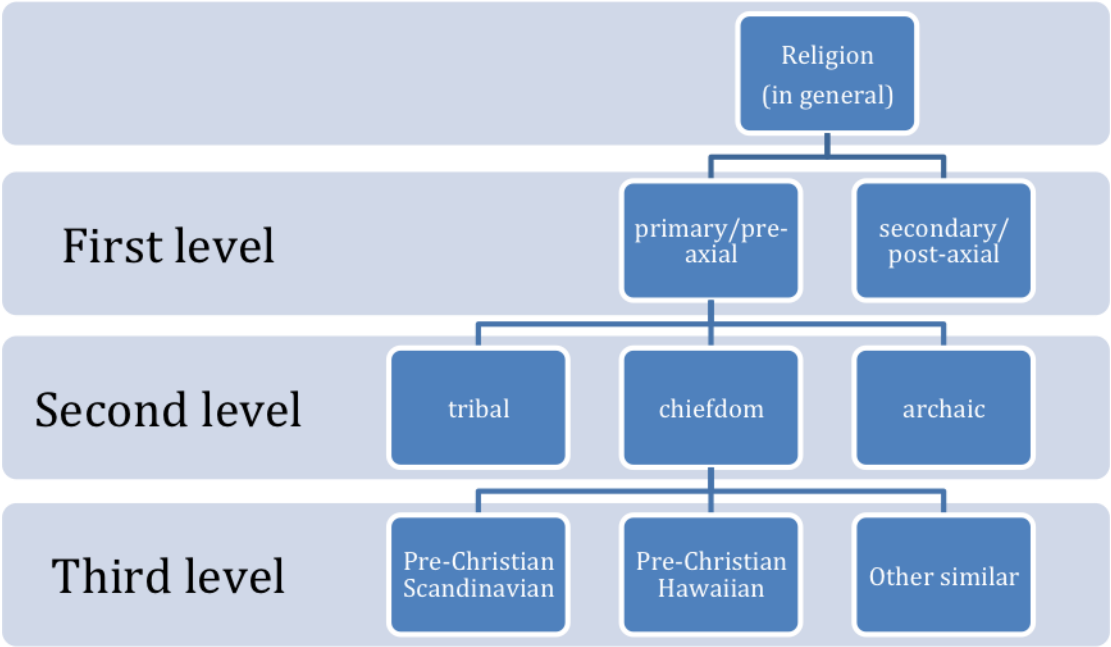

Figure 1. The typology of religion applied in the thesis.

point for the historian of religions. Once we know which type of religion we are dealing with, we can begin to make our analyses of the specific religion we are engaging with. Based on this observation, I put forth a typology of religion[2] focusing on pre-Christian Scandinavian religion, as shown in Figure 1.

The structure of the thesis follows the illustrated typology. The theoretical chapter of the thesis begins by treating the first level of the typology and the distinction between pre-axial and post-axial religions, which correlates with the aforementioned primary and secondary religions. After this an introduction to the theoretical basis of the second level of the typology follows, distinguishing between religions within the primary or pre-axial category. Here it is argued, on the basis of Robert N. Bellah's cultural evolutionary typology of religion (1964, 2011), that pre-Christian Scandinavian religion is part of the category *chiefdom religion*. This category is my own proposal for an elaboration of Bellah's typology and it is placed between Bellah's two pre-axial categories *tribal religion* and *archaic religion*. After this, the methodological problems associated with the reconstructing pre-Christian Scandinavian religion are presented followed by an introduction to the source situation. This is done in order to analyse chiefdom religion in pre-Christian Scandinavia on the third level of the typology. This is followed by an analysis of chiefdom religion in pre-Christian Hawaii, which is also part of the third level of the typology, and provides the material for a comparison between chiefdom religion in pre-Christian Scandinavia and chiefdom religion in pre-Christian Hawaii. This comparison is carried out in order to establish chiefdom religion as a concept within the discipline of the history of religions.

I conclude that the application of theories utilised in the thesis can provide new insights into pre-Christian Scandinavian religion, specifically concerning religious ruler ideologies. The typology can benefit the broader academic discipline of the history of religions by nuancing the categorisation of pre-axial or primary religions. Pre-Christian Scandinavian religion as chiefdom religion is very much concerned with the sacral ruler: His position in society, his relationship with the gods and an apparent division of the rulership in times of war and times of peace. In addition, sacrifices of rulers and incestuous relationships possibly involving rulers in an *hieros gamos* are important characteristics of the chiefdom religion. These characteristics are found in both pre-Christian Scandinavian and pre-Christian Hawaii, lending strength to chiefdom religion as a cultural evolutionary category.

Notes

1. Jan Assmann's distinction between primary and secondary religion (2006: 31-45) is discussed throughout the thesis.
2. See the diagram in the following. The typology is inspired by Robert N. Bellah's typology of religion (1964, 2011), which is discussed throughout the thesis, but features the addition of my own category, *chiefdom religion*.

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JOURNALS

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Meghan Radka, Emmon Rogers and Lauren Schwark, University of Wisconsin, Madison

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15th–16th October 2015, Visby, Gotland

The Austmarr Network welcomes you to participate in the fifth network seminar-workshop. The event is hosted by the Swedish National Heritage Board and the Gotland Museum and will be held in Sävesalen, Gotlands Museum. The workshop is free of charge and two lunches and a dinner is included. Participants are expected to pay for travel and accommodation. The number of participants will be limited, so please send us your abstract (approx. 500 words) as soon as possible and no later than 1st August. Each paper will be given 30 minutes of presentation and 30 minutes of discussion.

The Austmarr Network is an international interdisciplinary network of scholars investigating historical and prehistoric contacts among peoples in the circum-Baltic region. We aim to reconstruct the development of the Baltic Sea region, viewed as a trans-ethnic cultural area that played a central role in the emergence of the modern Germanic, Slavic, Finnish and Sámi ethnicities. We will focus on the pre-Hanseatic period, up to the High Middle Ages. The Baltic region has been populated by humans since the end of the last Ice Age ca. 10,000 years ago. In modern times the Baltic is bounded by the states Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Russia, Poland and Germany. Both Finno-Ugric languages and the Germanic, Baltic and Slavic branches of the Indo-European family are well represented. Other languages, such as Romani and Classical written languages, have also had a presence in the region. Areal features in the languages, pre-Christian religions and folkloric traditions of the Baltic region have long been recognized, and the material cultures also show commonalities of many types and ages. The directions of influence are complex and in many cases indeterminate.

the austmarr network

SWEDISH NATIONAL HERITAGE BOARD
RIKSANTIKVARIEÄMBETET

Gotlands Museum

Whereas the Mediterranean has long been recognized as a mare nostrum of multi-cultural, multilingual contacts for southern Europe, we turn attention to the Baltic Sea as the *mare nostrum* of the north. Understandings of the ways in which languages and populations (separately) move and how ethnic groups form and recombine are rapidly evolving. The assumption of stable language areas and the association between aspects of material culture (e.g. pottery styles) and language groups has been questioned. Improved methods in place-name studies and rapid developments in population genetics are providing new data on migrations and prehistoric language shifts. It is high time to revisit the Baltic region in an integrated and systematic way.

Each year since 2011, the Austmarr Network has organized a multidisciplinary symposium. These symposia have targeted different topics and themes relevant to understanding the dynamic history of cultures in the

Baltic Sea region, and how research on the region may inform approaches to historical investigation of cultures elsewhere in the world. The Circum-Baltic region, with its rich history involving several well-studied groups with comparatively deep historical records, provides a robust case study for developing methods that can be applied to other cases of interdisciplinary cultural reconstruction.

The aim with this workshop is to compare the islands of the Baltic Sea in an inter-disciplinary perspective. Islands generally have a certain attraction as remote and exotic places with distinctive characteristics. Access to the island might have been restricted by defence structures, law or simply by rough weather – adding to their fascination. A common feature is that they have had a trait of marine culture and that they often lie at the crossroads for trade and political networks. Our islands have been separated as well as protected by the Baltic Sea, i.e. *Austmarr*.

As object for research, islands may seem clearly-defined and handy to study, still they have complex networks, local customs and certain problems relating to chronology. The islands constitute dynamical border zones where various interests meet, causing inter-action just as well as conflicts. Nonetheless, the fluctuating connections may be more distinct here than in other places due to the distinctive characters of the islands. Changing traditions may reflect different spheres of interest and be influenced by the perpetual change of power relations, where travelling routes are closed or opened up depending on varying alliances and other circumstances.

Although often discussed, the islands have been compared to one another only to a very limited extent. Comparisons between the islands themselves and between islands and adjacent mainland regions may take their departure from, for example, archaeology, philology, history, religion or folklore. One subject to discuss is why there are such strong runic traditions on the islands Öland, Gotland and Bornholm, from the Roman Iron Age until the post-Reformation period, whereas Åland and Saaremaa have none. – although we know for sure that Gotland had trade contacts with them and Åland was culturally connected to a region of Sweden where runic inscriptions are remarkably rich. The relations between the islands may also be discussed in the view of research about mobility and travelling. Island archaeology is yet another area, including theoretical perspectives, making research of the islands in the North Atlantic relevant as well. We also need to take into consideration that the research history on islands often seems to be heavily influenced by individual scholars who have been more or less authoritative and significantly shaped the subject and interpretations, which require critical reassessment and in some cases have proven difficult to see beyond.

We welcome proposals on the following themes:

- *From Roman gold to the rifts of Aifur – specific characteristics*. What preconditions prevail on the individual islands, how do they differ and why?
- *From island to island – relations between the islands*. The islands in the Baltic Sea have been strategically meeting points with wide range contacts. Periodically, they may have been included in different political constellations, but judging by the geographical position and the well-developed trade and shipping, they may be supposed to have maintained contacts.
- *No one is an island – the islands and the world*. This theme investigates the islands in a geographical perspective including the surrounding mainland areas and also regions further away, e.g. the British Isles.

Rather than seeking conclusive results, our aim with this event is for an open-minded discussion that can lay foundations for deeper studies and future co-operations among international scholars with an interest in the cultures of the Baltic Sea region.

The organization of *Austmarr V* is overseen by Laila Kitzler and Per Widerström. For submissions and further information, please contact

laila.kitzler.ahfeldt[at]raa.se:
Phone +46 8 5191 8080
Mobile + 46 708 31 72 19
Swedish National Heritage Board
Department for Conservation
P.O. Box 1114
SE-621 22 Visby

We look forward to meeting you in Visby!

The Ecology of Meter: Meter and Language – Meter and Literature – Meter's Past, Present and Future

A Special Issue of RMN Newsletter

Metrics is sometimes described as discipline run by people who spend their lives counting syllables. Nothing could be farther from truth – poetic meters do not exist in a mathematical vacuum, and knowing the number of syllables, feet etc. per line rarely equals knowing what a given meter is and how it works. Meter is a creative tool that shapes, and is shaped by, language (John Miles Foley used to talk about "trademark symbiosis between metre and language"), tradition, textual and social environments, as well as other co-existing meters and ultimately the people who use, abuse and transmit texts composed in it. The combined action of these factors, seemingly extra-metrical, constitutes in fact what we would like to call *the ecologly of meter*. Meter is a living thing of language(s) and literature(s) that depends on this ecology as much as the poetry itself; the two, consequently, can (and should) be approached from a variety of angles and studied by a variety of methods that touch upon and connect different aspects of a meter's ecology.

We would thus like to shed the dry image of metrics as a field of study and address the ecology of various meters in various traditions in a special issue of *RMN Newsletter*, the international open-access bi-annual publication of the Department of Folklore Studies, University of Helsinki (ISSN 2324-0636 print, ISSN 1799-4497 electronic). Our publication promotes cross-disciplinary discussion on diachronic, comparative and source-critical treatments of cultural expression across diverse and intersecting disciplines.

The special issue on meter ecology calls for both research articles (up to 15 pages + works cited) and reviews (up to 7 pages + works cited). The research articles will be peer reviewed. We are pleased to invite articles treating various poetic sources in various languages on themes such as:

- *The symbiotics of meter and language*
  - Which linguistic features of a given language are used as the basis of a meter?
  - Which linguistic features are ignored?
  - Which are affected or altered by metrical use?
- *Systems of meters in a given tradition*
  - What are the differences, similarities and interactions of different meters in a given linguistic, social or cultural environment?
- *The meaningfulness of meter and metricality*
  - What is the social significance of metrical versus non-metrical discourse?
  - Do certain meters have connotative, iconic or other significance in language use?
  - How does the evolution of multiple meters interface with a social semiotic of poetic expression?
  - How is the meaning potential of meter affected by context?
- *Meters on the move*
  - What happens when a meter devised in one language is used to compose texts in another language?
  - What happens when a meter is more generally adapted to a new ecology?
- *Meters across time – the evolution of meters*
  - How does linguistic change affect, or not affect, a meter?
  - What are outcomes of attempts to compose new texts in 'old' or 'ancient' traditional meters that have ceased to be productive?
  - What happens in metrical 'revivals' or metrics in the revival of broader traditions?
- *Contexts and variation in practice*
  - How does meter or its perception vary in 'oral' versus 'written' discourses?
  - Can social context affect metrical variation?
  - How do meter and metrical features vary by genre, and why?
- *Relationships between meter and techniques of composition*
  - How does the symbiosis of a traditional meter and language evolve resources for producing metrically well-formed lines?

- How do compositional techniques and resources reciprocally relate to or affect a meter?
- How do such techniques function in relation to meter?

These and other relevant themes may be discussed through narrow case studies or broader comparative investigations. Emphasis may be empirically oriented or give primary attention to the development of methods or theory.

If you are interested in participating in this international and cross-disciplinary discussion, please submit a 500 word abstract of your proposed contribution, with your name, affiliation and contact information to guest editor Ilya Sverdlov at *snerrir[at]gmail.com*.

The deadline for paper proposals is **Monday, 15th June 2015**. The deadline for completed paper submission is **Monday, 3rd August 2015**.

Would You Like to Submit to *RMN Newsletter*?

RMN Newsletter in an open-access biannual publication that sets out to construct an informational resource and discourse space for researchers of diverse and intersecting disciplines. Its thematic center is the discussion and investigation of cultural phenomena of different eras and the research tools and strategies relevant to retrospective methods. Retrospective methods consider some aspect of culture in one period through evidence from another, later period. Such comparisons range from investigating historical relationships to the utility of analogical parallels, and from comparisons across centuries to developing working models for the more immediate traditions behind limited sources. *RMN Newsletter* welcomes and encourages its readership to engage in this discourse space and it also promotes an awareness that participation will support, maintain and also shape this emergent venue.

The publication is organized according to four broad sections: Comments and Communications, People, Places and Calls for Papers:

– *Comments and Communications*

- Short-article (discussion oriented)
  – preferred length, 3–8 pages body text (plus images, tables, list of works cited)
- Conference report / announcement
  – preferred length, 2–5 pages
- Project announcements
  – preferred length, 1–5 pages

– *People*

- Research report (abstract / summary of conference paper or unpublished research)
  – max. 1–2 page body text
- Published article announcement
  – 1 page
- Edited volume summary
  – 1–5 pages body text
- Monograph summary
  – 1–5 pages body text
- PhD project summary
  – 2–5 pages body text
- MA project summary
  – 1–2 page body text

– *Places*

- Outline of programmes, projects and other activities or research associated with an institution, organization or network of organizations
  – preferred length, 1–5 pages

– *Calls for Papers*

  – preferred length, 1–2 pages

The orientation of *RMN Newsletter* is toward presenting information *about* events, people, activities, developments and technologies, and research which is ongoing or has been recently completed. Rather than presenting conclusive findings, short-article contributions for the Comments and Communications section are generally oriented to discussion and/or engaging in discourse opened in earlier issued of *RMN Newsletter* or in other publications.

The success of this publication as both a resource and discourse space is dependent on the participation of its readership. We also recognize the necessity of opening contact with and being aware of the emerging generation of scholars and welcome summaries of on-going and recently completed MA and PhD research projects.

If you are interested in making information about your own work available or participating in discussion through comments, responses or short-article contributions, please send your contributions in *.doc, *docx or *.rtf format to Frog at *editor.rmnnewsletter@gmail.com*.

For more information and access to earlier issues of *RMN Newsletter*, please visit our web-page at www.helsinki.fi/folkloristiikka/English/RMN/.

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