Variation in Folklore and Language

Edited by

Piret Voolaid and Saša Babič

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements

Introduction

Variation Makes the World Go Round

Saša Babič And Piret Voolaid

Variation is defined as "**a change** or **slight difference** in condition, amount, or level, typically within certain limits" (Lexico.com). It is a universal phenomenon observable not only in measurable phenomena but also in culture, worldview, perception of surroundings, and language. Variation can be seen as a process as well as conditions of certain cultural phenomena. It shows us how society is developing and unfolding its understanding into words, conceptual images and movements. Variation at the same time means life, continuation, productivity—and as long as different words, concepts, genres, methods are used, they also vary.

Variation is a basic term in folklore; it guarantees that folklore phenomena are adjusted to the contemporary world and at the same time change of folklore is slow enough, so that it keeps the tradition within. Variation in folklore enables non-hierarchic relationships between different genres and phenomena—all folklore presents itself equal by existence: there is no hierarchically higher or lower genre. It is commonly known that the oldest and unique folkloristic method—the historic-geographic method—is based on variation.

Variation in folklore is the main topic in different early monographs (e.g. Honko 2000) where it was explored from several viewpoints, among them different types of variation, its manifestation in various folklore materials and rules of reproduction. It was emphasized that variation is one of the key characteristics of folklore, "the life-blood of oral tradition" (Honko 2000), but in fact this can be extended to other, non-oral phenomena described in this volume like rituals, festivals, dance, and contemporary written genres.

This publication offers details of variation, showing how research and different phenomena (oral, ritual, dance etc.) vary among themselves. The present volume is a result of a transdisciplinary annual conference organized by the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies entitled "Variation in language, literature, folklore, and music", co-organised with the Estonian

Literary Museum, University of Tartu and Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies in Tartu, Estonia held on 7–8 December 2017 (see Ostrak and Voolaid 2017). It was the fifth conference of the series "Dialogues with Estonian studies" and it brought together international scholars working on culture, literature, linguistics, folklore, communication, humour studies, translation and interpreting.

The publication focuses on issues related to variations in language, folklore, and music/dance, and the confluences and connections between different variations. The authors are dealing with different temporal aspects of variation: synchronic and diachronic, different levels (individual, local, regional, historical), comparisons (registers, dialects, riddles), factors influencing variation, and methods for studying. Variation is seen as the main basis of dynamics of folklore, and an issue of typology. An important part of the volume is dedicated to variations of myths and motifs, creativity, intertextuality, and transmediality.

The volume opens with the chapter *Ethnos in Words,* discussing one of the frequently used methods in researching culture, i.e. ethnolinguistics as a special method occurring on the borderline of linguistics, ethnology and folkloristics. Antra Klavinska's article focuses on the toponymical and anthroponymic system of the Latgale dialect and Latgalians' analyses the contextual semantics of the ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the texts of Latgalian folklore and in the corpus of modern Latgalian texts.

Nikolai Antropov discusses the continuation and variation of the ethnolinguistic Moscow school in the Belarusian context, emphasizes their similarities and differences and shows how one method can manifest variations in different cultural contexts.

Bible motifs are one of the most representative, varying motifs in European folklore: we can find concrete bible motifs or traces of them in all traditions within Christianity. Elena Boganeva demonstrates the use of the motif of the Tower of Babel in the Belarusian oral Bible. Her discussion is extended with variants of the Babel motif found in other Slavic folklore, as well as parallels and similarities in the motifs of construction of other topics of the Old Testament. The article presents motivations for the thematic interpretation of the biblical text and shows how variation that arose among people and persisted in folklore influenced the interpretation of the motif.

The second part, *Colourful Folklore,* consists of three studies on the variation of colours in folk tradition. Folk songs remain one of the most visible genres in folklore. Tiiu Jaago studies colour variation in Estonian folk songs and focuses on the use of 'red' and 'blood-red' in Estonian *regilaul,* based on the concept of formula. She shows us that formulae

related to the colour term 'red' are associated with certain motifs and themes, rather than with statistical repetition.

Articles by Piret Voolaid and Saša Babič discuss riddles and a variety of colour names within them. The articles complement each other by offering a comparison between two different languages (Estonian vs. Slovenian), language groups (Finno-Ugric vs. Slavic) and environments (north vs. south). They bring detailed insight into folk perceptions of colours and how the variations of their cognitive imaginaries are presented in riddles; they also present how the genre of riddles varies through time.

The third part, *Culture and Entertaining Variation*, discusses festival, dance and media variations within time and society. Yulia Krasheninnikova introduces folklore archival data on Saint Nicholas' day in Kazhym and revitalization of this holiday. This study that follows is a folkloristic research on dance by Sille Kapper and Madli Teller. The focal point of the study are the digitalised film and video sources from Estonian Folklore Archives along with some earlier documentary recordings. All the video sources are used as a basis of studying folk dance and re-staging new folk dance shows, i.e. varying ways in which new data from archival footage can enrich our knowledge. The authors compare the experience with Hungarian and Norwegian recordings and methods, and the current folk dance practice that had mainly been based on verbal and graphic notations earlier.

The last article takes us into the contemporary time with a contemporary television genre and analyses the discourse of a television serial, with a focus on blogs hosting viewers' discussions. The article presents the variety in the way people express themselves on provocative topics.

Variation persists in topics and research methods; it is part of our everyday and professional lives. It is a connecting part of culture(s) and evolution. Speaking generally, variation is culture and culture varies. That is why it is an important part of folklore and cultural studies. The aim of this book is to demonstrate the importance of variation and its inclusion into research.

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PART 1:

ETHNOS IN WORDS

CHAPTER ONE

ETHNONYMS DENOTING ESTONIANS AND THEIR CONTEXTUAL MEANINGS IN LATGALIAN TEXTS

ANTRA KĻAVINSKA

Abstract: Although the Estonians of Ludza (Latvia, Latgale) have ceased to exist as a distinct ethnic and linguistic community, the ethnolinguistic contacts between Latvians and Estonians (other Baltic Finns[1]) have left traces in the Latgalian dialects, particularly in the toponymic and anthroponymic system of Latgale. The aim of the research is to analyse the contextual semantics of the ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the texts of the Latgalian folklore and in the corpus of modern Latgalian texts.

In the first corpus the folklore texts, the ethnonym *igauni* is found (9 tokens total) and *ikaunīki* (one token). The positive representation of Estonians in folklore is that of desirable suitors nurturing a desire to learn the Estonian language. At the same time the negative presentation of Estonians is that of intruders to the Latvian land and representatives of a foreign religion. Estonians nowadays are popular joke targets usually laughed at because of their manner of speech, slowness, and lack of wit.

In the corpus of modern Latgalian texts, 72 tokens of the ethnonym *igauni* were found, as well as the surname *Igaunis* (6 tokens) and *Ikaunīks* (one token). The ethnonym is most frequently used in popular-science texts, with the most frequent collocation being *Ludzys igauni* 'the Estonians of Ludza' that mainly occurs in historical context.

Keywords: ethnonyms, Estonians, Latgalian, semantics, corpus linguistics.

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[1] The term that denotes the peoples inhabiting the region around the Baltic Sea who speak Finnic languages Finns proper, Estonians, Karelians, Veps, Votes, Izhorians, Livonians.

Introduction

Ethnic diversity has been characteristic of the territory of Latgale (Eastern Latvia) since ancient times, therefore individual and collective opinions and stereotypes about foreigners have long been formed within the indigenous population.

The most ancient population on the territory of Latgale—the Baltic Finns and the Baltic people—had established contact with the ethnic communities that settled there at different times: Russians (10/11c.), Germans (12/13c.), Roma (15/16c.), Poles (16c.), Jews (16c.), Belarusians (17c.), etc. (Apine and Dribins 1998).

There is a lack of accurate statistics on the ethnic composition before the First World War, when the modern territory of Latgale was a part of Vitebsk Governorate in the Russian Empire. Data from the 1897 population census is considerable, but it can be inaccurate because national identity on the periphery of Russian Empire was relatively variable in that time (see Table 1). After the establishment of the Latvian State in 1918, many Poles left for Poland and Lithuanians for Lithuania, while many Latvian traders, artisans and officials from other regions of Latvia came to Latgale. Looking into the 1935 data, one cannot find information about the number of Belarusians, although the number was previously a significant one (66,448). Fluctuations in the number of Belarusians can be explained by the fragile self-esteem of Belarusian people. In Latgale, as well as throughout Latvia, changes in the number of Jews and Roma were influenced by the Holocaust during the German Nazi occupation. After World War II, many inhabitants of Latgale migrated to other regions of Latvia, while a large number of Russians and Belarusians had arrived to the border areas. A very small number of Latvians and a relatively greater number of Russians had inhabited Latgale regions and cities according to the population census in 1989. According to the results of the population census in 2000 and 2011 respectively, the number of different nationalities in Latgale and Latvia is lower due to the drop in the rate of natural population and the increase of the rate of emigration caused by the economic and social conditions (emigration mainly to EU countries).

The ethnographic situation in Latgale differs from the general situation in Latvia by a relatively small number of representatives of the basic ethnos (Latvians) and by a significant Russian population, as well as by its ethnic diversity. The phenomenon has been caused by different historical, socio-economic and political processes, as well as the fact that geographically speaking, Latgale has always been located at the frontier zone and the periphery (Kļavinska 2015, 52).

In accordance with the official statistics, Estonians have been a relatively small ethnic minority (see Table 1-1). Estonians have primarily lived in the vicinity of Ludza in the four of the oldest parishes: Mērdzene, Pilda, Nirza, Briģi. Admittedly, the official statistics do not reflect the true number of Estonians in Latgale. Professor of History and Dialects of Estonian Language Karl Pajusalu, referring to studies of one of the most prominent researchers of Estonians of Ludza, Paulopriit Voolaine, in 1925, admits that "...should someone ask about the nationality of Lutsis [Lutsi the Estonian name of Ludza], they would usually answer that they were Catholics; religion was primary in their self-definition; upon further questioning they would tell you that they are Latvians (Latgalians) and only later that they were of Estonian descent. They knew about their Estonian descent but did not associate it with their national identity" (Pajusalu 2009, 177).

Nationality	1897[2]	1935[3]	1989[4]	2000[5]	2011[6]
Latvians	253 792	347 751	166 344	165 648	139 941
Russians	78 227	153 976	183 207	155 468	118 170
Belarusians	66 448	no data	27 642	23 175	15 046
Jews	63 851	27 974	1 809	896	no data
Poles	30 972	19 534	44852	27 575	20 806
Germans	4 242	892	432	358	no data
Lithuanians	1 300	no data	2 637	2 295	1 745
Estonians	612	no data	182	110	no data
Roma	346	no data	2 217	1 275	no data
Other	no data	17 037	11 069	7 868	8 324

Table 1-1. Ethnic composition in the territory of Latgale.

However, since the second half of the 19th century, several Estonian and Finnish researchers (Paul Ariste, Oskar Kallas, Harmes Korjus, Marjo Mela, Karl Pajusalu, August Sang, Lembit Vaba, Paulopriit Voolaine etc.) have shown interest in the Estonians of Ludza, their origin, language, and other

[2] Ethnic composition of the population of Vitebsk gubernia in Daugavpils, Rēzekne, Ludza districts according to census 1897 of the Russian Empire (Miņins 2011, 178).
[3] Descriptions of districts and parishes (Maldups 1937).
[4] Ethnic composition of the population in Latgale districts (Balvi, Daugavpils, Krāslava, Ludza, Preiļi, Rēzekne) and cities (Daugavpils, Rēzekne) according to All-Union census 1989 (CSP 2017).
[5] Ethnic composition of the population in Latgale. Census 2000 (CSP 2017).
[6] Ethnic composition of the population in Latgale. Census 2011 (CSP 2017).

ethnographic aspects. Estonian researcher Oskar Kallas provided more comprehensive and more significant information on the Estonians of Ludza. He travelled around Ludza in 1893, and his work *Lutsi maarahvas* (The Peasants of Lutsi) is a significant study which provides an insight into the Estonians of Ludza, and the status and use of their language at the end of the 19th century (Kallas 1894).

Latvian scientists (Antons Breidaks, Aleksandrs Jansons, Leonards Latkovskis, Ilmārs Mežs, Antoņina Zavarina etc.) have studied the history and the ethnography of the Estonians of Ludza, and the ethnolinguistic contacts between Latvians and Estonians (Kļavinska 2012, 238; Korjuss 2017, 19–26; Pajusalu 2009, 173–179).

There are several hypotheses on the origin of the Estonians of Latgale: that they were descendants of the ancient Finno-Ugric peoples who have preserved their language for an extended period of time; arrivals from Southern Estonia (c. 17th century); or Estonian farmers who were bought by the Polish or German lords of Latgale from the German lords of Estonia or exchanged for some valuables of the time (Cimermanis 2017, 9). Nowadays it is believed that a group of Estonians entered the territory of Latgale (Eastern Latvia), somewhere in the vicinity of Ludza, after the conquest of Estonia by Sweden in the 17th century, and another group fled Estonia during the famine at the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century as a result of the events during the Great Northern War. "Some of them may have been Catholics, others may have arrived in the 18th and 19th centuries as Lutherans, and those who came from the eastern part of South Estonia belonged to the Orthodox Church" (Pajusalu 2009, 175–176). In the 1920s, "geographical differences in the Estonian language of Ludza justify the statement that Southern Estonians settled in this area at different times and arrived from different places of Southern Estonia" (Pajusalu 2009, 171). Nowadays, Estonians of Ludza as an ethnic and linguistic community do not exist anymore; however, the ethnolinguistic contacts between Latvians and Estonians (Finns of the Baltics) have left traces in the Latgalian dialects, particularly in the toponymic and anthroponymic system of Latgale.

Several publications in the Latvian language have been published recently: *Ludzas igauņu pasakas* (The Tales of the Estonians of Ludza) (Godiņš 2015), a collection of tales transcribed by the Estonian researchers O. Kallas, P. Voolaine and A. Sang during their field trips to the Estonians of Ludza and translated from Estonian by Guntars Godiņš; and the essay of the Estonian researcher H. Korjus *Ludzas igauņi. Zemes dieva tauta* (The Estonians of Ludza. The People of the Earth God) (Korjuss 2017). The society of Latvia is familiar with the documentary film *Pazudusī cilts: stāsts*

par Ludzas igauņiem (The Lost Tribe: the Story of the Estonians of Ludza)
(2014) authored by Indrek Jääts and Maido Selgmäe, researchers from the
Estonian National Museum. There are also several studies and publications
on Estonians living in Latgale published by the Rēzekne Academy of
Technologies (RTA). Such is the collective monograph "Languages in
Eastern Latvia: Data and Results of Survey", which contains the study of
Karl Pajusalu "Estonians of Latgale" (Pajusalu 2009); the "Lingvoterritorial
dictionary of Latgale", which reveals concepts most significant to Latgale,
in addition to containing the entry "Estonians" (Kļavinska 2012).

The aim of the present research is to analyse the contextual semantics of
the ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the texts of Latgalian folklore and in
the corpus of modern Latgalian texts[7] (MuLa 2013).

Approaches, methods and measures used for the research

Contextual approach. The role of the context in the interpretation of
language units is generally seen from two perspectives: on one hand, the
linguistic context, i.e. the part of the text that is required to determine the
meaning of a language unit used in the text, on the other hand, the situational
context, i.e. the set of extra-linguistic factors (Croft and Cruse 2004;
Langacker 2008; Talmy 2000). In this study, the contextual approach
combines linguistic context and situational context analysis in order to
(re)construct the specificity of the ethnonymic lexicon in Latgalian texts as
far as possible, and thus allow the comparison with the lexicon of other
Latvian ethnographic regions, both in terms of their own specifics and the
specifics of the historical conditions underpinning the formation of
ethnonym semantics.

Conceptual analysis: lexicographic analysis of the ethnonymic lexicon
(clarification of the lexical, etymological semantics in dictionaries);
excerption of the ethnonymic lexicon from Latgalian texts, elaboration of
the context filing system (conceptual relations); definition of the ethnonym
contextual semantics, modeling of the notion system; interpretive field
(evaluating attitude) (Frumkina 1995; Popova and Sternin 2007).

Appling the methods of *Corpus Linguistics*, the most frequent
collocations of ethnonyms are revealed and by analysing each concordance
line, the groups of contextual meanings were created (Herbst 1996; Sinclair
1991).

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[7] The term "Latgalian texts" means both folk texts transcribed in Latgalian
subdialects of the High Latvian dialect of the Latvian language and texts of different
genres transcribed in standardized written Latgalian language.

Ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the Latvian language

In the Latvian language, the exoethnonym *igauņi* is used to denote Estonians, and several possible versions of its origin exist: 1) from the ancient Estonian region *Ugaunia*; 2) from the Latinized tribe name *Inguaeones* (Karulis 2001 [1992], 339). Ethnic nicknames *estiņi*, *ēstiņi* (est. *Eesti* 'Estonia'; lav. *ēst* 'to eat') (Bušs and Ernstone 2009, 140); *kurrata*, *kurrats* (est. *kurat* 'devil') (Bušs and Ernstone 2009, 257).

Latgalian lexicographic sources contain singular nominative forms *igaunis* (masculine), *igaunīte* (feminine) (Strods 1990 [1933], 83; Bērzkalns 2007, 168), also *ikaunīks, igaunīks* (masculine) (Lukaševičs 2011, 75). The ehnographer Antoņina Zavarina points out that in the second half of the 18th century, lexemes such as *čuhna* and *igovins* were used in Latgale to denote Estonians (Zavarina 1993, 101). The ethnic nickname *čuhna* (rus. *чухна* 'Finnic peoples, e.g. Estonians' (Zavarina 1993, 101); ltg. *čukna* was used with the meaning 'negligent, unclean person' (Reķēna 1998, 227)).

The designation for the Baltic Finnish tribal community, including Estonians, used in the Russian chronicles is *the chudes* (rus. *чудь*, 'foreign' or 'strange') (Ageeva 1970, 199); however, no such ethnonym is found in Latgalian texts, instead it is found in the system of surnames *Čudars*, *Čuders, Čudors, Čudarāns, Čudorāns, Čuderans* (Breidaks 1997, 94; Mežs 2017, 99).

The oldest known endo-ethnonym for Estonians is *maarahvas*. Studies on Estonians of Ludza state that the names they use to refer to themselves are *Lutsi maarahvas* 'the peasants of Lutsi', *eestläzeq* 'Estonians', as well as *veli* 'brother' (Balodis 2015, 7).

Ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the Latgalian folk texts

For the purposes of an earlier extensive research on the ethnonymic vocabulary in Latgalian folk texts that I have conducted, a text corpus was created both from published texts and materials from the Archives of Latvian Folklore (*Latvijas folkloras krātuve* LFK), as well as materials from the RTA folklore expeditions. In this corpus the total number of ethnonymic lexical units was 1653. The most popular among these are ethnonyms designating Roma (543 units or 33% of the total amount of units used) and Jews (502 units; 30%), followed by ethnonyms designating Russians (244 units; 15%), Latvians (186 units; 11%), Germans (61 units; 4%) and Poles (60 units; 4%), ethnonyms designating Lithuanians, Estonians, Turks, French and others are rarer (57 units; 3%) (Kļavinska 2015, 77).

During the research it was found that there are not many ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the Latgalian Folk Texts Corpus (11 word tokens in total). The most frequent ethnonym is *igauni, igaunīši,* rarely *ikaunīki* (only one token in a folk song transcribed in Viļāni parish). Singular forms were also found: *igauņs, iguonīts* (masculine), *igaunīte* (feminine) as well as diminutives *igauneiši, igauneits.*

In the Latgalian folklore, the dominant meaning of the ethnonym *igauni* is 'the ethnic group of Estonian people who live on the territory of Latgale and speak the Estonian language'; in regard to which it must be noted that such meaning is inferred mainly from the folk songs transcribed in Ludza district.

The contextual semantics of ethnonymic vocabulary found in the folk texts points to the dominant status of the "we" — "they" dichotomy in many different aspects. One of the most significant contexts in Latgalian folklore is the religious context. Due to historic reasons, the Latvians of Latgale are predominantly Catholic, and consequently any religious denomination that is not Catholic occurring in folklore is considered "foreign". For example, in the folk song transcribed in Mērdzene village, constructed from the perspective of local Catholics, Estonians are ridiculed in the following manner:

Igaunīši, valna ļauds,
Estonians, the people of the Devil,

Myusu divam naticē:
Did not believe in our God:

Pārkiuņs spēre, krusa byra,
Thunder was striking, it was hailing,

Jī ar dasu kristejās.
They were crossing themselves with a sausage (LFK [2005] 548, 4929).

Possibly, this depiction of Estonians corresponds to the historical reality because, as mentioned in the studies on the Estonians of Latgale, ancient Estonian arrivals in the vicinity of Ludza (Pilda, Nirza and Briģi civil parishes) were Catholic but later day arrivals in the vicinity of Mērdzene are thought to have been Lutheran (Kļavinska 2012, 238–239).

Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian contacts are depicted in Latgalian folk songs about ethnically mixed families:

Leišūs muns tāvs be ja,
My father was from the Lithuanian land,

Igaunīte mōmuleņa;
Mother was Estonian;

Nu dîveņa laime l ykta,
Happiness was given by God,

Es latvīša leigaveņa.
Me   the bride of a Latvian (LFK [2005] 1600, 3736).

The linguistic context is equally important. The desire to learn Estonian language is expressed in the Latgalian folklore:

Igauniski stradenš dzid
The thrush is singing in Estonian

Pošâ lîpas wers yuniâ;
At the very top of the linden;

As tay grybu wuiciatis
I want so much to learn

Igauniski trillinot.
To trill in Estonian (Jūrdžs 1999 [1916], 602).

According to linguists, Estonians who settled in the vicinity of Ludza mostly spoke Võru varieties, and the contemporary discussions about the status of the Latgalian language are similar to the situation of the Võru language in Southern Estonia (Kļavinska 2012, 239).

Everyday conflicts with Estonian neighbours are also depicted in folklore:

Igauņ, igauņ, kūka čūksts,
Estonian, Estonian, wooden butt,

Atstōj munu teirumeņu!
leave my field!

As tev dūšu rudzu garci
I will give you rye

Ar vysom sēnolām.
With all the husk (LFK [2005] 1558, 281).

No opinions on traditions, character or looks of Estonians were found in Latgalian folk texts. In some folklore texts transcribed in Ludza in literary Latvian, opinions on the character and lifestyle of Estonians in comparison with Latgalians are expressed:

Igauņiem bija spraunas meitas, latgaliešiem tādas nebija, tās bija pazemīgas, klusas.
Estonians had pert girls, Latgalians did not have such girls, they were humble, quiet (LFK [2005] 1418 1663, 1609).

Senos laikos Ozupines sādžā igauņi nosituši savu Janovoļi muižas kungu un pirmie tikuši brīvībā. Latgalieši igauņus par to apskauduši, bet paši dzīvojuši tālāk zem savu kungu varas.
In ancient times in Ozupine village Estonians killed their lord of Janovoļi manor and were the first to get free. Latgalians envied Estonians for that but continued living under the power of their lords (LFK [2005] 1418 1663, 1607).

Igauņi vienmēr turējušies kopā, savrup no latgaliešiem. Bijušas savas večerinkas. Igauņi neesot cietuši latgaliešus un otrādi. Arī baznīcā sēdējuši atsevišķi.
Estonians have always stayed together, away from Latgalians. They had their own parties. Estonians are thought to have not tolerated Latgalians and vice versa. In church they sat separately from each other too (LFK [2005] 985 1271, 1189).

Some folklore texts transcribed in a literary Latvian talk about the legends of the origin of the Estonians of Ludza:

Stāsta, ka pirmie igauņi sākuši te dzīvot tad, kad kāds kungs iepircis tos no Igaunijas, apmainot pret kazām.
They tell that first Estonians arrived to live here when some lord bought tbem from Estonia by exchanging tbem for goats (LFK [2005] 985 1271, 1187).

Melns krauklis atnesis igauņus no Igaunijas pa gaisu. Krauklim igauņi izkrituši no ķešas Latgalē, Ozupines, Greču, Puncuļu un Abricku sādžās.
A black raven brought Estonians from Estonia by air. Estonians fell out of the raven's pocket in Latgale, in the villages of Ozupine, Greči, Puncuļi and Abricki (LFK [2005] 1418 1663, 1606).

In the folk songs transcribed in the other regions of Latvia (mainly in Vidzeme), the denominative *igaunīti, vella bērns* 'Estonian, the child of the Devil' is used in the folk songs to describe Estonians as invaders of the Latvian land, and their looks are also described (*zemi, resni* 'short, fat'), as well as the ethnographic differences in clothing (*igauņiem melnas drēbes* 'the Estonians have black clothes'). In the beliefs of the Latvian people Estonians are described as stubborn, shameless, lazy and untidy (Kļavinska 2015, 161).

In a riddle, the diminutive *igauneits* denotes the wind:

Atskrīn putns igauneits, uztaisa perekli latgaliski, īdēj ūlu apzeļteitu. (Viejs, gaisma, saule.)
An Estonian bird comes, creates a nest in Latgalian, lays a gilt egg (The wind, the light, the Sun.) (Opincāne 2000, 8).

It is possible that the desemanticization of the ethnonym is due to the opinion that Estonians live on the North from the territory inhabited by Latgalians, thus the idea could be that it is the wind blowing from the North.

Ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the Corpus of Modern Latgalian Texts

The Corpus of Modern Latgalian Texts (MuLa 2013) was selected for the analysis of the contextual semantics of ethnonyms for several reasons: 1) MuLa provides authentic examples of modern written Latgalian language collected from 1978 until 2012; 2) it is composed of texts of various genres which allows the unpacking of the different contexts of the use of the lexemes; and 3) the technical capabilities of the text corpus allow the performance of an automatic statistical analysis of the linguistic data. Significant drawbacks of MuLa as a research source are its small size (~1 million tokens) and the fact that it is not morphologically marked, which is why it is impossible to search for a part of a word only, so one has to search for all the possible word forms.

In the corpus of modern Latgalian texts, 72 tokens of the ethnonym *igauni* in different grammatical forms were found, as well as the surname *Igaunis* (6 tokens) and *Ikaunīks* (one token) and *čuhna*, *igovins* (one token). This is a relatively small number of tokens. Up until now I have not deeply studied the use of other ethonymic vocabulary, however, for example, the ethnonym *krīvi* 'the Russians' in MuLa has 594 word tokens. The ethnonym *igauni* is used most frequently in popular-science texts, whereas the use of other ethnonyms is more typical of opinion journalism. It must be noted that the literary scientist, the connoisseur of Latgalian literature Valentīns Lukaševičs admits that "in Latgalian fiction Estonians are not mentioned" (Lukaševičs 2008, 120).

The most frequent collocations of the lexeme *igauni* are: *Ludzys igauni* 'the Estonians of Ludza' (8 tokens); *igauņu volūda* 'Estonian language' (7 tokens) and *igauņu zemnīki* 'Estonian farmers' (2 tokens).

From the wider context in concordance columns of the text corpus, three contextual meanings of the ethnonym *igauni* can be inferred:

1) a nation, indigenous population of Estonia; singular forms 'belonging to this nation', for example:

> *Nu Latvejys tyka izraideits lībīšu folklorys pietnīks igauņs Oskars Lōrits.*
> From Latvia was exiled the researcher of the folklore of the Livs, an Estonian, Oskar Loorits (MuLa 2013);

2) ancient Estonian tribes, for example:

> *(..) igaunim ījimt pili nav īsadevs (..)*
> Estonians failed to capture the castle (MuLa 2013);

> *(..) varbyut latgalim beja apnykuši myužeigī kari ar igaunim i lībīšim.*
> maybe Latgalians became tired of the constant wars with Estonians and the
> Livs (MuLa 2013);

3) an ethnic group forming part of the Estonian nation, the Estonians of
Ludza, for example:

> *Ludzys apleicīnis igauni sūplok t.s. leivim voi Gaujys igaunim (..) ir ūtra*
> *leluokuo igauņu sola Latvejā. Pyldā, Nierzā, Mērdzinē, Brygūs i tūs*
> *apleicīnē 19. g. s. vydā dzeivuoja ap 3000 igauņu.*
> Estonians in the vicinity of Ludza living next to the so-called leivi or
> Estonians of Gauja, the second largest Estonian island in Latvia. Around
> 3000 Estonians lived in Pilda, Nirza, Mērdzene, Briģi and their vicinity in
> the middle of the 19th century' (MuLa 2013).

The latter meaning is predominant, which is found in popular-science
texts, and thus the denominative "the Estonians of Ludza" can be considered
a scientific term. Although the use of this denominative in a wider context
comprises predominantly of scientific research, it does not express the
opinions of Latgalians about Estonians living in Latgale.

The collocations *igauņu volūda*, as well as the plural genitive form
igauņu denote not an ethnonym but a linguonym, i.e. the Estonian language.
In these cases the examples of Estonian language are used:
1) in scientific texts explaining the etymology of various Latgalian proper
nouns, for example:

> *Vyraudys azars // Vyrauds (Rēzeknis rajonā)—igauņu viru 'iudiņa vierpuļs',*
> *haud 'dūbe'*
> lake Vyraudys // Vyrauds (in Rēzekne district)   Estonian *viru* 'whirpool',
> *haud* 'planting bed' (MuLa 2013);

2) in opinion journalism texts expressing opinions about the Estonian
language, for example:

> *Es dūmoju, ka latvīšu volūda ir vīna mu skaistōkajom. Varbyut izjamūt itaļu*
> *un igauņu volūdu.*
> I think the Latvian language is one of the most beautiful. Maybe except for
> the Italian and Estonian language (MuLa 2013).

The opinions of Latgalians about Estonians are revealed in MuLa only
in a small number of examples of opinion journalism texts:
1) on the common past of different ethnic communities living in Latgale
during the Russification period:

*Krīvi (staroveri, pareizticeigī), latgalīši, pūli i igauni Mekši—vysi školā
dzīdōja "Боже, царя храни" i vuice jōs četras klases.*
Russians (the Old Believers and the Orthodox), Latgalians, Poles and
Estonian Mekši all sang in school "Боже, царя храни" [the hymn of
Czarist Russia] and went to school for four years (MuLa 2013);

2) self-irony of the fact that Latvians want to seem "smarter" than the
representatives of the neighbouring countries:

*Kū myusim sepinēt par Europu, kod iz kotra sūļa daruodom sovu sovpateigū
guoduošonu. Mes poši gudri—vēļ i par lītauni*
Why dream about Europe when at every step we prove our original thinking.
We ourselves are smart even wiser than Lithuanians and Estonians (MuLa
2013).

Conclusions

Thus, regardless of the long-term inter-ethnic contact, there are not many
ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the texts of Latgalian folklore and in the
corpus of modern Latgalian texts. In folklore, mainly folk songs transcribed
in the area of Ludza and Mērdzene, as well as in the corpus of modern texts,
the dominant contextual meaning of the most frequent ethnonym *igauni* is
'the ethnic group of the Estonian nation, that lives on the territory of
Latgale'.

The data from the Corpus of Modern Latgalian Texts in the contextual
semantics of the ethnonym *igauni* reveal predominantly the historical
context: information on the Estonians of Ludza who in the modern times
have already been completely assimilated, as well as on the presence of
Finno-Ugric languages in the system of proper nouns (toponyms, surnames)
of Latgale.

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CHAPTER TWO

BELARUSIAN ETHNOLINGUISTIC ATLAS: HISTORY, ARCHIVE, RESULTS AND PERSPECTIVES

NIKOLAI ANTROPOV

Abstract: The paper discusses the emergence and the development of ethnolinguistics within the field of humanities in Belarus. It is a relatively new discipline that studies Belarusian traditional culture. Ethnolinguistics in Belarus manifests itself in a number of publications in the mid-1980s. Systematic fieldwork has been carried out since then. This has resulted in the creation of a representative database that enabled the researchers to start mapping Belarusian traditional culture within the "Belarusian folk ethnolinguistic atlas" project. In this paper, the author demonstrates some of the maps from the forthcoming atlas while providing an extensive commentary on the maps.

Keywords: Belarusians, traditional culture, ethnolinguistics, mapping, cultural areas.

I have already written on the topic of ethnolinguistics, emerging in the mid-1980s of the past century as a special branch of Belarusian humanitaristics. By that time few works had already been published in which ethnolinguistic issues were tackled with (in the modern understanding of Moscow ethnolinguistic school): "language and culture", "language and folklore", "language/linguistics and ethnography" (Tolstaya 2013, 67–69). A new momentum, at first organizational, arose in the summer of 1984, in the face of the Polesie expedition undertaken by the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences (now the Institute of Slavic Studies, the Russian Academy of Sciences), and led by the academic Nikita Tolstoy. Among the Belarussian participants was the author of this article as well as a group of philology students of the Belarusian State University

(BSU, Minsk)—participants in the first string of the Specialized Seminar "Topical Issues of Belarusian and East Slavic Ethnolinguistics" (for more details see Antropov 2008, 89–90) that took place in the autumn of the same year. The seminar, yielding fruitful results over a period of 10 years (1984–1993), was undertaking two lines of work: expeditionary and research.

The first included expeditions aimed to collect (mainly in Western Polessye) materials that were later included in the Polesie archive of the Institute of Slavic Studies. The expeditions were planned earlier, before the Chernobyl disaster in 1986, by Nikita Tolstoy and his colleagues from the "Polessie Ethnolinguistic Atlas" (PELA); for more details see Antropov & Plotnikova 1995, 385–390. Right from the beginning, in one of the first conversations about the prospects of Polesie atlas, Nikita Ilyich Tolstoy suggested that I try out a questionnaire titled "Polesie People's Culture" (so-called "short" programme, including 65 questions[1]) to be conducted in Belarusian settlements, instead of Polesie, and see what results could be achieved (of course, bearing in mind the first successful experiments of this kind: the records already made in the PELA programmes in the villages of Steppe Ukraine and Kurshchina[2]). During the summer expeditions of 1985 such initial attempts were made, and it turned out that not only was the questionnaire "functional", but it garnered completely, highly interesting new material from different parts of Belarus. From the next year onwards, the fieldwork of collecting this material become a permanent, ever expanding practice and many students from the Belarusian State University (Minsk) and the Brest and Vitebsk Pedagogical Institutes (now Universities) were involved in recording field data. Needless to say, all this required developing special instructions, preliminary detailed briefings, organizing work to receive the reports, etc. Unfortunately, not always the records turned out to be of high quality, so the non-credible ones were rejected (but were still stored in the archive).

In the summer of 1988, Tatyana Skakun (Volodina), a participant in our workshop, collected materials from the complete questionnaire about the "Polesie Ethnolinguistic Atlas", which consisted of 21 separate programmes, in her home village of Susha, Lepel District, Vitebsk Region and some other settlements close to it. The recordings were so interesting that in February 1989, a large expedition of the seminar was organized to visit the southern area of the Byelorussian Poozerie (Lakeland), the village of Sloboda (formerly Svjada) and Svyaditsa of Lepel District, with the purpose of systematically recording the field data from the full programme "Polesie

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[1] "Full" and "short" programmes can be seen in more details in Tolstoy 1983, 21 49.

[2] The first results may be seen in Tolstoy 1983, 120 122.

Ethnolinguistic Atlas". Pleasant and important, albeit somewhat unexpected, was the discovery that answers were literally given to all the questions from all the subprograms. A few years later, expeditions were organized by the Scientific Research Laboratory of Belarusian Folklore and Dialectology, the Philology Department of the Belarusian State University. There were so many materials collected that the idea of presenting them as a "Byelorussian Ethnolinguistic Atlas" (BELA) came to light at the seminar. Practical issues emerged first in regard to this new realization, atlas grids being the first. First, the initial and to a large extent spontaneous stage of recording the field data was to be replaced by a systematic one to cover all the republic's regions. Second, it was necessary to organize expeditions under the full programme in 10–12 villages representing all 6 Belarusian ethnocultural areas. However, due to the social and political tribulations of the late 80's and the early 90's, which directly affected the life of the scientific community, it did not seem possible to carry out the plan completely[3].

Nevertheless, every year until the mid-90's, the archive was being updated. The 1991–1992 expeditions of dialectologists and ethnolinguists (Nikolai Antropov and the seminar graduates, at that time the Institute staff members Marina Isachenkova and Vadim Kaznacheyev) of the Institute of Linguistics, the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences, paid a visit to Zhlobin and Buda-Koshelev Districts of Gomel Region, and the settlement areas and the evicted villages of several areas affected by radiation: Khoiniki, Narovlyansky and Braginsky. Work was also carried out simultaneously with indigenous informants[4].

Working with the Seminar "Topical Issues of Belarusian and East Slavic Ethnolinguistics", enabled students to use and include the ethnolinguistic data collected in the preparation of the courses in their graduation papers. In total, in a period of eight years (1986–1993), about 35 graduation papers were written and defended, which addressed virtually all the fields of ethnolinguistics of that time[5]. Many of the research papers were of high academic relevance, but one co-authored by Tatiana Fedukovich and Irina Sheshko that generalized BELA archive materials (i.e. by 1992) available

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[3] Thus, only in 2006 the exploration of Golovenchitsy village of Chaussky District, Mogilev Region, was carried out under the full programme (Nikolai Antropov, Elena Boganeva and Tatyana Volodina).

[4] Two articles by V. Kaznacheyev with analytical descriptions of the materials were published in the collection Kryvitski 1994, 164 219.

[5] The PhD candidates of Philological Sciences Tatyana Volodina, Irina Sukhovitskaya and Irina Zhilinskaya started research work at the seminar. Marina Isachenkova, Vadim Kaznacheyev, Marya Levkovets (Vechorko), and Elena Shirina have a munber of scientific publications.

at the time, was undoubtedly ground-breaking (Fedukovich & Sheshko 1992, 271). The main part of the work, that by far exceeded graduation requirements, included an elaborate lexical and thematic index with numerous references to the digital indices of the 429 settlements including answers to all of the questions from the "short" programme. A direct ethno-linguogeographic interpretation of the material is represented by eight pilot maps and comments on four subjects (each in two versions: icons and fillings): "Names of a Wedding Tree", "Confining to the Ritual Tree Banding", "The Game of the Sun (verbs)", "Spikes Left in the Field at the End of the Harvest: boroda (a beard)". Naturally, some auxiliary materials were prepared: lists of settlements (alphabetic and number cartographic), as well as of informants and collectors. Unfortunately, it was not possible for those two undoubtedly talented seminar graduates to continue their scientific work for a number of reasons. However, the significant contribution they made towards the BELA archive systematization allowed filling in a ten year gap and not starting from scratch.

Up to date, the BELA archive stores the records sorted by each of the 65 questions relating to the "short" programme and collected from more than 550 settlements of Belarus, surveyed under a single programme. Separately, the materials collected within the PELA full programme are presented in the form of: a) a copied version of the Polesie archive of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (its materials were also prepared by Belarusian collectors), b) records from a number of Belarusian villages. The total volume of materials contains about 50 thousand cards. Supporting files are systemized and transferred into digital format: geographic and personal (informants and collectors). A computerized atlas template was designed with 752 locations of settlements.

Since the end of the 1980s, the BELA archive materials have been constantly (still not enough though) used in scientific publications, and not only in Belarusian ones. Apart from the work of the afore-mentioned authors, who were directly involved in collecting and archiving the materials, Svetlana Tolstaya used some of the recordings for one of the Belarussian publications (Tolstaya 2001, 151–205).

The fact that the archive materials are very interesting and useful for studying strictly Belarusian or Slavic material in a comparative context has already been capitalized upon (Antropov et al. 2018). I have prepared about two dozen work maps for a number of articles recently, therefore, some preliminary general conclusions related to the mapping of significant elements of the Belarusian traditional culture can be discussed now.

As the most important result, it should be noted that the cartographic experiments carried out reveal quite obvious ethno-cultural isodoxes (lines

on maps delimiting elements of spiritual culture---Nikita Tolstoy) and areals within Belarus. This is well illustrated by the first two maps[6]. "Reading" of **Map 1** ("Natural meteorological phenomena as a consequence of the suicidal burial at the cemetery") shows that against the background of an all-pervasive (albeit unevenly) belief about drought as a consequence of a suicidal burial at the cemetery, a similar view associated with rain/rains is more common than the first one only in the western part of Western Polesie;

○	Drought
●	Rain
■	other meteorological phenomena
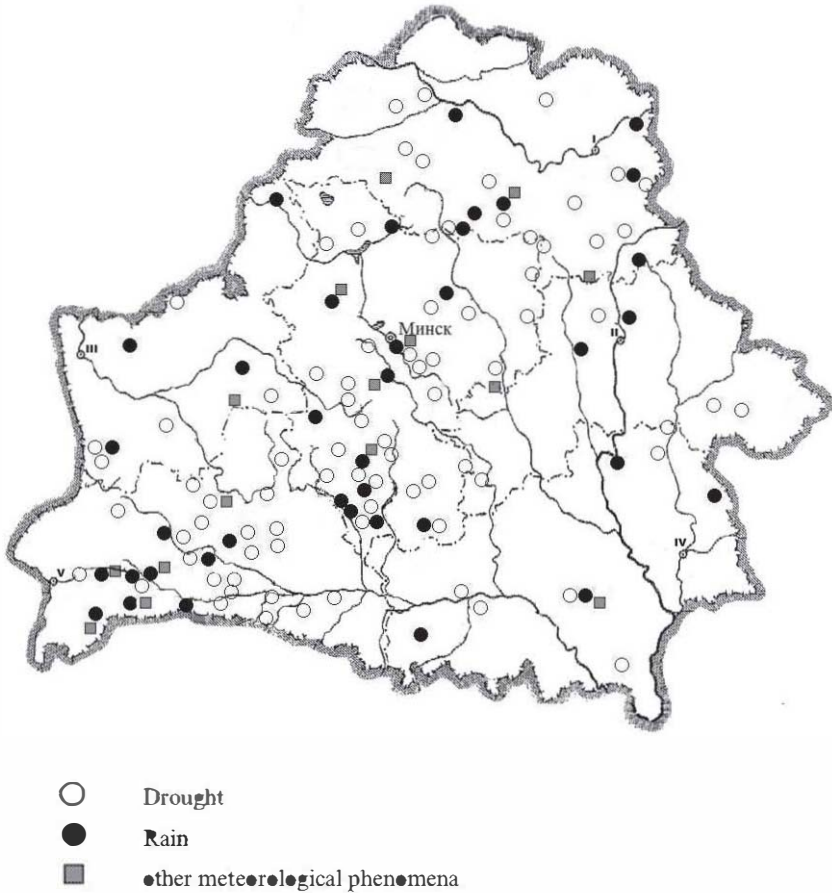
Figure 2-1. Map 1.

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[6] Second publication; for the first time in Antropov 2004a, 200; Antropov 1998, 25.

about the same frequency in the south of Minshchina in the micro-areal of
Lani and Sluchi interfluve and is sporadically recorded in the western part
of the country. One can clearly distinguish two meridial isodoxes: in the
central part of Belarus along Polotsk—Slutsk line and in the east towards
Vitebsk—Rechitsa.

Symbol	Description	Symbol	Description
○	Christmas	▢	*Evdokya* (March 1/14)
◓	*Svyatki* (Yule, Christmastide)	◇	*Kupala* night
◓	*Shchedryi Vecher* (Generous evening)	▭	when planting cucumbers
△	*Maslenitsa* (Pancake week)	▯	the night before the wedding
▲	"*Ulasse*" (Thursday of Pancake Week)	目	before the wedding
▲	"*Papelec*" (Monday and Tuesday of the 1st week of Great Lent)	✳	the presence of ritual actions without indicating their timing

Figure 2-2. Map 2.

The localization of the Belarusian traditional culture even more expressively manifests itself on the maps with fewer fixations of its individual elements; in any case, this is evidenced by the mapping of ceremonial/ritual actions with kolodoy/kolodkoy. In general terms, BELA materials stemming from this questionnaire item (Question No. 15) and their analysis made it possible to draw an important conclusion that ceremonial/ritual actions with kolodoy/kolodkoy are indigenous for the Belarusian traditional culture—contrary to the earlier versions which have considered them as borrowed from the neighbouring Polish or Ukraini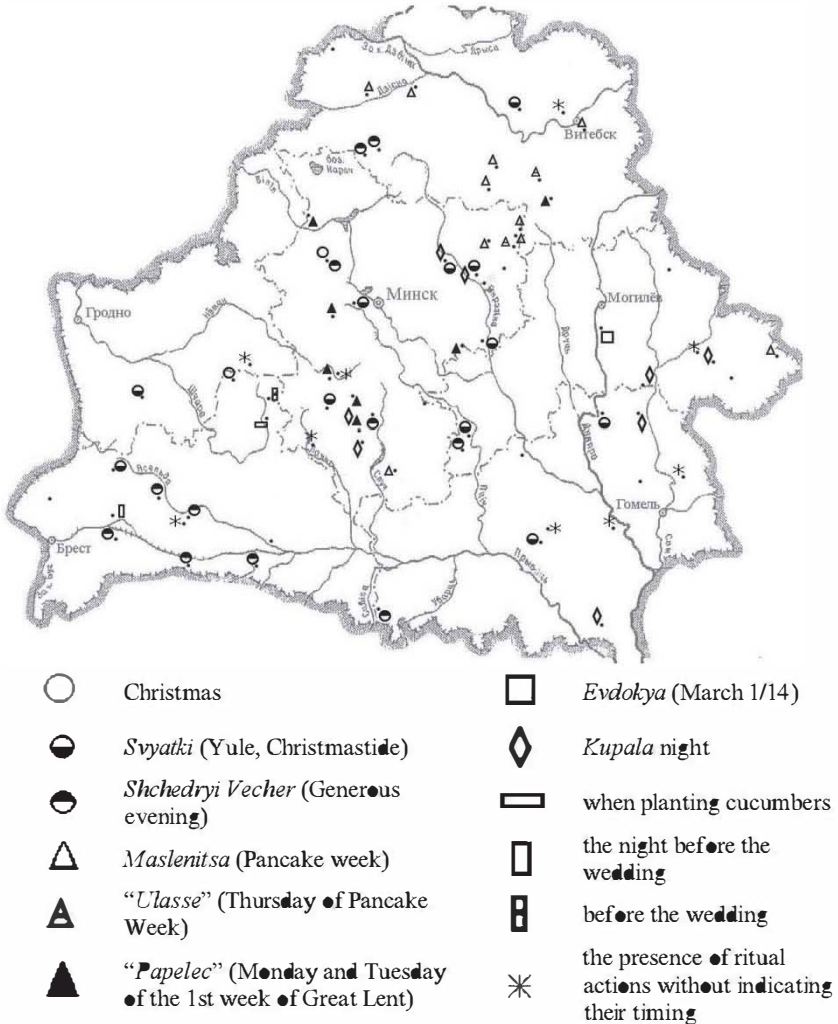an ethnocultures (for details see Antropov 1998: 21–22, 29–32). The analysis of Map 2 ("Association of actions with kolodoy/kolodkoy") shows that most often the calendar timing of the actions is associated with three extremely important periods in the Belarusian ethno-culture: Svyatki (January 7–19; differentiated by a particular celebration and its eve), Maslenitsa (Sunday before the beginning of the Great Lent) and Kupala (July 6). In the first, Svyatki and Shchedry Vecher (January 13) stand out as being sporadically recorded throughout the territory, but gravitating towards the west, where the area of West Polesie is clearly distinguished. The confinement to Maslenitsa, "Ulasse" (Thursday of the Maslyanaya week, which is the week before the Great Lent) and the two days following the Maslyanaya week (the Catholic Popelets) is noted mainly in the settlements of the center and north-west of Belarus. The area between Minsk and Vitebsk is clearly delineated (it should be noted that Adam Bogdanovich [1895, 99] paid attention to it at the end of the 19th century), Mogilev and Gomel (Posozhie—Podneprovie). And here the areal is marked to the south/south-west from Minsk between the middle course of the Sluch and the Neman and Lani upperstreams, where the actions of kolodoy/kolodkoy coincide with all three main periods.

The identified meridial isodoxes: a) Polotsk—Slutsk and further to the West Polesie Zagorodie, b) Vitebsk—Rechitsa (and on other maps, for example, maps for "boroda", the ones close to them) raise an ultimate interest primarily due to the delineation of the Central Belarusian ethnolinguistic area with a center close to the first isodox and periphery in the direction of the second one. At the same time, the specific "center of the center", its ethnocultural conglomerate, is the specified area between the middle course of the Sluch and the Neman and the Lan upstreams. It seems that the practical coincidence of this cultural areal and the own linguistic areal (resp. dialectal), namely, the southern part of the central core of the areal structure of the Belarusian dialects identified by Aleksandr Krivitsky and in the areal refraction interpreted by Genadz Tsykhun (1988, 4–10), is not accidental. Moreover, the identified correlation makes it possible to

speak more specifically about such kinds of areal formations as centers of integration processes, not only within the boundaries of a certain linguistic continuum, but also about a similar ethno-culture with inevitable ethnogenetic references. It seems highly plausible that one such interpretation can now be put forward since the direction of Polotsk—Slutsk / Kletsk—Kobrin isodoxes is close to one of the internal (ethnic) borders of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 13th and first half of the 14th centuries (Shykunova 2004, 15).

▨   specific ritual acts

■   specific + non specific ritual acts

▲   non specific ritual acts

◑   accompanying ritual acts
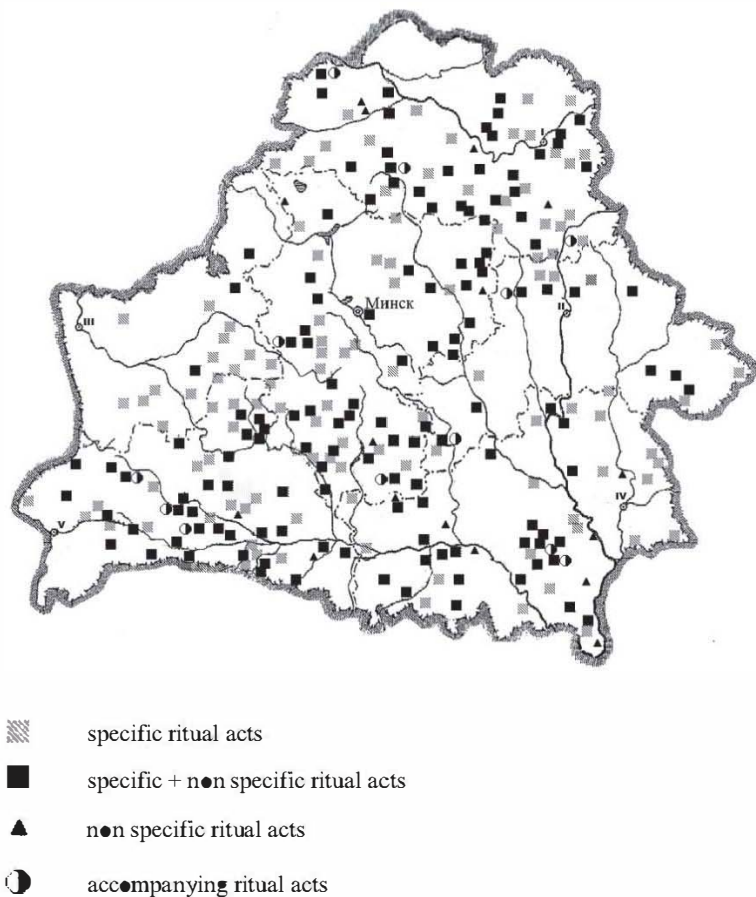
Figure 2-3. Map 3.
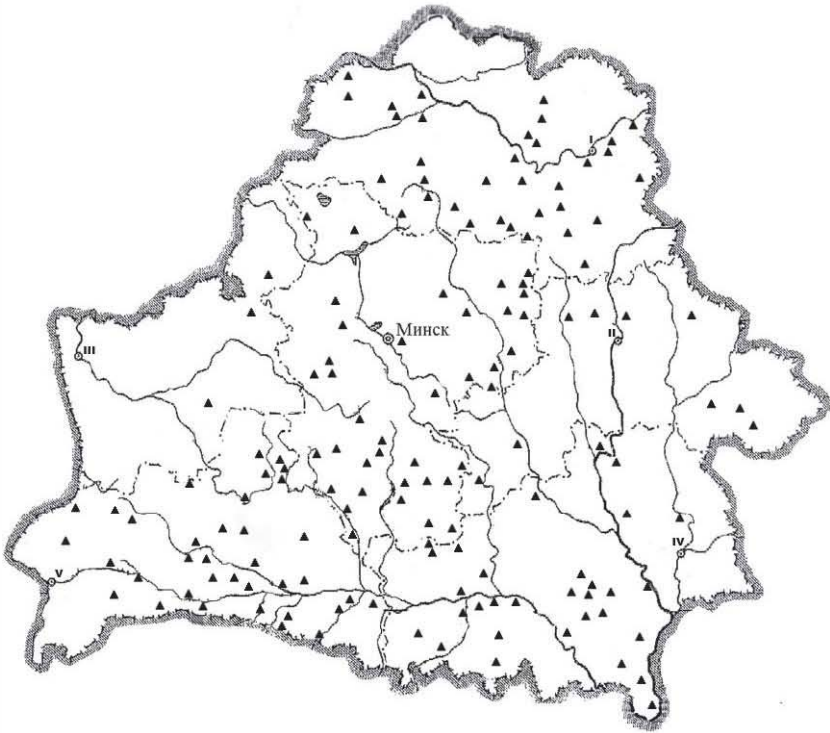
Figure 2-4. Map 4. Non-specific Ritual Actions in the Actional Code of Pluvial Magic.

Another beneficial use of the Belarusian ethnolinguistic maps can be the identification of the temporal evolution of individual ceremonial/ritual codes, the actional one in particular. Undoubtedly, its mapping in an undifferentiated form gives little doubt regarding the reasoning about zoning, which is manifested in Map 3 ("Active Code of Pluvial Magic") and Map 4 ("Non-specific Ritual Actions in the Actional Code of Pluvial Magic") showing the actions in rainmaking[7].

Map 3 shows that the magic of rainmaking is recorded in **76%** of the marked points, while the specific actions (i.e. those that are not usually used in other ritual complexes) are recorded in the overwhelming majority: **250**

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[7] Second publication; the first one in Antropov 2004b, 206 207.

(out of 266, which is 94%). Thus, non-specific actions (known in other complexes and, thus, of a more general character) were recorded only in 16 points. However, Map 4 shows that, in fact, they, of course, are fixed in a much larger number of points (namely, in 152) and are in fact distributed as uniformly as the specific ones. Such a situation seems to reflect the secondary nature, the later "binding" of non-specific actions to primordial specific ones, which may be an evidence of the special value status of pluvial magic in occasional ceremonial and ritual practices.

Even these brief comments referring to only four of the BELA maps allow us to speak about the urgent need to start a fully-fledged academic work on the entire body of archival materials. Organization-wise in the next ten-year period, the project of the "Belarusian Ethnolinguistic Atlas" is to be included in the work plan of the Institute of Language, National Academy of Sciences of Belarus.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE VARIATIONS OF THE IMAGE
OF THE TOWER OF BABEL
AND THE ASSOCIATED ETIOLOGIES
IN THE BELARUSIAN FOLK BIBLE

ELENA BOGANEVA

Abstract: The article analyses the use of the topic of the Tower of Babel in the Belarusian oral Bible. Motifs' parallels to other Slavic folklore Bibles (Polish, Bulgarian) are explored, in addition to the examination of parallels and similarities in the motives of the construction of grandiose objects in other topics from the Old Testament, in particular, the construction of the ark before the Great Flood (the height of the ark, the longitude of its construction, the time of construction, etc.). The images of the building stretching from the earth to the sky (in the form of a tower, church, pillar, staircase), the common and rare etiologies and sources of motivations for the theomachic interpretation of the biblical text (some ancient Russian apocrypha, midrash Bebeshit Raba) are analysed on the basis of the texts coming from the Belarusian folk Bible.

Keywords: Apocrypha, etiology, Midrash, narratives about the Tower of Babel, narratives of the great flood, Tower images (church, columns, stairs).

The image of the tower of Babel is one of the universal symbols present in different cultures. This symbol was formed under the influence of the Abrahamic religions: first of all Christianity and Judaism. (The image of the tower of Babel is present in Christianity and Judaism, since both these religions are based on the Old Testament text. The Koran doesn't mention the tower of Babel.) The collocation of the words 'tower' and 'Babel' representing this symbol became an idiom.

The idiom "Tower of Babel" means:

- A very tall building;

- A great project that cannot be completed;
- An unrealizable idea (which will never be realized, because its executers are too proud and arrogant) (Fyodorov 2008, 19).

The Russian idiom "Вавилонское столпотворение" ("Babylonian pandemonium") originates from the Church Slavonic name of the tower construction and means confusion, erratic, fussy activity that cannot lead to positive results, but also denotes a many-voiced noise, a din, a turmoil, a chaotic congestion of people.

The Biblical story of building a tower "high up to heaven" has numerous correspondences in the oral folklore Bibles of many different peoples (Belarusian—Boganeva 2010, 50–53; Russian—Belova 2004, 285–289; Ukrainian—Chubinskiy 1995, 194–195, Polish—Zowczak 2013, 200–222, Bulgarian—Badalanova 2017, 104–106, and others).

In the oral Bibles, narratives about the Tower of Babel usually correlate with stories about other grandiose buildings mentioned in the Old Testament, for example, the construction of the ark before the Great Flood, the construction of Jerusalem temple by King Solomon. The image of the Tower of Babel is not directly mentioned in the stories about the Ark and the Temple, yet there are several allusions in them.

The correlation between above mentioned topics—the Tower of Babel and the Great Flood—is the most typical correlation in the Belarusian tradition. The extraordinary size of the ark is highlighted in the narration.

> *Eta bylo daŭno-daŭno, u jakich šče hadach. I Jon skazaŭ Noju: Ty daŭžon stroić sabie visoki karabiel, kab nidzie ščylinki nie bulo. A ŭ jaho byla siamja, syny byli. I štob jon byŭ vysoki-vysoki—vyšej visokaha dzieriava. I vot jon tri hoda, luvarili, stroiŭ jety karabiel. Nu i pastroiŭ jon jaho.*
> It happened a long time ago, in old times. He (God) said to Noah, "you must build a big ship for yourself, without any cracks". And he had a family, he had sons. And the ship was very high, higher than the highest tree. And they say that he was constructing this ship for three years. Well, eventually he constructed it (Recorded by E. Boganeva and T. Volodina in 2012 in the village of Taklovka, Khotimsk district, Mogilev region, told by Nina Andryushkina, born in 1930).

Apart from that, it is often mentioned that the construction was taking a long time due to its size. The Ark had to be spacious enough so Noah could accommodate "two of every sort of the living creatures".

The Bible does not directly indicate the exact time of the building of the Ark, although there is an indirect mention of the time that remained from the time of the decision about the Flood till the Flood itself: "Then the Lord said, My Spirit will not contend with humans forever, for they are mortal; their days will be a hundred and twenty years." (Gen. 6:3). The fact that the

text does not refer to human life is evident in chapter 11 of the Book of
Genesis, which tells of the time after the construction of the Tower of Babel
and the descendants of Noah, who lived to be 250 to 600 years old (Gen.
11:10–32).

The same figures (100–120 years) are also mentioned by the Belarusian
narrators of the oral Bible:

> *A pierad hetym bylo pradvidžannie, što Boh budzie nakazyvać nieviernyj
> narod patopam. Nu i Noju bylo skazana sazdać korab taki, štob jon nie
> tanuŭ. Nu i Noj sazdavaŭ... A raniej liudzi žyli nie pa sto liet, a pa tysiačy
> žyli. I Noj sazdavaŭ korab sto liet. A šydzieli z jaho, pakazyvali: "Vo durań
> jaki, stroja!" A korab taki balšy ž byŭ, tamu što treba bylo tam i žyvotnych
> pamiaścić, i charčy—na sorak dniej i sorak načej etaha patopu, kali ŭžo Boh
> budzie nakazyvać liudziej. Nu i ŭsiaho pa pary tam braŭ: i z pcic, i z
> žyvotnych, i siamju svaju ŭsiu sabraŭ. Patamu što jon vieryŭ, i siamja tam
> byla—syny, niaviestki, unuki ŭžo byli. Nu i ŭsie byli ŭ jetam korabie.*

And before that there was a foresight that God would punish the unfaithful
people with a Flood. Well, Noah was told to create a ship so that it would
not sink. [...] And people used to live not for a hundred years, but for a
thousand years. And it took Noah hundred years to make the ship. And they
laughed and pointed at him: "What a fool he is!" And the ship was so big,
because it was necessary to place animals and food there [sufficient] for
forty days and nights of this Flood, by which God was going to punish
people.

> *Biblija piša, što kaŭčeh ... Noj stroiŭ kaŭčeh 120 hod.*

The Bible says that the Ark... that it took Noah 120 years to build the Ark
(Recorded in 2017 by E. Boganeva, T. Volodina in the village of Chudin,
Gantsevichi district, Brest region, narrated by Maria Glinskaya, born in
1932).

The thematic parallelism of the ark and the tower construction is also
confirmed by the texts evidencing the mixing of languages during the
construction of the Ark, though this etiology [of the languages' mixing] is
typical only for the tower of Babel's topic.

> *Nu, stroili kaŭčeh. A patom pasvarylisia. I vyšej, i vyšej. Nu, tady stali
> svarycca—što-ta nie paladzili. A na dnom jazyku havaryli. A tady Boh daŭ
> usim im raznyje jazyki. Jany i kinuli jeta.*

Well, they were building the ark. And then they quarreled. And higher, and
higher. Well then they began to quarrel   they couldn't get along with one
another. And they were using one language for conversation. And then God
gave them different languages. They left their building (Recorded by E.
Boganeva and T. Varfolomeyeva in 2004 in the village of Volosovichi,
Chechersk district, Gomel region).

The same motif of mixed languages is present in the Polish folk bible: "When they were building the ark. They were trying to make it very high. So what? Then they stopped understanding the speech of each other. When one needed clay, another one was giving him water" (Zowczak 2013, 215).

There is another Belarusian text which correlates with the similar folk biblical texts concerning the construction of the Ark and the Tower of Babel. It tells a story about the construction of the "Lavra church", which stayed above the surface of the water during the great flood.

> *Tak kazali, u Laŭry ceŕkaŭ jetu dzielali, i rubili dzvienaccać hadoŭ. Što za dzień zrubiuć—za nač projdzie ŭ ziamliu. Nu im ža visoka tak rubić bylo. I kali poŭnaściu ŭsio padzielali—tak tady jana vyjšla taja ceŕkaŭ z ziamli. Tak kazali, što i voblaki začaplivalisia. Tak haluby liatali, para haluboŭ, dak toľki na toj naLaŭry sieli addychnuli. Nu a tady ŭžo stala vada [spadać].*
> It is said, that people were building the church in the Lavra for 12 years. The part [of the church], which was made during the day, would disappear under the ground during the night. Well, it was too high for them. But when everything was done, the church came out from the ground. People told that it was higher than the clouds. And the pair of Noah's doves (which he released during the Flood) landed on the dome of that church. And then the water level began dropping (Recorded by N. Antropov, E. Boganeva, T. Volodina in 2012 in the village of Ivkina Sloboda, Kostyukovichi district, Gomel region).

The Belarusians of the Hrodna region have tales regarding the construction of churches, with the walls of the temple built during the day going underground after they are destroyed by an evil spirit (Varfalameyeva 2006, 416). The Galician Ukrainians have a similar legend about the construction of the Kiev-Pechersk Lavra. The walls of one of the churches, which were built during a day, went into ground in order to rise to the sky at the end of the work (Hnatyuk 1902, 186–187). There is also a similar legend about God's assistance in the construction of Saint Nicholas Church of Nyrob in the Russian North (Perm Territory) (Rusina 2012, 84–87).

The episode with the buildings going below surface level is the common episode for the Belarusian texts about the Tower of Babel. The motifs of the built-in-a-day ark, which is disappearing under ground, are also present in the polish folk Bible: "The devil destroyed in the night that [thing] what was built by Noah during the day" (Zowczak 2013, 216).

There is another version of the flood's origin in the folk Bible of the Moldovan Bulgarians. It says that the flood was the result of the Tower of Babel's construction. It happened because God got angry at the people who wanted to climb up to the sky (Badalanova 2017, 105).

It may be noted that only descriptions of the size and the construction scope are related to those in the other texts about the construction of the Ark

before the Flood or about the "Lavra Church". However, the intentions of
the texts are opposite: according to the oral Bible, both the ark and the
church are built by direct or indirect commands of God, while the
construction of the Tower of Babel goes against His will.

In the Belarusian oral Bible, the idea of the Tower of Babel is realized
in the images of the tower itself, as well as the stairs, churches and pillars.

> *Da, chocieli ž na niebo zrobić bašniu takuju, uvierch zaliešci, dostać Boha,
> pobačyć.*
> Yes, they wanted to make <u>a tower</u> up to the sky, [they wanted] to climb up,
> to get to God, to see Him (Recorded by E. Boganeva and T. Varfolomeyeva
> in 2004 in the village of Sinkevichi, Luninets raion district, Brest region,
> narrated by Catherine Chernookoy, born in 1941).

> *I kahda stali stroić Vavilonskaje stolpotvorienije [...] A dumali stolb
> pastroić da samaha nieba, a nia vyšla tak.*
> And when they began to build the Tower of Babel ... they thought of building
> <u>a pillar</u> to the very sky, but it did not turn out that way (Recorded by O.
> Basko in 1997 in the village of Mikhalinovo, Lioznensky district, Vitebsk
> region, narrated by Ulita Vysotskaya, born in 1903).

> *A kali stali stroić jeta cerkvu takuju, štob nu, visokuju jomka, da nieba
> tudy...*
> They began to build <u>a church</u> like that, well, very high, up to the sky...
> (Recorded E. Boganeva in 2016 in the village of Neglyubka, Vetka raion
> district, Gomel region, narrated by Tatyana Demchikhina, born in 1949).

> *Chacieli ŭzlieźć na nieba. Lieśnicaj. I lieśnicu jetu ŭžo chacieli stroić da
> samaha nieba.*
> They wanted to climb up to the sky. With help of a ladder. And they already
> wanted to build a ladder to the heaven (Recorded by E. Boganeva and T.
> Varfolomeyeva in 2004 in the village of Volosovichi, Chechersk raion
> district, Gomel region, narrated by Galina Shutikova, born in 1942).

A tower and a ladder are the most common images. The tower (the pillar,
the church) can have a multifunctional purpose. As said in the ancient
Russian apocrypha "Explanatory Paley" ("Paleya Tolkovaya") (Tolkovaya
2002, 155–157), the builders were planning to use the tower as an asylum
in case God created the Flood once again. As for the image of the ladder, its
purpose is mono-functional. It is used as a connection device between earth
and heaven. That is to say, the image of the ladder in the folk Bible has the
intention of challenging heavens, and challenging God.

Therefore, it is no accident that the ladder motif in the Belarusian folk
Bible is most often linked to the motif of the destruction of its part during
the construction.

Roskazuvali, što jasli ŭsie robili. Robili-robili—da i nie dobralisa do nieba.
[A što za jasli?] Nu, liezci na niebo. Liesnicy takije. Vsie robili, nieskoĺki
hodoŭ robili—chocieli na niebo dobracca. I tak nie dobralisa. Robili-robili,
liezli-liezli... Zrobiać, až noč pierenočujuć—i znoŭ... Uhe dumajuć: "O to-
to, zalieziem!". [Jany za noč tyja jasli mieńšyja stanavilisia?] Da, da.
They told us that they are all making a manger. They were making it for a
long time but it never reached the sky. [And what kind of manger was that?]
Well, to climb to the sky, a ladder. Everybody was making it   they did it
for several years   they wanted to reach the sky. And they never reached it.
They were making it again and again, trying to climb up to the sky... After
it's finished, and the night was over and then they had to do it all over again.
They were thinking: "Here we are about to reach it! [So did this ladder
decrease overnight?] Yes, yes (Recorded in 2006 by E. Boganeva in the
village of Rog, Soligorskiy raion district, Minsk region, narrated by Pavlina
Ilychytsy, born in 1925).

Skoĺka zrobiać za dzień, jana ŭvachodzila ŭ ziemliu. Skoĺka tam zbudujuć
tam na mietr ci boĺše—ana apiać... Tak Haspodź abraščaŭ trud
čalaviečaski...
What they made during the day disappeared into the earth. When they built
a meter or more   it was again like that (it again disappeared)... This is how
the Lord reversed human labor (Recorded by E. Boganeva and T.
Varfolomeyeva in 2004 in the village of Gat, Oktyabrsky raion district,
Gomel region, narrated by Nadezhda Korol, born in 1940).

The motif of the significant sacred building that goes underneath is a
common motif among the Eastern and Western Slavs. This motif can have
an ambivalent interpretation in folk traditions. It can be interpreted as a
building destroyed by the devil, or it can be interpreted as an act of
assistance from God (or the angels).

In the Belarusian texts about the ladder stretching from the ground to the
sky, the building is not destroyed by Satan out of envy, but by God in order
to punish the builders.

The Book of Genesis in the Old Testament contains an image of the
staircase connecting heaven and earth, alluding to the covenant between
man and God—Jacob's ladder (Gen. 28:12), but this image is not present in
the Belarusian folk Bible; instead they are found either in the folklore
records of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, or in contemporary records.

Belarusians have relatively few etiologies associated with the Tower of
Babel topic. These are classic stories about the origin of different languages
(the most common version). Among them there are few rare etiologies:
about the "spirits of nature and the household"; about the Jewish restrictions
on pork consumption; about the reason why babies do not walk.

The etiology of the appearance of different languages is based on a biblical text (Gen. 11:6–9), therefore it is present in different European oral traditions.

Belarusians believe that they have two proto-languages: Jewish and Belarusian (Russian).

> *My ž ad jaŭrie jaŭ prajzašli, usie znali jaŭriejski jazyk. I kahda stali stroić Vavilonskaje stolpotvorienije, vot tut Boh-taki i zmiešaŭ liudzioŭ: nada kirpič, a jany padajuć vadu; nada hlina, a jany padajuć kirpič—tak i razašliś liudzi, Vavilonskaje stolpotvorienije nie pastroili. […] I vot stali raznyje jazyki: i ruski, i kitajski, i mnoha...*
>
> We have descended from Jews, everyone knew Jewish language. And when they began to build the Tower of Babel, God mixed the people. [So, they stopped to understand each other]. When one needed clay, another one was giving him water. When one needed clay, another one was giving him a brick. That's why they broke their relations and the Tower of Babel was not built. [...] And this is the reason why people speak different languages: Russian, Chinese and many other… (Recorded by O. Basko in 1997 in the village of Mikhalinovo, Lioznensky raion district, Vitebsk region, narrated by Ulita Vysotskaya, born in 1903).

Regarding the status of Russian or Belarusian as a proto-language, our informants had a debate on this issue, and as a result the participants agreed that the first language was Belarusian.

> *[A nie raskazyvali, što liudzi chacieli da nieba bašniu stroić?] TD: Eta raskazuvali. Jak byŭ adzin jazyk u nas, hamanili, adzin jazyk byŭ u nas—ruskij…PP: Bielaruskij! TD: Da. A kali stali stroić jeta cerkvu takuju, štob ni, visokuju jomka, da nieba tudy, i Haspodź tady paslaŭ ańhielaŭ, i stali jany razhavarivać: ty na niamieckam, taja na ruskam, taja na bielaruskam, taja na italjaskam, usich jazyki jetyja... Paslaŭ Haspodź, i jany vo kinuli stroić.*
>
> [And did not they say that people began to build a tower to the sky?] [1st informant, born in 1949] They said so. That we had one language, they said, Russian. [2nd informant, born in 1928] Belarusian! [1st informant] Yes. And when they began to build this church, very high, up to the sky, the Lord sent angels, and they began to talk German, Russian, Belarusian, and Italian. So after the Lord sent the [angles], they gave up building it (Recorded by E. Boganeva in 2016 in the village of Neglyubka Vietka district, Gomel region, narrated by Tatiana Demchihina, born in 1949).

The etiology of "the spirits of nature and the household"—brownies, hobgoblins, fielders, foresters, etc.—is present in the Belarusian texts published in the beginning of the 20th century. According to N. Nikiforovsky, "The humanlike creatures ("Chelovekopodobniki") are the unhappy and proud builders of the Tower of Babel who wanted to learn the

secrets of the sky and dreamed of being glorified by their descendants. The pride brought upon them a deserved punishment [...], the curse found them. So they stayed there: in the manor building, in the field, in the forest, in the water, in the swamp" (Nikiforovskiy 1907, 46–47). I should note that such etiology is not found in the modern Belarusian records. A similar etiology of household and natural demons is also found in Ukraine (Chubinskiy 1995, 194–195). But there's a different detail in the story. The towers were not built by people, but by demons. The initiator was the devil, who wanted to become equal to God. But God destroyed this construction and the fallen demons stayed forever at the place of their failure: those who fell into water became water spirits, those who fell into a forest became forest spirits, and so on...

Belarusians had a rare etiology on the topic of the Tower of Babel related to the prohibition of eating pork in Judaism.

> *[Čamu jaŭrei svinimu nie jaduć?] Čaho śviniej nie jaduć? Taho što jany Boha chacieli dastać. I tady skoĺka ž jany prymastkoŭ nia dzielali, liesnicu, tak i nie dastali jany Boha. I Jon nie razrašyŭ im jeśći śvinimu. Chacieli Boha dastać, m. [Tak jany što, liesvicy stali budavać?] Nu. Eta ž ciapier usio sputniki, i to da Boha nie dabiarucca nijak. [Tak ich Boh skimŭ, kali jany liesnicu budavali?] Śkinuŭ. I nie razrašyŭ im sala jeśći. Eta matka mnie raskazyvala.*
>
> [Why do not Jews eat pork?] Why do not they eat pigs? Because they (the Jews) wanted to reach God. But no matter how hard they had tried to pave the staircase, they never reached God. And He did not allow them to eat pork. [...] That's what my mother told me (Recorded by E. Boganeva and T. Varfolomeyeva in 2004 in the village of Zamki, Krupsky raion district, Minsk region, narrated by Stepan Krutko, 1931).

This etiology is common among Belarusians, as well as Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and Lithuanians. However, it is usually found in the folk biblical accounts of the passions of Christ, while this interpretation is not typical for the narrative of the Tower of Babel. The same applies to the following etiology.

A unique etiology concerning the question of the Tower of Babel was recorded in the Belarusian-Russian borderland in 2014. It explains why newborn children cannot walk. The etiology itself is characteristic of Belarusian tradition and has repeatedly been recorded in different regions of Belarus (Varfalameyeva 2009, 351; 430–431; Varfalameyeva 2011, 441–442; Varfalameyeva 2013, 604). However, in this case, it arises as an answer to the question concerning the Tower of Babel:

> *[A vot nie raskazyvali pra Vavilonskuju bašniu? Što liudzi chacieli da nieba daliezć?] Čula, nonie znaju... Čula. Havoriuć baby adnana adnu palažyli...*

*Babu samuju toŭstuju palažyli na dno, druhuju tak, druhuju tak, i dalieźli
tady da nieba. A tady adna i havoria: "Čaho-ta karova rodzia, i srazu jety
pojdzia, kabyla rodzia... Nu, kabyla žariebicca, jeta cielicca, čaho-ta jany
chodziać srazu jak rodziucca? Jak rodzicca—tak i pašoŭ. Čaho ŭ nas dzieci
nie chodziuć?" Eta kažuć: "Palieziem k Bohu, sprosim, čaho?" Nu i palažyli
adna na admu zaliezli i havoria: "Hospadzi! Čaho-ta dzieci nie chodziać?
U karovy rodzicca i pašla, a ŭ nas čaho nie?" A Jon havorić: "Znaješ
što, čaho nie? Tak ty raz u hod, kak skacina, tady buduć tvaje dzieci
chadzić." Jana pieriadajeć: "Jak, sahlasny?" "Nie, nie sahlasny!"—Jak
trusanula—ŭsie paliacieli. "JA nie sahlasna, štob raz u hod!" Nu, čuli heta?
(smiajecca) [(N. P.) Tak vnizu byla samaja tolstaja?] Toŭstaja. Nu, užo
unizu toŭstaja, potym chudziejšaja, chudziejšaja, štob Boha dastać da nieba.
Nu, jana ž užo padysła i havoria, sprašuje, Hospadzi, čaho heta tak? [(JE.
B.) Nie, što adna na adnu—takoha i nie čuli.] Da, adna na adnu. Nu i Boh
skazaŭ raz u hod—i u vas dzicionak pojdzie. Sahlasny? A taja havoria: "JA
nie sahlasna raz hod!" I baby pakacilisia. Jeta čula.*

[But did not they tell about the Tower of Babel? That the people wanted to
reach the sky? I heard that. They said that they had put women on the top of
each other... The thickest one was laid first, then another, and another, and
[thus] they climbed up to the sky. [...] And then one of them said: "My God,
why do not our children walk?" The cow will have a calf and it will walk,
but why we do not have our children walk?" And God answered: "If you
want to sleep with a man once a year, like cattle (cows), your children will
also walk after birth." She passed it to the woman underneath and the latter
shouted: "No, we do not agree!" And as they were shaken, they all fell down
(laughing) (Recorded in 2014 by E. Boganeva, N. Petrov, N. Savina in the
town Cherikov, Mogilev region from Maria Romanenko, born in 1922).

It can be observed that the logic of this narrative follows the pattern of
stories about the Tower of Babel: unreasonable people (in this case, women)
climb the sky in such an unusual way to present their unreasonable claims
to God (children can't walk after birth, as calves do) and to put forward a
demand. God agrees to fulfil the demand, putting forward, in turn, an
impossible condition (only if women will sleep with their men once a year,
as beasts do). The women reject the condition, and the all-female "Tower
of Babel" is destroyed.

The last examples show the mechanism of adaptation of etiological plots
to different biblical themes. Although oral tradition assigns certain
etiologies to specific biblical topics, these however can move relatively
freely in the space of the biblical narratives and form new compounds,
without violating either the internal logic of the etiology or the resulting new
folk biblical story.

The parallel between the Tower of Babel and spaceflights often appears
in modern narratives. Spaceflights are perceived as an attempt to reach God.

Chocieli pobačyć, što tam dzielajecca na niebiesach. Budovali [...] viežu, z dziereva, no vot nie polučylosia. Sam Hospodź zakazyŭ eto, da. [...] Treba davać dzierevo, a dajuć kirpič. Zmiešaŭ Boh jazyki liudziam, i zostalosia tak. [A jany da nieba chacieli dastać?] Do nieba, tak, jak Haharyn, tože ž chocieli do Boha dostać. [...] Komaroŭ, [taksama] chocieŭ dostać, Boha ŭziać za borodu... Da, liecieŭ, štob uziać za borodu Boha. Až Hospoź daŭ, što von upaŭ da ŭbiŭsia. Da i roskazvajuć, a ja čuju. Vo, kaže, uziaŭ Bohaza borodu! [Eta kasmanaŭt, jaki ubiŭsia?] Da, da-da. Komaroŭ. [...] [Tak kasmanaŭty našy chacieli da Boha dastać?] Da, no Hospodź nie dopusciŭ. I ja hovoriu: ja zare nikomu, dzicia, nie vieru. JA vieriu odnomu Hospodu Bohu i Macieri Hospodniej. JA vstaju—ja pieremoliusa. I lioh—ja pieremoliusa. Moj i dzied, i baćko buŭ, my relihiju ponimajem...

They wanted to see what was happening in the sky. They were building a wooden tower, but could not do it. The Lord Himself stopped the construction. Yes, He did it. When they (the builders) asked to give them wood, they were given bricks [instead]. God mixed the languages and they remained mixed. [And did they want to get to the sky?] Up to the sky, the same way as Gagarin did… And Komarov also wanted to reach God, to grab His beard… Yes, he flew to grab God's beard. Well, Lord got him to fall down and die. They say, and I hear. So, they say, this way he grabbed God's beard (Recorded by E. Boganeva and T. Varfolomeyeva in 2003 in the village of Tereblychi, Stolin district, Brest region, narrated by Vasily Petrusevich, born in 1924).

You will note that the majority of Belarusian folk narratives about the Tower of Babel emphasize the godless goal of the builders. The builders wanted to get to the sky, to reach God, to "grab His beard". The same thing we can say about the other Slavic oral Bibles although the written biblical text gives no reason for speaking about the godless goal of the builders: "Then they said, 'Come, let us build ourselves a city, with a tower that reaches to the heavens, so that we may make a name for ourselves; otherwise we will be scattered over the face of the whole earth'" (Gen. 11:4).

However, the connection between the Tower of Babel construction and the topic "challenging God" is discovered in some of the apocryphal sources. Particularly in the "Explanatory Paleya" ("Tolkovaya Paleya")— one of the earliest sources. "After the Flood, people were saying to each other: "Once upon a time God has destroyed people by the Flood; If He becomes angry again, he will destroy us with the flood once more, and we will all perish." And they said to each other, "Let us gather, make bricks and burn them with fire, so they will resist water, and build a tower to heaven (Gen. 11:3–4), in order to avoid the flood, everyone will be saved in it and will turn against God, because we are all together" (Tolkovaya 2002, 156). Already in "Paleya Tolkovaya" (12th century), the theomachic interpretation of the tower construction is clearly visible. Another Apocrypha also speaks

about the Tower of Babel—"The Word of Methodius of Patar" (14th century). "After the death of Noah, ... the grandchildren of Noah, 12 genera began to build a pillar, saying: "If God makes flood on Earth once more, then we will climb the pillar and stay alive ... [...]. The same 12 genera were building a pillar for 80 years which rose above the clouds. God did not like their work: while sleeping on the pillar at night, they were thrown to the ground by a strong wind, and perished by the burning of the sun; and in the morning, when they (other builders) got up, they wanted to continue building the pillar, until their language was split into 12 different languages. Fear and terror attacked them, and one did not recognize the voice of the other. And so they all went back to earth, speaking 12 languages and each one went his own way. And the Lord made four great winds—to the east, west, north and south, and 12 winds all in all—and the pillar fell apart" (Tikhonravov 1863, 252).

The ancient Russian sources were undoubtedly influenced by Hebrew sources, particularly the Midrash Bereshith Raba, referring to the era of the Amorites (3–5 centuries). Let's compare: "While all of them were unanimous as to the need to build a tower, their opinions about the purpose of its construction were different. Some people thought: "In the case of a new flood, we will climb up to the top of the tower, and the water will not reach us." Another group said, "We will create a name for ourselves". This group was going to set up a meeting place on the top of the tower. They were planning to worship their idols over there, and they believed that this would help them stay safe in the case of a new catastrophe. The 3rd group was saying: "It is not fair that Ashem dominates in the upper spheres, limiting our possessions in the lower world". At the top of the tower we will set an idol, put a sword in his hands and declare a war against Ashem. Thus, all groups mentioned were going to rise against Ashem (Bereishit Rabbah).

It is notable that the fragment of Paleya Tolkovaya referring to the Tower of Babel accurately reproduces the Midrash "Bereshith Rabbah", although the entire Paleya Tolkovaya is constructed as a polemic with a "жидовин" ("zhidovin", i.e. a Jew).

<p style="text-align:center">***</p>

An analysis of the Belarusian narratives about the Tower of Babel demonstrates the existence of a stable system of motifs and images, parallels and associations that are typical for this topic coming from the biblical oral tradition. The basic sense-making motif is the erection of a building from the ground to the sky (it is manifested among the Belarusians in images of a tower, stairs, a church, or a pillar), which serves the purpose of comparing oneself with God, and challenging Him. Therefore, despite the existence of

stable parallels between the motif of a large construction in other stories from the Old Testament (in the Belarusian tradition it is primarily the construction of the Ark ahead of the Flood), the intentions of these stories are different. While the explicit intention of the Tower of Babel bears an obvious theomachistic character, this intention is in the most cases absent from the stories/accounts about the Flood. In addition to the biblical etiologies about the separation of the languages and peoples, there are atypical etiologies in the Belarusian oral tradition about the appearance of domestic and natural demons in the world, reasons why Jews do not eat pork, and why children do not walk before they are one year old. The latter etiologies are common and popular in the Belarusian tradition, but not typical for the topic of the Tower of Babel. Moreover, these etiologies provide a clear evidence of the intention to challenge God, while the original Biblical texts do not possess any significant theomachistic meanings. An analysis of the apocryphal sources demonstrates that the theomachic interpretation of the theme of the construction of the Tower of Babel is inherent in the Judeo-Christian hermeneutic methodology of describing Biblical texts. This fact indirectly indicates that the sources of the narratives about the construction of the Tower of Babel in the oral rural culture are not Biblical texts proper, but their interpretation by the church, which relied on the monumental works of apocryphal literature.

Acknowledgements

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PART 2:

COLOURFUL FOLKLORE

Chapter Four

Red in Folk Songs:
Words and Formulae[1]

Tiiu Jaago

Abstract: This paper looks at the occurrence of the colour term 'red' in an early stage of Estonian folk song tradition *regilaul* ('runic song'). Studies so far indicate that while colour terms only rarely figure in *regilaul*, they occur conspicuously in set phrases and fixed motifs. The analysis of the songs discussed in this paper is based, on the one hand, on a formulaic approach according to which colour terms, including 'red', occur in fixed lexical associations (e.g. *punane* pale, or in English: red face/cheeks). On the other hand, the interpretation of songs and formulae, i.e. fixed lexical phrases, draws on context-centred folklore studies that focus on formulae by considering the motifs and themes of songs. The formulae containing colour terms appear to vary considerably when different phrases are present in the same verse. However, combined colour terms that occur across two or three verses form relatively fixed collocations. While the formulae vary at the level of collocations, they remain relatively fixed in terms of themes and motifs.

Keywords: Early Estonian folk song (*regilaul*), formula, colour terms

The colour spectrum of an early Estonian folk song (*regilaul*) was the subject of extensive discussions in the late 1970s and early 1980s, coming into focus once again in the mid-1990s. The contributions focused either on the perceptions of the world and symbols, or on the context of cultural and linguistic history of the usage of colour terms (see e.g. Sarv and Sarv 1979; Parmasto 1982; Viires 1983; Roll 1985; Sarapik 1994, 1997). From the

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[1] An edited version of the article "Punane *regilaulus*: sõnad ja vormelid" (Red in *regilaul*: words and formulae), published in Estonian in journal *Mäetagused*, no. 64, 2016.

viewpoint of folklore theory, the contributors emphasised the need for
further quantitative research (Emits et al. 1981). Psychologist Jüri Allik
(1982) stepped into the discussion to clarify the subjects of colour
perception, symbols and terms. Further insight was provided by Urmas
Sutrop, in an experimental paper in which the author proposed, based on the
theory of Brent Berlin and Paul Kay, the evolution of basic colour terms in
Estonian language (Sutrop 1995, 1996). Berlin and Kay's work, on which
Urmas Sutrop's paper was based, *Basic Color Terms: Their Universality
and Evolution* (1969), proposed seven stages in the universal evolutionary
sequence of basic colour terms (Berlin and Kay 1969; Hardin 2013).
Sutrop's experimental study showed that modern Estonian has 11 colour
terms (white, black, red, yellow, green, blue, brown, grey, purple, orange
and pink), thus "fully corresponding to the last, seventh stage of Berlin and
Kay's colour abstraction sequence" (Sutrop 1995, 808). A colour term is
considered basic if it meets four criteria, including the criterion that it must
be monolexemic (this criterion rules out a number of colour terms used in
folk songs, such as "*andis sukad suitsukarva, / kindad kerikse karva, / paelad
paha ilma karva*" (Gave [her] stockings of the colour of smoke, / gloves of
the colour of a sauna hearth, / ribbons of the colour of bad weather) and that
it must refer to the colour of objects and materials, rather than to the objects
and materials themselves (e.g. the colour term '*kõrb*' that is only used for a
bay horse or the colour term '*paat*' that is a synonym of a palomino horse;
or the colour term '*ruuge*' that is only used to describe auburn hair).
Integrating the outcomes of the discussions of the 1970s and 1980s into
Sutrop's linguistic research resulted in a shift from documenting single
colour terms present in traditional songs to applying the concept of formula.
The concept of colour terms now included collocations between the words
and the resulting fields of meaning. For instance, what meaning is created
by 'blue' and 'red' occurring together and how it is different when those
words are used together with a third colour term (Jaago 1997).

The modern formulaic approach to folklore studies ties in with the formulaic
approach introduced by Albert B. Lord. While Lord's concept of formula was
based on fieldwork and studies on how traditional songs were performed (Lord
1997 [1960], 13–67; Foley 1988, 36–56), in the research on Estonian folk songs,
the concept of formula was based on an analysis of archive texts written down
based on oral performances (Kolk 1962; Saarlo 2000, 124–130). Friedebert
Tuglas, who wrote introspectively about the formulae of *regilaul* in 1912, had
pointed out that songs use 'verses', 'comparisons' and 'adages' (i.e. 'formulae'
in contemporary meaning) which have evolved over time, and due to their
repetitive use, have lost their 'independent meaning' (i.e. their usage varies)
(Tuglas 1912, 30–31). Researchers have continuously highlighted set phrases

while describing the stereotypical expressions used in old folk songs (Laugaste 1962,27; Tedre 1964a; Tedre 1964b, 53–55). A more clear-cut theoretical basis of the concept of formula was developed by Udo Kolk. Based on an analysis of *regilaul*, he identified formulae within a verse, i.e. 'units of the same form' that were shorter than a verse and that the singer combined in different ways, as a type of 'stereotypical expression' (Kolk 1962). This paper also draws on Udo Kolk's concept of formula in the section containing the analysis of songs.

Studies of colour terms present in folk songs have also provided insights for archaeologists: similarly to *regilaul*, blue, red and white were the favoured colours of the attire of medieval women (Rammo 2015). Obviously, there is no direct link between the use of colours in national costumes and the use of colour terms in *regilaul*—while the former is related to fabric dying techniques and fashion, the latter concerns stereotypical expressions and fields of meaning intrinsic to *regilaul*. However, it implies that, in a general cultural context, certain colours have greater weight.

Colour terms in early Estonian folk song (*regilaul*): General context

The folk song tradition in question constitutes a part of the Baltic-Finnic tradition that is estimated to be two or even three thousand years old (Sarv 2000, 13–14). The first written records of folk song texts date back to the 1660s (Hein 1993). The majority of the texts available to modern researchers were recorded in the 1880s and 1890s. This was the time when the tradition of *regilaul* had started to fade away even in the singer community. Such songs also formed part of the oral tradition, which determined the distinctive form and scope of the use of the songs. The songs were sung as a part of a ritual or accompanying a task or chore, or in some specific situations (e.g. work songs were sung both to ease the pain of hard work and to influence the work). Two aspects of the form of such songs are relevant to this paper. First, the words in the verse were chosen by taking into account their phonetic similarity (*sinitaime tahtemaie, punapärga püüdemaie* (to desire a blue plant, / to ask a red wreath)). Second, a distinguishing feature of the songs is that verses are linked through parallelism: these songs are, as a rule, rather long (comprising between 20 and 30 verses) and the verses are merged into a song by combining single verses with groups of verses of two to three lines. In the following example, the first line is a single verse—the singer is addressing the main character of the song: "my son, my boy"; the second line is also a single verse that

conveys the main message: "when you are going to woo [a woman]". The following two lines form a parallel group that reiterates the main message:

> *Pojakene, poisikene!*
> *Kui lääd naista võttemaie,*
> *sinitaime tahtemaie,*
> *punapärga püidemaie.*
> My son, my boy! / When you are going to woo a woman, / to desire a **blue plant**, / to ask for a **red wreath** (H II 33, 586 (6), 1889).

The group of parallel verses ("*sinitaime tahtemaie, / punapärga püidemaie*") should be considered together with the preceding main verse. This is not about three different activities (wooing a woman, desiring a blue plant and asking for a red wreath). Also there are no three different objects of activity in this song because these figurative phrases 'a blue plant' and 'a red wreath' denotes the same—a young woman.[2] While the main verse contains key information on the activity described in the song, 'blue' and 'red' occurring together in parallel verses refer to a social turning point— getting married—in a society where those songs were sung. While the search for colour terms present in *regilaul* is based on single words, they should be analysed based on their relationship to each other and the whole motive.

An analysis of the frequency of colour terms in old Estonian folk songs (*regilaul*) indicates that colour terms do not occur very often. For instance, a word list by frequency, based on 318 song texts from the Kodavere Parish, contains the 50 most common word stems and collocations, but not a single colour term, except for '*kuld*' (gold), which in certain cases can be interpreted as a colour term—'*kulla värvi*', '*kuldne*' (golden) (Saarlo 2001, 273, 295–297). Colour terms are present in 175 of the 772 songs, i.e. in 22.6% of the texts in the Anthology of Estonian folk songs, Vol. I, Part 1 (Jaago 1997, 54). However, judging from the frequency tables of colour terms, it appears that certain colour terms are used more often than others. For instance, in a list of colour terms based on the above-mentioned anthology of folk songs, 'red' is present most often (73 times), followed by 'blue', 'grey' and 'black' (55 times each) and 'white' (44 times). 'Green' and 'yellow' are found less frequently (five times and twice, respectively). Frequency tables should not be based on quantitative data only. For

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[2] Juhan Peegel has examined such repetitive nouns in the parallel verses of the *regilaul* from the linguistic point of view. He introduced the term 'the poetic synonyms' (*poeetilised sünonüümid*) (Peegel 1997 [1969]). These poetic synonyms are characteristic only to the language of the Estonian earlier folk songs. Peegel compiled a dictionary of such poetical synonyms (Peegel 2004).

example, a search in the Estonian *regilaul* Database (retrieved on 11 October 2015) revealed the following colour terms frequency (based on the word stems of the basic colour terms in Estonian[3]): black*—7854 songs; white*—7245; grey*—5402; red*—5370; blue*—4377; green*—259; pink*—375; yellow*—199; brown*—25; purple*—82; orange—0. This does not indicate the frequency of the occurrence of colour terms because it is not clear if a word refers to a colour or to some parallel meaning (see, for example *valge—päevavalge* (white—daylight/sunlight); *must—räpane* (black—dirty, filthy)). Therefore, frequency tables of colour terms are compiled by combining quantitative and qualitative methods.

When comparing the frequency of the occurrence of colour terms in folk songs with the knowledge of the developmental stages of basic colour terms in Estonian (see Sutrop 1996, 662), there is certain amount of overlapping. In simple terms, colour terms used in *regilaul* are the same ones that have evolved first in the language. However, this cannot be reduced to a simple question of the history of the evolution of colour terms in Estonian—neither from the point of view of the history of the language, nor from the point of view of the theory of *regilaul*. Even when leaving aside the fact that *regilaul* songs are sung in dialects, not in the standard language, the problem is that basic colour terms have changed following different stages of the linguistic history. For example, the word stem *puna*, which frequently occurs in *regilaul*, has a relatively long history: according to the Dictionary of Estonian Etymology, it dates back to the Finno-Ugric period. It evolved into a colour term only later, in the Baltic-Finnic period, initially designating the term '*karv*' (colour, shade) (in Estonian, particularly in *regilaul*, '*karv*' is often used as a synonym of 'colour', e.g. *rukkikarva juuksed*—rye-coloured (also known as 'dirty blonde') hair). What can be observed from the graph by Urmas Sutrop that illustrates the evolutionary sequence of basic colour terms, is that the words *koit* (also: *koje*) (dawn) and *verev* (wire) (blood-coloured) also mean the colour red (Sutrop 1996, 663–667). Sutrop points out that "when a language enters the next evolutionary stage, not only are new basic colour terms added, but the existing ones may also be replaced" (Sutrop 1996, 661). This explains why, for example, the word '*hall*' (grey), which is frequently present in *regilaul*, has become a basic colour term relatively recently, in the 18th century, i.e. at the same time the word '*pruun*'' (brown) became basic colour term, but is rarely found in *regilaul*

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[3] Due to the specific nature of the Estonian language, a search should be based on word stems because inflection (declension and conjugation) may change the meaning of the word. For example: red — *punane* (nominative), *punase* (genitive), *punast* (partitive), etc. An asterisk (*) is used with the word stem *puna* to retrieve variations of the term.

(cf. Jaago 1997, 55–57). It can, therefore, be concluded that the use of colour terms in *regilaul* has also changed, in line, at least partially, with the historical linguistic changes.

When looking at the frequency of the occurrence of colour terms from the perspective of folklore, it is important to take into account that *regilaul* comprises set phrases (formulae) rather than single words combined arbitrarily. This is also evident with regard to colour terms. Likewise, it appears that the colour terms more frequently present in *regilaul* form part of a number of stereotypical collocations. The following are a few examples of the use of 'red', which allows us to distinguish between two levels. First, alliteration at the verse level (alliterative formulae), for example: '*pale punane*' (red face/cheeks): '*pahatsel **pale punane***' (surly [girl] has a **red face**), '*eks ole pale punane*' (**face is red**, isn't it), '*löömata pale punane*' (**face is red** without being hit). Second, the occurrence of colour terms as parallel words in a group of verses (parallel formulae), for example: '*sini- / puna-*' (blue / red) as synonyms of 'woman' (*sinisääri / punapõske* (blue-legs / red-cheeks)); or, in the next example, '*puna / valge*' (red / white) referring to the loss of health due to hard work or cold weather in the second, following example:

Pärast tood naese Narva maalta
sini sääri Saksamaalta
puna põski Poolamaalta.
Otherwise you'll [have to] bring a wife from Narva, / a **blue**-legs from Germany, / a **red**-cheeks from Poland (E 14319 (1), undated).

Ju puna minust pugemid,
ju valge minust vajunud.
Puna läinud puude peale
valge rehavarre peale.
Red has left me, / **white** has drained from me. / **Red** has gone to the trees, / **white** has gone to the rake handle (H III 3, 459 (2), 1888).

It is notable that the words 'red' and 'blue' often collocate as parallel words and can contrast with each other (as in the first example below, where the 'blue' singer is weaker than the 'red' singer), complement each other, (as in the second example below, where a cloud becomes a 'red goose' that, in turn, becomes a 'blue tail', perhaps in metaphorical terms) or create a whole image (in the third example, a bridge between the worlds of the living and the dead):

Mis sina, sinine, laulad!
Las mina, punane, laulan.
Why are you, the **blue** [singer], singing! / Let me, the **red** [singer], sing (EÜS VI 1115 (291), 1909).

Pilvest saab vee pisara,
pisarast sai pikka purju,
purjust sai ani punane,
anist sai saba sinine.
A cloud turns [morphs] / into a drop of water, / the drop turns into a long
sail, / the sail turns into a **red** goose, / the goose turns into a **blue** tail (EÜS
VI 1391/3 (46), 1909).

Oo minu hella eidekene,
[---]
siruta sinine lõnga,
pueta punane lõnga,
tõmba minda taeva'assa!
Oh, Dear Mother, / stretch out the **blue** yarn, / drop down the **red** ribbon, /
pull me up to the heaven! (H I 5, 513 (1), 1894).

In conclusion, it can be argued that in this stage, it is appropriate to base
the research into the colour spectrum of *regilaul* on the language of formula.
Previous studies have provided sufficient information about the frequency
of the occurrence of colour terms and about the phenomena described by
using colour terms. This has enabled us to tell which fixed lexical
collocations or formulae (such as '*viie—vikerkaari*' [five—rainbow] should
be looked into when establishing relation with the colour terms. At the same
time, the use of formulae varies, which does not permit the determination
of the semantic field of images without taking into account the motif (theme,
whole text) of a song. For instance, '*pale punane*' (red face/cheeks) is often
used to compliment the main character of a song, in particular when used in
a parallel verse together with '*ihu ilusa*' (beautiful body/flesh). This formula
is, however, also used in the motif of 'heartless girl'—wherein the singer
warns against wooing such a girl.

Tuimal turtsaku juusse,
vihatsel silma vesitse,
pahatsel pale punane
A heartless [girl] has tousled hair, / an angry [girl] has watery eyes, / a surly
[girl] has a **red face** (H II 59, 779 (30), 1896).

The proximate lexical surroundings of the formula '*pale punane*' (red
face/cheeks)—adjectives 'heartless', 'angry', 'surly'—shift the meaning of
'red' from beauty or health towards meanness and anger.

From the theoretical point of view it is fascinating that the importance
of context in understanding the meaning of a text also applies at the formula
level—the smallest unit of *regilaul*. Based on the context-centred principle
of folkloristics, Dan Ben-Amos has explained the link between text and
meaning as follows: "When a text is stable, on either a thematic, morphological,

structural, or metaphoric level, and the context is variable, it is the latter that affects the differences in the meanings texts might produce, and therefore it is the context that functions as the interpretant of folklore texts" (Ben-Amos 1993, 212). "The briefer and the more stable a folklore text is, the higher its context dependency is," adds Ben-Amos. Ülo Tedre arrived at the same conclusion when analysing the *regilaul* songs of Karksi Parish. While the *regilaul* theory at the time (in the early 1960s) assumed stability at the song level, Tedre noticed, first, that a song as a whole changed (is subject to improvisation) more easily than a single verse and second, that "a stereotypical verse does not carry the content of the song", which allows its use with a number of meanings (see Tedre 1964b: 84). On the other hand, there is a certain problem from the point of view of context-centred folkloristics as a theoretical framework: a modern researcher of formulae acts outside the space of interpretation of the carriers of heritage—the context of the same song is different for singers and interpreters (cf. Ben-Amos 1971, 12). It is, for the purpose of analysis, therefore necessary to revisit the frequency tables of colour terms. The general picture then formed can be used as a basis for looking at the ways formulae are presented and at their relations.

Sources, theoretical and methodological framework

Below, I will take a closer look at the occurrence of the colour term '*punane*' (red) (also '*verev*' (blood-red)) in the early Estonian folk songs. This colour term was chosen because, based on the frequency tables, 'red' is one of the most commonly present colour terms. Moreover, the analysis of *regilaul* carried out so far showed that 'red' has a number of stereotypical fields of meaning. The author compared the songs of two regions of tradition in different parts of Estonia. A total of 125 texts from the coastal county of Läänemaa, and 166 texts from the inland county of Tartumaa were analysed. Based on the Estonian *regilaul* database (http://www.folklore.ee/regilaul/andmebaas), a data table was made, which contains colour terms with their proximate lexical surroundings as well as comments on the text (archival references, including information concerning the recording of the song text, type of the song, and function). This combination of data is necessary to analyse the images related to colour terms, presuming that they are related to certain motifs and themes, and form formulae.

The theoretical basis of the analysis is the formulaic approach (Kolk 1962, 1980; Harvilahti 1992; Saarlo 2000, 2001). Research into the formulae of *regilaul* grew out of studies of stereotypes and variations of *regilaul* by Udo Kolk in the 1950s and 1960s. Udo Kolk distinguished

stereotypical repetition at a level lower than usual (verse, verse group, sentence, etc.), showing that the smallest, and at the same time—universal, element of the song is 'the verse formula' (Kolk 1962, 147). Kolk's work was based on an in-depth analysis of the repertoire of one singer. Kolk identified four sub-types of formula: alliterative word pairs, metric formulae, stereotypical phrases, and parallel formulae. He also recorded all examples of formulae present in the singer's repertoire. In his work, Kolk identified two types of formula related to colour terms: '*must muld*' (black soil) as an alliterative word pair and '*sini põll*' (blue apron) as a stereotypical phrase or a metonymic synonym of a woman or a bride (Kolk 1962, 90–91; 119). Kolk's subsequent works focused on alliterative and parallel formulae, demonstrating the commonality of his concept of formula with the works of other researchers (Ülo Tedre 1964b; Veera Pino 1964; Juhan Peegel 1997 [1969]) who also studied stereotypical repetitions based on analysis of *regilaul*, although the concept of formula was not used in their works (Kolk 1980, 27). Kolk emphasised the need for a register of formulae of *regilaul*, giving a relevant example. He suggested a chart with one element of a formula as its central point (Kolk used 'black' (*must*) for this purpose on his model chart) to which alliterative and parallel words are linked ('soil' (*muld*), 'anguish/agony' (*mure*), etc. and 'white' (*valge*), respectively) (Kolk 1980, 35).

Thus, formulae were distinguished by applying the qualitative method of comparing song texts. Increasing the new data from text analyses has led to the implementation of quantitative methods, facilitated by the spread of computers and the introduction of new technologies in the research process. Liina Saarlo exploited these possibilities in her statistical analysis of the occurrence of words and phrases in *regilaul* and its relation with the language of formulae, based on the local tradition (Kodavere Parish) (Saarlo 2001). In a similar vein, Saarlo has raised the question of the accordance of the register of phrases used in *regilaul* with registers established based on other text corpuses (written and spoken language, paromiological units) (Saarlo 2000, 147 et seq.).

Simultaneously to the developments described above, another change took place in the 1980s and 1990s: rather than dealing with single parts of songs, researchers increasingly focused on the interpretation of the texts, taking into account the theme, the local tradition, and other context factors (see, for example, Harvilahti 1992, 88–90). These developments have led to the combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods.

However, how should the alliterative and parallel formulae be defined in the context of modern science? In general, it is done by recording the reoccurrence of phrases. It can be done by reading the texts or by a machine

processing of data (the amount and nature of data differ for each method). However, it appears that mere frequency studies of the occurrence of phrases are not sufficient for defining the formula. For instance, Liina Saarlo argues, based on frequency tables of words/word stems: "The most productive phrases tend to be words and particles that are exclusively linked grammatically or syntactically" (Saarlo 2001, 293). Thus, in order to define the formulae, we need to take into account the phrases' fields of meaning, which in turn requires the application of qualitative methods. Saarlo additionally points out that singers and researchers see formulae differently: the former as a creative principle and the latter as something to be identified in a text (ibid.). Work with (huge) amounts of material, on the one hand, and context-centred analysis of single parts of songs, on the other hand, has shaped the pattern of this study. Therefore, this paper combines the earlier formulaic approach to *regilaul* and the principles of context-centred folkloristics. Additionally, while in the period from the 1950s to the 1980s the objective was to compile a register of formulae, limited to the phrases that can be defied as formulae, this paper analyses formulae as part of fixed motifs and themes.

Colour term as an image

To what extent are colour terms used to visualise certain phenomena? To what extent is this a metaphoric description? Naturally, such distinction is not perfect as, in most cases, these fields overlap. For instance, in the description of the *Loomine* (the miracle bird in the story of 'creation') colour terms help to create a visual image of the bird, but to also contrast the bird with the ordinary world:

> *Mis sealt merest välja tuli?*
> *Hallikirju linmikene,*
> *hallikirju hambad suus,*
> *punane pugualune,*
> *kollane kõhualune,*
> *sinine sabaalune.*
> *Lendas meie koppelie /* [---]
> What came out of the sea? / A **grey-coloured** birdie, / **grey-coloured** teeth, / **red**-breasted, / **yellow** underbelly, / **blue** under the tail. / Flew to our paddock (H 2 II, 343 (469), 1889).

However, we could make an attempt to distinguish the relevant dominant feature: is it visuality rather than metaphoricity (and to what extent) and how is it affected by the lexical surroundings of the colour term?

When looking closer at the texts, it appears that the same word (*'punane'* (red)) does not necessarily create the same visual image, thus *'punane pale'* (red face), *'punane pael'* (red ribbon), and *'punapäine pääsukene'* (red-headed swallow) create images of different shades of red. Most of the time, the overall image is affected by the lexical context of 'red' (e.g. by forming parallel formulae, such as *'punane pale / ihu ilusa'* (red face / beautiful body) or *'sinikirja linnukene / punapäine pääsuke'* (blue-coloured bird / red-headed swallow). This is in line with Mari Uusküla's and Urmas Sutrop's study of the use of colour terms in the area surrounding the Baltic Sea where the authors conclude: "[---] each language has its own best example for red, blue, green, yellow and any other colours", meaning that each language has its own 'colour space' (Uusküla and Sutrop 2014, 680; cf. Uusküla 2008). There are at least three different shades of red in the colour image of *regilaul*: a) *pruunikaspunane* (russet, brownish red), which is primarily associated with the colour of an animal fur or a bird plumage; b) *tulipunane* (scarlet, flame red), which is associated with fire, but also with blood or clothing; and c) *roosakaspunane* (pinkish red), which can be observed, for example, during sunrise and sunset. However, the semantic links become more complex when interpreting the songs. For example, using the word *'punane'* (red) as a synonym of horse could create an image of a bay horse. Nonetheless, if a horse in the song is described as *'veripunane'* (blood-red), it is hard to imagine that the situation is an ordinary one. Rather, this leads us to the figurative meaning of what is said in the verse. As the descriptions of different coloured horses are associated with weddings, and a red horse is particularly associated with the motif of wooing, it implies that in these motifs 'red' refers to the social turning point; the initiation and transition to new stage of life (marked by wooing and marrying), rather than attempting to visualise an ordinary horse.

'Red' used in combination with the name of an item can create a visual image but it can also be a metonym. For example, *'punapärga'* (red wreath) and *'punapõlle'* (red apron) are so called poetic synonyms (*poeetiline sünonüüm*) of 'maiden' and 'woman', respectively. The concept of the poetic synonym was coined by Juhan Peegel. It covers parallel words that completely coincide with the meaning of the featured word. However, these synonymic links do not apply outside *regilaul* because they belong to different conceptual spheres. For example, in *regilaul* 'goose' can be used as a poetic synonym of 'young woman', which is inconceivable in ordinary speech: *See pole **tütar**, teinud tööda / ega ole **vaene** vaeva näinud / **hani** pole einada ajanud / [---]* (This **daughter** has not done the work / the **poor fellow** has not seen the trouble / **this goose** has not made hay etc.) (see Peegel 1997 [1969], 50–52; 2004, 152–153). Regarding the concept of the poetic synonym, Peegel refers to the work by Villem

Grünthal-Ridala in which the latter describes such synonyms as 'metaphorical repetitive words' and links them to kennings—compound expressions in Old Norse poetry with metaphorical meaning (Peegel 1997 [1969], 51). This in turn indicates that poetic synonyms are linked to the formulaic approach—they are fixed lexical phrases. However, a distinctive feature of a poetic synonym is that the main word and the synonym always coincide. For example, if the first line of a verse is about a maiden and the phrase 'red wreath' is in the same position in the second line, the base word is the same—maiden. At the same time, the combination 'red—wreath' can be considered to be a formula. However, without knowing the lexical surroundings of the formula it is impossible to know what it is all about (is the 'red wreath' really the young woman herself or is the young woman wearing a red wreath, also a common motif found in songs?). Thus, it can be argued that formulae and poetic synonyms have a common denominator, but they are not entirely identical one to another other.

Analysis of songs from Tartumaa and Läänemaa counties

When looking at the poetic synonyms of maiden and woman—'red wreath' and 'red apron', respectively—we may ask: does the attribute 'red' also express an opinion about the main character of the song (e.g. is it referring to her health, beauty, etc.)? It appears that these synonyms are neutral, something similar to a message. For instance, *'naine jäi Narva teele, punapärga Pärnu teele'* (the [potential] wife stayed in Narva, the red wreath stayed in Pärnu), i.e. the young man did not find anyone to marry. Moreover, it can be noted that most of these motifs are related to wooing and marrying. The motif of wooing is particularly emphasised when the parallel formula 'blue / red' is used.

> *Pojakene, poisikene!*
> *Kui lääd naista võttemaie,*
> *sinitaime tahtemaie,*
> *punapärga püidemaie.*
> My son, my boy! / When you are going to woo a woman, / to want a **blue plant**, / to pursue a **red wreath** (H II 33, 586 (6), 1889).

In a glossary of poetic synonyms compiled by Juhan Peegel, the poetic synonyms of 'bride' (daughter-in-law, a young woman waiting for a suitor) use three colour terms only: *valge* (white; e.g. *'valgepea'*—fair-haired/blonde), *puna-* (red; e.g. *'punapärg'* (red wreath), *'punapael'* (red ribbon), *'punapale'* (red face), *'punapõsk'* (red cheeks), *'punapõll'* (red apron)) and *sini-* (blue; *sinirind'* (lit. blue breast—the bluethroat), *'sinilint'* (blue ribbon), *'sinipõll'* (blue apron)) (Peegel 2004). 'White' and 'red' also often occur in parallel formulae. While their lexical surroundings vary

considerably, they are mostly used in praise of the main character (either the bride or the groom). One of the best known verses of praise is related to the motive of 'white foam':

Küll on meres vahtu valge,
veel on valgem meie neidu.
Küll on meres kõrgid [kõrkjad] *pikad,*
veel on kõrgim meie neidu.
Puju põllal on punane,
veel on punasem meie neidu
Sea foam is white, / our girl is whiter. / Sea reeds are tall, / our girl is taller.
/ Mugwort in the field is red, / our girl is redder (H III 30, 302, 1902).

In the songs of the region concerned, the presence of '*punapärga*' (red wreath) as a synonym of young woman is not as common as expected. And it is never found in this way in the songs of Lääne country. However, the same formula ('red—wreath' together with the parallel word 'white') can be found in descriptions of young women in swing songs: girls promise gifts to young men pushing the swing, including a fair-haired girl wearing a red wreath ('*pea valge, pärg punane*'). Therefore, while the formula 'red—wreath' in swing songs is related to a young woman, 'red' still indicates the colour of the wreath.

Similarly, the formula 'red—apron' is not necessarily a poetic synonym of a girl or a woman; it may also mean a gift from a young man to his fiancée. For example, in the songs from Tartumaa county a suitor promises to bring his fiancée a 'red apron' and the singer warns the young man not to marry a girl from the manor house because 'merchant lads' have already given her a 'red apron' (meaning that a young man from a higher social class has already wooed the girl who is working as a maid in the manor house). In Läänemaa county, a young man depicted in the motif of 'cheating suitor' promises to give a young woman jewellery and clothes ('*rinda preesi, kaelakee, pitsmütsi, sitsikleidi ja punapõlle*' (a brooch, a necklace, a lace hat, a calico dress, and a red apron)), which refers to a wedding; however, the young man in those songs did not keep his promise—there was no wedding. This formula also occurs in the songs from Tartumaa county as a metaphor of a bad husband: the singer warns that the 'red apron' promised by the suitor may actually turn out to be abuse—*piits* (whip) or *rusikas* (fist).

While the formulae '*punapärga*' (red wreath) and 'punapõlle' (red apron) used as poetic synonyms in wooing and wedding motifs are neutral, describing the status of the female character in the songs (at that time young unmarried women wore wreaths, while an apron was a distinguishing mark of a married woman), the formula '*pale punane*' (red face/cheeks) occurs in

motifs that express the singer's opinion of the female character. This is
achieved by using parallel words ('*pale punane / ihu ilusa*' (red cheeks /
beautiful body)—beautiful / red) or additional adjectives ('*pahatsel pale
punane*' (surly [girl] has red face)—surly). '*Pahatsel pale punane*' is a fixed
expression in the motif of 'heartless girl' found in text of 12 song from
Tartumaa county.

In most cases such motifs also include the colour term 'black' ('*kurjal
musta silmakulmu*' (a mean [girl] has black eyebrows). The same applies to
songs in which the dialect word '*verevä*' (blood-red) is used instead of
'*punane*' (red) ('*kurjal musta silmäkulmu, / vihatseel silmä verevä*' (a mean
[girl] has black eyebrows / an angry [girl] has blood-red eyes)). The choice
of words also changes in order to achieve alliteration: '*pahane—punane*'
(surly—red) is replaced by a synonymous formula '*vihane—vereva*'
(angry—blood-red).

A positive character from the singer's point of view is described by
attributes such as '*valge*' (white/fair), '*ilus*' (beautiful), '*priske*' (plump (i.e.
healthy)) and '*punane*' (red), which occur in pairs or in longer
combinations. The first-person narrator in the songs from both Tartumaa
and Läänemaa counties either says '*võtsin naise noore, küll sai priske ja
punane*' (I married a young woman; she is so plump and red) or that he
married a white/fair maiden (*valge neiu*) who was 'plump (i.e. healthy) and
red' (*priske ja punane*) or 'white (i.e. fair) and red' (*valge ja punane*). Such
colour terms are used to describe an agreeable woman.

●ne of the most common parallel formulae is '*ihu ilusa / pale punane*'
(beautiful body / red cheeks), found in wedding songs praising the groom
or the bride, but not exclusively. Such parallel formulae are also found in
descriptions of Mary and Jesus and in orphan songs in which the orphan's
health and beauty are affected by strangers (*võõra armud käivad läbi
vaeslapse ihu ilusa ja läbi ta pale punase*). A part of that parallel formula,
the alliterative formula '*pale punane*' (red cheeks) is associated with the
self-description of the first-person narrator whose red cheeks ('*punane
pale*') can be seen from afar when she is on a swing. A different use of the
same formula refers to signs of abuse or to the heartache of the first-person
narrator whose face is red from crying:

> *Ärge lööge vaesta lasta,*
> *vaene nuttab löömata,*
> *ikkeb ilma asjata.*
> *Löömata pale punane,*
> *pesemata silmad märjad.*
> ●● n●t hit an ●rphan, / the ●rphan will cry with●ut being hit, / wail with●ut
> reas●n. / Her **face is red** with●ut being hit, / her eyes are wet with●ut
> washing (E 18578 (7), 1895).

Not often, but every once in a while, the above-mentioned parallel formula '*ihu ilusa / pale punane*' (beautiful body / red cheeks) is present in its shortened form: '*ihu punane*' (red body). Such formula is found in one Martinmas (St Martin's Day) song from Tartumaa county and in six songs from Läänemaa county. Martinmas is an occasion in November when young people dress as beggars and go from door to door, blessing the harvest and livestock, and collecting gifts. The disguised beggars and hosts interact mainly through singing. When announcing their arrival, the Martinmas beggars describe the hardships endured during their journey. Even modern-day children are familiar with the verse '*Mardi varbad valutavad, / mardi küüned külmetavad*' (Mart's toes are aching, / Mart's nails are freezing). In the older versions of such songs the beggars (Marts) have a 'red body' ('*ihu punane*').

In orphan songs and songs of the theme of, what is known as, 'Water Daughters' the first person narrator is healthy and active despite being deprived of the mother's care or having no support from home: she 'eats umbelliferous plants picked from under the bushes' ('*sööb putki põõsa alt*') and 'laps up water from waves' ('*lakub vetta lainetesta*'), but is still 'red from plants, blood-red from wood stitchwort' ('*putkesta punane, vesinaadist vereva*'). However, a girl who grew up in a loving home is also healthy and happy (i.e. 'red'). For example, in a wedding song from Tartumaa county the first-person narrator describes the process of growing up in her 'father's home', saying that she was 'red', growing up in her own home, in her own house, ('*oma kodus, kasvas oma kambris, punane*'). A '*proua*' (missus) can also be well-rested, healthy and rosy (i.e. 'red') because the community (*vald*) and parish (*kihelkond*) are working instead of her. All examples of the use of 'red' in images related to the 'body' or the 'face/cheeks' refer, depending on the motif, either to health and youth, or to the flush caused by cold, anger or abuse.

Two parallel formulae can be distinguished in songs from Tartumaa and Läänemaa county: 'white/red' and 'blue/red'; the use of the latter is particularly diverse and can occur together with a third colour term, such as 'yellow', 'white', etc. In the former case it is meant as a compliment to a young woman, be it in a wedding song or in self-description of the youth of the first-person narrator. The second parallel formula is found in various motifs. One of the most common of such motifs is a local version of the story of creation in which the main character (the miracle bird) and its nesting place (a bush) are described using a parallel formula containing colour terms. In our sample, such usage is found in the text of 14 songs from Läänemaa county. Songs from both Läänemaa and Tartumaa counties contain the motif of 'drops of water in a cloud' ('*pilves veepisarad*'), associated with wooing:

Pilvel oli purje pikka,
purjel oli ani punane,
anil oli saba sinine
A long sail was on a cloud, / a **red goose** was on the sail, / the goose had
blue tail (H II 43, 808/9 (40), 1893).

In the songs from Tartumaa county, the formula 'blue/red' is used in war
songs: a soldier is facing red fire, while blue smoke is behind his back ('*ees
on tuli punane*' and '*taga on suitsu sinine*'). On the other hand, in the songs
from Läänemaa county the formula is sometimes used in wedding songs to
describe weather: yesterday's weather was nice and the skies were smooth
(*eilne ilm oli ilus ja taevas oli tasane*), but today's weather has many colours
and four to five modes, some of which quite red in the north, blue in the
south (*mitmekarvaline ja nelja-viie-viisiline: põhja alt õige punane, lõuna
poolt sinine*). While these motifs (clouds and weather) can be indirectly
associated with a borderline situation (referring to a social change in the
lives of a young woman and a young man, and in the life of their
community), they are directly describing the link between the worlds of the
living and the dead in Martinmas songs from Läänemaa county and in
orphan songs from Tartumaa county:

Mimu hella emakene,
Siruta see sinine lõnga,
Poeta see punane paela,
Tõmba mimu taevasse.
Dear mother, / stretch out the **blue yarn**, / drop down the **red ribbon**, / pull
me up to the heaven (E 711177 (16), 1895).

In conclusion it can be argued that the formula 'blue / red' (which may
occur together with a third colour term: either 'white', 'yellow', 'grey' or
'golden') is associated with motifs of creation, wooing, and wedding,
battleground descriptions in war songs, and a bridge connecting the living
world and the after world—all these motifs describe a special situation and
are expressed in set phrases. The same parallel formula is found in a rather
fixed wording in competitive songs sung by wedding singers: the weak or
'blue' singer is contrasted with the strong or 'red' singer:

Mis laulad, sina, sinine,
las laulda mina, punane.
Why are you, **blue** [singer], singing / Let me, **red** [singer], sing (E 33078
(2), 1897).

In the south Estonian dialects '*punane*' (red) is often replaced by '*verev*'
(blood-red), which in some dialects is actually a basic colour term. In
general, '*verevä*' is used with the same meaning as '*punane*'—it refers to

health or beauty (*veli võttis verevä naase, jättis mulle musta naase* (my brother married a blood-red (i.e. attractive) woman and I was left with a black (i.e. unattractive) woman). Here, red ('*verev*') is the antithesis of black ('*must*'), implying that the former is better than the latter. In a description of a young man, '*verev*' (blood-red) may refer to blood (the etymological origin of the colour term). A '*verev*' (blood-red) man may be an antagonist, despite being described by parallel words '*ilus—verev*' (handsome—blood-red) (compare '*ilus—punane*'): *ilus mees on ihusööja, verev mees verejoo ja* (the handsome husband is a flesh-eater, the red one a blood-drinker). In wedding songs sung in praise of the groom and in songs about searching for a lost fiancé (or brother) where the image is based on the motif of '*valgem vahust*' (whiter than foam), '*verev*' (blood-red) is used similarly to '*punane*' (red) as an approving opinion of the main character.

'Red' is used in songs from both regions to describe cattle and horses. In the case of the former it is a visual description of animals, and in the case of the latter it refers to wooing. In songs from Tartumaa county '*verev*' (blood-red) is often used instead of '*punane*' (red), to mean the same.

In general, we can see that in songs from both Tartumaa and Läänemaa counties the formulae containing colour terms are mostly alliterative phrases: '*punane*'—'*pale*' (red—face), '*põsk*' (cheek), '*pere*' (family), '*proua*' (missus), '*peiupoiss*' (groomsman), etc. There are also formulae, albeit few and far between, in which the adjective 'red' is linked to the main character or the object of a motif, such as '*punane*'(red)—'*õun*' (apple), '*õlu*' (beer), '*kari*' (cattle).

A comparison of the songs from the two regions shows that lexically similar phrases rarely overlap. Examples of similar phrases are first, '*pale punane*' (red face), which is, however, used in different motifs in each region; second, '*õlu punane*' (red beer), which is used in diverse contexts even within both regions; third, in songs from both regions a young and healthy woman is described by using the phrase '*priske ja punane*' (plump (i.e. healthy) and red) and sometimes '*ihu punane*' (red body). Other phrases containing 'red' used in songs of both regions are '*punane pael*' (red ribbon), '*punane põll*' (red apron) and names of livestock; however, these phrases are characterised by a free order of words (i.e. we can find both '*põlle punane*' and '*punane põll*'). Thus, it can be argued that at the verse level, the pattern of formulae and lexical phrases varies significantly in *regilaul*.

The repertoires of both regions seem to be more similar when we look at the usage of '*punane*' at the level of parallelism, rather than at the verse level. Colour pairs '*valge / punane*' (white / red); '*sinine / punane*' (blue / red) and '*punane / must*' (red / black) are strikingly frequent. The field of

meaning of colour terms (including 'red') are more conspicuous at the level of parallelism: they are used either to create a contrast (e.g. describing singers as weak (blue) or strong (red); describing a healthy and young woman as 'red' or a sickly or disgraceful woman as 'black') or to complement each other ('white' and 'red' are used together in a positive motif; 'blue' and 'red' are used together in social motifs or those marking natural borders). Thus, the common area of use of 'red' in both regions occurs at the level of themes and motifs, rather than at the level of phrases. Parallel formulae are more stable than alliterative formulae.

Recurrence and variation of formulae

The variation of formulae is increased both by the order of words and by adding a third colour term. Neither is arbitrary and both can be reduced to certain motifs. In the motif of '*pilves vee pisarad*' (drops of water in a cloud), which is found in the songs of both regions, the cloud morphs into a **red** goose (*punane hani*) that has **blue** tail (*saba sinine*). The motif of 'three ships' uses a formula containing three colour terms in a fixed order: *punane, sinine, kollane* (*valge*) (red, blue, yellow (white)). In the singers' dialogues found in wedding songs '**blue**' is usually weaker and '**red**' is stronger. However, in disapproving descriptions of a bride or a groom these colour terms complement each other (*ikka ta seisab, sinine, ikka paiguti punane* (he/she is still standing, **blue**, / he/she is still **red** here and there). The order of words is the same in motifs and phrases: 'blue' comes first, followed by 'red'. The same applies to marks of abuse: *kas o sündinud sinine või on puutunud punane* (has **blue** [mark] appeared or **red** touched), as well as in descriptions of a battlefield: *ees on tuli punane, taga suitsu sinine* (**red** fire in front [of a soldier], **blue** smoke behind [the soldier]). A deviation from this word order may have been caused by combining the formulae, as it can be seen in the following wedding song from Läänemaa county: '*ilus / punane*' (handsome / red) and '*punane / sinine*' (red / blue).

> *Aomies ilusikeline,*
> *pane peale punane paika,*
> *pane sisse sinine paika,*
> *ääre pieal aja alli paika*
> **Handsome groom** / put on a **red** patch / put in a **blue** patch / put a **grey** patch on the edge (H II 2, 212 (319), 1889).

It is very likely that it was time that caused the *regilaul* tradition to change and the unity of the formulaic language as an image to start disappearing (cf. the changes relate to the transition to a new singing style, Rüütel 1971, 11; Peegel 1997 [1972], 104, 116).

Another distinct word order is the parallel link of 'red / white'. In the songs from Tartumaa and Läänemaa counties analysed herein, such formula mainly occurs in the descriptions of a woman in wooing and wedding songs where the bride is described as 'plump (i.e. healthy) and red, white (i.e. fair), and sharp' (*priske ja punane, valge ja valusa*). In the wedding songs, the songs about Mary and Jesus or in the descriptions of manor people, 'red' is often accompanied by 'beautiful'. When colour terms imply an opinion (e.g. '*priske ja punane, valge ja valusa*' (plump (i.e. healthy) and red, white (i.e. fair), and sharp) in the example above), 'red' typically comes before 'white'. However, if someone's appearance is described and the basic term and the specifying colour term occur in the same verse, the order of words is reversed ('*pea valge, pale punane*' (fair hair, red face)). In the common motif 'whiter than the sea foam' ('*valgem merevahust*'), which is used in wedding songs as a praise to both the bride and the groom, 'white' always comes before 'red' (for instance: Sea foam is white, / our girl is whiter. / Sea reeds are tall, / our girl is taller. / Mugwort in the field is red, / our girl is redder).

Conclusions

This paper focused on the use of '*punane*' (red) and '*verevä*' (blood-red) in *regilaul* based on the concept of formula. The author has analysed the vocabulary of *regilaul* based on fixed lexical expressions, rather than on single words. The interpretation of formulae takes into account the context in which they occur: motif and theme. A comparative analysis of the repertoires of two regions revealed that while 'red' occurs in different motifs in each region; the themes, the use of the colour terms, and the interpretations are the same. Therefore, the following applies to the songs from both regions.

It appears that '*punane*' (red) always occurs in a formula, be it an alliterative ('*pale punane*' (red face), '*punapõll*' (red apron)) or parallel ('*sinine / punane*' (blue / red); '*valge / punane*' (white / red)). 'Red' does not form random phrases. While some phrases, such as '*punane nina*' (red nose) could be considered random, a closer look reveals that this is the 'heartless girl' (*tuim neiu*) version of the formula '*punane pale*' (red face).

The figurative message of a formula containing colour terms is not apparent without the proximate lexical surroundings of the formula. It is not possible to say what kind of opinion is carried by the adjective '*punane*' (red) in phrases such as '*pale punane*' (red face), '*punane põõsas*' (red bush) or '*proua punane*' (red missus). It appears, however, that those formulae have a certain meaning at the level of motif: '*pale punane*' (red face) said

in praise of a bride or a groom in a wedding song refers to health and youth, while in the motif '*tuim neiu*' (heartless girl) it refers to the girl's angry demeanour. It is also characteristic of 'red' to be related to the wooing and wedding themes. When 'blue' is used as a parallel word of 'red', it often depicts a borderline situation in a social environment (such as wedding) or in nature (such as dawn or sunset).

The words forming a formula do not necessarily coincide with the words that belong together syntactically, such as a noun and an attribute (although this is usually the case). Thus, not all '*velled*' (brothers) are '*verevä*' (blood-red), although these words—'*velle—verevä*'—form an alliterative formula (cf. in the phrase '*purjel oli hani punane*' (a red goose was on the sail) the formula is '*puri—punane*' (sail—red), syntactically it's the goose that is red—'*hani punane*'). A converse example is the formula '*õlut punane*' (red beer)—it is a combination of a main word and an attribute, but these words are not combined in a collocation by alliteration.

The analysis revealed that formulae related to the colour term 'red' are associated with certain motifs and themes, rather than with statistical repetition. Based on these results it would be interesting to ask to what extent this applies to other colour terms (and formulae), and also to what extent it applies to colour terms (or to the use of 'red') in old Finnish folk songs. Another question is to what extent the colour terms in *regilaul* are linked to the colours in the everyday lives of the singers of *regilaul*.

In conclusion, I would like to recall a question asked during a training course for kindergarten teachers of the Tartumaa county in December 2014 where I spoke about *regilaul*, an event that inspired this paper. The participants wanted to know whether certain colour terms occurring in *regilaul* correspond to the stripes of the skirts of folk costumes. While the colours of folk costumes are reflected in *regilaul* ('*valged käiksed*' (white blouse), '*punapõlle*' (red apron), I did not, at first, see any direct links. Later, I pondered over two links: first, red is the colour of wedding—both in clothes and songs; second, this link is a formula link. Just like in *regilaul*, stereotypical elements varied in the stripes of the skirts of the folk costumes.

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CHAPTER FIVE

COLOUR WORDS AND SYMBOLS IN THE SUBGENRES OF ESTONIAN RIDDLES[1]

PIRET VOOLAID

Abstract: The article analyses the colour names in the three most widely spread subgenres of Estonian riddles classical or ordinary riddles, conundrums, and droodles focusing on the specific features of each subgenre and their specific differences. The main questions concern the frequency of colour names per subgenre, the relations between their general use, and the use of colours in the image creation.

Classical riddles demonstrate the importance of colours in the semantic-lexical imagery of riddles (image stereotypes and form patterns), which can roughly be divided into two categories/patterns: 1. In the texts with defined subjects, where the image coincides with the syntactic subject of the descriptive sentence, the subject is often a zoological term complemented by a colour; in addition to what, colour is equally essential in the human images. 2. In texts with undefined subjects, where the object to be inferred is presented metonymically by a reference to its activity, qualities, relations, places, time, etc., and the colour names are applied in a form of a stereotype based on some kind of paradoxical differences or contradictions. As more recent subgenres, conundrums and droodles are humour oriented; they both express cultural stereotypes and symbols by means of colours. Compared to the colour statistics of classical riddles, in conundrums the most salient element is the subject-related term 'blond', referring to a fair-haired and fair-skinned person, and the popularity of which is due to the multitude of jokes about dim-witted blondes that became popular in the second half of the 1990s. Colours play an important role in the absurd questions beginning in 'What is…?', as well as in the internationally known absurd series of elephant questions. The colour image of the black-and-white droodles often contains the inducing of the visual

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imagination and the occurrence of a colour in both the question and the answer.

Keywords: classical riddles, colour names, colours, compound puns, conundrums, droodles, folkloristics, riddles

Colours and their names in the Estonian folklore have been a subject of interest of several genre-based studies, e.g. names of colours in runic songs as imagery for wedding songs (Roll 1985), use of colour forms in runic songs (Jaago 1997; Jaago 2016), 'red' (*punane*) as a colour and word in runic songs (Sarapik 1997), semantic fields in fairytales (Toomeos-Orglaan 2016; Sutrop 2016) and the symbolism of colours in spells (Kõiva 2016). Researchers have stressed the role of colours in riddles, e.g. in absurd-sounding conundrums (Lipponen 1995; Dundes and Abrahams 1987). The article "The story of creation" (*Loomise lugu*) by Mikk Sarv and Tõnn Sarv (1979) takes a brief look at the topic of Estonian riddles, highlighting their interpretational relations with the worldview of Estonians. [2] Arvo Krikmann's web-based study materials titled "Figures of speech in Estonian riddles" (*Eesti mõistatuste kujundid*) (Krikmann 2000) reveal the importance of colours in the semantic-lexical figurative scheme of riddles (in stereotypical imagery and template forms). In her presentation titled "The elephant in the modern folklore" (*Elevant kaasaja folklooris*), Astrid Tuisk (1996) stressed the symbolic significance of colours in the elephant-related lore, including elephant questions that qualify as conundrums.

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[2] Using riddles to interpret a worldview has also been a common practice in later times. In a discussion panel organised by the journal *Looming* in 1981, Mikk Sarv used a certain riddle type to explain how Estonians view the world. The oldest phrasing of type EM 367, 'Father tall, mother broad, sister blind and brother insane' [Estonian: *Isa pitk, ema lai, õde sõge, vend on pöörane;* German: *Der Vater lang, die Mutter breit, die Schwester blind, der Bruder verkehrt'*], is from a grammar book written by Anthon Thor Helle in 1732 and refers to the world. The tall father refers to the sky; the broad mother refers to the land. The blind sister is the night and the insane brother refers to the daytime. Connections arise from the fact that there are other possible answers to the same riddle. If the answer is hops, then the tall father refers to the stem of the hop plant, the broad mother to its leaves, the blind sister to its shoots and hairs and the insane brother its cone-shaped fruits. If the answer is spruce, then the tall father refers to the trunk of the tree, the broad mother to its branches and the children to its cones. All answers specify properties such as length, height, width, breadth, darkness and craziness as well as the four members of the family: father, mother, daughter and son. Based on this, Mikk Sarv concludes that the world of Estonians is tall, broad, dark and crazy (see also Ernits et al. 2015, 73).

In this article I shall focus on the use of names of colours in the most popular subgenres of riddles while also taking a separate look at the different subgenres of riddles, because the imagery related to the names of colours is specific to different subgenres. Based on archive texts, the oldest and so far the most plentiful subgenre (approx. 100,000 records) comprises classic, regular and proper riddles that are essentially poetic descriptions of an object, item or a situation. In this case, the figure of speech or the phrase containing the name of a colour could be, for example, a two-word metaphor 'grey ox' [*hall härg*] ('A grey ox that eats with its back?' [*Hall härg, seljast sööb?*]) in reference to a millstone. Conundrums (approx. 25,000 records) are the most popular and numerous of the newer subgenres that are more common today—these are interrogative riddles whereby the asker usually tries to mock the person being asked and have some fun ('What colour is the emperor's white horse?—White' [*Mis värvi on keisri valge hobune?—Valge*]). Two examples highlight the different features of colour-based figures of speech in two of the specified subgenres. Unlike the 'grey ox' example of the classic riddle type, the 'white horse' in the conundrum is not a metaphor, but the question itself is about a white horse. If classic riddles (grey ox) should trigger figurative fantasy (what might resemble a grey ox) then conundrums are more about attentiveness (the question itself also holds the answer—the horse is white).

Graphic folklore (about 8000 records) is represented in the form of droodles, which are made up of a question part consisting of a minimalist drawing (usually) on paper together with the written question 'What is in the picture?' and an answer part providing a figurative one-word or one-sentence description of the phenomenon, item, activity or the situation represented in the picture ('What is in the picture? Redheads swimming in the White Sea' [*Mis on pildil? Punapead ujuvad Valges meres*]). The colour format of the black-and-white images often includes the triggering of the visual imagination (the dots in the picture being black) and the existence of colour on the question and the answer side.

The analysis primarily focuses on the colour vocabulary of riddles, the rate of occurrence of names of colours in a subgenre, the general relations between colour names and how colours are used in the creation of figurative language and construction of symbols.

1. Names of colours in classic riddles

1.1 Rate of occurrence of names of colours

Colours and names of colours are often used hypothetically in classic riddles because colour is one of the first and most explicit external features one can refer to when describing something or giving hints about the solution to a riddle. The top 100 most popular riddles listed on the basis of materials from the Estonian Folklore Archives (see Krikmann 1997, 176–181) support the idea that a large portion of popular texts have colours as their defining feature. Furthemore, two such examples can be found among the top 10 most popular riddles:

2.   On the inside striped and streaky, on the outside **golden-like**?   Onion
[*Seest siiru-viiruline, pealt **kullakarvaline**-keeruline?—Sibul*]. (EM 1920)
10.   A **black** pig goes to the barn to drive out **red** piglets?   A poker [*Must siga läheb lauta, ajab punased põrsad välja?—Ahjuroop.*]. (EM 1302)

The onion riddle is the best-known contemporary classic riddle (as was shown by a nationwide contest on school lore held in 2007), whereby the question part contains an important allusion to the colour of the object (golden-like [*kullakarvaline*]). It was mentioned 82 times in the questionnaire (see Voolaid 2010, 130).

The statistical analysis of classic riddles is based on the Estonian Riddles database (www.folklore.ee/moistatused). The database is built on 2800 tables of types formatted in Word 7.0 that were used to prepare the manuscript of the main editions I (2001) and II (2002) of the academic publication *Estonian Riddles* (EM—*Eesti mõistatused*). The database contains 95,751 riddle texts, which are divided into 2800 types consisting of similar versions. The statistics of colour vocabulary (Table 5-1) only take into account the title texts or type heads of riddles (representative texts for types consisting of versions with the same content) that carry identical type numbers. It is reasonable to only consider the type texts, as productive types with numerous versions would affect the results, e.g. if a colour is represented in a large type with hundreds of versions, which would artificially amplify the representation of that colour.
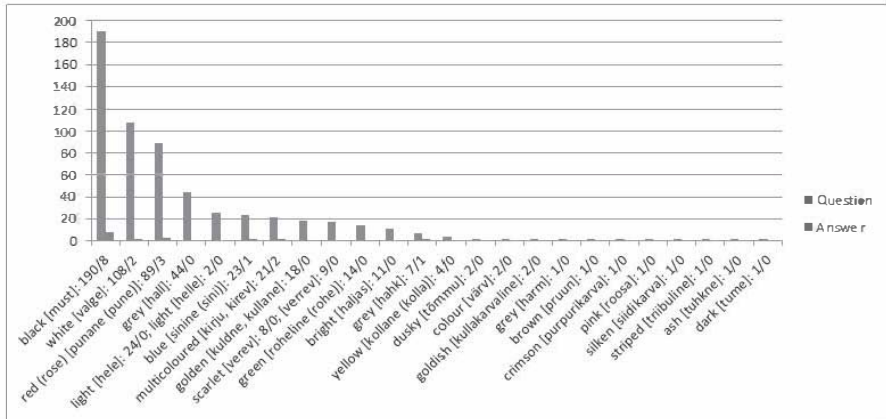
Table 5-1. Rate of occurrence of colour words in the questions and answers structure of the classic riddles type based on *Estonian Riddles* database. Out of the 2800 title texts covered in the search, one or more names of colours appear 586 times in the questions and 17 times in the answers.

Searching for names of colours within the database of classic riddles (see Table 5-1) helped develop a frequency dictionary which the indicated that out of the 11 basic colour names in Estonian (white, black, red, yellow, green, blue, brown, grey, purple, orange and pink, see Sutrop 2011, 80) purple and orange are the only two not represented in the classic riddles. The most common names of colours are 'black' [*must*] (in 190 title texts), 'white' [*valge*] (in 108 title texts) and 'red' [*punane*] (in 89 title texts), which are the oldest names of colours in most languages (Viires 1983, 291) and also names of basic colours (Sutrop 2011, 80). True, 'white' [*valge*] might not always refer to the colour, since it can also refer to light; e.g. 'If dark then light, if light then dark?—Fire' [*Kui pime, sis valge, kui valge, sis pime?—Tuli*] (see also Viires 1983, 293).

Regarding the colour 'red' [*punane*] there are 17 riddle genres containing the South Estonian dialect words *verev* and *verrev* ['scarlet] originating from the old Finno-Ugric word *veri* ['blood']. On one occasion there is also a compound colour name to supplement the colour red in a riddle about scarlet-red swallows (Spike in the front and fork at the back, silken blue on top and scarlet-red below, scrabbling and rustling strange languages [*Ork ees, hark taga, pealt sinine siidikarva, alt punane purpurkarva, sibinal ja sabinal saksa keelt reegivad?*]). The same riddle contains the expression 'silken' [*siidikarva*] meaning blue, most likely due to the intention to create an alliteration—'si'.

The fourth most frequently occurring colour is grey [*hall*] (in 44 title texts while the South Estonian dialect word *hahk* ['grey'] appears in seven subgenres), followed by 'light' [*hele/helle*] (26 title texts) meaning a colour that is associated with lights. Interestingly enough, light and dark appear in contrast only in one window riddle EM 210 (Light star, dark star, on the rich man's house [*Hele täht, tume täht, rikka mihe maja külles?*]). Blue [*sinine*] comes in sixth place in the frequency table (23 title texts). Other colours are less frequent. 20 riddle genres contain different dialect forms of 'multicoloured' [*kirju, kiriv, kirrev*] and 18 title texts contain 'golden' [*kuldne, kullane*], while 'yellow' [*kollane*], which is similar in meaning, only appears in the title texts of four riddle genres.

Classic riddles, being one of the oldest subgenres of riddles, contain a considerable amount of archaisms. As such, the archaic word *haljas* is used almost as often (11 title texts) as the regular word *roheline* (in 14 title texts), denoting the colour green. Taking into account the full collection of riddles, we can find the Estonian colour name *haljas* in 406 records for 27 genres, while *roheline* appears only in 111 records for 22 genres (see Figures 5-1 and 5-2). The word *haljas* is unequivocally used in the meaning of the German word *grün* in dictionaries from the 17th century, but in contemporary Estonian the word *haljas* generally means something that is bright and it is not explicitly used in the meaning of a colour (Viires 1983, 296).[3]

The riddles also include a general word *värv/värvi* with the meaning 'colour' as well as the word *karv/karva* (*kullakarvaline, purpurikarva, siidikarva*), which appears in all Baltic-Finnic languages and also means '—coloured'.

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[3] In the 17th century the word *haljas* (used with the meaning of 'green') started to give way to the word *roheline*. The earliest use of the word *roheline* can be found in the grammar book of Heinrich Göseken from 1660 (Sutrop 1996, 226). It is an exciting coincidence that the same book contains three of the earliest written records of Estonian riddles.

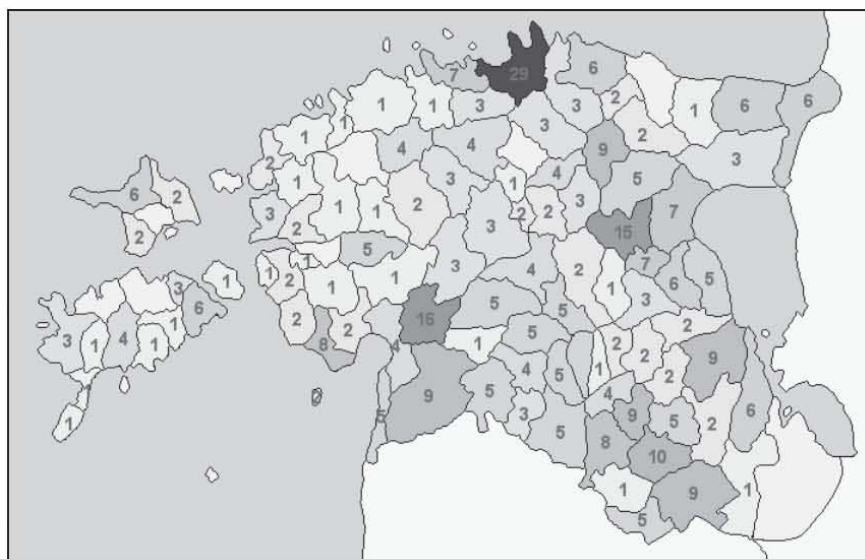**Figure 5-1.** Frequency of occurrence of the word *haljas* in riddle texts per region. A total of **406** records of **27** types.
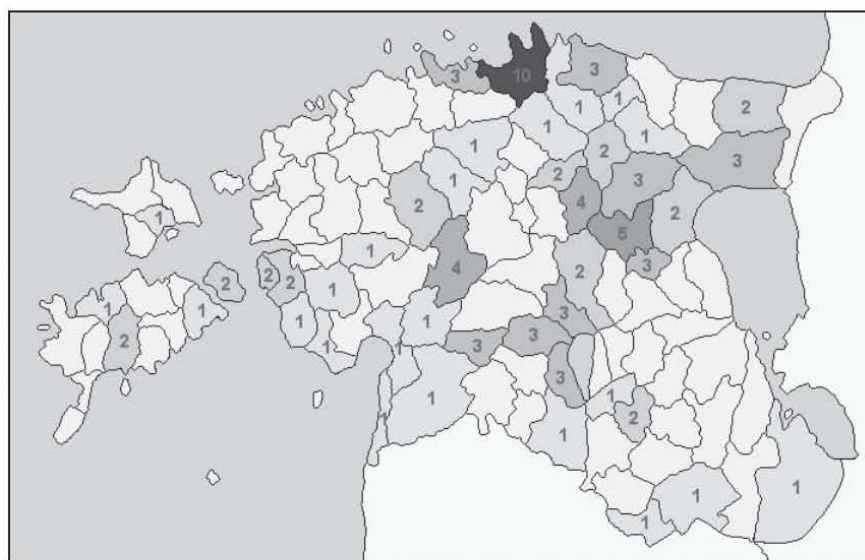

Figure 5-2. Frequency of occurrence of the word *roheli* in riddle texts per region. A total of **111** records of **22** types.

1.2 Names of colours in figurative language

Apart from the frequency dictionary based on the search results of names of colours from the database of classic riddles, it is interesting to take a look at the types of figurative relations that names of colours have in riddles. The figurative schemes of classic riddles have been thoroughly studied by Arvo Krikmann (2000) who has broadly divided riddles in two categories based on their technique of creating figurative language:

1) **riddles with a defined subject or so-called agent** where the "figure of speech has a distinct 'peak' in a reference to a substantive or an agent that clearly fixates the area of the riddle"; it means that the describing sentence has a syntactic subject; and

2) **riddles without a defined subject or so-called agent** where there is no "such substantive-agent 'peak' and the key riddled object is presented 'anonymously' through actions, features, relations, places, times, etc. (although those predicates may sometimes contain obvious allusions to the referent)".

In both cases the names of colours function as parts of the figures of speech.

In the first case, the defined subject often has a feature that refers to a colour. The subject is often a 'zoological-term' where colour plays an important part. According to Krikmann (*ibid.*) the order of succession of metaphors based on animal and bird names is the following: 1) bovines—85 texts; 2) pigs—51; 3) horses—49; 4) sheep/rams—43; 5) chickens/roosters—42; 6) dogs—40; 7) birds, *tsirk* (as a general name)—24; 8) goats and billy-goats—20; 9) bears—20; 10) wolves—19; 11) mice—15; 12) geese—13.

Functioning as a modifier, the names of colours are unavoidably and integrally related to these base words; the most frequent metaphor based on a combination of a colour and an animal relates to the ox-subject [*härg*], including nine riddle type **'a grey ox' [*hall härg*]**, which can mean a millstone[4] (A grey ox roaring in the corner? [*Hall härg möirab nurkas?*] and A grey ox with a hole in its back [*Hall härg, auk seljas?*]), a windmill (A grey ox with forked horns takes a sauna on its horns, takes a parish on its back? [*Hall härg, hangus sarved, võtab sauna sarvile, kihelkonna kukile?*]), a farm room (A grey ox with forked horns on either end? [*Hall härg, kahes otsas hangus sarved?*]), butter in a porridge (A grey ox with a soft back? [*Hall härg, mäda selg?*]), a house of snakes (A grey ox with horns and a carriage in its stride [*Hall härg, sarved peas, tõld tuudeldi*

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[4] The [Estonian] example texts are in their original form here and hereinafter.

taga?]), a beer barrel (A grey ox with a spring in its back? [*Hall härg, allikas sel'*las?]), a hay stack (A grey ox with white horns? [*Hall härg, valge sarve?*]). Grey ox constructions typically contain ha-based alliteration, and ear-friendly phonetical properties which may well be the primary reason why there are so many examples of this construction. The meaning of the metaphor is mostly conveyed by the animal rather than the colour (oxen usually refer to something big and immovable, whereas cows usually refer to cattle or a quantity of some kind and a calf refers to something moving and noisy), but there are still names of colours that can be highlighted. For example, the stereotype **'a grey cow'** [**hall lehm**] can carry the meaning a kvass keg (A grey cow with one teat that feeds all of its family with milk? [*Hall lehm ühe nisaga, toidab kõik oma pere piimaga?*]). **'A grey horse'** [**hall hobune** with h-based alliteration] could refer to a church (A grey horse with grey feet sitting on the edge of a sacred field? [*Hall hobu, harmi jala, istub püha põllu peendra pääl?*]), a river (A grey horse with green thills? [*Hall hobune, rohelised aisad?*]), the Moon (A grey horse looking over a rooftop? [*Hall hobune vahib üle katuse?*]). The South Estonian colour word *hahk* appears in figurative riddles in relation to sheep and rams.

'A grey sheep' [**hahk lammas**] means a glove (A grey sheep on the hand? [*Hahk lammas, hand küllen?*]), **'a grey ram'** [**hall oinas**] can refer to a thatch (A grey ram on a perch? [*Hahk oinas orre otsan?*]) as well as to a stringed grey shirt (A grey ram with forked horns and red wool that cannot be sheared? [*Hahk oinas, hangu sarvõ', verevä' villa', pükä ei saa?*]). There are also examples with 'grey goat' [*hall kits*] meaning spinning wheel (A grey goat with fancy horns reeling through the street with a grey beard in its mouth? [*Hall kits, kekud sarved, läheb läbi taarutse tänava, hall habe suus?*]) and 'grey billy-goat' [*hall sokk*] denoting a stack of hay (A grey billy-goat with narrow horns drawing up towards the sky? [*Hahk sikk, ahara sarve, vedävä üles taiva poolõ?*]). When it comes to wild animals it is surprising to see that **'a grey wolf'** [**hall hunt**] besides its pleasing-sound based on alliteration appears only in one title text referring to an auger (A grey wolf with its tail in its mouth? [*Hall hunt, saba suus?*]). **'A grey rooster'** [**hall kukk**] means that the house is on fire, likely due to the colour of the smoke and the carbon monoxide resulting from the fire. **'A grey cat'** [**hall kass**] is known as a plough (A grey cat runs from below and a hunched fox takes the top? [*Alt jookseb hall kass, päält küürakas rebane?*])

'A black ox' [**must härg**] is present in seven title texts, often involves m-based alliteration and can refer to: an accordion (A sleeping black ox with its horn through the wall? [*Must härg magab, sarv läbi seina?*]), a priest in a pulpit (A black ox roaring in an oaken barrel? [*Must härg müirab tampse tõrre sees?*]), sheep shears (A black ox with bendy horns eats [three] times

a year? [*Must härg, mugalised sarved, [kolm] korda sööb aastas?*]), a bark key (A black ox with bendy horns goes on a frozen lake and pops its horns in? [*Must härg, mugulad sarved, läheb järve jäe pääle, pistab sarved sisse lopsti?*]), a vodka-distilling pot ([*Must härg, munatsõ sarvõ, võtt kulla kukruhe, vasõ varbihe?*]), a flea (A black ox with protruding horns twisting its muscles around a trunk? [*Must härg, mügarad sarved, käänab lihase paku ümber?*]), a blacksmith and bellows (Tick-tock ticker, black ox puller? [*Tikk-takk lööjä, must härg vedäjä?*]). **'A black cow'** [*must lehm*] is present in various constructions referring to: winter rye (A black cow gave birth last year, this year we eat the colostrum? [*Mullu poigis must lehm, tänävu süüä terne piim?*]), bagpipes (A nice black cow with pretty, bendy horns comes to you while mooing, no straw in its stomach, no berries in its belly, but still as full as a tick? [*Must lehm, mugurad sarved, kena lehm, keigud sarved, tuli ammudes arusta, ihkudes Ihasalusta, ei ole kõhus kõrrekesta, maus ei marjavarrekesta, ise täis kui tiine puuki?*]), a teapot (A black cow with one ear and one teat? [*Must lehm, üts kõrv, üts nisa?*]), sauna stones (A black cow drinks a bucket of water? [*Musta lehmä mulle-rulle, tuorvitäüe vettä joone?*]). **'A dark cow'** [*tõmmu lehm*] refers to a flax boll (A dark cow with many bellies and a calf in every belly? [*Tõmmu lehm tõtsa-vatsa, igas vatsas vasikas?*] A dark cow with five udders, a calf in every udder? [*Tõmmu lehmal viis udart, igas udaras üks poeg?*]). The colour *must* ['black'] often appears in parallel records, e.g. *must : punane : roheline* ['black : red : green'] where 'a **black horse**' refers to a whisking in the sauna (whisking done in the sauna) (A black horse, a red man, a green whip? [*Must hobu, punane mees, rohiline piits?*]), *must : kuldne* ['black : golden'] where **'black goat'** is a wooden balance bar (A black goat, a golden teat? [*Must kits, kuldse nisa?*]). **'Black sheep'** can refer to a glove just like 'grey ox' (A black sheep with white lips? [*Must lammas, valge moka?*]). Pigs and piglets are also common animal subjects used to assist the person solving the riddle; thus **'a black pig'** [*must siga*] often refers to sauna stones (A black pig full of tenants? [*Must tsiga, mulke täis?*])), while 'a **black pig/sow, red piglets**' [*must siga/emis, punased põrsad*] is used as a parallel combination, e.g. a poker (A black pig goes to the barn to drive out the red piglets? [*Must siga läheb lauta, ajab punased põrsad välja?*]), a hearth (A black sow in the corner and red piglets in the apron? [*Must emis nurkas, punased põrsad põlle sees?*]). Pets like dogs and cats are also represented in a shared figure of speech. Both **'a black dog'** [*must koer*] and **'a black cat'** [*must kass*] refer to the cauldrons in the riddles where they occur (A black dog in the fireplace, eating meat and swallowing fat, but getting no bigger? [*Must koer koldes, liha ta sööb ja rasva ta neelab, aga süiski suuremaks ei kasva?*] A black cat, a barn crow? [*Must kass, aidavares?*]), **'a black dog'** can also

refer to a priest (A black dog with a white collar? [*Must koer, valge kurgualune?*]).

The productive original stereotype **'a black rooster'** [*must kukk*] is particularly popular in riddles and can carry a multitude of meanings, e.g. referring to a pipe with a copper fastening (A black rooster and golden lips? [*Must kukk ja kuldsed mokad?*]), a wood grouse (A black rooster with protruding eyes, picking at pins? [*Must kukk ja mugurad silmad, ise nöpib nööpnõelu?*]), a priest in a pulpit (A black rooster gathering the parish? [*Must kukk kutsub kõik kihelkonna kokku?*] A black rooster up a tree, spreading shit on the field? [*Must kukk kuuse otsan, viskab paska viljäle?*] A black rooster with white wattles? [*Must kukk, valged lõpuksed?*]), a shirt with an embroidered bottom slit [A black rooster with golden spurs? [*Must kukk, kuldsed kannuksed?*]), a zither (A black rooster with golden horns? [*Must kukk, kuldsed sarved?*] A black rooster with golden threads? [*Must kukk, kuldsed sooned?*]), a gun (A black rooster with golden wings? [*Must kukk, kuldsed siived?*]), a pot on the stove (A black rooster with golden feathers? [*Must kukk, kuldsed suled?*]), a bottle (A black rooster, a grass ridge? [*Must kukk, muru hari?*]). **'Black chicken'** [*must kana*] can refer to a scale (A black chicken, a grey egg? [*Must kana, hahk muna?*]) or a pot on hot coals (A black chicken, a red egg? [*Must kana, verevä muna?*]), whereas the answer **'a black goose'** [*must hani*] stands for a black shirt and not a shirt [*hame*] (A black goose with no head? [*Must hani ilma pääte?*]). Additionally, there are generic names such as **'a black bird'** [*must lind*], that can refer to a pot on the stove (A black bird, red egg? [*Must lind, punased munad?*]), but also to a priest (A black bird with short legs and a white collar that eats pork and drinks eggs, sleeps for six days and then on the seventh it sings: oh-oh! What bird is this? [*Musta lindu, madala jalga, valge kurkalune, sealiha tema sööb, kanamuna tema joob, kuus päeva tema magama, seitsmendal laulma: puh-puh! Mis lindu see on?*]).

Valge ['white'] is also a popular modifier with figures of speech based on animals. There are three examples of riddles starting with 'a **white ox**' [*valge härg*] that can refer to a kvass cupboard (A white ox sleeps on a mountain, getting kisses from all around? [*Valge härg magab mäe pääl, igaüks annab musu?*]), a church (A white ox on a mountain with one horn on its head? [*Valge härg mäe otsas, üks sarv pääs?*]), toes (A white ox with five heads? [*Valge härg, viis pääd?*])); **'a white cow'** [*valge lehm*] refers to birch trees from which sap is collected (A white cow with black milk? [*Valge lehm, must piim?*] A white cow with a hundred horns and baking from one teat? [*Valge lehm, sada sarve pääs, ühest nisast küpsetas?*]); **'A white horse'** [*valge hobune*] refers to a church (A white horse in a field with a bellyful of frogs? [*Valge hobune vainul, kõht konne täis?*]). Plural

forms include **'white sheep'** [*valged lambad*] referring to peas in a pot (White sheep jumping in the sea? [*Valged lambad hüppavad meres?*]), **'white chicken'** [*valged kanad*], however, can typically mean teeth when used in the plural (Two roosts of white chicken? [*Kaks õrretäit valgeid kanu?*] A red roost filled with white chicken? [*Punane õrs valgeid kanu täis?*]). Very rarely do we see **'a black calf with a white head'** [*valge peaga must vasikas*] meaning a frothing stream ([A black calf with a white head? [*Must vasikas, valge pea?*]) or just foam (road slip, land comb, forest rooster, sea billy-goat] a white-headed calf of the coast? [*Teeliba, maasuga, metsakukk, meresikk,*] *ranna valgepää vasikas?*).

A boar with foam coming from its mouth could be a quem-stone (A mad one in the corner with a white foam coming from its mouth? [*Pahrukene nulgah, aa valget vattu suust vällä?*]) or a millstone (An old hog in a white foam? [*Vana oorik valge vahu sees?*]). The dialect phrase *valge tsirk* [**'a white bird'**] is associated with snow (Two white birds fighting on the roof? [*Kats valget tsirkukõst taplõse katuse pääl?*]).

An analysis of animal metaphors should include the notion of zoological absurdity that Arvo Krikmann introduced to the study of proverbs by pointing out constructions where animals are ascribed features that they actually lack, but which other animals do possess (mainly body parts, colours, and abilities to live in certain environments, etc.), as well as constructions evidencing attempts to get the wrong type of a product from an animal (wool, milk, etc.) (Krikmann 1999). The combinations of colours and animal metaphors in classic riddles contradict reality on a number of occasions and arise from the solution, or more specifically the need to assist the person solving the riddle by hinting the solution through a colour reference.

Riddles even include an international construction of a zoological absurdity—**'a white crow'**, featuring a va-based alliteration in Estonian as *valge vares* in one text recorded in Luts with the solution reading 'the priest takes confession [*kerkesänd võtt patale*] (A white crow healing children through a fence? [*Valge vares lävi aia latsi ravitses?*]).

The colour names *punane* ['red'] and *verev* ['scarlet'] are also important in animal-based figures of speech. **'A red bull',** featuring pu-based alliteration in Estonian (*punane pull*) often refers to cranberries (A red bull in bent grass? [*Punane pull kasteheina kütkes?*], A red bull full of bile? [*Punane pull, seest sappi täis?*]) and its synonym in Estonian (*kuremari*) (A red bull, a horsehair lark? [*Punane pullike, jõhvist lõake?*]), but also to a fire (A red bull runs up the wall? [*Punane pullike juusk saina müüdä üles?*]). **'A red horse'** [*punane hobune*] refers to fire and smoke (A red horse with a black tail? [*Punane hobune, must saba?*]). **'A red dog'** [*punane koer*] refers

to a tongue (A red dog barking through a fence of bones? [*Punane koer haugub läbi luise aia?*]), a fire in the field (A red dog sleeping in the flour casket? [*Punane koer magab jahukerstus?*]) or a fire (A red dog cracking in iron clothes? [*Punane koerake raksub raudriides?*]). Just as a **'red rooster'** [***punane kukk***] is an expression commonly used about fire, it means the same thing in riddles (A red rooster on the roof? [*Punane kukk katusel?*]). At this point it is important to stress that this article does not cover compound word games that are popular today as a subgenre of riddles, because they do not contain names of colours. Compound word games mostly use the initial formula "What" or "Which kind?" and expect, instead of an adjective, a compound word as an answer, such as Missugused hobused on parimad ujujad? Vastus: Merihobused. [**Q**: What horses swim the best? A: Seahorses.] There is, however, one compound word riddle that is related to the same compound expression 'red rooster' (meaning 'fire'): Which is the least favourite rooster?—The red rooster [*Millist kukke ei sallita?—Punast kukke.*]. 'Scarlet' [*verev*] appears in combinations such as 'scarlet cow' [*verev lehm*] in reference to the sun (A scarlet cow eating lenses through the fence? [*Verrev lehmäkene süü läbi aia läätsi?*] and 'scarlet goose' [*verev hani*] in a reference to an ear (A scarlet goose sitting on the side of a hill? [*Verrev hani mäe küllehn kükütäs?*]).

There are no references to figures of speech constructed with green animals, as this would be unrealistic. An exception would be **'a goose bright'** featuring a ha-based alliteration in Estonian (***hani haljas***) that can be a bottle (A goose bright with its head shaven and a hole in the top of its head? [*Hani haljas, pea paljas, pea päält läheb auk sisse?*]) and a sauna whisk (A goose bright with its head shaven? [*Hani haljas, pea paljas?*]). Pouring milk from a bottle would also serve as an answer (A goose bright with a naked bottom splashing shit about? [*Hani haljas, perse paljas, viskas paska vurtst?*]). Generally, the name of the colour precedes the name of the animal, but ***hani haljas*** points to the opposite. Just as in runic songs where colours can appear in established word connections (Jaago 2016) *hani haljas* is an example of a form-stereotype or a fixed figure of speech present in riddles.

Riddles also make use of the modifier 'multicoloured' [*kirju*], which does not designate any particular colour, but refers to the presence of colours. The most common form is 'multicoloured cow' [*kirju lehm*], a hemp grain (A multicoloured cow, white milk? [*Kiriv lehmäkene, valgõ piimäkene?*]), a windmill (A multicoloured cow with twisted horns mooing in the goose field, starving in the blue field? [*Kiri lehm ning keerd sarved, haniväljal ammub, siniväljal singub?*]), a spinning wheel (A multicoloured cow with pricked-up horns? [*Kiri lehm, kikkis sarved?*]), a ship (A

multicoloured cow with fancy horns walks across a frozen lake, the ice starts cracking and the blood tingles? [*Kirju lehma, keikud sarved, konnib järve jäe peal, jäe pa[u?]kub ja veri väriseb?*]). '**A multicoloured cat'** [*kiri kass*] is a beer jug (A multicoloured cat sitting on the table with its front full of white froth? [*Kiri kass kükitab laual, valget vahtu seest täis?*]).

Beside animal metaphors, riddles also contain many figures of speech that are combinations of colours and people (both metonym-based and metaphors) in which colour epithets play a significant role. '**A black man'** [*must mees*] is the start of 10 riddle types and appears in various meanings: a priest and his congregation (A black man marches to a sauna followed by a hundred more? [*Must mees marsib sauna, sada sammuvad järele?*]), a sacristan and a priest, similar to the first meaning (An old man plays the instrument, the black man shouts in the vat? [*Vanamees mängib kiikapilli, must mees kärkab tõrre sees?*]), a gun (A black man, slayer of men? [*Must mees mehemurdja?*] A black man spits over the forest? [*Must mees sülitab üle metsa?*]), a blackbird (A black man on the grass, a piece of meat on the shoulders? [*Must mees muru pääl, tükk liha turja pääl?*]), a kvass vat (A black man in the corner, throwing piss? [*Must mees nurgas, viskab kust?*]), a swallow (A black man with the tail of a fish? [*Must mees, kalasaba taga?*]), a laced shirt, a jacket (A black man with red teeth? [*Must mees, punatse hamba?*]), the Earth (A black man with a green jacket? [*Must mees, roheline kuub selgas?*]). An interesting solution is presented in the riddle for a 'fire stick holder with a burning fire stick', where the entire phenomenon with all of its parts is described using colours: A black man with black lips, a red pipe and a white handle? [*Must mees, mustad mokad, punane piip, valge vars?*].

'**A red boy'** [*punane poisike*] is similar to 'red bull' in terms of alliteration in Estonian and it usually refers to berries, e.g. a stone-cloudberry (A little red boy with a rock for a berry? [*Pisike punane poisike, kivine kõhuke?*]), a cloudberry (A red boy asleep on a green bunker? [*Punane poisike magab rohelise palaka pääl?*]) and a hip (A plump red boy with his lap full of buns? [*Punane puppis poisike, süli saiakakka täis?*]). But there is also other produce, such as carrots (A red boy with green hair? [*Punane poiss, rohelised juuksed?*], A red boy in a dirty bed? [*Punane poisike musta asema sees?*]) and apples (A boy with a scarlet side hung up high? [*Verreva külega poisikene üles puut?*]). At the same time, the answer could also be tongue and teeth (Maidens dancing with a red boy between them? [*Neitsid tantsivad, punane poisike vahel?*]) or a pen (Red boy, heart of stone? [*Punane poisike, kivine süda?*]). The phrase '**a white boy'** [*valge poisike*] can refer to a bean (A white boy with a black nose? [*Valge poisike, must nina peas?*]).

Based on the texts it is obvious that the colour choices are largely dependent on the compulsory vowel harmony of the poetic figure of speech, the rhyme at the start and at the end, and the parallel forms. At the same time, visual imagery also plays an important role—a grey ox as a millstone cannot be black or large or anything else; while black ox is also an option (although it is not constructed on the basis of the alliteration formula—a metaphor—but alliterates with another word in the sentence—*Must härg müirab* ['The **black** ox **bellows**']) and always has a meaning with a colour reference (a flea, etc.).

Therefore, it is difficult to map the colour aspect of classic riddles on a shared basis because of the layeredness of the figures of speech (metaphors and metaphorical epithets) and the connections between the metaphor (the question) and its basis (the answer) (e.g. the grey ox as a two-word metaphor in reference to a millstone as a transfer process). Although the searches proceed from colour words based on the material, the approach—the interpretation of the figures of speech—in turn is based on the term of animal metaphors (zoological metaphors) or the image of human-based figures of speech, therefore it is better to look at them from the viewpoint of metaphors and to treat them as an integral figure of speech.

Secondly, let us examine riddles with an **undefined subject** (around 25% of classic riddles). Here, we can separately highlight the positioning of the names of the colours in the riddles as sentences and the use of names of colours in the composition of the riddles because the names of the colours are often seen in particular template forms characteristic of the question part of the riddles. According to A. Krikmann (2000), other levels of structure take over in the absence of tropes "outside of structures of prerequisites and conclusions, riddles with no agent constantly show the creation of a 'space' along certain pinpoints in the nature or behaviour of the unnamed thing, some differences, contradictions, or in the borderline cases paradoxes being highlighted and thereby creating an elementary parallelism." In the context of this article, we are interested in the occurrence of colours in these formal stereotypes. The question part usually compares or contrasts two places or spatial aspects:

Under/inside..., outside...

Green from underneath, but blue on the outside?   Flax [*Alt roheline, pialt sinine?   Lina*]

Lithe legs from underneath, on the outside golden-like?   Loom [*Alt sirelt-sāreline, pealt kullakarvaline?   Kangasjalad*]

Black on the inside, red on the outside?   Flue [*Seest must, pealt punane? Löör*]

On the inside striped and streaky, on the outside golden-like?   Onion [*Seest siiruviiruline, pealt kullakarvaline?   Sibul*]

Smooth on the inside, black and hairy on the outside?   Muff [*Seest sile ja punane, päält must ja karvane?   Muhv*]

Outside..., under/inside...

White from the outside, red form the inside?   Man [*Pealt valge, seest punane?—Inimene*]

White from the outside, black on the inside?   Snow and soil [*Päält valge, seest must?   Lumi ja maa*]

Black on the outside, red on the inside, stick one in to feel comfortable? Galoshes [*Pealt must, seest punane, pistad sisse, on mõnus?   Kaloss*]

Up..., down...

White when you throw it up and yellow when it comes back down?   An egg [*Viskad ülesse, on valge, kukub maha, on kollane?   Muna*]

Front..., back/end...

Red at the front, hairy at the back?   A strawberry [*Eest punane, tagast karvane?   Maasikas*]

Names of colours can also appear in the question part as symmetrical stereotypes based on a comparison or contrast between two moments in time or two time periods.

Before/at first..., afterwards...

At first wide and yellow and afterwards white and round?   A dandelion [*Enne lai ja kollane, pärast valge ja ümmargune?   Võilill*]

At first small and red, afterwards you can't fit it in your pants?   A nut flower [*Esite pisike ja punane, pärast ei mahu püksi?   Pähkle õis*]

At first it is as white as snow and afterwards as green as grass and in the end as red as blood and sweet as honey to children?   A cherry [*Esiti valge kui lumi, pärast kui haljendav rohi, viimati verev kui veri, lapsile magus kui mesi?   Kirsimari*]

Figures of speech based on colour are generally highly variegated. Questions can be based on a single colour, but pairs and triple combinations of colours are often used for parallel repetitions. It is no coincidence that the most common pairs are made up of colour names that have a strong presence in the table of statistics of frequency of occurrence, e.g. the contrasting pair 'black : white' [*must : valge*], but also 'white : red' [*valge : punane*], 'black : red' [*must : punane*], 'white : yellow' [*valge : kollane*], 'black : yellow'

[*must : kollane*], 'red : green' [*punane : roheline*], 'green : blue' [*roheline : sinine*], 'grey : green' [*hall : roheline*], 'black : green' [*must : roheline*]. Metallic colours also appear in pairs, e.g. 'silver : gold' [*hõbe : kuld*] (A silver carriage with golden nails?—The sky and stars [*Hõbetõld, kuldsed naelad?—Taevas ja tähed*]), 'golden : copper' [*kuldne : vaskne*] (A golden ladle and a copper handle?—Rye [*Kuldene kulp ja vaskene vars?—Rukis*]). Although these metals generally have a distinct colour (e.g. gold is golden), it is not always absolutely clear whether the riddle refers to the material or to the colour of the metal.

Resultative triplets with parallel construction are the following: 'black : red : green' [*must : punane : roheline*] (e.g. Black hole, red stick, green tuft?—A carrot [*Must mulk, punane pulk, roheline tutt?—Porgand*]); 'grey : black : scarlet' [*hahk : must : verev*] (A skinny grey, a biting black and a red-pants scarlet?—A louse, a flea and a bedbug [*Hahk nahkjas, must järijas ja verev punapüks?—Täi, kirp ja lutik*]); 'multicoloured : white : black' [*kirju : valge : must*] (A multicoloured herd, a white shadow and protection by a black shepherd?—A congregation, a church and a priest [*Kiri kari, valge vari, must karjane kaitseb?—Kogudus, kerik ja õpetaja*]).

Compound colours are extremely rare in riddles, but we can give a single example of 'light blue' [*helesinine*] from a record taken in Karja parish in 1940 of a version of the most well-known onion riddle: 'At the front striped and streaky, the outside golden-like, the edge light blue [*Eest siiruviiruline, päält kullakarvaline, äärest helesinine*].

From the viewpoint of colour vocabulary, riddles present an interesting rainbow comprising of seven spectrum colours that appear as the solution to 28 riddle types (altogether 596 versions) while also functioning as answers to title texts of the types EM 1210, 1523, 1619, 1930, 1959, 1993, 2777, 2778 and 2779. It is interesting that only three of those title texts refer to a colour in the question part: **Multicoloured streaks** and pretty ribbon **stripes** that snake across the ground and out of everyone's reach [***Mitme karva viiruline**, kena lindi **triibuline**, lähen lookes üle maa, keegi kätte mind ei saa*] (EM 1210); Tied together with silken yam and knitted with **golden** yam, sitting on the top of the world [*Siidilõngast siutud, **kuld**lõngast koetud, istub ilma harja pääl*] EM 1959; **A vlue** cider, **a red** necklace, hanging from the ceiling of a rich man's barn [***Sinine** siiter, **punane** paater, ripub rikka mehe aeda laes*] (EM 1993).

Although the rainbow is by far the most colourful natural phenomenon, the question part does not assist the person answering the question with colours. A rainbow could be a regular solution to a pot/cauldron riddle (A barn below, an arch on top [*Ait all, look peal*] EM 12, and A stork's neck across the sea [*Kure kael üle mere*] EM 821) where the emphasis falls more

on the shape of the arc. The same tendency can be seen in rumic songs (Jaago 1997, 60). There are also references to religious/mythological fantasies related to rainbows that connect them, for example, as connections between two worlds—this world and the next. The shape of rainbows is also the subject of emphasis in folk belief—an arc, a rope, a bow, a bridge, a belt (Sarapik 1993).

2. Names of colours in conundrums
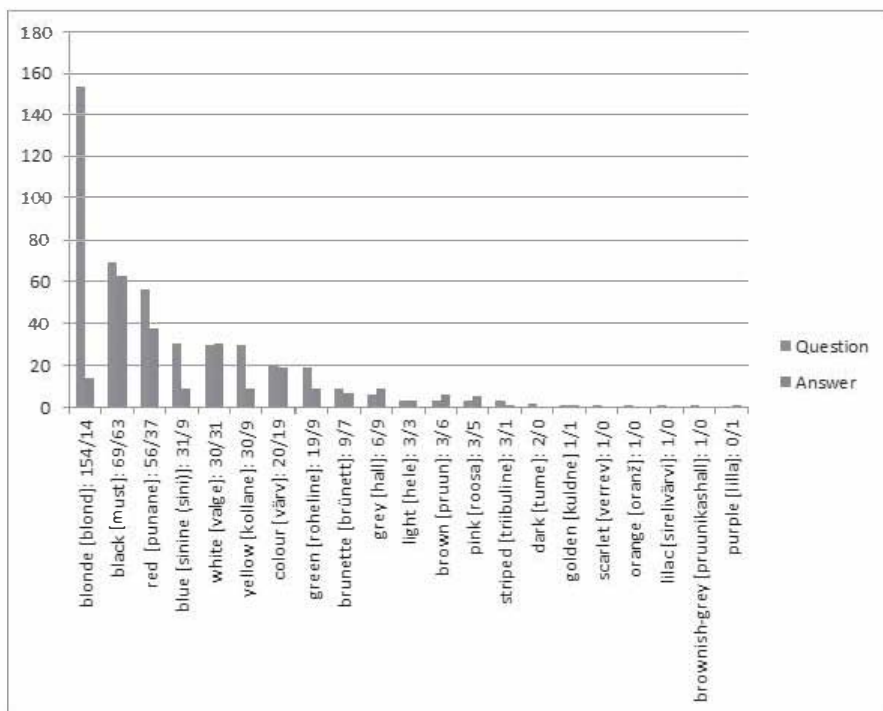
Table 5-2. Rate of occurrence of colour words in questions and answers of conundrums based on Estonian Conundrums database. Out of the 3870 title texts taken into consideration in the search, one or more names of colours appear in the questions of 443 conundrums, while such terms appear in 224 answers of the all conundrums considered.

Similar to the classic riddles, the colour world of conundrums is extremely rich and variegated, while the expressions used are completely different due to the particular characteristics of the genre. Compared to the colour statistics of the classic riddles, conundrums include all of the basic

colours, with the subject-based colour word 'blonde' [*blond*][5], signifying fair hair and white blood, having the most occurrences, followed by black, red, blue, white, yellow and others (Table 5-2). The high frequency of this particular term is due to the arrival of a new and popular character, the blonde, in the Estonian repertoire of question-answer type of jokes in the second half of the 1990s. Blonde-type questions (470 texts, 115 types) make up a third of all the written conundrums that were submitted for the school lore collection contest held in 2007 (see Voolaid 2010, 141–143). The entry for 'blonde, blondine' [*blond blondiin*] appears in the question part of 154 blonde jokes, with the most popular examples being:

1. How does a blonde kill a fish? By drowning. (49 var) How does a blond kill a bird/eagle? Throws it off the cliff. (18 var) How does a blond kill an earthworm? Buries it underground. (2 var)
2. Why does a blonde throw a clock out of the window? She wants to see time fly. (60 var)
3. Why doesn't a blonde drive a Kia [car brand]? Because NOKIA is written on her mobile. (60 var)
4. How do you drive a blond crazy? Put her into a round room and tell her to go into the corner. (40 var)
5. Why is a blond licking a clock? Because of "tic tac" [brand of breath fresheners] only gives you two calories. (32 var)
6. Why are 17 blondes standing behind the discothèque door and do not dare go in? Because of the sign on the door: no entry under 18. (30 var)
7. Why is a blond afraid of the computer? Because the computer has a mouse. (24 var)
8. Why does a blond walk around while washing her hair? She is using the shampoo Wash and Go. (13 var)
9. How do you make a blond laugh on Monday morning? Just tell her an anecdote on Friday evening. (10 var)
10. Why does a blond climb a glass wall? To see what is on the other side. (10 var)

Names of other colours can also appear in conundrums about blondes, one of the most significant examples being red: Why do blondes drink **red wine** without scruples before driving a car?—They think **red wine** cannot be distinguished from blood. (2 versions)

In addition to blondes referring to fair-haired individuals, there are also other colour names that relate to particular subjects (e.g. 'brunette' and 'redhead'), who all appear as more intelligent characters in the questions.

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[5] 'Blonde' [*blond*] is the simple name of a colour that can be used in reference to hair, skin, etc. although it is the nominal name of a colour and not usually a characteristic name of a colour.

What do you call a brunette between two blondes?—A translator

Do you know what a redhead is?   A translator for a blonde

What do you call a blonde sitting between two brunettes?   A pause for thought.

What is the difference between a brunette and a garbage bin?—A garbage bin is taken out once a week.

Several interpretations have been given about the reasons for the popularity of stupidity-based blonde jokes, including from the viewpoint of psychoanalysis. German folklorist Sabine Wienker-Piepho (1999, 135) argues that blonde jokes obviously glorify the utter stupidity of women, implying that intelligence is a privilege only men are born with. The image of a blonde women being stereotypically stupid and naive is a gender-specific sociocultural construction and it is clear that sociocultural issues related to the functioning of the society (becoming aware of the woman question, changes in the position of women in the society and their ever-greater role in the public sphere, intensification of issues relating to the equality of the sexes in the second half of the 1990s, see also Stanoev 2010; Oring 2003) had a dramatic effect upon the birth of the blonde jokes. Such jokes undoubtedly reflect reactions to certain stereotypical ideals of beauty. At the same time, hair colour has been significant in the culture in other times as well—Estonian folk belief has regarded people with platinum blonde hair as being more susceptible to bad influences, while dark-skinned individuals and people with other recognisable features (e.g. people with crossed eyes or hunched backs) may have been suspected of jinxing or performing magic (Hiiemäe 2012, 14).

The function of conundrums is to have fun primarily at the expense of the person answering the conundrum, so the point of colours is often to just distract the person from finding the right answer using the colour term as an irrelevant, distracting factor. To illustrate this argument, let us consider the conundrum type 140, the oldest record which dates back to the *Eesti Postimees* calendar from 1872: What happens to a **black** Negro when he falls into the **Black Sea**?—He gets wet. This joke sounds racist in the context of today's globalised world, but there were obviously no such connotations in the old days. Variegation in the question part of the type takes place via the replacement of the following stereotypes:

What happens to a Negro when they fall out of a **green** tree and into the **Red** sea?   The Negro ends up getting wet. (1936)

What happens to the **white** jacket of a **black** Negro who falls into the **Red Sea**?   The Negro's jacket gets wet. (1940)

What happens to a Negro soldier when he falls into the **Red Sea**?   He gets wet. (1940)

What happens when a Negro jumps into the **Red Sea**?   He gets wet. (1985)

What colour does a Negro turn when he jumps into the **Red Sea**?   He stays black. (1992)

What happens to a Negro who falls out of a tree and into the **Yellow Sea?** He gets wet. (1992)

What does a man who has swum in the **Black Sea** look like?   Wet. (1992)

What happens to an Italian soldier who falls into the **Red Sea**?   He gets wet. (1937)

What happens to a soldier who jumps into the **Red Sea**?   He gets wet. (1992)

A sailor jumped into the **Black Sea**. What was he like when he came out? The sailor emerged from the Black Sea wet. (1992)

What happens to a Chinese person if he fall into the **Red Sea**?   He gets wet. (1992)

What happens to soldiers who fall into the **Red Sea**?   They get wet. (1957)

What happens to a Chukchi person when he goes swimming in the **Red Sea**?   He gets wet. (1992)

What happens to a blackbird after falling into **Lake Valgjärv** [*valge* 'white']?   It gets wet. (1902)

What happens to a rock when you throw it into a well?   It gets wet. (1939)

What happens to a rock if you throw it in Lake Ülemiste?   It gets wet. (1925)

What happens to a **white** polar bear when it falls into the **Red Sea**?   It gets wet. (1992)

This type can easily make use of an ethnic subject as well as a body of water. It appears that bodies of water containing colour names are more figurative and effective than such things as wells and Lake Ülemiste. Crafty questions more or less characterise the whole genre of conundrums and are based primarily on violating the cooperative principles of communication or conversational maxims as phrased by Paul Grice. The following rules are violated: 1) the maxim of quality: present true information; 2) the maxim of quantity: present information as much as needed at the time; 3) the maxim of relation: only present information that is relevant; 4) the maxim of manner: be perspicuous and present information in the best possible way

(Grice 1991, 28). The question abides by the maxims of quality (the information communicated is presumed to be true—X fell into the sea), quantity (we know that X fell into the sea) and relevance (it is important that X fell into the sea), whereas the specifying definition, e.g. black (Negro), Italian (soldier), white (polar bear) or the Black, Red or Yellow Sea could be misleading and distract the person answering the conundrum. This violates the maxim of method: to ask 'What became of X' or 'What happened to X' means that the person answering the question is required to divert their thoughts to something more tragic than the simple recognition that the Negro/soldier/Chukchi got wet when coming into contact with water. Oftentimes we can see tautology in these kinds of questions: the expression 'black Negro' [*must neeger*] sounds like an excessive mistake in logic even in the oldest record, because representatives of that particular race have dark or black skin.

We can use the conundrum 'Why did Napoleon wear red suspenders?—To keep his trousers up' as an example of an analogy to this. The question part emphasises the colour: red, but it could easily be yellow or any other colour, what matters is its presentation as if it was the most important feature designed to fuel the thought process of the person answering the conundrum, yet it turns out to be completely irrelevant to the answer. This also abides by the maxim of quality (Napoleon wore red suspenders). Shifts already start to appear with the maxim of quantity (specifying the colour is an excessive information and distracts the person answering the conundrum, which can further be intensified by the colour red), relevance (red is completely irrelevant) and method (the question highlights the colour red, guiding the person answering the conundrum to look away from the primary function of suspenders—to keep pants from falling down—and consider other functions).

A separate older subgenre of the conundrums known as *Would you?/Would you rather?* questions, which share similarities with the poetic metaphors of the classic riddles. In this case colours can be used in figurative metaphors. The most common colour pairs are 'blue : red' [*sinine : punane*] and 'red : blue' [*punane : sinine*].

> Would you take the **blue bridge** or the **red plank**? To heaven or to hell. [Kas lähed **sinist silda** mööda või **punast purret** mööda? Taevasse või põrgu.]

> Would you take the **red bull** or the **blue bug**? Strawberry, bog bilberry. [Kas võtad **punase pulli** või **sinise sitika**? Maasikas, sinikas.]

> Would you rather take the **blue scarf** or the **red club**? Heaven, hell. [Kumba sa võtad, **sinise rätiku** või **punase palaka**? Taevas, põrgu.]

Would you take the red on the tree or the blue on the bridge? A bird on a tree, faeces on the bridge. [*Kas sa võtad puu otsas punast või silla päält sinist? Puu otsas lind, silla päält rooja.*]

Also 'red : black' [*punane : must*]

Would you take the red stick or the black hole? The red stick, then I get a carrot [*Kas võtad punast pulka või musta mulku? Punast pulka, siis saan porgandi.*]

'Red : yellow' [*Punane : kollane*]
Would you take red from the pole or yellow on the rock? A flag on a pole, faeces on the rock. [*Kas sa võtad posti otsast punast või kivi pääld kõllast? Posti otsas lipp, kivi pääld rooja.*]

'Green : black' [*Roheline : must*]

Would you take the long and green or the short and black? Long and green = birch tree, short and black = fir tree. [*Kas sa võtat pika ja rohilise või lühikese ja musta? Pikk ja rohiline = kask, lühike ja must = kuusk.*]

'Grey : white' [*Hall : valge*]

Would you take the grey one with a tail or the white one with a half? Grey one with a tail = cat, white one with a half = swan. [*Kas sa võtat halli hännälise või valge puolise? Hall hänniline = kass, valge puoline = luik*]

'Golden : yellow' [*Kuldne : kollane*]

Would you rather take a golden blanket or a yellow scarf? Sun, moon. [*Kumba sa võtad, kas kuldteki voi kollase rätiku? Päike, kuu.*]

'White : pink' [*Valge : roosa*]

Would you take the whites from the roof or the pinks from the ground? A dove on the roof and fire on the ground. [*Kas sa võtad katussest valged või maa pääld roosad? Katussel tuike ja maa pääl tuli.*]

The internationally popular and serially occurring 'What is?' questions have a taste for the absurd and make great use of colours. According to the humour researcher Emil Draitser (1998, 21), this indicates traditional Armenian riddles. As a go-to example of the absurd questions and the completely unpredictable answers to Armenian riddles, E. Draitser highlights a dialogue consisting of several questions that is also familiar to Estonians. 'What is green, hangs from the ceiling and squeaks—?—A herring.—Why is it green?—It's my herring, I can dye it any colour.—But

why is it hanging from the ceiling?'[6] 'Its my herring, I can hang it wherever I like.—But why does it squeak?—You know, I've been wondering about that' (Draitser 1998, 21). According to Draitser, these were the riddles that would later form the basis of the questions on (mostly) political, ethnic and erotic topics that came to be known as questions for Armenian radio ("Armenian radio received a question... Armenian radio answers"). These gained popularity in Russia during the thaw period of the 1950s, following the death of Stalin. The questions had nothing to do with an actual radio or Armenia. These absurd questions are also well-known in Estonia and many examples of such questions were submitted as a result of the nationwide school lore collection contest in 1992 and again in 2007. According to Ulla Lipponen (1995, 210–211) riddles are inspired primarily by the nature and domestic routine that is positioned right next to the world of the absurd that is home to 'colourful dodgers" (Finnish: *värikkäät viipottajat*). Lipponen also highlights the fourth dimension of absurd creations or creatures that do not exist in everyday life, but are offered to the person answering the riddle in the question part in a way that is impossible in reality. The absurd is born when truth and absurd collide; they sometimes even overlap, and colours are an important and playful part of this. The following examples present vegetables (tomato and cabbage) in personified situations.

> What is red and moves up and down?   A tomato in a lift.   What is red but waiting for green?   A tomato that wants to cross the road.

> What is green and flies in the sky?   A cabbage going on its summer holidays. But what is brown and flies in the sky?   A cabbage coming back from its summer holidays.

These kinds of "What is?" questions can also result from certain types of actual situations, e.g. What is red in the middle and hairy on the outside?—A pack of dogs around the Red Square.

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[6] The earliest Estonian text with additions for context was archived in 1955 in Tartu: *Mis see on? Ripub laes, on roheline ja piiksub?—See on heeringas.—Kuidas nii?—Ma riputasin ta lakke ja värvisin roheliseks.—Aga ta ei piiksu ju!—Noh, selle ma ütlesin niisama juurde, et sa nii kergesti ära ei arvaks. See oli praktilises esituskavas tihti nagu mingiks avamõistatuseks, sest see oli nii üldtuntud, kõik seda teadsid ja taipasid, et nüüd hakatakse esitama armeenia mõistatusi.* ['What is it? It hangs from the ceiling, it is green and squeaks?—It's a herring.—How so?—I hung it on the ceiling and dyed it green.—But it's not squeaking!—Well, I just added that part to make it harder to guess.'] *Since this joke was so well known, it was often used as a kind of opening riddle in practical performances—everyone got the point and understood that it would introduce Armenian riddles.* (RKM II 209, 606 (13))

In addition, colours assist the creation of ambiguous relations. In the next question the riddle clearly tries to steer the person answering it towards erotic ideas:

What is red, about 12 cm long, hangs loose on some and is missing on others?—A Russian 10-ruble note.

Various colour relations can be seen in absurd **elephant questions** known internationally and which are represented by a range of entries as separate theme cycles in the grand collections of school lore from 1992 and 2007. These started in the early 1960s in the United States, where elephant jokes became staple articles in the joke repertoire of those aged 17–20, making up an important part of American urban folklore (popular folklore) (see Voolaid 2008, 28–30 for a more thorough examination of elephant questions as zoological absurdity in humour). Elephant jokes are based on the idea of misleading the listener, to make illogical conclusions or situational absurdity resulting from a contradictory factor (anthropomorphic animal figures). Colours play an important part in expressing this absurdity. The most common form of Estonian elephant question (about 950 texts, 84 types) is the one in which names of colours are used in a playful manner— 76 records—'Why is the elephant wearing **blue socks**?—Because its **red** ones got wet—Why is the elephant on its back in a bath?—To keep its **blue** socks from getting wet too. The colour of the socks presented in the original question is an unusual metaphor and could easily be replaced, which is why we also have versions with red/green/yellow/grey/striped socks; red/green stockings; and pink tennis shoes.

Red is the most common colour used in elephant questions (119 times in all elephant questions), followed by pink (40 times), blue (40 times, incl. one example with light blue), yellow and green (both 17 times), grey (15 times), black (7 times) and white (6 times).

'Why does the elephant have **red eyes**?   So that it won't be seen in a cherry tree.   But have you ever seen an elephant in a tree?   No.   Why?   ?   It's **good** at hiding'. (54 versions)

'How can you tell if there are two elephants in a Zaporozhets?   The windows are **grey**'. (6 versions)

'What is the difference between an elephant and a plum?   An elephant is **grey**.   What did Jane say to Tarzan when she saw elephants coming over the hills?   "Tarzan, look   there are plums coming over the hills."   Why couldn't Jane tell the difference between elephants and plums?   Because Jane was **colour-blind**.' (4 versions)

'Why are elephants big, **grey** and wrinkled? Because it they were small, **white** and smooth they'd be aspirin tablets.' (3 versions)

Elephants as comical metaphors in joke questions have been extensively interpreted, e.g. as a magical symbol of power and strength (Boskin 1997, 62). Researchers from the psychoanalytical school have reasoned that the establishment of elephant jokes in the context of the 1960s in the United States had to do with the prominence of the African-American civil rights movement, since the light skin tone of big elephants was in contrast to dark skin, becoming a hidden means of opposing the rising influence of black people and reflecting the fears of white people regarding different traits that were stereotypically assigned to black people (e.g. greater virility) (see Dundes and Abrahams 1987).

The opposition of the two plans (light-dark, big-small) is a very common creative humorous technique. During the 1992 collecting school lore event, the archive received written records of so-called Negro and Chinese questions that use colour as a racial designator. Sequences of Negro questions (as well as questions on Chinese people) show a succession structure whereby the first segment is used to determine the physical context of the situation ('What is black and has one leg?—A one-legged Negro'), the second segment is used to determine a so-called deceptive development ('What is black and has two legs?—Two one-legged Negros') and the third segment is the punchline that contradicts the development indicated in the second segment ('What is black and has three legs?—A piano.'). This technique is also seen in ordinary anecdotes that build on the number three (e.g. in stories about three different nationalities) and in folklore narratives in general. The element of skin colour in the Negro questions can be used to construct contrasts of white and black, and black and blue, meaning that generally speaking the importance lies in the light-dark opposition of the colours. A similar mechanism is at work in questions about Chinese people ('What is yellow and crawls around?—A Chinese person looking for a mine.—What is yellow and flies around?—A Chinese person who found a mine') where the yellow skin complexion plays out as an important racial characteristic. This explains why Chinese people are sometimes substituted with other representatives of the same race, e.g. Vietnamese or Japanese people, in the riddle materials collected from Estonia. In today's globalising society, such ethnic questions, which sometimes have a sadistic twist to them, sound racist, offensive and inappropriate, but at the peak of their popularity (in the 1980s and 1990s in Estonia) they must have been viewed through the overly simplified prism of the distant and exotic 'other'. We can draw parallels to Chukchi jokes, which were once extremely popular and originally carried an ethnic stamp in Russian, but became detached from reality as they spread elsewhere, assuming the functions of an anecdotal

type (see Tuisk 1997, 20), which is why Chukchi people are not always treated as representatives of any particular etlmic group.

We can observe the general cultural meanings being assigned to colours in conundrums as well. For example, black as the colour of grief ('Why are fleas black? They are in mourning over their family'). The earliest Estonian text is seen in Nörmann's *Aeawitja* from 1868 or red as the symbol of the political ideology of the Soviet Union in a particular local social and cultural context ('Were there any racial issues in the Soviet Union? No, because there were no blacks or whites—everyone was red.'). These meanings of colours may also express observations about particular times and trends, e.g. there was a question in the 2007 school lore contest 'Who turns up in a white fur coat? The *nouveau-riches*.'
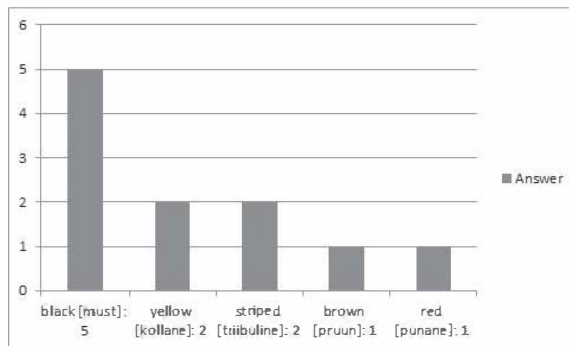
3. Names of colours in droodles

Table 5-3. Colour names in the answer part of riddles based on Estonian Droodles database. Colour names appear 11 times in the 803 title texts that were taken into account in the search.

The droodles or rebuses that are a part of a more contemporary riddle materials are reminiscent of regular riddles, since they describe something (albeit using visual and not verbal means) that presupposes the necessity to present a solution by default. The frequency tables based on title texts (Table 5-3) put 'black' in the first position according to criteria of occurrence (in five title texts), followed by 'yellow', the combination of two colours i.e. 'striped' (in two title texts) and 'brown', 'red' and 'white' (in one title text).

There are many riddles even among droodles that are based on characteristic features of certain nationalities/etlmic groups (Mexicans, Negros, Indians, Georgians, cowboys, etc.). In terms of representation, cowboys hold the most honourable position in the Estonian droodles (e.g.

'A cowboy riding a bike'), but there are a lot of droodles based explicitly on the skin colour. Similarly to conundrums, droodles also feature emblematic figures such as the dark skin of a Negro and the yellow skin of a Chinese person. Again, we see the contrast between black and white, e.g.
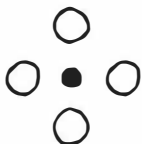
'What is in the picture?' White people staring at a black person' (5 versions)

Additionally, 'black' [*must*] brings up several subjects remotely related to the colour black, such as gypsies [*mustlane*] and magicians [*mustkunstnik*].
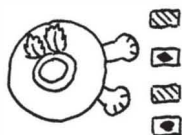
'A gypsy reading cards.' (1 version)

'A magician's hat with a rabbit's ears sticking out.'

(1 version)
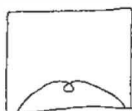
'A black person doing the splits.' (1 version)

Therefore, the figurative language of droodles is extremely rich in fantasy—one line can mean anything. The use of colour is also very improvisational, unpredictable and creative in this genre. A black box could be related to a variety of potential answers, the most common of which are e.g.

'Two/three/four/five/seven Negros/black people in a dark room.'
'Four Negros looking for a black cat in a dark room.'
'Negros in the Black Sea.'
'A Negro eating blackcurrants in a dark room with their eyes closed.'
'A black cat in a pitch-black corridor.'
'You can't see a black cat at night.'

In many cases the droodle descriptions form a tautological black Negro.

White is depicted as an answer in only one of the title texts mentioned above—'*White people staring at a black person*', although it appears in subversions of multiple types.

'White goose in the White Sea.'

'Redheads swimming in the White Sea.'

'What is in the picture?' 'A flea on a white bedsheet.'

The colour 'black' is also represented in one narrative droodle where the question part makes up a longer storyline that needs to be solved.

GRANDMOTHER'S HOUSE [*VANAEMA MAJA*]

GHOSTS [*TONDID*]

'How can grandpa get to grandma's place? He has to pour dirty water on himself to make the ghosts think he is a ghost too, and when he gets to grandma's house he has

to rinse himself with clean water.'

Conclusion

The use of colours in different subgenres of riddles is an important technique with a range of functions. Since the figurative language used in classic riddles usually reflects the appearance of the object of the solution and its sensory elements, colour names play the most important part in the figurative construction of riddles. Consideration must be given here to poetic pleasantness (alliteration) and parallelism (contradictions, pairs or triplets of colours, and longer lists). On the frequency list of colours, the names of basic colours in Estonian are in the top positions ('black' [*must*], 'white' [*valge*], 'red' [*punane*], 'grey' [*hall*], etc.); classic riddles make no mention of 'purple' [*lilla*] or 'orange' [*oranž*] among the basic colour names in Estonian. The archaic language used in riddles is demonstrated by the use of the word *haljas* in addition to the more common word *roheline* for 'green' and the dialect words *hahk* and *harm* [grey] and *kuldne* [golden] alongside *kollane* [yellow].

In classic riddles, the names of colours function to assist the people answer the riddle. Colours describe the external features of the object of the solution in metaphoric terms as structural elements of established clichés. In the texts with a defined subject where the integral figure of speech coincides with the syntactic subject of the syntactic base, the subject is often a zoological term that benefits greatly from a colour as a modifier (e.g. grey/black/white ox; black pig and red piglets). There is a universal tendency for larger and lighter animals (grey ox, white horse) to refer to something objectively heavy or non-moving (e.g. a stone, windmill, church, feet, haystack); black ox, however, relates to the characteristic appearance of a tool (blacksmith's bellows, a barn key) to a person performing an act or to the strong voice thereof (a priest giving a sermon from a pulpit). Colour is equally important in the metonymic and metaphoric human figures (e.g. a black man, a red boy). In certain cases these figures of speech appear in particular word forms (e.g. 'a goose bright', but never 'a bright goose').

In the texts with undefined subjects where the object of the riddle is presented through activities, features, relationships, places, times, etc., colour names are applied on the basis of paradoxical variations in the syntactic form stereotypes based on contradictions (e.g. under/inside..., outside...; outside..., under/inside...; front..., back/end...; before/at first..., afterwards...).

The colour world of the conundrums and the droodles forming the basis of humour is also variegated. In trope creation reminiscent of classic riddles, names of colours appear in older layers of substance, e.g. in questions starting with 'Would you? / Would you rather?' At the same time, colours are also used in conundrums to express cultural stereotypes and symbols. Compared to the colour statistics of classic riddles, the most popular colour word in conundrums is the word designating fair hair and white-bloodedness, the substantive 'blonde' (which has become synonymous with 'stupidity' in jokes). This is due to the popularity and excessive number of jokes about dim-witted blondes in the second half of the 1990s. Colours play an important part in absurd questions starting with 'What is?' and in the series of the internationally known ethnic jokes and absurd elephant questions, where the opposition of two plans (light-dark; big-small) works as a creative method. In this case, colours function to alter the realistic worldview, thus leading to an element of surprise for the fun-house mirror of reality to take comedic effect. The function of conundrums is often to have fun at the expense of the people answering them, which is why colours sometimes serve to mislead the respondent by means of a powerful visual distraction. In this subgenre, the main emphasis is on the method reminiscent of the function of anecdotes, whereby the person presenting the conundrum gives time for the respondent to think about their answer, but then provides the answer himself after a short pause.

The use of colours in droodles is unpredictable and creative, but as with conundrums, colours are used to support certain clichés and stereotypes. Again, colours have been applied in the creation of ethnic stereotypes where it is common to oppose white and black.

This article outlines the general tendencies of the colour vocabulary of riddles, but there are various elements that deserve more thorough analysis in future (e.g. different colours in riddles being treated through metaphor theories, including the symbolic meanings and sociocultural background of the metaphor theories).

Acknowledgements

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CHAPTER SIX

COLOURS AND COLOUR NAMES
IN SLOVENIAN RIDDLES[1]

SAŠA BABIČ

Abstract: Folklore genres, including minor forms of folklore, encapsulate cultural concepts, ideas and metaphors, which are expressions of deeper cultural substrata and content. Looking into isolated elements of verbal folk genres (riddles, proverbs, swearwords, fairy tales, and anecdotes) can show us details in the cultural perception and the conceptual maps that co-create metaphors, used in the verbalized world. Such is the case, I argue, with Slovenian riddles, and especially riddles containing colour terms, which I will use as a study material to answer the following questions: what colours and colour combinations are most commonly used in riddles, what is the underlying motivation for such choice, and what are the usual contexts, objects and animals being implied by the colour term used in the question.

Keywords: riddles, colours, folklore, conundrums.

Introduction

The article is a pioneering attempt to study the use of colours in Slovenian folklore riddles, a subject matter that has remained unexplored until now. The topic of colours in Slovenian folklore has only been approached from phraseological perspective (Čeh 2005) with the focus on colours in phraseology. The focal interest in this article is given mostly to the colours used in the descriptions of Slovenian folklore riddles and the answers these descriptions imply. The research gives us insight into the cultural concepts reflected through folklore.

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[1] An edited and extended version of the article "Barve v slovenskih folklornih ugankah" (Colours in Slovenian folklore riddles), published in Slovenian can be found in the journal *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva*, vol. 58, no. 1 2, 2018.

The theoretical introduction opens with a definition of riddles as a genre and a conceptualization of colour as an element from our surroundings that is included in the riddle. What follows is an empirical section with an analysis of folklore riddles[2] retrieved from the archive of the ZRC SAZU Institute of Slovenian Ethnology[3].

A riddle is a traditional, fix-phrased verbal expression with a two-partite structure: the first part of the riddle is an image which is linguistically phrased as a question and uses a metaphorical description, while the answer is a seeming contradiction (Kaivola-Bregenhøj 2001, 9). Because of its two-partite structure it is set as a dialogic genre with at least two participants: one who asks the question and another one who provides the answer. The structure is a result of the rivalry relation among participants. The genre of riddles has many subgenres, being different one from another in their purpose, content and form, manifested as true riddles, joking questions/conundrums, sexual riddles or droodles. All subgenres use names of everyday phenomena and objects to create the metaphorical description, i.e. the image of the riddle. The descriptions are misleading and highly metaphorical: phenomena and objects are described with comparisons which have seemingly the same characteristics, but the answer reveals a metaphorical layer of the complex meaning (e.g. *Black hole, white spike, moves the butt, fills the hole.—Putting on a boot; The whole cow is black, only the belly is yellow?—A pot with butter*). Some images also use colours and colour combinations as a part of the description to give hints about the answer.

Forms of classical riddles have been thoroughly analysed by Arvo Krikmann (2000) in his teaching materials, in which he divided traditional riddles in terms of the image construction, broadly speaking, in two categories (Krikmann in Voolaid 2016, 74–76):
1) riddles where the subject or the agent is defined, where "the image is a "substantive" or agent-expressive "point" that clearly states the sense of expression, i.e. descriptive sentence has a syntactic basis" (e.g.) (*Black sheep all burning in fire?—Starry night*) and
2) riddles with undetermined subjects or "non-agent" riddles where "the substantive-agent "point" is missing and the subject of the conjectural representation is represented by the activities, properties, relationships, places, times, characteristics etc. (e.g. *First white as snow, than green as grass, finally red as blood?—Cherry*).

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[2] This research focuses on classical, traditional Slovenian riddles retrieved from the archive of the ZRC SAZU Institute of Slovenian Ethnology.
[3] Archive of Institute of Slovenian Ethnology ZRC SAZU, henceforth abbreviated to ZRC SAZU ISN.

In both cases, colour names also participate in the creation of the image. In the first case, the colour is a part of the subject, while in the second one the colour replaces the subject as a characteristic of the part of description.

Colours can stir emotions, awaken imagination, memory, and intuition, and can affect a persons' feelings and aesthetic judgement etc. Kovačev (1997, 23–28) states that visual perception is explained as one of the primary and most important forms of human recognition of reality. The visual part of the colour itself, which has a deeper meaning of perception, influences the psychological experience, but also the aesthetic, biological, social and cultural values. Because of the important role colours play in human life, they have also developed symbolic meanings on metaphorical and lexical levels, especially present in proverbs or in rituals relating to the life cycle (e.g. prescribed colours of clothes for certain ceremonies). When it comes to Slovenian language and cultural studies, only Čeh (2005) has conducted research on the symbolic value of colours, focusing on Slovenian cultural phraseology, where she found high frequency of metaphoric use of colours, the most frequent ones being white, black, and red, and to a lower extent grey, pink, green and blue.

The meaning of a colour is based on a social convention and is therefore a carrier of sematic structures; while outside our consciousness, a colour is a pure abstraction, a physical term for electromagnetic radiations. Defining objects with colours imbues them with an additional emotional content: it forces a person to recognize and allow vivid fulfilment, therefore the symbolic realm of colours has an important role in all shapes of cultural activity (Kovačev 1997, 31).

In all cultures colours occupy the core of the symbolic system (Čeh 2005, 92), and despite such a position being universal throughout the world, the understanding of colours varies in different parts of the world. The importance of colours and their observation can be registered at the very superficial level: the description of an object. As such we can find them in riddles, where the description is altogether metaphorical, but the colour in the description is always the true characteristic of the object or the phenomenon revealed in the answer; however, considered in isolation, it has no metaphorical or symbolic meanings when occurring in the question part of the riddle. Mentioning the colour of the object in the description is therefore a helpful clue to produce the right answer.

Taylor has already given special attention to colours in (true) riddles in his impressive comparative collection of riddles. Taylor notices that riddlers rarely describe an object primarily in terms of its colour(s) and when they do, they usually do it to round up the idea; he explicitly emphasizes that the terms of colours were found, though rarely, in comparisons to persons or

animals (Taylor 1951, 623). Colours alone extremely rarely appear as a singular description of the object—Taylor (1951, 623) notices just one. In ZRC SAZU ISN archive of Slovenian riddles such minimum description is present only in two examples and even those riddles give some other definite directions, which means that the minimum of a description is somewhat extended:

Kaj je črno gori in bel doli?—Ajdovo zrno.	What is black on the top and white on the bottom? A buckwheat grain.
Črno, a v sredi belo?—Lonec in v njem mleko.	Black all over, but white in the middle? Pot with milk in it.

Taylor (1951, 623–638) divides the different categories of colour mentioning riddles by the position (all over, inside–outside, in–out, front–middle, up–down), the chronological sequencing (first–than) or by the relation of colours to an act, a category among which colour combinations occur: black, white, green, red, brown, yellow, and pink.

Voolaid (2016) has studied colours in Estonian riddles. She has discussed colours in classical examples, i.e. true riddles, joking questions, conundrums and droodles, mostly working with contemporary material. The most often occurring colours she has identified in the Estonian riddles are black, white, red and grey (violet or orange are never mentioned in the riddles) (Voolaid 2016, 92).

Methodology

I have analysed Slovenian riddles collected from ZRC SAZU ISN (established in 1951) and by some collected previously. The Archive now consists of approximately 2,200 traditional folklore riddles, which haven't been categorised or analysed, therefore it is important to analyse this material before undertaking analysis of contemporary riddles.

Riddles from the archive were mostly collected in a big collecting initiative from the 19th century, organised by Karl Štrekelj (undertaken by J. Kragelj, A. Pegan, M. Lendovšek, M. M. Ziljski, J. Štuhec, A. Žlogar etc.), both through a fieldwork on different topics which resulted in a material gathered and noted down as a "side-material" after WWII period till the 1980s (Orel's collections, collections of Milko Matičetov etc.) and by transcribing material from 19th century newspapers.

The units, used for this research, were digitalised in Excel for convenience. Some riddles are doubled or tripled as the same folklore riddles have been printed in different sources and collected by more

collectors. The search for colours in riddles was made by looking at the root of the word containing the colour name and then reading the whole material throughout to collect all riddles containing colours. The search for the Slovenian traditional riddle-material from the archive ZRC SAZU ISN showed that only approximately 7% riddles include colour names; 115 units of the material of true riddles with colour names were categorised, of which 94 have different types.

The analysis of the colours in riddles was based on their quantity: how many mentions of a particular colour were there in the material. Using that as a basis, I tried to link the results to the Berlin and Kay's (1991 [1969]) hypothesis on the development of colour expressions.

The second level of analysis was linked with the answers of the riddles: what answers (objects/phenomena) are described (hinted) by the colour in the question. The results show the answers that stand out with the characteristic of the colour.

Results: Colour terms in Slovenian Riddles

Slovenian language has eleven basic colour terms: black 'čma', white 'bela', red 'rdeča', yellow 'rumena', orange 'oranžna', green 'zelena', blue[4] 'modra', brown 'rjava', purple 'vijolična, pink 'roza', and grey 'siva'; because of this quantitative fact Slovenian language can be placed on seventh i.e. the highest level of evolution of basic colour namings by Brent Berlin and Paul Kay (1991 [1969], 23). Colour names show how people perceive the environment, a relation also described in riddles. In most of the riddles the colour name appears in the image/description as a visual guidance to the characteristic of the object in the answer.

Only two riddles have a colour naming in the answer, and yet those two appear only in reference to a geographical name, that of the Red sea:

Kje (je) solnce sam enkrat sijalo?—Ondi, kjer se pred Izraelci rudeče morje zagernilo.

Where did the Sun shine only once? In the Red Sea when it withdrew itself in front of Israel.

---

[4] Nowadays Slovenian language has two names for blue colour: *moder* and *plav*, though the second one, *plav*' is more colloquial speech or in some parts of Slovenian culture it is dialectological. They do not differ by the quality of the colour, as they denote the same colour. Additionally, the term *plav* in old Slovenian has denoted the same colour which nowadays is referred to by *blond*, i.e. light colour with yellowish shade (similar as in Czech) (Uusküla 2008).

Vodena ključavnica, lesen ključ, zverina je ušla, lovec je vjet.—Izraelci skozi rudeče morje.	Water lock, wooden key, beast has escaped, the hunter is caught. Israelis through the Red Sea.

Both riddles belong to the subgenre of wisdom questions about the Bible and in both of them the colour name cannot be taken as a characteristic of the object or phenomena in the answer as the Red Sea is the official geographical name and has different motivations for the use of the colour. There were no traditional riddles where the colour in the answer would define a visual detail of the object.

Riddles which describe an object in terms of its colour(s) in the image/question part use supplementary devices to round up the idea. In such riddles a colour is an essential element of the description, which gives the guesser great help and guidance while guessing. The colour used constitutes a non-metaphorical part of the question; it is merely a descriptive element that can be connected with the true characteristic of the object/phenomenon revealed in the answer. The one searching for the answer is aware of the fact that the naming of the colour helps with the answer and therefore it appears as a scaffold in the riddling process. As the colour is a direct lead to the answer, it might be the reason that a colour was rarely used—because it made the riddle easier to guess.

The fashion in which colours appear in the Slovenian riddles is identical to the elaboration of Voolaid (2016) in her description of the Estonian riddles, albeit the obvious differences most often in regard to the colour names. In true riddles, colours relate to a visual characteristic of the object given in the answer:

Bele kokoške izpod strehe gledajo, pa vendar so mokre?—Zobje.	White hens watching under the roof, yet they are wet? Teeth.
Rdeče hlače, belo meso, črna duša. Kaj je to?—Jabolko.	Red trousers, white meat, black soul. What is that? An apple.
Vsa krava črna, samo trebuh ima rumen?—Lonec z maslom.	The whole cow is black, only the belly is yellow? A pot with butter.

The devices that round up the idea and supplement the mention of the colours are the references to the characteristic positions of the colours (Taylor 1951, 623):

Črna kloča rudeča jajca
vali?—Kotel na žerjavici.

Black hen hatches red
eggs? A cauldron on
embers.

Kdo gre črn v ogenj in pride
rudeč nazaj?—Železo.

What goes black into the fire
and comes red out of it? An
iron.

The changes in such varying circumstances as the movement of going
in and out, or rising and falling are also used as guiding devices:

Če kviško vržeš, je belo, če pa
na tla spustiš, je rumeno. Kaj
je to?—Jajce.

When you throw it up, it's
white, when you let it down,
it's yellow. What is it? An
egg.

Kaj je černo gori, belo pa
doli?—Ajdovo zerno na
mlinskem kamnu.

What is black on the top and
white at the bottom? A
buckwheat grain on a mill
stone.

So is the presence or absence of the colour or colours appearing at
different stages is used as a helping device:

Sprva belo ko sneg, potem
zeleno ko trava, nazadnje
rdeče ko kri?—Češnja.

First white as snow, than green
as grass, finally red as
blood? Cherry.

Veliko kakor hiša, majhno
kakor miš, zeleno kakor
detelja, belo kakor sneg in
črno kakor oglje?—Oreh.

Big as a house, small as a
mouse, green as a clover, white
as snow and black as
charcoal? Walnut.

And the combination of colours with a characteristic act of the described
object/phenomena:

Okrogel, oglat ali podolgovat,
bel, rjav ali črn, služim
kraljem, gospodom in
kmetom.—Klobuk.

Round, square or oblong,
white, brown or black, serves
kings, masters and farmers.
Hat.

Jaz vem za en grad, kjer je
polno r'dečih bab. Ena črna
prileti in vse venka zapodi.—
Oglje v peči, omelo vse vun
pomede.

I know of a castle that is full
of red elder women. A black
one flies in and chases all of
them out. Charcoal in an
oven, and a fire broom
chasing out the charcoal.

Categorisations

Looking into the corpus of riddles with colour namings I have first made categorisations based on different criteria such as: the formal language structure of the riddle (subject, non-subject and explicit comparison), the answers, and the colour term used. Afterwards, I have made a categorisation based on the connection between answers and colours in the material. The categorisations can show us the presence of a colour naming in the riddle on different levels.

Categorisation by sentence structure

The first level categorisation of riddles containing a colour name was made by adapting Krikmann's categorisation of riddles. I identified two categories and one subcategory in the riddle corpus:

1. A category with a defined subject in the image/question, that carries a full metaphorical role;
1.1 A category where an explicit comparison to the subject creates the image;
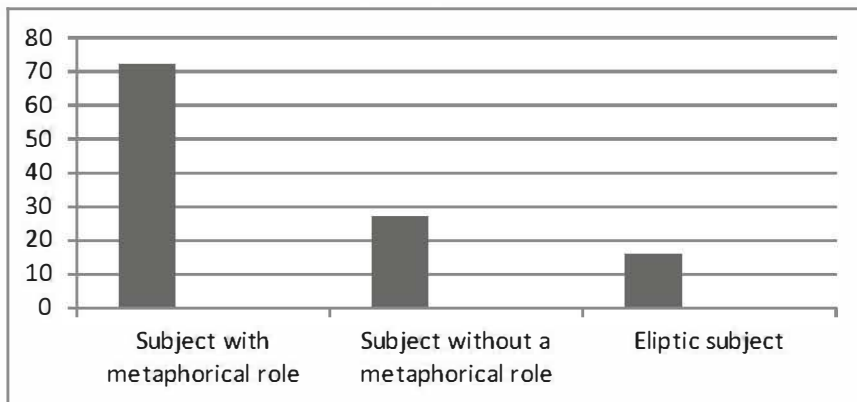2. A category with no defined subject; where the answer is described by an act of some kind.

Table 6-1. Categorisation of riddles, containing a colour name.

1. A category with a defined subject in the image/question, that carries a full metaphorical role

Most riddles, 72 (i.e. 62%) using colour names fall into the first group according to Krikmann's model of categorisation: with a defined subject or an "agent" in the riddle (Voolaid 2016, 74). The colour is the adjective of the metaphorical subject and a direct lead to the answer. The subjects in the first type are mostly **domestic animals**, like *black or white sheep* or *red and black pigs* functioning as metaphors for many similar **objects of smaller size** (flour dust, teeth, charcoal), a *black hen* for a pot, a *white hen* for teeth, *red eggs* for charcoal, *white and red oxen* for krapfen (cooked pastry of flour, salt and water), a *black cow with a yellow belly* for a pot with butter, a yellow *cat* for a church lamp:

Černa ovca vsa v ognji gori?—Zvezdna noč.	Black sheep all burning in fire? Starry night.
Črna koklja rudeča jajca vali?—V atljica na oglih.	A black hen hatches red eggs? Clay pot for milk on the fire.

Wild animals are also used as metaphors, as in *black crow* for plough:

Črn kavran pod zemljo leti?— Plug.	A black crow flies under the earth? Plough.

Life in the countryside is another source of riddling topics as in a *white field* for a sheet of paper and black seeds for *black letters* written down. The riddle given as an example below additionally contains a word game by using the word *modra*, which has two meanings: 'blue colour' and 'wise'. Therefore, the inherent ambiguity in the word may well be misleading. In the following riddle *modra glava* stands for a *wise head* and is therefore not used metaphorically:

Bela njiva, černo seme, modra glava, ki ga seje.—Pisanje.	White field, black seeds, and wise head that sows it. Writing.

From the group of **plants and parts of plants,** the apple is the only fruit used metaphorically in combination with a colour name, i.e. a *white and black apple*:

Znan zan drčev, ku jima 12 belih nu 12 černih jabk. Kej je tu?—Dan.	I know of a wooden pot that has 12 white and 12 black apples. What is it? A day.

Natural phenomena are also used in the riddles' metaphorical descriptions, as in *black hole* for shoe:

Črna luknja, bel klen, z ritjo	Black hole, white spike,
zmigne, v luknjo pertagne.—	moves the butt, fills the
Obuvanje škornja.	hole. Putting on a boot.

In the first category of riddles there are often personifications as *red and black lady* for charcoal and whisk broom, *black sister* and *white brother* for day and night, *black girl* for mill wheel, *black father* for a pot, black lips or moustaches for oven, *white lady* for flour:

Sestra je črna, bratec je bel,	The sister is black, the brother
vedno sta skupaj, pa ni je	is white, they are always
ujel.—Dan in noč.	together, yet he has never
	caught her. Day and night.
Vem za dekle, ki se zmiraj	I know of a girl who always
pere, pa vendar zmiraj črne ji	washes herself, but becomes
postaja?—Mlinsko kolo.	blacker and blacker? Mill
	wheel.

When colours attribute the object of the riddle/metaphorical expression, it is only items of clothes that appear in combination with colour names, i.e. clothes like *green* or *red hat, yellow suit, red pants*:

Na polji stoji možiček, ki ima	There is a little man standing
rumeno obleko pa zeleno	in the field, with a yellow suit
kapo?—Korenje.	and a green hat? Carrot.
Rdeča kapca po hiši tapca.—	Red cap tiptoes around in the
Kokoš.	house. Hen.
Vsi imajo zelene kožuhe, samo	All [children] have green furs,
oče ga nema.—Oreh.	only father doesn't have it?
	Walnut.
Kviško raste, doli kima in	It grows up, it nods down and
rdeče hlače ima?—Čebula.	has red pants? Onion

Black, white, red, yellow, green are the colours that most frequently attribute the subjects in the riddles' description. The occurrences in the selected corpus are as follows: *black* is the most often occurring colour in these riddle types[5] (10), followed by *red* (8), then combinations of *black and white* (7), *black and red* (5), and singular mentions of *white* (4), *green* (2).

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[5] The number of riddles is taken as a mumber of one variant and not as number of all units including repeated types of one riddle.

Finally, all the other colours have but one mention. The word *colourful* is used only once, as an adjective predicting person for subject, i.e. children:

Oče je visok, mati bodeča,	Father is tall, mother is thorny,
otroci pa pisani?—Kostanj	children are colourful?—
	Chestnut.

The descriptions in the riddles from the first category are related to the answers that denote acts (writing, putting on a boot, milling flour), objects from everyday life (a pot on a stove, comb, plough, charcoal, millwheel, brick, oven, pot, spoon and fork, light in a church, drying pot), plants or a part of a plant (carnation, thorn, buckwheat, apple, onion, carrot, cabbage, hazelnut, walnut, chestnut), food (flour, pot with butter, pot with milk, Slovenian pasta from dry dough), parts of human body (mouth, teeth, tongue, human), animals (hen, flee), and physical phenomena (day, sky with stars, fire).

NUMBER OF UNITS

Black; 10
Red; 8
Black&white; 7
Black&red; 5
White&red; 5
White; 4
Green; 2
Yellow; 1
Yellow&green; 1
Black&yellow; 1
White&green; 1
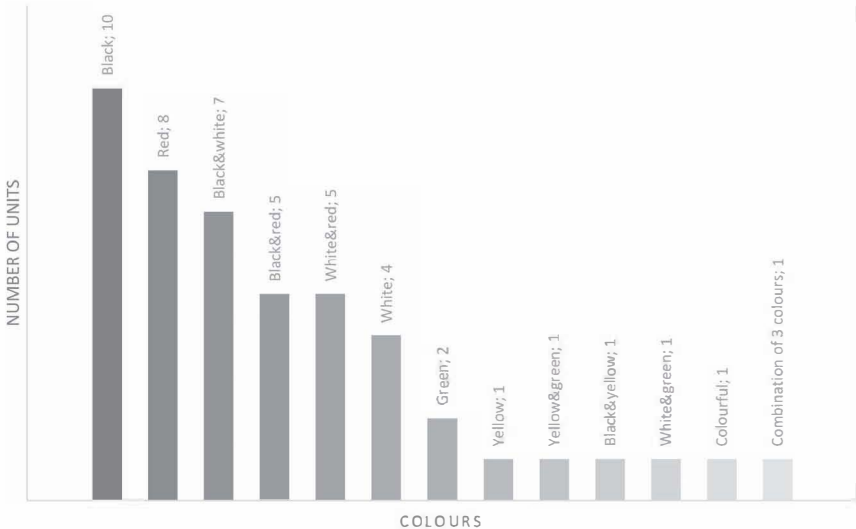Colourful; 1
Combination of 3 colours; 1

COLOURS

Table 6-2. Colours in riddles with a defined subject in the image/question, that carry a full metaphorical role.

1.1 Category where an explicit comparison to the subject creates the image

For this analysis I have added a subgroup to Krikmann's first category: the riddles where comparison appears as a constitutive part of the description.

These riddles have a subject which is not used metaphorically; instead, it complements the description of the colour, and the colour is the main descriptive part of the riddle, e.g. *red as blood, green as grass* etc. There are 16 (i.e. 14%) riddles with colour names where comparison is used.

Using an explicit comparison, the object in the answer is described in relation to surrounding everyday objects, which are stereotypes of the image which is being described:

Veliko kakor gora, mičkino kakor miš, zeleno kakor ščavje, sladko kakor med, gorjupo kakor pelin?— Orehovo drevo in jedrce.	Big as a mountain, small as a mouse, green as bushes, sweet as honey, bitter as mugwort? Walnut tree and nut.
Je čern kak kovač, orje kak orač, na den napravi tristo bregač, pa je ne kovač ne orač?—Krt.	It is black as a smith, it ploughs as a plougher, it makes three hundred rows, but is neither smith nor plougher. Mole.

The comparison can be given in the description by listing more characteristics of the object revealed in the answer, which appear as parallels:

Najpred belo ko sneg, tedaj zeleno ko detel, pa rudečo ko kri in otrokom diši. Kako se veli?—Češnja.	First, it is white as snow, then green as clover, and [last it is] red as blood and smelling nice to children? Cherry.

or it can be a supplement with a negation of the stereotypical image connected with the given colour in the riddle:

Belo je, dan ni, černo je, noč ni, zeleno je, trava ni, rep ima, krava ni!—Sraka.	It is white, but it is not a day, it is black, but it is not a night, it is green, but is not a grass, it has a tail, but is not a cow. Magpie.

Comparisons in these riddles are made with nouns signifying **wild animals** (*lizard, mouse, rat*), **plants** (*grass, stone, bushes*), **human body part** (*blood*), **natural phenomenon** (*snow*), **human handcraft** (*blacksmith, plower*), **human senses**, like taste (*sweet*), smell (*smells good*). Metaphorical images present in the first part of the riddle are constructed through comparisons and use clues leading to the answers: cherry, walnut turnip, mole and brick.

The colour most often used in the comparison present in the first (image) part of the riddle is black (3), then green (2) and then combination of green,

white and red (2), then red (1), combination of green and white (1) and white and black (1).
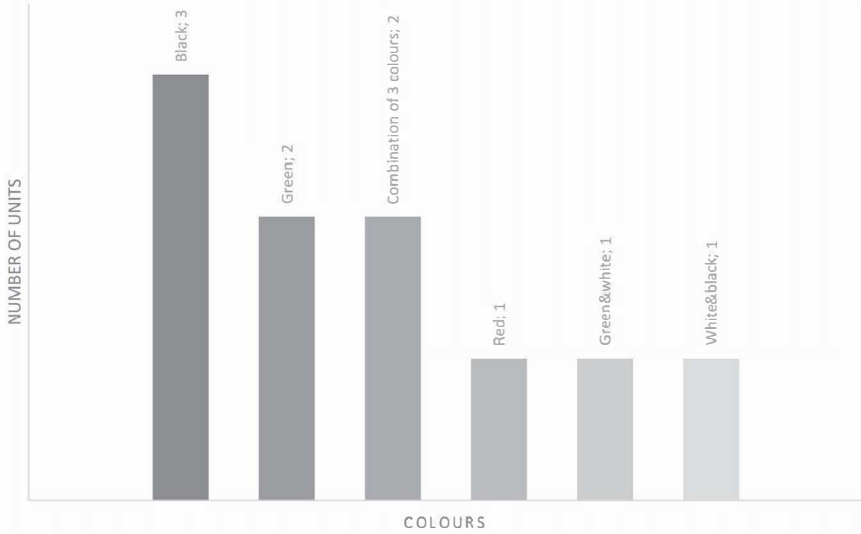

NUMBER OF UNITS

Black; 3

Green; 2

Combination of 3 colours; 2

Red; 1

Green&white; 1

White&black; 1

COLOURS

Table 6-3. Colours in riddles where an explicit comparison to the subject creates the image.

2. A category without a defined subject

The second group in the Krikmann's categorisation are the riddles with undetermined subjects or "non-agents", where the substantive-agent "hint" is missing and the subject of the conjectural representation is represented by the activities, properties, relationships, places, times, etc. (although these predicates may sometimes have obvious indications for the listener) (Voolaid 2016, 74).

Most often the object forming the answer is described with the given characteristics:

Črno, mali okovani, dobro   Black, small forged, keeps
doma čuva?—Ključavnica.   the home well safe?—A
                                     locker.

Often, oppositions such as 'up-—down' are part of the description of the object:

| *Če kviško vržeš, je belo, če pa na tla spustiš, je rumeno. Kaj je to?—Jajce.* | You throw it up, it's white, you let it down, it's yellow. What is it?—An egg. |

Or 'in—out':

| *Znotraj je belo in rumeno, a to, kar iz njega pride, je živo.—Jajce in pišče.* | Inside it is white and yellow, what comes out of it, is alive.—An egg and chicken. |

The answer is also described by a reference to some act of moving or activity:

| *Po meni hodiš, vmažeš me, po tebi grem, obelim te.—Sneg.* | You walk on me, you make me dirty, when I go over you, I make you white.—Snow. |

Or by a change of the colour preceding and the colour following a certain act:

| *Kaj gre rdeče v vodo in pride črno iz vode?—Žareč ogel / razbeljeno železo.* | What goes red into water and black out of water?—Buming charcoal / red-hot iron. |

Within this group I have identified 27 (i.e. 24%) riddles with colour names, 20 of which are different types and have colours in the question, and only one of which has a colour in the answer. Colours that are used are: black (5), white (3), yellow (3), red (2), white and black (2), white and yellow (2), red and black (1), black and brown (1).
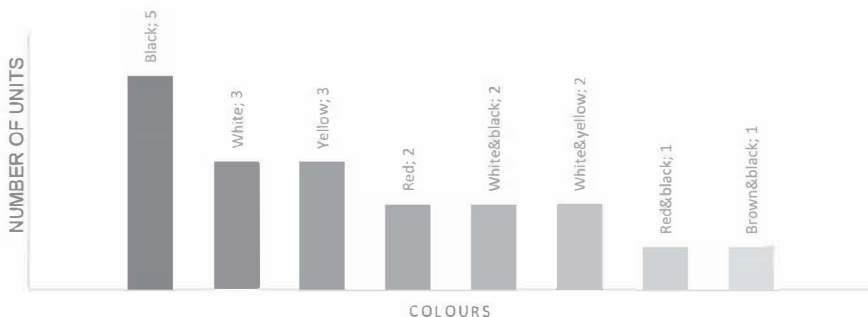

Table 6-4. Colours in riddles without a defined subject.

Descriptions in these riddles refer to different **everyday objects** (hat, shoes, cauldron, oven, pot, lock, bleached iron), then **plants or parts of plants** (buckwheat, grapes and vineyard, orange, thorn), **animals** (crow, egg), **natural phenomena** (fire, snow, fog), and **part of body** (hair).

Categorisation by riddle answers

The colour name appearing in the description most often refers to the objects being part of the answer, i.e. 30 different riddles with the answer. These objects are part of people's everyday physical surroundings such as kitchen (*pot, cutlery, oven, whisk broom, charcoal*), buildings or parts of them (*mill, brick*), or part of their everyday items such as clothing (*shoes, hat*). Colours used in the description of these objects are: black, white, red, yellow and brown. Twenty-three different riddles using colours in the description produced an answer denoting a plant. These come from a variety of garden vegetables (*onion, carrot, cabbage*), fruits (*grapes, cherry, orange*) or nuts (*hazelnut, walnut*). The only part of a plant being described with a colour is a thorn, while carnation was the only flower being described by a reference to colour. Colours used in the descriptions are black, red, white, yellow, green and multicoloured.

In seven riddles the answers referred to a body, an animal and a phenomena. The body parts are described with red and white, and the answers are *teeth, tongue/ mouth, human body*. Animals described with colours are *hen, egg* and *chicken, flea, magpie* and *mole*, while colours used in the descriptions include red, black, white and yellow. To describe a phenomena, riddles make use of black, white, red and yellow colours, and the phenomena being described include: *day and night, night sky, snow, fog* and *fire*.

I have identified four riddles which use colours to describe an act which most often is *writing, putting on a boot* and *flour going out of a mill*.
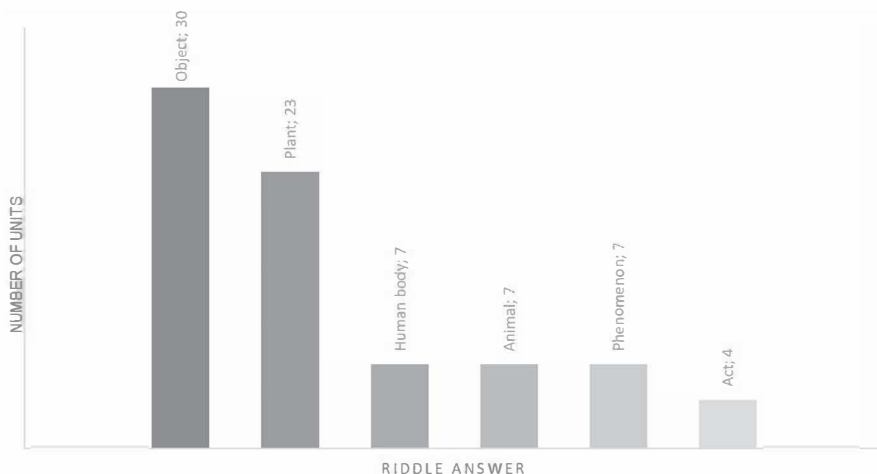
Table 6-5. Colours in riddles, categorized by the answer.

Categorisation by colour names in the riddle image

Based on the previous categorisation it is already obvious that the colour black prevails in riddles, i.e. 33 riddles include the colour black only (29%). Black is used in images of animals (*mole, flea, blackbird, magpie*), objects (*plough, shoes, locker, mill wheel, oven, pot, drying room*), plant (*thorn*), phenomena (*fog, starry night*).

The colour white comes second in frequency, which is found in 22 riddles (19%) where it describes the human body (*teeth, hair*), some objects (*hat, flour*), and phenomenon (*snow*).

The colour red is used in 15 images present in riddles (13%)—describing a plant (*onion, buckwheat*), an object (*burning charcoal, brick*), or an animal (*hen*).

The colour green is used in only five riddles (4%) where the answers are either *walnut* or *hazelnut*.

The colour yellow is present in only four riddles (3%), where it describes *fire, grapes, orange* and *church lamp*.

The most common combination of colours in riddles is white and black, which all together can be identified in 15 (13%) riddles. The combination occurs in images for *pot and milk, buckwheat and mill stone, flour in the mill, letter, writing, day, putting on the boot, comb*.

The combination of white and red is used in six riddles (5%) where it defines a kind of Slovenian krapfen, but also refers to a tongue and teeth.

Black and red are used in five riddles (4%) signifying a *pot on embers*, but also tools to handle embers and fire and melt iron.

The combination of white and yellow is used only in four riddles (4%), each time describing an egg.

The less frequent combination of green and white is used in two riddles (2%) and the answers are *turnip* and *cherry*. Green and white occur in one riddle to describe a *cabbage head with stump*, black and yellow describe a *pot and butter* in one riddle, black and brown occur in riddles to show different colours of *hats*; while the combination of green and yellow is used to describe a *carrot*.

Combinations of three colours in the image are rare and are either given as a permanent characteristic of the answer, like white, black and green for *a magpie* or red, black and white for *an apple*; or they are describing the transient character as with *cherry*: white, green and red. There are eight such riddles (7%) in the Archive. Combinations of three colours describe and show the variety of colours that the described object in the answer has.

Though colours in riddles are linked with the environmental surrounding of the community, some of the colours in riddles are universal, as already discovered by Taylor (1951, 632). Taylor mentions many similar objects linked with colour which can be found in Europe, and in Slovenian riddles as well, such as *mill, eggs, burning coal* etc.:

Šum šumi, grm grmi, bela gospa zpod ganjka gledi.—Mlin.	The buzz buzzes, the roar roars, white lady is watching under a balcony. Mill.
Če kviško vržeš, je belo, če pa na tla spustiš, je rumeno. Kaj je to?—Jajce.	You throw it up, it's white, you let it down, it's yellow. What is it? An egg.
Kaj je to, ki nese rudeča jajca?—Ogenj, rudeča jaja pa žerjavica.	What hatches red eggs? Fire, the red eggs are the embers.

Joking questions / Conundrums

From the archival material I could identify 15 conundrums with colour names, nine of which are different conundrum types. The colours occurring are the following:

—black appears in three different conundrums where they refer to a blackbird or a crow:

Kaj je bolj črno kot kos?—Njegovo perje.	What is blacker than blackbird? Its feather.

—white occurs in only one example, in a conundrum referring to a miller's hat:

Zakaj ima mlinar bel klobuk?—Da ga nosi.	Why does the miller have a white hat? So that he can wear it.

—grey and black appear in a conundrum the answer of which is hair and beard:

Zakaj marsikateri ima sive lase, pa črno brado?—Ker je njegova brada za veliko let mlajša kot lasje.	Why do men have grey hair and black beard? Because beard is much younger than the hair.

—white and black are used in three riddles, two of them belonging to a different type:

Zakaj bele ovce več snedo kot črne?—Ker jih je več.	Why white sheep eat more grass than black ones? Because there's more of them.
Kako se z belo kredo črno zapiše?—Takole: črno.	How do you write black with a white chalk? Like this: black.

Many Slovenian conundrums collected from the Archive are based on word play (e.g. writing black with a white chalk) or a situationally obvious answer (e.g. miller's hat).

Contemporary riddles and colour names

Nowadays most folklore riddles occur in a conundrum form, but only a few could be categorised as true riddles and even these are understood as jokes and are told as such, as I learned during field-work carried out in Slovenian schools:

Kaj je belo, ko je umazano?— Tabla.	What is white when it is dirty? Blackboard.

Although the following material is not yet documented in the Archive ZRC SAZU ISN, most of it is taken from different web pages containing jokes. At present they only form part of my personal database, but their importance is such that I cannot neglect their existence and relevance to the topic of colours in riddles, therefore I will provide a short overview of them.

Most conundrums can be found on different internet sites and some in everyday spoken interaction. Conundrums containing colour names are

most commonly about blondes or animals such as an elephant or a fly (*What flies and it's blue?—An elephant in blue jeans. / What flies and it is golden?—A fly with golden tooth*).

A special subtype of conundrums nurturing a special relation to one particular colour are jokes about blondes, which are found mostly among adults, and located on internet sites. These conundrums started to spread in the second half of the 1990s. They are supposed to "represent adequate strategy for the adaptation to the deep social challenges, in many ways, female and male identities" (Stanoev 2010, 43). There are 103 conundrums about blondes in my collection, five of which use other hair colours, i.e. black, brown and red, in order to create contrast where black hair carries the connotation of being "smarter":

> *Zakaj blondinka nosi črn pramen?—Dela se pametno.*
>
> Why does a blonde have one black lock of hair? She's pretending to be smart.

Jokes about dumb blondes are sexist and insulting, mostly towards adult women. Nevertheless, simple forms of these conundrums are also spreading among school-children:

> *Zakaj blondinka nese brisačo v trgovino?—Ker na vhodu piše Tuš.*
>
> Why does a blonde take a towel [when going] to a store? Because Tus[6] [shower] is written on the entrance.

Conundrums with sexual implications can also be found circulating among older teenagers or adults:

> *Kakšna je razlika med kokoško in blondinko?—Kokoška bolj mirno sedi na jajcih.*
>
> What is the difference between a hen and a blonde? The hen sits more calmly on the eggs [balls].

Conundrums about blondes are the only group of riddles which are entirely colour-oriented regardless of their topic, because the colour which is named refers to particular type of person (a blonde).

Jokes about elephants started in the US during the 1960s (Dundes and Abrahams 1987, 41) and are a childish, nonsensical type of humour; they are a "simply highly repetitive form of a conundrum, deriving a great deal of its humour from the restricted form or the subject matter" (Dundes and Abrahams 1987, 41-42). In Slovenia nowadays these can be mostly found

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[6] *Tuš* is a chain of food stores in Slovenia, which takes its name from the surname of the owner.

among children [7] and have partly lost the catharsis and metaphorical meaning suggested by Dundes and Abrahams (1987). Even from an adults' point of view conundrums are not part of adult-joking repertoire because of their emphasized nonsensical component, which is perceived as being childish. On the other hand, children find them funny and use them as nonsensical humour:

Kaj je veliko, sivo pa leti po zraku?—Slon, ki gre na počitnice.	What is big, grey and flies through the air? An elephant going on a vacation.
Zakaj ima slon rdeče oči?— Da ga nihče ne vidi, ko rabuta češnje.	Why does the elephant have red eyes? So no one can see him when he's stealing cherries.

Kaivola Bregenhøj (2001) calls the animal conundrums used in this context 'pre-riddles' [8]. Pre-riddles with colour names also make use of different animals, vegetables, persons or phenomena:

Kaj je zeleno in je v kotu?— Kumarica, ki je užaljena.	What is green and stays in the corner? An insulted pickle.
Kaj leti po zraku in je zeleno?—Muha, ki ji je slabo.	What flies and it is green? A fly which feels sick.
Zakaj je bilo vesolje zelene barve?—Ker je Mujo s Ferrarijem poletel od hitrosti.	Why is the universe green? Because Mujo flew with a fast Ferrari.
Zakaj ima klovn zelene naramnice?—Zato, da mu hlače dol ne padejo.	Why does the clown wear green braces? So that his pants don't fall off.

Another group of conundrums that contain colour are dead baby conundrums such as

Kaj je rdeče in se vrti?— Dojenček v mikserju.	What is red and turns around? A baby in a mixer.

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[7] The material on elephants I have gathered was collected in Slovenian primary schools.

[8] Most of pre-riddles and cruel baby conundrums were collected in Slovenian primary schools.

These are mainly told by adolescents (Dundes 1987, 3) and are not as commonplace on internet sites as other conundrums; I have heard them only during field-work in schools.

Dundes (1987, 10–13) explains the motivation of these conundrums in USA as being a response variously to the Vietnam War in the 1960s, fear of technology, racism, the legalization of abortion and sibling rivalry. However, I see the occurrence and development of these conundrums in Slovenia mostly as relating to the processes of growing up and different separation phases. "Killing" the baby in the conundrum could also be interpreted as "killing" the infantile side of the conscious part of ones' personality, proving that the youngster is so mature that he/she can divide himself/herself from the baby-phase and the total dependence on parents. However, the colour in these conundrums is *red*, signifying blood. It directly hints at the (colour) characteristic of the answer.

Discussion

A search of the material showed that approximately 7% of Slovenian traditional riddle-material from the archive ISN ZRC SAZU includes a naming of a colour. From the material I have categorised 115 units of true riddles, 94 of which are different types. In most of the riddles, true riddles and conundrums, the names of colours appear in the image/description as a visual guidance towards the character of the answer. The answer contains a colour only if the colour is a part of a geographical name or it refers to the colour already mentioned in the image.

In traditional riddles, colour namings most often occur in the description of an object, a plant, a human body, an animal, a phenomenon and an act. Black, followed by white are the most often occurring colours in traditional true riddles. The most common combination of colours in traditional true riddles is black and white, often appearing, in addition, as a conceptual opposition. This fact can be explained with the argument that black denotes dark and white denotes light (and at the same time it is the same reason why we have detected no riddles with colour terms for dark or light). Three colour combinations are rare and usually describe some temporal change/phase of the object/answer. Other colours in riddles are red, green, yellow and brown, and their combinations. It is understandable that the colours used come from the surrounding, though it is surprising that the span of the colours used is small and quite basic; there are no blue, grey, golden, silver, purple, pink or other colours.

The frequency of colours in Slovenian riddles can be accounted for by using the hypothesis of Berlin and Kay (1991 [1969]) on the evolution of

colour naming in different languages: all languages have the basic dichotomy of black/dark and white/light, followed by either red, yellow or green, and only then followed by other colour names. Traditional Slovenian riddles being one of the oldest genres in Slovenian language could support this hypothesis: most riddles use black and white, followed more or less by red, yellow and green (which are at the same time the colours most present in nature).

Contemporary riddles and conundrums also use a quite limited number of colours. By now, the archive has amassed riddle and conundrum samples containing white, blue, grey, golden, red, and of course blonde, as there is a large series of conundrums on blond haired women.

Conclusion

Although riddles are constitutive of human creativity, colours do not enjoy great prominence in traditional riddle texts. The percentage of riddles with colour names is small and the variety of colour names is quite limited. This finding could be interpreted by the reasoning that colours are too obvious a characteristic to use in a riddle since they make the answer too easy to guess. Riddles, especially traditional ones, use different descriptions, more misleading and focused on other characteristics and acts, which shows us that all other characteristics, and not colours, are more important. Colour is lesser used as it makes the riddling process too easy and hence unengaging and unchallenging.

Acknowledgements

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PART 3:

CULTURE AND ENTERTAINING VARIATION

CHAPTER SEVEN

SAINT NICHOLAS' DAY IN THE RUSSIAN METALLURGICAL SETTLEMENT OF KAZHYM, KOYGORODSKY DISTRICT, KOMI REPUBLIC: DESCRIBING THE FOLK CULTURE PHENOMENON

YULIA KRASHENINNIKOVA

Abstract: The paper introduces folklore data that was collected in the beginning of the 21st century from the Russian population of the metalhrgical settlement of Kazhym. The settlement was founded in the Komi Republic as a result of the development of the ferrous metallurgy in the middle of the 18th century. The author analyses the data connected to Saint Nicholas' day and traces the return of the feast day's image as a kermesse[1]. She discusses the mechanisms of the revitalization of this holiday and describes the efforts of the local population, the Orthodox community and church authorities, aimed at the reconstruction of this day as a kermesse.

Keywords: Russian folk traditions, Komi Republic, Liturgical year, Saint Nicholas, blessing of holy water, rural kermesse.

The settlement of Kazhym, along with the settlements of Nyuvchim and Nyuchpas, belongs to a group of Russian work settlements (mining and factory towns) of the Komi Republic in northern Russia. The creation of these communities is connected to the development of ferrous metallurgy in the region in the middle of the 18th century (1756–1761). Most of the

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[1] The term "kermesse" is used in this paper as a translation of the Russian *"khramovyy prazdnik"*: a church festival dedicated to an event from the church history or to a patron saint.

settlements' population initially consisted of highly-skilled, industrially trained state peasants who came from Vyatka Govemorate or Veliky Ustyug uyezd (county) of Vologda Govemorate. Peasants registered in Vetluzhsky uyezd of Kostroma Govemorate and Kadnikov uyezd of Vologda Govemorate were additionally assigned to work there, and fugitive peasants trying to evade military conscription and taxes were also accepted (Politov 2005, 109, 111, 112). It was also recorded that state peasants from Slobodskoy and Yarensky uyezds of Vyatka Govemorate and the residents of Seregovo village lived at the factories (Zherebtsov 1962, 126), and industrial workers were recruited from Moscow, the Ural region, Ryazan Govemorate, and other govemorates (Surina 1973, 69).

Since the majority of the settlers came from the northern and central governorates of the European part of Russia, the emerging folk culture of the settlements was based on these regions.[2] The local culture and the structure of folk traditions were influenced by several factors such as the peculiar settlement type (work settlements built around a factory), the fact that the factories had been operating up to the mid-20th century (in Kazhym) and up to the end of the 20th century (Nyuvchim), the heterogeneous Russian population, the contacts with the indigenous Komi population and the coming of the forced settlers from different parts of Russia.

There have been only few studies dedicated to the folklore traditions of these settlements. The first folklore fieldwork was conducted by the ethnomusicologist Prometey Chistalev, who recorded a considerable corpus of song lyrics of different genres from the local performers in the period 1957–1961. In the 1960s, recording of prosaic genres and other information about the life and local non-material culture was not considered a priority, leading to a lacuna in the study of these traditions, one that folklorists started to fill in as late as the first decade of the 21st century. The folklorists of the Institute of Language, Literature and History of Komi Scientific Center of the RAS conducted comprehensive systematic studies and repeated recordings in 2008 and 2015 (Nyuvchim); 2010, 2013, and 2017 (Kazhym); 2011, 2013, and 2017 (Nyuchpas).

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[2] "Imported" elements can also be found in the material culture: ethnographers suggest that the house types in the region could have been influenced by the house types of the workers' home regions, particularly Vyatka and "especially Perm Govemorate" (Zherebtsov 1962, 132 133); the clothing has traces of urban and factory styles; the tradition of lace making ("braiding on the bobbins"), which is not typical of local komi culture but has deep roots in the neighbouring Vologda region, has been preserved in the settlement of Nyuvchim (Bandura and Krasheninnikova 2011, 122, etc.).

A variety of materials have been processed and prepared for publication, including historical folklore prose (Krasheninnikova 2019), and stories about Christmas traditions involving going from house to house to visit ones' neighbours, in disguise (the practice of 'mummering' (Krasheninnikova 2018)), or singing carols to glorify the birth of Christ praises (different variants of "Koliada" [Krasheninnikova and Nizovtseva 2019]).

Rather interesting data connected with calendar ceremonialism was collected in 2008–2017. These materials are relevant in light of the formation and development of the settlement traditions that have migrated to another ethnic environment. In analysis of the process of formation of the Russian local traditions practiced on the territory of the Komi Republic, A. N. Vlasov points out that 'the migrants' recognition of their own "migratory status", as a matter of fact, and their isolation from the surrounding local (even non-ethnic) population facilitates the reinforcement of the traditional forms of folklore culture in the historical memory of migrants as a means for reinforcement of their "otherness" among indigenous inhabitants, while also promoting the "birth" of their own world, i.e. the homeland, for further generations' (Vlasov 2007, 13). Vlasov speaks about the importance of differentiating between the 'inherited' (the elements of mythological worldview, traditional song forms, ritual folklore, fairy-tale prose, etc.) and the 'newly acquired' (historical or legendary prose, the details of ritual complexes, new song growth, system of toponyms) features of the folklore fund (Vlasov 2007, 13–14). In other words, in the resettlement cultures which developed in the environment of other ethnos there are both elements introduced by immigrants themselves and indicating their maternal culture ("protoculture"), and elements which have already appeared in the new territory in order to promote the "strengthening" of their status among the indigenous population. Indeed, in a yearly calendar cycle of Kazhym, both these elements are present.

According to data on calendar rituals, three kermesses were celebrated in the settlement of Kazhym: Saint Nicholas' day (May 22), the Pentecost (the fiftieth day after Easter) and Saint Demetrius's day (November 8 N. S., October 26 O. S.). It is known that there were three Holy Tables (altars) in the local Saint Demetrius's church: one dedicated to Saint Dimitry of Rostov, another to Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker, and the third one to Saint Ioann (John) of Novgorod. The church was closed after the October Revolution; it had been used for secular purposes: as a storehouse, a rural club, a workshop. It was passed to the local orthodox community in 1999 (Pavlushin 2013, 65). In 2013 an icon was found in the Kazhym woman's house that is believed to be of local origin or at least closely connected to

the local church. It shows Saint Nicholas the Wonderworker, Saint Ioann the Wonderworker of Novgorod and Saint Dimitry of Rostov.
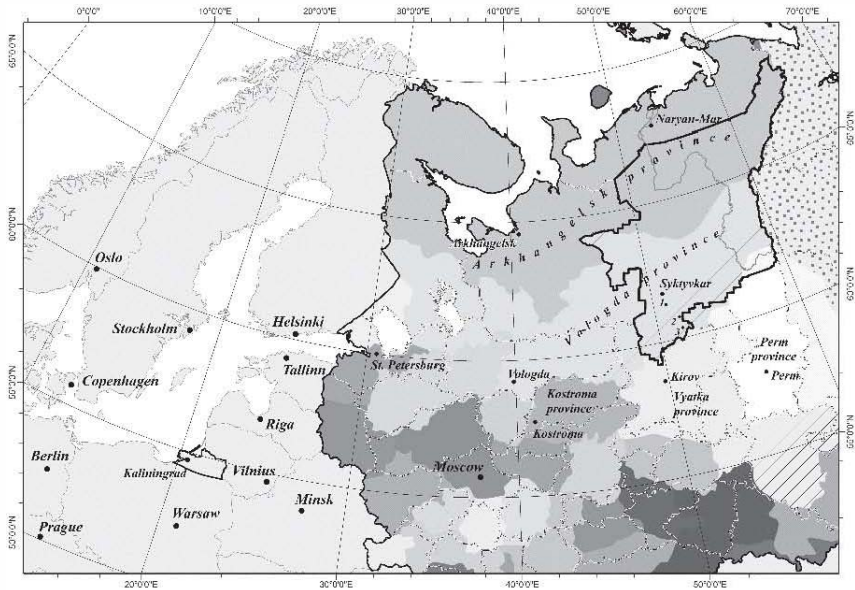

Figure 7-1. Black and various shades of grey areas on the map illustrate the administrative divisions of Russia in 1914. The thin black line marks the contemporary borders of Russia; the thick black line marks the contemporary borders of the Komi Republic. The location of iron industry settlements in the Komi Republic: 1 – Nyuvchim (Syktyvdinsky District), 2 – Kazhym, and 3 – Nyuchpas (Koygorodsky District). The map is contributed by Vladimir Elsakov and Leonid Rybin (Institute of Biology, Komi Science Centre, Russian Academy of Sciences).

Saint Demetrius's day is called by local respondents as a main kermesse although it is not discussed in great detail in any interviews. The other kermesses that the respondents mentioned are the Pentecost and Saint Nicholas' day. The Pentecost ritual of "birch burying", according to respondents' memories, was performed throughout a whole week. According to the data received, the day before the Pentecost one woman brought a small birch from the forest and one or more participants of the ritual decorated it with ribbons, colourful rags, etc. On the Pentecost Day, women and girls walked around the settlement with the small decorated tree (a birch sapling), engaged in khorovod (circle dance) and sang. After that, one of the ritual participants would keep the tree for a week, and on the

following Sunday the participants would "bury" the birch: they threw it into water and observed it drifting away. Scholars have noted that similar rituals involving a birch were widespread in Central Russia, the Volga region, the Ural region, Siberia, and partly in the eastern regions of Ukraine and Belarus (Vinogradova and Usacheva 1995, 158), but they are not registered on the territory of the Russian North.

This paper will primarily focus on the feast day of Saint Nicholas of Myra (Saint Nicholas' day, May 22). Information about this day in the records of 2010–2017 is dispersed and fragmented, but a combination of data from different periods helps reconstruct the image of this day in the Kazhym dwellers' lives, as well as evaluate the dynamics of their attitude towards the feast. On Saint Nicholas' day, residents of Kazhym visit the Ustarchuzh spring (which is more or less 1 or 2 km away from the settlement), where a public prayer with blessing of the water takes place. After that, local people collect the sanctified water and use it for various purposes throughout the year. To get a better idea, a short description is provided to outline the key topics and elements of the collected narratives.

Participants. Presently, the spring is visited by men, women and children. In earlier days (judging by the respondents' age, they were likely to refer to the 1930s–1950s), it was mostly the elderly women, and children who visited the spring: "*In earlier times, elderly women used to go, and now both old and young [go]*" (recorded by Y. A. Krasheninnikova in 2017 in Kazhym, narrated by VPG, f, who was born in 1955 in Sosnogorsk district of the Komi Republic, and moved to Kazhym in 1976)[3]; "[When you were young, did you go to the Ustarchuzh?] *Of course, I [...] went with my grandmother*" (recorded in 2017 from NIU, f, born in 1933 in Kazhym).

The venue. When the interviewees described the place where the prayer took place, they emphasized the presence of Saint Nicholas' icon or chapel—the markers of a sacred place: "*We have a river there, it is called the Starchuzh. [...] There used to be an icon there. And now there is only a cross. There used to be [a chapel]. There was an icon there, people prayed*

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[3] All the data cited in the paper was recorded in Kazhym (Koygorodsky District, Komi Republic) mostly by the author of this paper; therefore, the place of the recording will not be mentioned further in the text. The interviewer will only be specified when the text was not collected by the author. Every recording is accompanied by a note containing information about the place and the year of the recording, the initials (name, patronymic name, last name) and sex (f/m) and place of birth of the respondent and the year when respondent moved to Kazhym, if this information was available.

to the extent that they knew the prayers..." (recorded in 2010, narrated by LDB, f, born in 1932 in Kazhym); "*There is a spring or a small river, it is called the Ustarchuzh, there used to be a St Nicholas' chapel there*" (recorded in 2010, told by ZAB, f, born in 1934 in Kazhym); "*There was an icon, a big icon. Then they destroyed everything! Yes, [the icon of] Nicholas the Wonderworker used to be there on a pine tree. Then everything was destroyed...*" (recorded in 2017, narrated by NVG, f, born in 1938 in the village of Griva of Koygorodsky District, Komi Republic, moved to Kazhym in 1941, her parents were from Kazhym).

Some respondents claimed that the spring itself was *sacred*: "*We have the Ustarchuzh, it is called sacred*" (recorded in 2010, told by VNF, m, born in 1934 in Kazhym and TSF, f, born in 1934 in Brest region of Belarus); "*There is a spring two kilometers away from our settlement, it flows from far away. And it is considered to be ... a holy spring, yes, its water is holy*" (recorded in 2010 by A. N. Rassykhaev and P. A. Shakhmatskaya, narrated by DNSh, m, born in 1932 in Kazhym). One of the respondents used a numerical code that implicitly suggested the spring being a holy and an unusual place: it is fed by seven water sources[4] that come from the ground: "*There is such a place upstream where you can even see the seven water sources coming from the ground, so seven springs are flowing. [...] They make up this spring...*" (recorded in 2010, told by SVM, f, born in 1965 in Kazhym).

The time of the spring visits. The respondents mentioned that they usually went to the Ustarchuzh spring before noon (between 10 and 12 in the morning), but they did not rule out the idea of visiting the spring throughout the day: "*[We go] only on Saint Nicholas' day, either during the day or in the evening...*" (recorded in 2010, narrated by NKU, f, born in 1938 in Ust-Kulomsky district of the Komi Republic); "*... people go [to the spring] from morning till the evening, they admit it*" (recorded in 2010, narrated by AAB, f, born in 1933 in the village of Bolshoi Kashnur, Kirov Oblast); "*They tried to go to the Ustarchuzh some time before noon. Not in the evening, but before noon, and they came home and started immediately* [sprinking the water around the houses, and household outbuildings—Y. K.]" (recorded in 2017, told by LVV, f, born in 1930 in Kazhym).

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[4] Vladimir N. Toporov has typologically studied the archaic texts of different cultures and discussed the distinctiveness and sacredness marked by certain munbers, including the munber seven used in special mythological ritual contexts (Toporov 1980, 30).

The regularity of the spring visits. All the interviewees emphasized the regularity and the repetitiveness of certain activities performed on Saint Nicholas' day. They speak about them as of repetitive actions and use such adverbial expressions as *all the time, all our life, since time immemorial, always*. These interview fragments illustrate the idea of cyclicity, the continuity of actions performed on this day: "*and now [they] still go. [They] go all the time*" (recorded in 2010, narrated by EAZ, f, born in 1927 in Kazhym); "*[They = local inhabitants] have gone there all their lives, and [we] go now. So on the 22nd [of May we] we'll always go there, at around ten o'clock…*" (recorded in 2010, narrated by PIU, m, born in 1932 in Kazhym, and NKU, f, born in 1938 in Ust-Kulomsky district of the Komi Republic); "*We did not start this, it was there, all our life*" (recorded in 2010, told by INK, f, born in 1927 in Kazhym); "[For how long has it been visited?] *For a long time. When mother was [alive], they used to go, and [they] had gone there before mother. For a long time. Now we also go [there]*" (recorded in 2010, told by DNSh, m, born in 1932 in Kazhym); "*Earlier, I remember, we would also go, the kids used to run, and the spring was flowing there, and for some reason [people] would always throw money there.* [So when you were young, did [people] also go there?] *[They] all went, all went …*" (recorded in 2017, narrated by EAK, f, born in 1933 in Kazhym); "*As [people] have been going to this spring since time immemorial, so this spring is considered to be holy.* [When you came here in 1976, did [people] go to the spring?] *This had already been established, so it is still like this. In the past the elderly women used to go, and now both old and young [go]*" (recorded in 2017, narrated by VPG, f, born in 1955 in Sosnogorsk district of the Komi Republic); "*…[I] would always go. Everything continued, continued, there have always been such traditions, it wasn't discontinued at any time. [People] would go every year. [They] used to go all the time, long, very long time ago. The church was built, so, [they] started to go to the church. Long ago. Both before I [was born], so to say, and in my time, and [they] will definitely go without me. It was long, long ago, an old tradition…*" (recorded in 2017, narrated by NIU, f, born in 1933 in Kazhym); "[And in 1950s, 1940s did [people] also go to the spring?] *[They] would always go, always go, it didn't stop. So it wasn't everybody, I don't say that everybody used to go, but those who could go, [they] surely went. Throughout the years: war-time, hardships…*" (recorded in 2017, narrated by LVV, f, born in 1930 in Kazhym).

The interviews help reconstruct the approximate dates when the common public prayer with blessing of water stopped being performed by orthodox priests, and the inhabitants started visiting the Ustarchuzh spring on their own:

The priest *stopped coming, maybe at the beginning of [19]50s, or in [19]49 [...]* [The priests stopped coming in the 1950s, but what about the people?] *And people started going on their own, [they] would still go. It never stopped, never, [they] always brought water...* (recorded in 2017, narrated by NVG, f, born in 1938 in Griva village, moved to Kazhym in 1941).

Another respondent who was born in 1933 and who moved to Kazhym from Kirov Oblast in 1955 reported that at the time of her moving to Kazhym there were no more regular collective processions to Ustarchuzh on Saint Nicholas' day.

The activities performed near the spring and their explanations. Most of the respondents describe the same sequence of ritual activities performed by the locals: people come to the spring, conduct a prayer service, throw money into the spring, then wash themselves, collect water, and have a meal: "*[Earlier] people used to come, take the water, [they] could bring some treats. [They] sat down, ate, drank and [went] home*" (recorded in 2017, narrated by VPG, f, born in 1955 in Sosnogorsk district of the Komi Republic); "[What would happen there?] *Some old woman, knowledgeable, would read the prayers. So you would throw money into the river, collect water. That's all*" (recorded in 2017, narrated by NIU, f, born in 1933 in Kazhym); "*Yes, [people] did go to the Ustarchuzh on Saint Nicholas' day, [they] took holy [water]... [They] said that on this day the water of the Ustarchuzh is holy. [...] [Money was thrown into the spring] to purchase the water, buy the water or so it was believed. Money was certainly thrown...*" (recorded in 2017, narrated by LVV, f, born in 1930 in Kazhym); "*...In the past we used to go on foot to the Ustarchuzh with our children. Earlier [than our visits], it was said, that there used to be a chapel there. We couldn't see the chapel anymore. We just went to the waterfront, children would swim and wash their faces, we would wash our faces and pray to God. [...] Took the holy water. [...] [Near the spring] those who knew [the prayer], read the prayer, and those who didn't know it just said: "Jesus Christ, give your blessing, bless us and give us the water". And I read 'The Lord's Prayer'...*" (recorded in 2017, narrated by EACh, f, born in 1936 in Kazhym).

Who carries out a common prayer. Up to 2013, the common prayers were conducted by the locals on their own. It has been stated that there used to be an icon next to the spring, and on Saint Nicholas's day anyone who wished could come to the spring and take some holy water. ("*There was an icon there* [near the spring—Y. K.] *and we prayed the way we knew the prayers.* [...] [And what icon was there?] *Nicholas the Wonderworker...*"). In 2010,

the respondents noted that the common public prayers could be conducted by the member of the Orthodox community. ("*Fenya Sergeyevna* [a local woman—Y. K.] *is reading a prayer there*") or one of the local inhabitants. In particular, in 2010 we also recorded the information that the common prayers were conducted by a certain Nikolay Andreyevich Zverev who was born in Kazhym but had been living in Moscow for a long time and still lived there: "*One man has been coming; he has been coming here for many years and has been reading the prayers here. He tries to read the prayers there, he blesses the water with an icon. We then take this water from there, use it...*" (recorded in 2010, narrated by LVV, f, born in 1930 in Kazhym); "*There is one old man, he has been coming from Moscow, his parents used to live here, they lived here and, I think, are buried here. He comes every Saint Nicholas' day…*" (recorded in 2010, narrated by KMG, f, born in 1926 in the village of Butino, Kirov Oblast, moved to Kazhym in 1954); "*There was also Zverev from Moscow, he comes every year...*" (recorded in 2010, narrated by PIU, m, born in 1932 in Kazhym, and NKU, f, born in 1938 in Ust-Kulomsky district of the Komi Republic); "*Well, there is one man who comes from Moscow with a popadya* (presbytera: an Orthodox priest's wife). *So they all go [there], say a common prayer there, take an icon, first [they] wash the icon in the water, then they throw money into the river, and then [we] take the water and leave"* (recorded in 2010, narrated by TSF, f, born in 1934 in Brest region of Belarus).

According to the locals, since 2013 the common prayer service near the spring and the water blessing, along with the procession from the church to the spring, have been conducted by an invited priest.

The interviews were particularly focused on the water (its features, quality, functions, directions for use). According to the majority of the respondents, the water in the Ustarchuzh spring becomes *holy,* gaining *healing* power only on Saint Nicholas' day. This water keeps its quality to remain fresh ("does not spoil"[5]), as well as it keeps its salutary and protective properties throughout the year till next Saint Nicholas' day. It is used to cure illnesses and malaises, to make tea, and people also wash themselves with it "to be healthy and live long", wash the injured and ailing body parts, bless other water sources (wells) and the house, the household

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[5] This expression means that this water stays pure, retains its taste, does not grow turbid and does not get a smell for a long time (during the whole year). On national representations, water which was sanctified in some church holidays or special days of the national calendar (for example, Maundy Thursday, the Ivanov day, etc.) has such qualities (Vinogradova 1995, 387).

and farm outbuildings, soak the seeds in it before planting them, and sprinkle it on household members and domestic animals.

*We would go to the Ustarchuzh. We took the water. It became the **holy water of Nicholas the Wonderworker*** (recorded in 2010 from INK, f, born in 1927 in Kazhym);

And this [spring] water, you see, as you take it on May 22 and it will stay in the bottle for the whole year, as you put it, it stays the same! And when you take the water from a regular well, in less than a week and the water goes bad... (recorded in 2010 by A. N. Rassykhaev and P. A. Shakhmatskaya, narrated by DNSh, m, born in 1932 in Kazhym);

"So we also go every year, wash everything and wash ourselves, [we] try to wash ourselves somehow with this water. It is believed that it gives health and a long life for many years..." (recorded in 2010, narrated by SVM, f, born in 1965 in Kazhym);

"There we'll cross ourselves, wash ourselves. [Wash] our faces and hands. And [inhabitants] also take children. And [wash] the children a little, even though the water is cold, [they] will still wash them. [They ask] for health. For example, I'll say, take the water and say: 'Water's angel, give me health, energy and beauty'. This is what I'll say, then collect the water and throw money. [How do you use this water?] *Then I bring the water, pour it into a jar, [...] into the well, open the well and pour from the jar into the well [tracing] a cross, and pour it into the tank that I have at home, pour it into the kettle. And that's it, I keep the remaining water, some of it in the fridge, and it doesn't spoil, it is always clean..."* (recorded in 2010 narrated by NKU, f, born in 1938 in Ust-Kulomsky district of the Komi Republic).

*"It is **healing** [water].* [And what can you cure with it?] *Everything, you can wash yourself, and rinse your mouth, and wash your eyes, [you] can [cure] everything.* [And what else?] *We also soak seeds before [we] plant them in the garden. They grow better"* (recorded in 2013, narrated by LDB, f, born in 1932 in Kazhym);

*[People] go to the Ustarchuzh, always take water. This water is considered to have **healing properties**. My daughter will bring me a three-litre jar: sometimes I put a little in my tea, sometimes [use a little] for washing myself. So that's how I use it all up. Only on Saint Nicholas' day [people] go to the Ustarchuzh [...]* [Do you use this water when you are sick?] *Yes, more as a cure [water]* (recorded in 2017, narrated by EAK, f, born in 1933 in Kazhym).

*Yes, [we] did go to the Ustarchuzh on Saint Nicholas' day, took the **holy** [water]... [They] said, the water in the Ustarchuzh spring was **holy** on that day. [We] took this holy water and washed ourselves with this holy water, and drank it, and made tea [with it], and sprinkled it on domestic animals and the household outbuildings. With this holy water. [...] So our*

grandmother sprinkled it at once [right after returning from the spring].
[She] sprinkled it on everything right away, tried right away to give
everyone this water to drink. Also to boil this holy water in a kettle or
samovar. [...] [People] washed and sprinkled [water] on their animals, and
sprinkled people with this water, and washed themselves with this water,
and drank this water. It was considered holy on this day. [Money was thrown
into the spring] to purchase the water, buy the water or so it was believed.
The money was surely thrown... (recorded in 2017, narrated by LVV, f, born
in 1930 in Kazhym);

It [the water] was taken home. First we consecrated the well, the banya
(Russian steambath), then [we] went to the house. [We] consecrated all the
house. Kotukh⁶... all the domestic animals were consecrated in the kotukh.
And then [we] used the holy water throughout the whole year. And this water
didn't spoil; it was [pure] as a tear. It didn't spoil. So [we] would always
go to the Ustarchuzh to get holy water... (recorded in 2017, narrated by
EACh, f, born in 1936 in Kazbym).

Some respondents compared Saint Nicholas' water from the Ustarchuzh
with the water consecrated on Epiphany (January 19 N. S., 6 O. S.). They
emphasized that on both days, the water has similar characteristics
(healthiness and ability to heal, apotropaic powers, etc.):

[I] don't ... know why we take holy water on Saint Nicholas' day. And we
also take holy water in the church in winter. [On Epiphany?] *Yes, it is water*
collected on the Epiphany. And on Saint Nicholas' day we take water from
the Ustarchuzh...” (recorded in 2010, narrated by NKU, f, born in 1938 in
Ust-Kulomsky district of the Komi Republic); *“It is since time immemorial,*
since ancient times [people] have been collecting water, both on the
Epiphany day and on Saint Nicholas' day... (recorded in 2017, narrated by
IMD, f, born in 1934 in Kazhym); *My grandmother would keep [the water]*
if she had an opportunity to keep this water, because there were no churches,
there was no other water, it was believed that this water was holy. [Not the
water from the Epiphany, but the one from Saint Nicholas' day?] *[They] say*
that the water collected on Epiphany is also kept for a year. It has power
over the whole year. But there used to be no priest, there was no blessed
water on Epiphany. [Wasn't the water blessed on Saint Nicholas' day as
well?] *It wasn't blessed. Now the priest comes and blesses it, but before it*
wasn't blessed, but it was still considered holy water... (recorded in 2017,
narrated by LVV, f, born in 1930 in Kazhym).

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⁶ This word is not typical for the North-Russian dialects. *Kotu'kh* is a barn for small
domestic animals (“Kotukh is small, and a cowshed is big, cowshed is used for large
domestic animals and kotukh is intended for small ones”, recorded in 2013, narrated
by PIU, m, born in 1932 in Kazhym). Compare: *kotukh* is a “shed for small domestic
animals” (Southern.), “a pig shed” (Vladimir, Yaroslavl) (Dal' 1995, 179).

It seems like the vernacular attitude towards the spring water collected on Saint Nicholas' day and the ways of using it are derived from similar rituals involving water used during Epiphany, following the same set of activities: blessing of the water, washing oneself, swimming or "showering" oneself with the water in order to be purified from illness or malevolent magic, sprinkling the water on the household members, the house, its farm and the household outbuildings and animals, "washing oneself to have luck in the household, in marriage, for health and beauty" (Vinogradova and Plotnikova 1999, 670).

Apart from the apotropaic and healing functions, the respondents also mentioned the productive function of the Ustarchuzh spring water. It has been used to evoke a good harvest: "*And [they] will bring the water, then soak the seeds, and the next day [they] will plant small plants, say, beetroot, carrot, onion. It has always been like that. They [the seeds] are soaked in the water. In the morning [they] pour the water away, the seeds dry a little, and [they] plant [them]...*" (recorded in 2010, narrated by TSF, f, born in 1934 in Brest region of Belarus).

Another important aspect of the water-related activities is **the need to "buy"** it ("*And we kind of buy this water…*", "*copper [money] used to be thrown*", "[we] *throw to buy the water*"). For the purpose of this "transaction," copper money is thrown into the spring ("*only copper*", "*the copper money is thrown, of course. White [money[7]] isn't thrown*", "*paper [money] cannot be thrown*"). The locals and the visiting priest have had a disagreement about this process: the priest does not allow them to throw money into the spring, yet local people will still do it. For example, in 2017 the folklore collectors witnessed local people waiting for the priest to leave, then throwing coins into the spring and then collecting the water:

> *Last year I forgot the money and I didn't go.* [Why?] *Well, I just didn't go, it means that the God didn't let me. [...] There is nothing to do there without money. That is how it's meant to be…*" *(recorded in 2010, narrated by NKU, f, born in 1938 in Ust-Kulomsky district of the Komi Republic);* [Is it believed that it is necessary to throw the coins in the spring?] *Well, he* [the priest Y. K.] *has scolded us! He keeps scolding us, because [people] would throw coins and then children would collect them. And he has told [us] not to [do it]. He says, [we] are not allowed to…* (recorded in 2017, narrated by RAK, f, born in 1936 in the village of Bolshoi Kashnur, Kirov Oblast, moved to Kazhym in 1957).

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[7] Coins which are not made of copper, but of silver-coloured metals.

A single, yet curious account was provided by a respondent from the settlement of Nyuchpas[8] who was born in 1933. She mentioned that as a girl her mother used to go from Nyuchpas to Kazhym to celebrate Saint Nicholas' day. On Saint Nicholas' day, the inhabitants conducted common public prayers and asked for good weather while walking around the factory with icons: "[On] *Saint Nicholas' day [they] used to walk around the factory with the icons. If the weather was bad, they walked, and asked for good weather. And if it was good, they would ask for rain. It was a must on Saint Nicholas' day.* [When was it?] *On May 22. It was long ago, today they don't remember it anymore.* [So they took the icons and walked around the factory?] *Yes, they walked along the streets, asked for [good] weather, or for rain, or for the sun[9].* [Did they also go around the factory with an icon?] *Yes, [with] an icon*" (recorded in 2013, narrated by INK, f, born in 1927 in Kazhym). A number of respondents also reported that the icon of Nicholas the Wonderworker was used during the walks around the fields, during the search for the drowned bodies, during prayers and patrols around the settlement with the aim of localizing and stopping the fire when it had already started.

Different versions of the genesis of the spring as a cult place[10] were recorded during the interviews. **The first version** is connected to an allegedly real person. According to some respondents, an old man called Nikolay ("old grandfather Nikolay") once lived near the spring. One version suggests that he was a priest and another one has it that he was a healer and local people came to him when they needed a cure:

> *In earlier times Old Grandfather Nikolay lived there, and there was this ancient hut. [...] It was only last year that I learned how it* [the Ustarchuzh spring — Y. K.] *got its name. Old Grandfather Nikolay used to live on the*

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[8] This settlement also belongs to the group of Kazhym iron factories, the distance between Kazhym and Nyuchpas is approximately 40 km. What is important is that not only local inhabitants from the close-lying settlements came to Kazhym to celebrate Saint Nicholas' day, but the people from the further villages joined them on the day.

[9] The word in the original Russian text is *вёдро (vyodro)*, which means "clear, sunny, dry weather" (Dolgushev and Smetanina 2012, 1420), "clear sunny weather (usually summer)" (Sorokaletov 1969, 93).

[10] Cult places are "natural landmarks and man-made cult objects that are related to vernacular religious beliefs and ritual practices. [...] They could be represented by a natural or an artificial objects complex", in particular, "chapels near the springs [...] The status of a cult place is determined by its 'original' holiness and also by a miraculous appearance of a spring, an icon or a cross in the place. The place can become 'holy' as a result of a local wonderworker's activity..." (Belova and Petrukhin 2004, 40–42).

*bank of the small river before. It appears he was some kind of a healer,
people came to him. He healed using herbs, spells and didn't accept any
payment for that. And as a gesture of gratitude, people would throw coins
right into the spring and collect the water, it was considered kind of holy.
And as long as I remember, and my mother remembers, always [happening]
on Saint Nicholas' day, and as long as I have lived here, I have gone to
collect holy water...* (recorded in 2010, narrated by GPL, f, born in 1948 in
Kazhym);

*Saint Nicholas' day is on May 22. [We] would make a procession to the
spring of Ustarchuzh. An old man called Nikolay used to live there. He
didn't have a church, but rather a chapel. Then a cross was erected there*
(recorded in 2013, narrated by FSSh, f, born in 1948 in Nyuvchim);

*Earlier an old man used to live there, an old man. He was a priest, well,
you know, he believed in God. And then he died. And [they] say that there
was also a chapel there. But that we don't know. That's why it was called
Ustarchuzh[11]. Yes, there was an old man...* (recorded in 2017, narrated by
RAK, f, born in 1936 in the village of Bolshoi Kashnur, Kirov Oblast, moved
to Kazhym in 1956).

According to the **second version**, *an icon of Nicholas the Wonderworker
appeared* near the spring, after which people started celebrating Saint
Nicholas' day to commemorate the appearance of the icon:

*[They] say that an icon of Nicholas the Wonderworker appeared there,
that's why, so to say, Saint Nicholas' day is celebrated. On Saint Nicholas'
day, on May 22, all the people of Kazhym go there and take holy water...*
(recorded in 2010, narrated by SVM, f, born in 1965 in Kazhym);

*...it seems that our distant ancestors said that an icon of Nicholas the
Wonderworker had been found there long ago. And as this icon was found
there, a chapel was built there and this icon [was placed there]. Those who
wanted could go to the chapel and pray to God. And so [people] started to
celebrate this day a very long time ago, nobody knows now when it started.
At the very beginning of Kazhym's birth, or halfway through. In old, not
Soviet but ancient times. And so there is a holy spring there...* (recorded in
2013 by S. G. Nizovtseva and P. A. Shakhmatskaya, narrated by NIU, f,
born in 1933 in Kazhym);

*Only on Saint Nicholas' day [people] used to go to the Ustarchuzh. A chapel
was built there. Once, it was long ago, an icon of Nicholas the
Wonderworker was found there, and a chapel was built to commemorate it.
There was a chapel and an icon there. In my time, when I was still a kid, my
parents used to visit this chapel, it was old, it was empty, no icon. This*

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[11] This connection is likely made because "Ustarchuzh" sounds somewhat similar to
"*u startsa*" (at an old man's place), as discussed later in the text.

chapel, it was near this spring. [It appears that an icon was found there...] *Our grandmothers told us this, not mothers, but grandmothers. That is how it happened. An icon of Nicholas the Wonderworker was found; who left it there? It was long, long time ago. And then the Ustarchuzh became kind of a holy river...* (recorded in 2017, narrated by NIU, f, born in 1933 in Kazbym).

Vernacular etymologies of the Ustarchuzh spring's name were also recorded: "[Why was the chapel built near this particular spring?] *The chapel? There was an old man, it seems that his name was Nikolay. So they said 'U startsa' [literally "at an old man's"]. [It became] the Ustarchuzh. [They] changed it a little bit and this way [they] named the spring...*" (recorded in 2010, narrated by ZAB, f, born in 1934 in Kazhym); "[And why is it called this way—the Ustarchuzh?] *That's what I'm saying, I don't know. Maybe, a person got tired ['ustal' in Russian], it seems to me, and a person got tired and sat down. "Chuzh",—maybe,* [he uttered?—Y. K.] *this kind of a word. [He] got tired, sat down, for a while. And so the name Ustarchuzh was created... [He sat down] to have a rest. Maybe, he was an exceptional [person], some kind of a martyr, maybe...*" (recorded in 2013 from GAK, f, born in 1939 in Kazhym); "[What is the name of this place?] *It is the Ustarchuzh. Ust'-starchuzh.* [And why does it have such a name?] *I don't know why. Probably because it is located in some river estuary ['ust'ye' in Russian]...*" (recorded in 2013 by S. G. Nizovtseva, Y. A. Krasheninnikova narrated by PIU, m, born in 1932 in Kazhym).

More official accounts of why people still visit the spring have been published in local media since 2015. These refer to the spring as "Nicholas the Wonderworker's source" and call May 22 "the village holiday" (Suvorov 2015, 18). In the interviews conducted in 2017, the respondents used the terms *big, kermesse, divine* to refer to their special veneration of this day:

I have been living here for a long time, and this holiday is more and more venerated. We have always visited [the spring]. These holidays used to be referred to as church holidays in the past and it was prohibited for us to take part in it. Then when it was allowed, all of it was initiated by the club... (recorded in 2017, narrated by VPG, f, born in 1955, moved to Kazhym in 1976);

[Why people started visiting the spring on this particular day?] *Nicholas the Wonderworker, he was very much venerated, Nicholas the Wonderworker, so it was named after him, and all that.* [Is it a kermesse in Kazhym?] *A kermesse, a big, very big holiday...* (recorded in 2017, narrated by NVG, f, born in 1938 in the village of Griva, moved to Kazhym in 1941);

Saint Nicholas' day, today is a divine holiday… (recorded in 2017, narrated by EACh, f, born in 1936 in Kazhym).

The surge of public attention, the increased interest in this day by the Orthodox community, the authorities' involvement (which helped to make this holiday "semi-official") also inspired many amateur poets to write about it. We recorded some poems and song lyrics dedicated to Saint Nicholas' day celebrations. The poem cited below was written in 2016. The themes of existence of holy spring near Kazhym, miraculous properties of spring water, realization of secular ritual holiday are described in an amateur rhyme (translated word by word from Russian):

> There is a famous spring in Kazhym,
> And everyone knows it.
> They believe that it is holy,
> It's called the Ustarchuzh.
> Wash yourself with its water,
> Bring at least a jar of its water home,
> But if you want, you can take more,
> Try drinking holy tea.
> Add some herbs to it:
> St. John's wort, chamomile and a leaf of black currant.
> No need for tea leaves,
> And this tea will prolong your life!
> People come here on Saint Nicholas' day,
> They come by cars,
> They even come from other villages,
> And they do not spare petrol for this trip.
> Now a holiday is celebrated here,
> With funny competitions, jokes, rhymes,
> Even a circle dance is danced
> And ukha [fish soup] is served to please the bellies.
> Let it always be merry here,
> And let the spring always flow,
> And let everybody know about the Ustarchuzh!
> And surely on Saint Nicholas' day
> Drink tea made of holy water (recorded in 2017, recited by the author VPG, herself, f, born in 1955, moved to Kazhym in 1976).

Conclusion

There is a corpus of texts and testimonies connected to Saint Nicholas' day celebrations in the settlement of Kazhym. These texts discuss an icon of Nicholas the Wonderworker that appeared near the Ustarchuzh spring; the construction of a chapel and putting a memorial cross near the spring; about

an old man called Nikolay who "healed people". A few texts contain several interpretations of the spring's name, and large subsets of texts are related to the description of the procession and the blessing of the spring water. Due to the church's closing down and the absence of priests, local residents took over the most important rituals for their community. These included the common prayer with water blessing, visiting the locally venerated sacred site, and sprinkling spring water on household members, domestic animals, houses, and other household and farm outbuildings, as well as organizing a common ritual meal ('*skládchina*' in Russian dialect). During the first decade of the 21st century, villagers started to invite a priest to conduct common prayers, and publications about the "special" significance of Saint Nicholas' day for Kazhym start to appear in the local media. In 2013, we recorded secular festive rituals: there were public celebrations arranged by the local authorities (which involved singing, eating fish soup and drinking tea made with water collected from the spring on the day of the blessing). In this way, both religious and secular rituals started to be conducted, and the holiday today resembles a rural kermesse which combines church rituals with secular festive activities (Belova 2009, 241).

By combining and comparing data from different years (2010–2017), we have reconstructed the image of this feast in Kazhym residents' lives and the dynamics of their and the neighbouring villagers' attitudes towards it as a kermesse. As visits to the spring remained a "living" tradition on Saint Nicholas' day, the feast's revival and an official recognition occurred quickly soon after.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

STUDYING VARIABILITY IN FOLK DANCE BY USING VIDEO-BASED DANCE ANALYSIS AND EMBODIMENT METHOD: THE ESTONIAN EXPERIENCE

SILLE KAPPER AND MADLI TELLER

Abstract: Audiovisual recordings of Estonian folk dance are systematically stored in the Estonian Folklore Archives. For a long time, access to this data was extremely limited. Today however, digitalised film and video sources from Estonian Folklore Archives along with some earlier documentary recordings have been available for analysis for about a decade, and thanks to this access, new findings on the variability of Estonian folk dance traditions have emerged. This article presents varying ways in which new data from archival footage can enrich our knowledge and the current folk dance practice that in Estonia had so far mainly been based on verbal and graphic notations. Based on reviewed Hungarian and Norwegian examples as well as their own research in Estonia the authors suggest that methodical analysis of audiovisual sources both formal and embodied is applicable for rediscovering the bodily knowledge inherent in the variability of traditional dance.

Keywords: folk dance, traditional dance, stage folk dance, video-based dance analysis, embodiment, choreography.

Introduction

Historically developed values and preferences of communities and culturally determined skills and habits of individuals are reflected in their dancing. Dance variability reflects general cultural regularities and dance studies' potential is to contribute to more profound understanding of cultures. Video-based dance analysis and embodiment method offers a great deal of new and detailed information on dance variability. Earlier analysis

of available sources such as written and graphic notations and static pictures have provided a general imagination on the regional and community-based variation in traditional dancing, and also some knowledge on the existence of individual variation, but it has been unable to elaborate the latter in detail. Therefore, Estonian stage folk dance practitioners have been using a rather limited range of movements in arbitrary connections, often resulting in relatively uniform choreographies. Additional data on traditional dance variability, and especially on its causes, relations and regularities can be discovered by video-based analysis combined with embodiment. New stage folk dance creations are always done by choreographers' own artistic conscience. The new information might therefore facilitate their understanding of local traditions as well as produce a richer and more versatile transmission or development.

In this article, "traditional dance" and "traditional dancing" are used as terms respectively referring to peasant dance texts and dance practices "in the field" (Buckland 1999, 2010; Shay 2002) which usually involves participatory (Nahachewsky 1995, 1–5) or near-participatory settings where different communicative functions (Lotman 1981) are intermingled in the dancing (Kapper 2013). The term applies irrespective of time period when the dancing takes place. The other central term for the present study is "folk dance" that comprises the above phenomena of traditional dance and dancing on one hand and on the other, the "stage folk dance" which is an art form where original or stylized choreographies are created for presentational settings. In Estonia, the stage folk dance involves basically one typical movement style and very specific performing manners, and therefore, it can be considered rather a certain dance genre, narrower than the term "stage folk dance" could literally mean. The authors see this fact as a number of problems to address with their research findings in the future.

The authors are going to present varying ways in which new data from archival footage can enrich our folk dance knowledge and practice in general, including standard-based stage folk dance, which currently forms the mainstream part of it, as well as more free creative processes by contemporary choreographers who work with Estonian folk dancers. At this point it is relevant to mention that "folk dancer" is a term used for members of stage folk dance groups while "traditional dancers" usually do not belong to any formal dance grouping. Movement habits and manners of (stage) folk dancers and traditional dancers are usually rather different one from another. Few experienced or professional dancers are able to switch between those two movement languages.

To understand the present situation in Estonia, a short historic overview is necessary. The specific historical and cultural makeup of the Estonian

folk dance tradition has gone through a profound standardisation and generification process, resulting in a sort of canonisation of *the way things should be done* in the limits of the genre. The Soviet period has left its profound stylistic mark on the Estonian stage folk dance which has seen a thorough development following the example of the Moiseyev Ballet (see also Shay 2002) during the whole second half of the 20th century. The Soviet regime is not the only reason for the development of standardised stage folk dance movement language in Estonia but its influence must not be underestimated. There were good prerequisites for the development of generalized mass folk dance already before World War II, e.g. the linkage of two alien movement systems—gymnastics and traditional dancing—with each other in early stage folk dance attempts at the beginning of 20th century, and the influences of half a century of Soviet colonial rule have remained deeply embedded in the Estonian collective bodily memory. The bodily nature of colonial interference is reflected well in the remarkable fact that after the restoration of Estonian independence when many postsocialist cultural changes took place, stage folk dance preserved its Soviet era movement characteristics. Ballet-based standardised style that had resulted from colonial interference and defensive adaptation has remained unchanged until today. The conceptual dimension of choreographies, however, has returned to patriotic and romantic national values, ascribed to folk dances since the end on 19th century. (For a more in-depth approach to this issue please see Kapper 2016.)

During the Soviet period, besides promotion of stage folk dance, the collection, research and exploitation of traditional dance material was marginalised. Although some very valuable audiovisual data on traditional dancing was collected in Estonia after the 1960s, their content remained unused partly because of the diverse information they could provide—complicated questions of individual variation and improvisation would have been rather uncomfortable for the ruling generalised stage folk dance practice during the period, and therefore it was logical to put aside audiovisual recordings that could have revealed too much of the heterogeneity of local traditions and the nature or sources of individual variation. Clean-cut and controllable normative systems instead of uncontrollable folklore (Giurchescu 2001, 117) were favoured for supporting Soviet value judgements while traditional dance remained inadvisable to deal with.

The archival video materials of folk dance collected from Estonian regions have become available for research only fairly recently. Professional research labs dedicated to the study of archival videos have been scarce in Estonia, comprising the work by both authors of the present

article. In the present study a few variations of a single movement motif are used to illustrate the nature, range and scope of data on individual variation in traditional dancing that can be derived from audiovisual recordings by video-based analysis and embodiment method. The peculiarities of the method are described and some examples from a work-in-progress practical research project with dancers are referenced. The argument is built upon the authors' ongoing research and creative practice on employing traditional dance techniques while working with stage folk dancers.

The authors' suggestions based on the research findings take into consideration the fact that stage folk dance is in an active creative process in present day Estonia but due to the demands of large numbers of folk dancers and the recurring mass dance event Dance Celebration (Estonian: *tantsupidu*, see also Kuutma 2002), it is dominated by basic, general and standard knowledge. The choreographers' knowledge of and attention to traditional dance variation has been limited so far. Therefore, the purpose of the article is to show the ways of getting new information about traditional variability in folk dance in order to facilitate the creation of more versatile tradition-inspired choreographies which can be welcomed by audiences and some young choreographers at least outside the domain of Dance Celebrations.

Before presenting the method, process and first findings of their specific project, the authors also introduce methods and tools from the dance studies field from Norway and Hungary that can be and partly already have been customised for exploring the Estonian material. Besides their long experience and high reputation in European ethnochoreology, the works of Norwegian and Hungarian dance scholars have been selected for a review because of our personal contacts have allowed us to discuss questionable methodological issues with more experienced users during our studies.

Archive, video, and the dance

When it comes to archiving dance related materials and their further exploitation, a variety of approaches has been used. The dance history archives can be established for the totus of national dance history and culture (Urup 1990) or as a part of a national library or a specific collection denoted by a donator, company, artist, style or methodological approach (Potter 1992; Harman 1991; Bassett 1994). The archives can be turned into a digital collection, or be used for specific research techniques (Edsall 1996).

In general, the dance archives are often used for educational purposes, historic research, or pedagogical revival projects in historical and modern dance (such as projects dealing with the legacy of 20th century modern dance choreographers like Martha Graham, Rudolf van Laban, Merce Cunningham). Recent advances can ease the reconstruction process: technology for recording performances (both film and movement capture); comprehensive notation systems; artists working in the styles of their predecessors; historians and companies committed to reviving historical works; the work of preservationists etc.

The ongoing dispute stems from the apparent ephemeral features of dance—no matter what kind of recording medium or technique is used, there are said to be aspects that simply cannot be documented and revived through usual archival methods. Mark Franko explains how despite the numerous amounts of notation systems and the option for preservation through video recording, "the transmission of dance has remained predominantly a matter of oral tradition" (Franko 2011, 327). In his article exploring the history of dance notation Franko even speaks of the "antinotational prejudice" in the contemporary thinking about dance (ibid., 328) examining the tension between the text and the oral tradition in Western dance practices. There have also been several matters brought up as an argument against the use of video recording in revival projects. Modern dance choreographer Yvonne Rainer is doubtful of the usefulness of such a fixed-view method for understanding the subtleties of movement qualities in the revivals of her work 'Trio A' (1966) and has started to prefer the orally conjured metaphors and imagery that live teaching can bring to the physical transmission process more and more over time (Rainer 2009). Dance researcher Laura Griffiths questions the usefulness of 'standard archival practices', emphasising 'the value inherent in the somatic and spatial qualities of dance' and 'the more embodied, lived, temporal aspects of dance' (Griffiths 2013, 183–184). Looking at the revival projects of Phoenix Dance Theatre in UK that rely heavily on the lived experience of its dancers she states that 'access to multiple forms of memory is heavily dependent upon the physical and spatial interaction of dancing bodies. This insight presents a challenge for how such elements might be replicated in digital archiving practice. [...] How can the digital archive account for the multiplicity of relationships that occur within dance spaces that leave important, knowledge based-impressions upon the body?' (Griffiths 2013, 193).

A recurrent solution in the cases discussed is a close encounter with either lived experience (employing an informant with first-hand experience into the archiving, analysis or reconstruction process) or embodiment (close

connection with the experience of dancers in action). Yet it is noted that dance restoration based on lived experience and memory might still be problematic since the "original" is altered in every revival (Archer and Hondson 1993). The reasons for little or no use of film and video material in a dance analysis were different in the case of traditional dance in Estonia—there was no active or theoretically justified opposition but technical and especially political obstacles, as explained in the introductory part and further in this article.

In Estonia, for about a decade, the new video recordings of stage folk dance have been mainly employed as part of the Dance Celebration process—the mandatory stage folk choreographies are filmed to be used by dance teachers nationally in order to visualise the written notations of the dances. The written notations are strongly preferred and advertised by the main organisers as superior to videos, which must only be used as an additional reference point. The reasoning behind the use of both is the event's inherent endeavour towards the most equal (due to the groups having to compete for the participation at the event) and uniformal (due to the artistic arguments of the organisers) performance. The organisers recognize that written description can be open to more interpretations than a filmed one, but want to eliminate the possibility of focusing on one specific performance ("But this one dancer started with left foot and I thought this was correct!"). Therefore, in Estonia, stage folk dance teachers' trust in any video material is often low and attitudes are biased which sometimes makes it challenging for dance scholars to explain why video examples of traditional dancing should be analysed for academic purposes without excessive prejudices.

Both Norwegian and Hungarian dance scholars have been working on combining the video recording, notation/transcription from video or live performance, formal analysis and embodiment into a methodology suited best for the archival study, revival and dissemination of skills in their respective traditional dances (Bakka 1991a, 1991b, 1999; Felföldi 1999). Dance researcher Egil Bakka is using the concept of the "dance competence" common to a society upon which all dance realisations—their specific performances by one dancer or couple—are based (1991a, 224). The meticulous usage of several archival and research methods in a combination can therefore result in a sound knowledge about a dance tradition/competence. Hereinafter a summarised description about the Hungarian and Norwegian traditional dance research experience is given in order to introduce a starting point in creating our own research tools when beginning to work with archived movement material and folk dancers.

Hungarian experience

Central to the Hungarian folk dance tradition are skilful improvisation, individuality and the dancer who has the ownership of a certain move or composition that they created and brought to use. In the 20th century, the selected best dancers of an era were recorded both in video and in kinetography Laban (Labanotation) during their long years of dancing and the material was formally analysed in minute detail, exposing the underlying rules of improvisation and composition. These schematic formal rules are now used in training when new dancers are creating their own personal improvisation style (Felföldi 1999). Despite some historical similarities regarding the socialist past between Estonia and Hungary, both traditional dance cultures have developed considerably and distinctly in the sense that in Hungary the scale of stage folk cultivation is far lesser than what it has grown into in Estonia for Dance Celebration-type mass event purposes. The operation of stage folk groups is also more evenly balanced out with the well spread practice of táncház movement (Balogh and Fülemile 2008), a social dance club inspired from and referring to rural dance practices, born several decades before influencing the creation of similar subcultural traditional dance movement in Estonia.

With a thorough knowledge in kinetography Laban one can transcribe a person's movement to its smallest details, and the conceptualisation and analysis of the dance occur simultaneously. The movement sequences of different dancers are easily comparable side by side; the formal motifs are easier to detect visually, thus drawing conclusions about the rules of composition becomes possible. With the tool, noticing the regularities in improvisational composition in Hungarian dance became accessible—the knowledge of which the traditional dancers sometimes cannot verbalise. Improvisational dance would be impossible to study without studying the movement of one specific dancer. Luckily a lot of the fieldwork and archival video recording was done in such a way (Felföldi 1999). Inspired by Hungarian methods, the authors of the study at hand are applying this idea of focussing on a single dancer and their unique style and technique in laboratory processes using archival audiovisual materials. It is a fairly novel approach compared to aiming to find and define a communal and/or national way of dancing that has been prevailing in previous study of Estonian traditional dance. The attempt is rendered more difficult due to the nature of the audiovisual materials, which are usually not filmed with attention to singular dancers or couples in mind.

Norwegian experience

The Norwegian landscape with its rough and impenetrable characteristics has made it possible for very varied cultural phenomena to be preserved through the 20th century. The homogenising outside influences simply could not reach some places. With the spread of visual recording devices it was possible to execute a large-scale recording of dances, the result of which is the biggest dance archive in Northern Europe: the Norwegian Centre for Traditional Music and Dance. A major part of collected materials consists of improvisational solo and couple dancing (Bakka 1991b). The links to Estonian materials can be drawn from the similar existence of a plethora of 19th century-derived couple dances called round dances in ethnochoreology, meaning for example polkas, waltzes and schottisches.

The Norwegian material has been employed according to a system of exhaustive analysis, embodiment and reapplication to practical, real life contexts. The public interested in their local dance tradition are given access to the archival recordings from the field and provided with the methodological tools and guidance for analysis. One of the key concepts in a movement analysis seems to be svikt-analysis of the steps—the term svikt is used "for the vertical movement patterns which are needed for locomotion" (Bakka 1991a, 224) and the differences in svikts can be seen as giving the dance a specific, local or individual quality.

They study the bodily actions of a specific dancer frame by frame in minute detail in a written formula and embody what they have discovered. They repeat the process with several dancers from the same area. Duplicating, copying the dancers to the smallest detail (the posture, movement of the center of gravity, specific dance holds and step placements) with a sufficient number of embodiments of the same dance results in the creation of a personal experience of the dance, its feel and logic. In the transcription process the rules of composition and the characteristic course of movement actions become evident. After this time-consuming research the learners can go back to their communities and start using the knowledge gleaned from 50 years ago in practice, for example at a social dance evening (Bakka 1991b; 1999).

In addition to researching, recording and systematising dance knowledge the aims of the Centre are granting access to the local dance heritage and its application in contemporary contexts, and also the development of necessary digital tools for these aims (Bakka 1991b).

The previously mentioned soundness or thoroughness is the reason why dance heritage is in an active creative process in Norway. The contemporary traditional dance in Norway, a staged folk dance that connects contemporary

performance arts and folk dancing flourishes in a similar manner at huge folk dance festivals and smaller local dance competitions, not to mention social dance evenings. The keywords are diversity, creativity and usage of the style in various and multi-layered contexts.

Estonian experience

In the Estonian Folklore Archives, audiovisual recordings have been systematically stored since the 1960s. Some earlier movies that represent dance in Estonian villages from the beginning of the 20th century are found in the Estonian Film Archives, the oldest from 1913. For a long time, insufficient use of these audiovisual data was caused by the extremely limited access to them due to a lack of adequate equipment. Now this technical constraint has been eliminated—digitised film and video sources from the Estonian Folklore Archives have been available for analysis for about a decade. Thanks to this access, by way of analysing film and video, some findings on individual, local, and temporary variability of traditional dancing in different parts of Estonia have been published in a recent publication titled Kihnu tantsud ("Dances of the Estonian Island Kihnu", Rüütel and Kapper 2015) that also refers to an important problem with its nearly 500-page volume. It is a problem we face when tackling video-based analysis with an aim to restore the bodily dimension of dance knowledge—the huge amounts of information that can be elicited from an audiovisual recording. Video-based analysis combined with embodiment requires a lot of preparation to be able to notice and discern details, and a large amount of effort to embody them when they are individual and initially performed by a very different living human body. The amounts of objectively available information also make concentration on a specific focus a challenging task that is not executable by every dance enthusiast after the first experience, but only achievable through a longer process supported by professional supervision.

Some of the audiovisual recordings, preserved in the Estonian Folklore Archives, have by today been published in their original format, on DVD-s, such as dances from Kihnu, Saaremaa, or Hiiumaa islands. During the past few years, a small number of the dance clips have been published online as well, e.g. from Pakri islands, Saaremaa, and the presumably oldest recording from Setomaa (Pääsuke 1913). The majority of the traditional dance material made available online originates from the 20th century; only the Kihnu community has preserved its peasant dance traditions continuously and without interruption up to the 21st century. Online publication of traditional dance recordings is very important because publications on

DVDs are far more inefficient by now. It has become evident that people, including potentially traditional dance-oriented students, researchers, and practitioners in particular expect everything to be available online. If there are no archival recordings of traditional dancing available, practitioners easily find traditional dance forms performed by stage folk dance groups in their typical manners, and use them as examples to learn. Among the folk dance teachers there is a habit of using traditional dance manuals and tutorials in written format, but archival film and video is not yet used in a thorough manner. Interpretation of verbal descriptions easily leads readers farther away from the described object because the established vocabulary and way of describing dance are implicitly based on standardised stage folk dance aesthetics. The researchers are now tasked with not only their own analysis and publication of findings, but also finding opportunities to acquaint people with archive films. The potential user needs to know methods that would help them derive knowledge from the audio-visual material so that it could be embodied by folk and professional dancers.

Polka project in September, 2017

Having acquainted themselves with the work done previously by Norwegian and Hungarian colleagues, the authors of the paper have started to experiment with their own methods to find ways in which to adapt the tools to Estonian cases. Madli started in 2014 with a formal analysis of an improvisational female solo dance from Setomaa, the kargus, using a video from a local half participatory, half performative setting and Labanotation, but adding no other lived or bodily experience than her own. Sille was initially studying some examples of female couple and mixed couple rotational polka dances from the Kihnu Island and Häädemeeste parish with the involvement of a few young folk dance teachers and enthusiastic dancers. Both followed the example of Norwegian colleagues working with visual video analysis in parallel with practical movement to copy, repeat and finally embody every detail performed by the dancer on the video. Involving an assistant or at least two dancers in every experiment even when working on a solo dance is a handier solution than the use of additional video camera because minute sections of movement must be tried out repeatedly, and having an extra pair of eyes is of use here. Findings of the two early attempts at video-based embodiment method confirmed the first assumption that Norwegian svikt analysis is applicable to Estonian material and leads to the acquisition of pieces of information we did not have before.

The first findings were additionally tested in workshops with fairly experienced traditional dancers. Some participants truly acknowledged the

articulation of new data such as directions of paces within a step pattern or body positioning of leading partner while reversing the spinning direction. This success and grateful reception by the practitioners became a reason to carry on. Sille continued analysis both on her own as well as together with different students, mainly using couple dance material. Using her own embodiment experience in combination with questions asked by contributing dance students and enthusiasts she supplemented the initial Norwegian svikt analysis schema with additional aspects to be taken into account in working with Estonian material. Most of them were connected with dancers' location and movement trajectory but also hand holds and body posture that often turned out at least as meaningful as the pace, svikt and step pattern themselves.

Within the central project for this study, the Polka project commenced in September 2017 (hereafter "Polka project"), the authors worked together with female dancers from folklore ensemble Leigarid who besides stage folk dance are interested and somewhat experienced in traditional dancing. The group regularly performs at the Estonian Open-Air Museum with traditional dances, songs, games and instrumental music. It is important to emphasize the intertwinement of participatory and presentational dancing in those very performances at the Open-Air Museum. For presentational purposes the dances are agreed upon in advance; the programme is composed to be versatile enough to attract the audience; the dancers wear traditional costumes, and permit the tourists to witness the event. On the other hand, the movement qualities of most dancers are not adjusted according to standard stage aesthetics but rather result from every individual's knowledge of traditions and from their personal bodily skills, abilities and habits. Most dancers of Leigarid ensemble also have experience in stage folk dance and with the Dance Celebrations which makes their position just as ambivalent as described in the introductory part of the article, concerning the post-soviet-colonial impact on Estonian folk dance scene.

For the Polka project we chose two archival video clips for experimentation, one from the small West-Estonian island Kihnu from 1931 (Kapper 2010), and the other from 1913 from Setomaa, the very south-eastern part of Estonia near the Russian border (Pääsuke 1913). These are the oldest recordings from both regions, representing people dancing without dance education or rehearsal, although both dance events had been arranged for filming. Both episodes document several female dancers (Figure 8-1) performing a couple turning movement in a ballroom hold (Figures 8-1 and 8-2) during polka steps.

Figure 8-1. Women from Kihnu island dancing polka in 1931.
Photo by Sille Kapper 2010.

Figure 8-2. Seto women dancing polka in 1913.
Photo by Johannes Pääsuke 1913.

After choosing the recordings based on their age, region, and dance type, we selected a dance couple from which to analyse and embody the movement. We tried to find couples whose movement was entirely visible for the longest time frame possible, a task rendered difficult by the scenes having been filmed in wide shot and not fitting for any dance analysis purposes. There were several couples moving in rotation along a large circular path which inevitably meant that no couple was visible for the whole dance or a clip. The selection process was done together with the dancers who then proceeded with the guided analysis, first by carefully watching and writing, then in parallel in movement trying to embody the dance of their selected couple as precisely as they could (Figure 8-3).

Figure 8-3. Dancers of folklore ensemble Leigarid starting the embodiment process in Polka project. Photo by Madli Teller 2017.

Compared to how the dancers of Leigarid ensemble would perform a generic traditional polka at the Open-Air Museum, the embodiment process used in the movement research lab resulted in a rather distinct version of polka. Before commencing the movement study, we had fihned their generic version of polka and recorded the analysis and embodiment results in video a few hours later as well (Figure 8-4). The differences between the two versions could be seen in dancers' posture, hand holds, neck and head positions, partners' positions to each other, step patterns, movement qualities etc. However, with such short-term analysis processes and only single attempts to copy and repeat the moves by those particular dancers we cannot speak about a real embodiment that could contribute to the

restoration of bodily dance knowledge—it can only be considered a start of the process.

Figure 8-4. Dancers of folklore ensemble Leigarid practicing the moves copied from Seto women. Photo by Madli Teller 2017.

During the time which has elapsed since that experiment we have witnessed the same dancers sometimes trying to use similar holds and moves in their dancing. We also have spoken with them about their feelings about the moves. The dancers have described some details which seemed to help making the rotational movement more comfortable, which could explain why they have tried to use them again. Some other features have been rejected by dancers because they deemed them too complicated after only a short exposure and use. Everyone agreed that despite the discomfort the more uncomfortable or seemingly illogical moves could still be explored in more detail to try to make sense of them, too. One couple with less experience in rotational couple dancing would have needed considerably more time for embodiment to arrive at continuous spinning at all. An additional common conclusion by the participant dancers was that they all understood how decisive even the minor details of posture or hold were in their feeling of couple spinning.

From the archive to the contemporary creation

What could video-based analysis and embodiment offer to academic dance knowledge and choreographic creation? As an example it is possible to point out a few seemingly very simplistic pieces of information that arose

from the short practice-based research during the Polka project done with female dancers of Leigarid ensemble.

1. The direction of the steps influences the ease and the dynamics of the turn. The specific step direction can be a means to even, smooth turning (as opposed to the common approach in canonised learning and teaching of the technique). Standard stage folk dance polka in Estonia generally foresees starting the first pace of polka step to the side. This version did not show up in our project and is generally very unusual in traditional dancing in Estonia, and the video-based analysis and embodiment method has showed its cause—the smoothness of movement that has been considered pleasant, beautiful and therefore desirable in the tradition.

2. The specific embrace and the changes in it while adjusting to the turning direction, physics, and centrifugal force, as well as the position and proximity of torsos can assist with the complicated anti-clockwise turning that demonstrates the skills of the dancer. The archival manuscripts of Estonian peasant dance repeatedly state that more skilled dancers could also perform the "rear part" of polka spinning counter clockwise. Stage folk dancers have struggled and learned to do it by some additional effort but traditional techniques or tricks about how to achieve this element in an economic way had not been collected yet. Video-based analysis with embodiment has revealed that silent bodily knowledge and allows the researchers to articulate it.

3. The contrast of the placement of the two bodies in the 'stage' posture and in the posture of the traditional dancers on archival recordings can help to notice how the direction of the gaze and the position of heads can add to the narrative of the dance. What do gaze and proximity say about the relationship of the dancers? Can it enhance a specific message? The stage folk dance choreographers are ardently searching for expressive narratives to demonstrate in folk dance. But could the focus on minute details also be a way to capture the so-called or presumed 'Estonianness' in different ways, for example discreteness, shyness or even seriousness in the way of dancing? Can it bring a new intimacy in folk dance? Or can the rediscovery and remittance of other-than-standard-stage-folk postures to folk dance contexts perhaps help to rewrite the still so colonial stage folk dance aesthetic?

The rediscovering of bodily knowledge inherent in traditional dancing is an ongoing process that must comprise dance practice and archive video analysis intertwined with each other. Ginsburg and Penrod state the

importance of embodying archived material: "When feasible, recreations, revivals, and reconstructions are, in fact, valuable not only to the education of students, but to the enlightenment of audiences as well about the diversity and richness of our dance heritage" (Ginsburg and Penrod 1997, 4). The above-described small pieces of information arose through the video-based analysis and especially through embodiment: during dance practice the project participants gradually started to feel the meanings their movements brought along, and even more slowly they became able to verbalise them. New understandings expressed by the dancers of the experiment above mainly concerned dance technique e.g. the feeling of how the counter clockwise spinning succeeds more easily when arm positions are changed in the manner of the dancers in video examples. Narrative, message or other communication issues remained open questions in this project and are being explored by authors in more detail during a further process of implementing these techniques in different social and creative contexts.

Conclusion

What we are suggesting here is that the methodical analysis of audio-visual sources—both formal and embodied—can offer additional information about the Estonian traditional folk dance. As we stated in the introduction, there has long been a misconception among stage folk dance practitioners that documented information on traditional dance variation content, causes and relations does not exist. There was a general imagination on regional and community-based variation, and also some knowledge on the existence of individual variation but the latter had not been elaborated in detail before. This presumption has brought along extremely simplified conceptions on the nature of traditional dancing as a dance form without any improvisation or vice versa, as a dance form where any improvisation can be appropriate and suitable. The apparent simplicity and scantiness of movement material has resulted in the use of a limited range of movements in arbitrary connections in stage folk dance choreographies that are mainly composed using every choreographer's own artistic conscience. We are not saying that such a method of creating stage folk dance is a problem in itself. We are pointing out that there are several technological solutions such as digital archives, slowing down and freeze frame in video presently easily available. Used together with currently developed methodological tools of movement analysis, these instruments are applicable for rediscovering the bodily knowledge inherent in the variability of traditional dance. This situation could lead to using the newly found historical knowledge creatively in order to enrich our choreographic creation and make the dance scene more

versatile with original choreographies inspired directly from older traditional knowledge without the filter of standard stage folk dance which is often happening now.

The pieces of new information presented as findings of the Polka project show that although to a certain level, analysis of audio-visual material can be done by only watching the videos and making records on paper, a thorough and comprehensive analysis is achieved by including embodiment in that process by the re-establishment of bodily knowledge. Using embodiment as a method is not the fastest or most effective route to the knowledge of the basics of the variability of traditional dance but it is necessary for understanding the sources, scope and limits of that variation, their cultural causes and relations to particular dance situations. To be able to apply the discovered elements and regularities of their variation in creative contexts, the experience of embodiment-based analysis is also most important for a choreographer. Difficulties in verbalising the dance experience may be overcome in artistic performance contexts where meanings are delivered by movements so that the enlightenment of audiences about the diversity and richness of our heritage is carried through. As we have stated at the beginning of this article, stage folk dance choreographies tend to be very uniform, but the traditional variability exists and is available for those of us inspired by the data from video-based analysis and embodiment.

For researchers, data derived from video-based analysis and embodiment method additionally form a new basis for working with static data—verbal and graphic notations, as well as dance photos. The latter have also remained a little-used source in Estonia so far. Bodily knowledge developed by embodiment method creates a new background for the interpretation of written, drawn or photographed materials. Through such an interpretation process, a new plane of the embodiment spiral may unfold for the discovery of additional data.

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Chapter Nine

Paradoxical Everyday Imaginaries? Realitization, Narrative *Persons* and Common Sense Making in Digitally Communicated Televisual Engagement of *Breaking Bad*[1]

Siim Sorokin

Abstract: The present article elucidates and elaborates on the key theoretical and analytical positions developed in my Doctoral Dissertation on character engagement based on the microanalysis of digital storytelling in *Breaking Bad*'s online reception (see, Sorokin 2018a). The article (1) gives a general synopsis of *Breaking Bad*; (2) provides an analysis of the empirical material in order to illustrate the validity of the theoretical conceptualization; and (3) further teases out the underlying theoretical implications. By design, the theoretical discussion builds on the empirical analysis and focuses, for the purposes of this article, specifically on three core notions and concepts in the previously developed theoretical

framework. I use the concept of *narrative person* to counter the mechanistic, internalist approach to fictional "character". Under my treatment, narrative person is a sovereign agency whom the audience is gradually absorbed by, as opposed to being absorbed in it. Naturally, such assumptions undermine the universal applicability of internalist models of narrative, in general, and experiential character engagement, in particular. Hence, *realitization* is envisioned to highlight the discursive practice of "making real" in the articulative process of character engagement for the sake of communal discussion. Finally, the concept of *co-elaborative creative vernacular* indicates communally developed and communicated other-directed distributed sense-making which is narratively co-elaborated and grounded in commonsensical, ordinary everyday language and conceptual thinking which is materialist in character.

Keywords: affirmative character ontology, antidealism, co-elaborative creative vernacular, everyday imaginaries, pragmatics of narrative experientiality, narrative person, realitization, realmaking, narratively "tooled" language, social materialism of narrative.

> *We are inclined to say: "When we mean something, there is no dead picture here (no matter of what kind), but, rather, it's like going towards someone. We go towards the thing we mean."*
> Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations* (2009, 140ᵉ, §455)

The objective of the present article is to give a comprehensive survey of the key theoretical and analytical positions I have developed in my recent Doctoral Dissertation *"Character Engagement and Digital Community: A Multidisciplinary Study of "Breaking Bad""* (Sorokin 2018a). The dissertation's empirical material consists of the online discourse of the American television serial *Breaking Bad.* Specifically, I focused on the commentary sections of a variety of television criticism blogs as well as user-initiated discussion threads on forums.[2] The present article is structured to *first* lay out the general background of *Breaking Bad* (*section 1*), followed by an empirical analysis (*section 2*). The present analysis both adapts as well as reproduces my initial research. Specifically, my examination of the empirical material links applied computational method of "text mining" (through NLP processing) with qualitative methodology, in part inspired by the recent micro analytical approach to online (discourse) data (see e.g.,

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[2] Alan Sepinwall's weekly/daily column "What's Alan Watching?" at Uproxx.com; The A. V. Club; Tim Goodman's weekly/daily column "The Bastard Machine" at Hollywood Reporter; Reddit's sub-reddit r/hreakingbad.

Giles et al. 2015; Giles et al. 2017) and defined broadly as analytical "observant narration" (see Sorokin 2018a, 145–153, esp. 147). Bearing such choices in mind, section 2 intends to, on the one hand, *illustrate* the extended analyses provided elsewhere (see Sorokin 2018a, 150-177); and, on the other, such illustrative analysis is utilized as a "point of entry" for concise signposting of the distinct theoretical implications that emerge. Accordingly, these corollaries are teased out and detailed further in sections 3-4, where the narratively developed articulation of other-directed (third person perspective) experientiality (*section 3*), and the necessity for an affirmative character ontology (*section 4*) are theoretically outlined. It should go without saying that such design affords a rhetorically transparent rationale—analysis should inform theory and have the latter organically "grow" out of itself. Moreover, it should be emphasized upfront that the focus of my interest is firmly on the intricacies of online *discourse* of television viewers and commenters, especially insofar as their engagement with observed narrative "characters" taken as narrative *persons* (hence, "paradoxical everyday imaginaries") is concerned. Accordingly, any analysis of the televisual narrative itself or its respective scenes remains outside of the immediate purview of the presently outlined project.

1. Introductory notes

Breaking Bad[3] (*AMC* network, 2008–2013) was hailed throughout its persistence primarily as a complex character study. Such complexity ultimately afforded the show a spot amongst a number of signature narratives of the "golden age" that "televised the revolution" (Sepinwall 2012) such as *The Sopranos, The Wire, Deadwood, MadMen, Lost*, or most recently, *Rectify*. As such, *Breaking Bad* adjoined a particular register that had long started to change how *intensively* these kinds of narratives, and the characters thereof especially, were talked of and *about*, respectively, with the pioneering effort—laying the foundation for the format later adapted and developed by weekly television critics-reviewers such as Alan Sepinwall, Maureen Ryan, and others—made by the user-run recap blog *Television Without Pity* with accompanying bulletin board forum for further discussions. [4] Renowned television writers anticipated in advance such necessity and demand, however. In Alan Sepinwall's *The Revolution Was*

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[3] For a variety of recent theoretical perspectives on *Breaking Bad*, see, e.g., edited volumes by Koepsell and Arp (2012), Pierson (2014), Blevins and Wood (2015).
[4] For some research on the subject, see e.g., Gray (2005), Andrejevic (2008), and Stilwell (2003).

Televised: The Cops, Crooks, Slingers and Slayers Who Changed TV Drama Forever (Sepinwall 2012[5]), David Chase, the creator of epochal *The Sopranos,* recounts: "I was never surprised watching hour-long TV. And I never saw anyone on there *who behaved like real human beings*" (ibid. 34; emphasis added). Indeed, as he went on to explain, it became Chase's signature objective to change the way people converse about television narratives by "get[ting] into more detail"; to really zoom in on the "very little small things about people" viewers encounter on screen (ibid., 313).

Following the tradition set by its forbearers, *Breaking Bad*'s was a realistic and exceptionally engaging tale about human pride; of how the achievement of criminal power does not "merely" corrupt, but also amplifies one's "inner demons," unveiling and reverting personal repressions and failures. The serial's protagonist is an initially law-abiding though submissive and humble family man Walter White (Bryan Cranston) who, whilst working as a local high school chemistry teacher, earns extra income in a car wash. During a casual doctor's visit, however, he is given a warning of his impending death—a late stage cancer, perhaps a year left. Consequently, this kind of tragic upheaval forces him to utilize extreme measures to assure his family's monetary security. Being a brilliant chemist, he starts up a methamphetamine ("crystal meth") lab by partnering up with his former student Jesse. At first, Walter has a precisely calculated sum of money which should be sufficient for the goal. Indeed, everything starts relatively innocently, for Walter is first captivated by the science accompanying the "production process" (he aims to produce the scientifically purest meth possible). He does not really second guess the consequences, though. With time, however, Walter predictably develops an increasing taste for the "power" he increasingly comes to wield. He becomes widely known as Heisenberg, who is equally revered and feared. Accordingly, this ensues in increasingly violent clashes with competing drug traffickers and kingpins; culminating, later on, in a clash with major bosses such as the local mafia figure Gus Fring for whom Walt and Jesse ended up working. Ultimately, the aforementioned events factor into a complex web of interrelations that stimulate a variety of monstrous events throughout. Hence, in the serial's finale, "Felina", in one of the many serial's iconic scenes, Walter, tired of his own self-deceptions and hypocrisies, straightforwardly confesses to his wife, Skyler (Anna Gunn), how, in fact, he is ultimately his own worst enemy: "I did it all for myself. I knew how to do it. And I... I felt I was alive."

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[5] Complemented print published in 2015.

Empirically speaking, my case study material consists of previously archived and annotated commentary texts and forum posts from the most popular television criticism blogs and entertainment news' columns (e.g., Alan Sepinwall's *What's Alan Watching?* atUproxx.com; The A. V. Club; Tim Goodman's *BastardMachine* at Hollywood Reporter); as well as user-initiated topical threads in Reddit (r/breakingbad).[6]

2. Analysis informing theory: Considering the excerpts from the online sense-making about *Breaking Bad*'s characters

The objective of the following section is to afford *analytical* scaffolding for the three interrelated notions conceived of as holding prime significance within my overall theoretical framework (Sorokin 2018a): **realitization**, **narrative person**, and **co-elaborative creative vernacular**. I will approach this aim by providing analysis extracts focusing on the discursive operations utilized in online talk about the characters of a serialized narrative (e.g., *Breaking Bad*). Such operations enable us to highlight distinct aspects of online conversations that urge the practical necessity for the development of appropriately corresponding theoretical notions. In the present connection, my adapted treatment of "common sense"[7] allows a more accurate grasp on the articulative strategies of communal-individual creative storytelling, or what I termed co-elaborative creative vernacular (see Sorokin 2018a, 23–39).

I have adapted the notion of "co-elaboration" from the concept of "knowledge co-elaboration", developed in digital design research (see Détienne et al. 2012; Détienne et al. 2017; cf. Bacchilega 2015; Banks and Humphreys 2008). Its significance in my theoretical vocabulary is to explicitly indicate the operational quality of the commenters' common, joint, *other-directed* interest (i.e., toward other people, albeit of the nominally "fictional" kind). This interest becomes communicated and developed communally, i.e. co-elaboratively, across a number of online discourse spaces in an indirect and asynchronous, yet "dialogical" manner, hence transcending fixed loci. Such quality can be illustrated by observing some of the discursive-conversational focus points within the online

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[6] For detailed overview on the preliminary work with the material, see, Sorokin (2018a, 145 150).

[7] Taken in the sense suggested by the treatment of the idea of "sensus communis" by the 17th century Scottish Common Sense philosopher Thomas Reid (Reid 1819; see also Sorokin 2018a, 36n55).

discussions with regard to the engagement with *Breaking Bad*'s characters. Many discussion topics with regard to the latter were inspired by particular plot gaps which were styled in a seemingly simplistic manner, e.g., "who did what to whom?" However, a closer examination of such discussions quickly revealed such ambivalences being far more intricate than a surface look might indicate. There emerged questions as to why one or another character taken as a narrative *person* might have acted the way he/she did (i.e., their perceived "agency"); or to what extent could the commenters' (common sense) predictions about storytelling be "adjusted" (or "approximated") to the particular agentic choices of the serial's writers concerning the narrative persons in question. In other words, how, if at all, could the assumptions of the audience be consolidated with the ultimate "authorial" storytelling selections?

For, already a week after some key (narrative) event/s the latter choices can become severely contested and challenged on the reciprocal level. Principally because such narrative selections were apprehended as undermining the accumulation of the narrative persons' life context up to and including the events presently observed. In fact, these aforementioned convergences are readily illustratable on the communal base level of the mutual dynamics of merely two commentary texts (e.g., by *Dave I* and *Justin*, see Example 1). The following "dialogical" interchange is posted on the same day, some hours apart, in the week following the key episode in question (the penultimate episode, "End Times", of *Breaking Bad*'s 4th season).[8]

Example 1

Justin "Is it possible that this whole thing could be a mistake?" Yep. That was my first thought (it being an accidental poisoning) until they threw in it being a likely poisoning by Gus or Walt. And that almost seems like the most likely scenario. The more I think about it, the more I question Gus poisoning Brock. It seems like too much would have to happen in a short time for that to be the case. Walt had no realistic way to get at both the ricin AND Brock either. Either way, I'm just not totally buying either Gus OR Walt being able to work such a seemingly convoluted plan, although you could certainly think of scenarios that would fit (e.g. somebody poisons Brock with SOMETHING, and then steals the cigarette so Jesse thinks it was ricin when it was something else, or who knows). The two reasons why Brock smoking the cigarette might NOT be a logical choice would be that first, Brock would have to find the cigarette AND smoke it (one would hope somebody might notice that, but it's not impossible), and second if it fit into the timeframe (would Brock and the cigarette have been in the same room between the time

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[8] Blog commentary texts and forum posts are presented verbatim.

Jesse last saw his "lucky cigarette" and when he realized it was missing outside the hospital?). Those seemed to indicate it was NOT Brock mimicking [sic] *Jesse and smoking one of his cigarettes (with presumably the upside down one standing out and being the reason he'd grab that one).*
(Dave I, October 3, 2011, 3:07 p. m., comment on Sepinwall 2011)

Is it possible that this whole thing could be a mistake? What if the kid went into Jesse's pocket and smoked the cigarette, and Walt, noticing Jesse's irrational state, used that to turn him back on his side (similar to the way he's got Jesse to go along with his plans in the past). I'll need to listen to Jesse talking about how he kept track of the ricin (that part seemed a little confusing), but that was my initial takeaway.
(Justin, October 3, 2011, 3:27 a. m., comment on ibid.)

Dave I begins by quoting *Justin*'s question implying a "*mistake*" being at the core of all these horrid events. The usage of "mistake" (and in some other cases, an "accident"/"accidental [self-] poisoning") is meant to indicate here that Brock—the pre-teen boy presently hospitalized with a potentially terminal ricin poisoning—might have somehow gotten hold of the exact same cigarette (into which Jesse had hidden the tiny ricin vial according to his and Walter's plan to poison Gus, their current ruthless boss) and hence, managed to poison himself "accidentally". Now, although *Dave I* does not necessarily discard *Justin*'s theory about "accidental poisoning", he approaches it by way of the agencies of the script writers, that is: yes, the "accidental poisoning" might have been even the "*most likely scenario*", if only contingent on the fact that, with regard to Walt and Gus, "*they*" (i.e., the writers) have already been "*throwing in*" suspicions. In other words, even a very subtle implication by the script writers of either one of the narrative persons being somehow central in the presumed act of poisoning could—from the standpoint of the whole narrative as such—be conceived of as an intentional diversion tactic.

On an analytical level, it is worth noting that by building on *Justin*'s question, particular kinds of "sub-worlds"[9] start to be developed within the wider reciprocal "story world" becoming established in *Dave I*'s text. These kinds of "sub-worlds" I have envisioned as (1) the *intend-worlds* (IWs) of various (ontologically) sovereign narrative persons, e.g., Jesse, Walt, Gus and Brock; and, as (2) *text makers' worlds* (TMWs), that is, as the incrementally developing "congregations" of articulative-conversational forms with the precise concentration on the *possible* agencies and intentionalities of the script writers of the observable narrative; that is, with regard to their choices in the context of the script writing process (for more,

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[9] It should be noted here that my usage of the term is not intended to draw on how Paul Werth has conceived of it (see, Werth 1999, 213ff.).

see Sorokin 2018a, 134–144). Accordingly, it should go without saying that the critical capacity to differentiate between "fiction" and "reality" can be readily recognized. I will later return to theorize on this distinctive issue in particular.

Now, although *Dave I* sympathizes with *Justin*'s core argument about the "accidental" self-poisoning, based as it is primarily on real life understanding that young children might be recklessly prone to try forbidden things, he nonetheless remains highly critical with regard to Walt's or Gus' involvement. Indeed, for *Dave I*, the participation of either men in the poisoning plot is rather unlikely; because, as *Dave I*'s evaluates, this kind of "*convoluted plan*" for poisoning must have required an immeasurably thorough elaboration. Accordingly, *Dave I* suspects that such a calculated act was not something either man really had much opportunity to do at the time. *Dave I* is not entirely convinced about the validity of the "accidental poisoning" theory. Hence, by *Dave I*'s reasoning, although Brock's own involvement might well be the "most likely" outcome, "two reasons" can be brought forth insofar as to shed doubt to boy's focality in the unfolding events as the "logical choice" for the *Breaking Bad*'s script writers.

The previously discussed storytelling dialogue by *Dave I* and *Justin*—although "dialogue" should not be taken here in *strictu sensu* of the term—indicates two, mutually intertwined tendencies in the digital community communication. ⬤n one hand, both texts—which I am defining as **narrcept(s)** (narrative+precept)—are individual common (sensical) sense making products. Put differently, a commentary text or forum post can be envisaged as a singular common *sense*, developed through "narrceptive dialogue". ⬤n the other hand, this individual product—in the multiplicity of contacts its content has with others of its kind—becomes "distributed" into a constituent part of a general, joint knowledge. Accordingly, even throughout one concrete temporal interval (say, within a period of one or two weeks) the development of joint, "communalized" sense, i.e., *common* sense, can be observed. In other words, production of vernacular insight becomes instigated, arising co-elaboratively from loose groupings of people focused on one common task, hence yielding an "ensemble of social relations". Hereby, the narrative becomes the focal creative "tool" for it gets established as the carrier and charmeler of the "social orientation", as the "verbalizer of perception", predicated on the "social character of meaning" (Vygotsky 1978, 32–33; 25–37, 86–90).

But let us unpack these discursive operations further. A few hours later (see, Example 2), at the dawn of the next day, *Dave I* moves to accentuate the conceivable significance of the TMW even further. "*The writers left it* [the poisoning] *ambiguous for a reason*", *Dave I* notes, concluding that "*I*

don't think anything is absolute". At this point, then, all the potentialities thus far introduced could, indeed, be just as well deemed "*equally plausible*".

Example 2

First, I don't think anything is absolute. The writers left it ambiguous for a reason. Second, there was no obvious way for ANYBODY to get the cigarette. Does anybody think Huell is REALLY that dextrous to have snatched the cigarette from Jesse (somehow grabbing the one upside-down poisonous cigarette yet leaving the rest of the pack) during that fumbling 5-second pat down? I don't. There is also no obvious way for Gus to have known about the cigarette, much less have gotten it from Jesse and to Brock. Nor was there any obvious way for Walt to have gotten the cigarette from Jesse and then to Brock. I think that's the point. We'll find out, but at this point either or neither could have done it and almost any of the basic theories contained in those possibilities are equally plausible. I think that is kind of the point.
(Dave I, October 4, 2011, 1:04 a. m., comment on Sepinwall 2011)

Accordingly, as can be observed from the discussion up to this point, there is a high variety of narrative gaps and discrepancies, their spread and mutual intertwinement—especially insofar as the presumptive-speculative sense making with regard to narrative persons as 'reasoning agents' is concerned. Consequently, already two days later (see Example 3), *Dave I* concentrates on the crucial potentiality that Jesse's smoke pack (with the upside down cigarette hiding the ricin capsule) in his trousers' pocket might have been swapped, hence developing the assumption that, if anything, it was Gus Fring who was behind the poisoning attempt, as opposed to the child's own mistake. And again, *Dave I*'s narrcept is inspired by a co-elaborator, this time *Fred*. Specifically, herewith *Dave I* builds on a kind of soft, as it were, disagreement with *Fred*, focusing in special detail on three interrelated elements.

Example 3

Fred, maybe you're right. As of now though, until/unless they show how it was possible, I'm not buying Huell was able to dig out the ricin cigarette, and either NOT take the whole pack or take it and somehow slip it back into Jesse's pocket without him noticing. That would be a pretty neat trick for Houdini. The "A-Team" is flat-out NOT that capable. Plus, there's no way Saul would do that. At least not if he knew the plan, and I'm reasonably sure he'd ask questions before agreeing to a pickpocket pat-down for when Jesse came to get his money. Saul's already jumping ship. Is he really going to risk getting Gus upset with him either by trying to steal from his main cook OR much less by taking part in a plan to ultimately coerce Jesse into being

complicit in killing Gus? His main priority is survival. Even the indirect things he's done just to help Walt & Jesse stay alive have put him on edge. No, if Walt did this, I have to believe it was without Saul and I definitely do not believe Huell was quick-fingered enough to slip one upside down cigarette out of Jesse's pocket in that haphazard pat down.
(Dave I, October 5, 2011, 3:07 p. m., comment on Sepinwall 2011)

I think that it was Walt that poisoned Brock. Not directly but through Saul. When Huell inspects Jesse or something Saul could have access to the cigarette. Saul visits him every week or so and he is in the middle of the hell too, and wants to go out of it. In the beginning, in the pistol scene, the last thing it points is a plant and I think Walt tried to reach Jesse through Brock to turn him against Gus (as Gus did with Jesse). I don't know if Saul (or the "A-Team" is capable of such a thing). And how Gus spoke with Jesse in the hospital... it seems that he has nothing to do with it. Maybe Walt (remembering the gun pointing to the plant) created a new poison out of it that is not fatal, the ricin is still in the cigarette but as of now we don't know where it is. Thus leading to make Jesse believe that Walter poisoned Brock (that was Walt's intention) and then explaining that wasn't him but Gus. But we only know in the next episode (if it reveals something).
(Fred, October 5, 2011, 2:20 p. m., comment on ibid.)

Now, these three interrelated elements are:
1. *Dave I*'s utter disbelief that Huell—the bodyguard of Walt's and Jesse's lawyer, Saul—has the physical capacity to pass as a Houdini-like "quick-fingered" pick-pocket (Huell's IW);
2. even if (1) indeed turns out to be accurate, *Dave I* nevertheless considers it impossible unless "*they* [the writers] *show how it was possible*" (i.e., TMW);
3. in their developing narrcept, *Dave I* also builds off of Saul's IW, hence maintaining that the poisoning scheme (i) would not work without his knowledge and that (ii) "*there's no way*" he could have been convinced to agree to participate (given how terrified Saul was at the time all of this "scheming" supposedly occurred).

However, as far as the co-elaborative sense making of narrative person Saul's IW is concerned, the narrcepts by *Sinistersilkmerchant, Pauker,* and others outline a fascinating and presently beneficially supplementary read (see Example 4) due to the fact that their narrcepts do not originate from the Upproxx environment at all. Instead, these come from the 'temporally colliding' co-elaborative storytelling discussions on Reddit. Specifically, in focus here is Saul's conjectural readiness or non-compliance with regard to being involved with the "plan". Hence, *Sinistersilkmerchant* asserts that, keeping in mind Saul's exigency to flight, Walt could have "*come up with*

a lie", twisting Saul's arms, as it were, to play his part—*and*, by extension, arranging Huell to deploy his supposed pick-pocketry skill-set.

Example 4

But HOW? Jesse had the cigarette that morning when he went to work. He did not encounter Walt until after he had discovered that brock was poisoned. Walt did not have an opportunity to get the cigarette. Sure, he could have poisoned brock with a new batch of ricin, but the missing cigarette is the crucial piece of evidence.
(Pauker, October 3, 2011, 03:30:45UTC, comment on Anonymous 2011)

Huel did it during the patdown. Saul's purpose in calling Jesse so urgently (6 times!), of insisting he get to his office, was really to get the cigarettes. Walt could have told Saul any old story of why it was important for him to swap the pack out and Saul would have gone along with it. I mean, why else introduce Jesse into Saul's exit scene? Having a character like Saul Goodman decide to 'disappear' leaves so much potential for creative comic relief, but instead we got this silly patdown (why invite Jesse over if you are scared he's coming to kill you?), and a mundane conversation ("here, er... let me give you all your cash...") Clearly, the scene happened the way it did so later we can all realize Walt paid Saul to swap Jesse's cigs.
(Sinistersilkmerchant, October 3, 2011, 04:08:45UTC, comment on ibid.)

No, he swapped one pack for another. Why is it so hard to imagine this happening? Magicians perform slight-of-hand tricks that are way more complicated in front of audiences who are actually looking and expecting it. Pick-pocketers have similar skill. And as we know, Saul Goodman likes to employ people of diverse and practical talents. And while on the subject of Huel, I doubt Saul Goodman's "bodyguard" is an idiot. I think Saul finds Huel extremely useful exactly because people underestimate the guy. He seems dim-witted [sic], clumsy and lethargic. In reality, he's probably none of those things. Also, as a plot device it was unnecessary for Saul to bring Jesse "up to speed". Jesse received Walt's side of the story in detail when he went over to his house to kill him.
(Sinistersilkmerchant, October 3, 2011, 04:35:18UTC, comment on ibid.)

3. Co-elaborative creative vernacular, realitization, narrative person and the other-experience

[O]nly a dialogic and participatory orientation takes another person's discourse seriously, and is capable of approaching it both as a semantic position and as another's point of view. Only through such inner dialogic orientation can my discourse find itself in intimate contact with someone else's discourse, and yet at the same time not fuse with it, not swallow it up, not dissolve in itself the other's power to mean; that is, only thus can it retain fully its independence as a discourse.

M. M. Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* (trans. 1984), 64

My objective in this section is to explore how the discursive operations and strategies in online talk with regard to the engagement with narrative characters, as previously illustrated, can be appropriately theorized. As I am envisioning it, there are at least two tightly interrelated aspects that qualify co-elaborative creative vernacular as a narratively scaffolded sense making. Insofar as the *first* aspect is concerned, digital storytelling situations articulating (reflective) character engagement follow peoples' commonsensical "descriptors of experience" (Turvey 2003, 433; cf. Turvey 2006, 118). These are expressed through the everyday, ordinary language which, in addition, is impelled by commonsensically oriented conceptual *thinking*. In fact, it could be argued that it is here where my original conceptualization of **realitization** becomes relevant. For the foregrounding of the vernacular, that is, the specifically oriented usages of language, enables us to tease out more accurately what is at stake when we speak of the (perceived) "tangibility" and "proximity" of the characters, going even as far as conceiving of them as "secret friends" (see e.g. Plantinga 2011; Giles 2010; Fernyhough in Lea 2017). This is, indeed, what my notion of realitization is meant to imply in crude terms—the discursive "making real"; or, to coin a term, the "realmaking" for the sake of communal discussion.

Therefore, were we to challenge the point of departure (*contra* Smith 1995, 2011; Carroll 1990) that both the feature film as well as a television serial evokes experiences that are not "actually real", but mere reactions to the "images and ideas" we bear in our mind; that is, if the viewer is always already reacting to the representations of the second order (see also, Sorokin n.d.), any kind of criticism should be formulated in social-materialistically inclined terms. To wit, would it not be quite absurd to think that in *actual, objectively existing conditions* (i.e., in a digital communication environment) the (reflective) conveyance of narrative experience would occur the following way: "the *thought* of having been saddened by the passing of a great character saddened me" (Sorokin 2018a, 110). Recast in such terms, we can only agree with film theorist Malcolm Turvey's argument that "it is almost as if the prototypical spectator of these theories is blind to the film itself" (Turvey 2003, 433).

Consequently, the argumentative foundation of my approach dwells on the presumption that the *presence* of the narrative persons is narratively communicated and perceived *directly*. In the specific sense of calling into question the conventional wisdom of challenging or disputing the "veracity" of "fictional beings" which would, in turn, necessitate some kind of oblique internalized (thought)space. To put the same point differently, formulas such as "reality," "fiction" and "fact" *just do not* possess any sort of

substantial weight, for the *everyday people* do not shift into indeterminate, abstract reality projections in their thinking and discussions when the existing reality *is already* a more convenient and intuitive "matter" from which (to what degree, however) the sense-making activity is *derived*.

And indeed, were we to revisit the notion of "presence" in light of the aforementioned, Turvey's suggestion of *presencing* appears relevant. Hence, drawing on the Wittgenstein's discussion on the "duck rabbit" image (i.e., sometimes you see the duck, sometimes the rabbit, but never simultaneously *both*), Turvey ponders that

> It [the "seeing as" rabbit/duck] is not the product of our mental agency, imagination, or the mental activity of interpretation. Rather, the aspect [i.e., seeing-as rabbit] is something that seems to *presence* itself or *emerge* within the figure in question *independently of beholder*, and it is for that reason that we describe this visual experience as if the figure itself had changed physically, thereby *attributing agency to it*. (ibid. 452; emphases added)

Hence, to put it bluntly: in order to make sense of something *depictured*, it first has to be *discoverable* (*viz.* recognizable) (Casebier 1991).

Now, the *second* aspect characterizing the co-elaborative creative vernacular is, as implied above, the utilization of language which, through being prosaically coordinated, may be potentially inclined toward "insider shorthands" which the researcher—as an outsider—might not adequately comprehend and hence hazards to dismiss as negligible. Why? For a particular kind of historic-narrative threshold of knowledge can be found wanting when on the outside looking in, as it were. In fact, on the analytical level, even some sparing conversational phrase within the online communication can be made sense of as an in-the-process-of-developing folk-narrative, comprising not only of in depth contextual flows of thought (in relation to the narrative experience of, say, *Breaking Bad*), but precisely of the kind of remarkable developments with regard to the communal narrative continuance projected as a multi-level processual *becoming*. For no singular communal text as a narrcept (as a blog commentary or forum post) exists in a vacuum. Although in a general sense, the latter observation might not be entirely novel, and particularly so in the context of folkloristic research, I would argue that it deserves to be accentuated for it might help to unpack why the voluminous online material with regard to popular televisual narratives has, at best, only generated superficial and generalizing interest among media scholars; as opposed to attempting to develop appropriate terminological protocols necessary for the context sensitive close analysis as illustrated in section 1.

Building on the discussion so far, were we to link the general idea of experiential (commonsensical ordinary language) descriptors with

empirical material presently employed as an illustrative analytical resource, we could augment the previous discussion by conceding with the philosopher of film Carl Plantinga that "for most spectators ... *interaction* with characters 'as persons' is one of [the] chief sources of pleasure in narrative fiction" (Plantinga 2011, 40; emphasis added). Similarly, media psychologist Christoph Klimmt and colleagues have observed that "[t]he majority of entertainment media is about *people*" (Klimmt et al. 2006, 291; emphasis added). Hence, it appears as if the commonsensical approach so far entertained and circumscribed as a *directed* interest toward persons *as persons*—depicted (depictured) in narrative media, amounting to the so-called "human interest" approach to character engagement—is a far cry from a merely abstract top-bottom theoretical navel-gazing.

Consequently, it becomes possible to contend that within the (discursive-conversational) *articulative process* highlighting the ways and means of *how* viewers-commentators make sense of narrative persons, the "sediments" of the real, everyday life (curious little children, skilful pick-pockets, peoples' smoking habits, etc.) can be detected. To put it bluntly, the very assumption of the existence of such sediments permits the understanding of the "fictional" experientiality expressed specifically through the "everyday" and the "common sense". In other words, the appropriate theory ought to engage with the formulas of *externalist*[10] social cognition as utilized in ordinary life. More to the point, these formulas can, in the majority of cases, be conditioned through a certain "materiality of language"—that is, through the "language of real life" (*Sprache des wirklichen Lebens*[11]) emerging "during cooperative collective goal-oriented activities" (D'Alonzo 2018, 7; cf. Thao 2009; Sorokin 2018c). It can be further asserted that such orientation primarily helps reassure simplicity of comprehension.

Following this, it can be contended that "fictional" engagements are to a significant extent underpinned by similar social pragmatics of the communicative use-value of language (Jucker and Locher 2017, 1–2, see also 5–7). Taken to its logical conclusion, the previous suggestions lead us to maintain that narrative character engagement could be recast in terms of the "materialism" (or "materializing") of fiction/s. In short, the latter concepts would build on a certain type of vernacular that affirms the objective reality and establishes a "slippery[-]nature[d]" (ibid., 3) boundary between the latter's normative existence and "fiction". Consequently, in

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[10] It could be argued, for instance, that the social constructionist approach to social cognition threatens to fall into the same ontological closed loops as the internalist philosophy of mind.

[11] Originally used by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in their *German Ideology* (Marx and Engels 1998, 42).

agreement with the ideas of the Soviet/Russian linguist Valentin Voloshinov, the central assumptions entertained in the present section could be summarized as follows: "[c]ognition with respect to books and to other people's words and cognition inside one's head belong to the same sphere of reality" (Voloshinov 1973, 34).

4. How the explain an affirmative character ontology to a paradoxical rabbit, or: alternative theorizing vs persistent idealist truisms

> *The hypothesis I mean, is,* [t]*hat nothing is perceived but what is in the mind which perceives it:* [t]*hat we do not really perceive things that are external, but only certain images and pictures of them imprinted upon the mind, which are called* impressions and ideas.
>
> *If this be true; supposing certain impressions and ideas to exist in my mind, I cannot, from their existence, infer the existence of any thing else: my impressions and ideas are the only existences of which I can have any knowledge or conception; and they are such fleeting and transitory beings, that they can have no existence at all, any longer than I am conscious of them. So that, upon this hypothesis, the whole universe around me, bodies and spirits, sun, moon, stars, and earth, friends and relations, all things without exception, which I imagined to have a permanent existence, whether I thought of them or not, vanish at once* […] *I THOUGHT it* [such hypothesis] *unreasonable*[.]"
>
> Thomas Reid, *An Inquiry into the Human Mind, on the Principles of Common Sense* (1819), xiii ix; emphasis and capitalization in original

Up to this point, the present discussion has revealed a contradiction in the manner in which contemporary scientific approaches focus on the experientiality of both the "fictional" as well as the real people. What I have in mind in particular are the conceptions of simulation, transportation, immersion, and the mental representation of the other taken more broadly (Ryan 2001; Goldman 2006; Shanton and Goldman 2010; Gerrig 1993; Walton 1990). While the practical, bottom-up or vernacular sense-making of narrative experience quite naturally falls within the treatment of the social, joint experience, these scientific, top-bottom approaches become stuck in theoretical abstraction that appear to mystify the reciprocal experience, for they assume by default its locus being within the boundaries of the imagination of a *singular, specific* experiencer; in the "state of truth" of an individualist ego (Meskin and Weinberg 2003).

As it happens, such internalist approaches effectively dissociate the act (the experiencing) from the context (that which/whom is experienced; that at which one's experiencing is *directed* regardless of presentational

medium). Moreover, these kinds of approaches hazard to undervalue language and words as the elementary constituents of social life (taken necessarily in non-essentialist terms). Indeed, under the internalist treatment, the language faces the threat of becoming "etherealized", to use Henry McDonald's striking phrase, "conjur[ing] a picture of fictional reading practices such that when one picks up a novel, one performs a phenomenological reduction or *epoché*, in which the 'real world' is bracketed to enable one to plunge into an other, fictional world" (McDonald 2001, 40–41; emphasis in original). Yet, is it *always* like that, or more accurately perhaps: should it, from an analytical-theoretical standpoint, always have to be conceived in such a fashion?

Whilst pointing out parallels between real life socializing and relationships with fictional characters, cultural anthropologist John L. Caughey concedes that "[t]o an important extent the flickering images are apprehended as *people*" (Caughey 1984, 36, 40; emphasis in original). Now, were we to ask in what way would it be appropriate to further substantiate the discussion so far, one could answer by asserting that the material, that is, real life social relations and interaction as such find—once "carried over" into the interaction with characters; or rather, perhaps, the interaction with characters "carried over" into the real life social relations (see also Sorokin 2018a, 59–67)—its epitome in the notion of the parasocial; in the centre of which is the narratively developed perception of social bonds, "made real".

The conception of "parasocial interaction" stems from the 1950s, developed by the American psychiatrists Donald Horton and R. Richard Wohl. Horton and Wohl examined how television viewers "interacted" with "screen personas", such as news anchors, game show hosts, etc. In the contemporary media psychology as well as in other fields, however, Horton and Wohl's trailblazing treatment has long since expanded to include all kinds of "media figures" (Horton and Wohl 2006; see also Giles 2002, 2010; Wulff 1992, 2006). Accordingly, such parasocial interactionist approach proposes, to some extent, also a convincing contribution which enables the further qualification of the expressive-narrative aspiration of the viewers-commentators to make sense of the so-called screen people as if tangible others; as persons who might well be similar to the experiencer but nevertheless clearly defined as sovereign beings existing independently with their own world (Alderson-Day et al. 2017; Plantinga 2011; Goldie 2004; Vaage 2014; Blanchet and Vaage 2012).

At this point, then, narrative as the creative common sense "tool" of the language becomes crucial. For it stems from—notwithstanding whether we speak of making sense of a narrative experience—an immeasurably context-

sensitive socio-historio-practical dimension (Herman 2013; Hutto 2007, 2008; Vygotsky 1978, 1986; Voloshinov 1973).

Now, building off of the previous discussion, I would argue that the tacit "motor" or the fundamental principle of the co-elaborative creative vernacular is the social-materialistically inclined sense-making practice as such (the "realmaking"). Realmaking, as it were, becomes a kind of narrative praxis warranted by the decisive fact that—given, say, a communal discourse— the narrative other, similarly to the real life "peoples' stories" (Goldie 2004), is approached from the third person stance. This strategy attempts to reconcile the information about what is known and what is assumed about some narrative person with that person's (but also about experiencer's own) wider (life) context and history. In other words, instead of thinking "what would I do were I them" (simulation); or, "what would I do, were I living in their world" (transportation, immersion); one tries to make (real) and give sense to the narrative person, too, *historically*—simply the gradually accumulated narrative knowledge *about* this particular person is a stand-in for "history" in such case.

Accordingly, from here a multiplicity of specifying questions follow. How could *this person* act and behave; can their actions as conjectured altogether be conciliated with what the script writers and creators of the given narrative world have or might have suggested.[12]

In order to better assess and comprehend the whole of this complex dynamic explicated thus far, my Doctoral Dissertation proposed a multifaceted experimental vocabulary and theoretical apparatus. Whilst also bearing in mind the previous discussion, my dissertation's most general assertion could be distilled into the following elaboration:

Viewers-commentators' critical faculty—i.e., the acknowledgement that they indeed know that they are observing a "fiction" and are not engaging with real events in real time—does not at all become suspended. In experiencing the fiction, in general, and in engaging with characters, in particular, the reality is not put on "pause" (the "willing suspension of disbelief" assumption); but on the contrary, the individual and socially distributed experiential reality (i.e., the external reality, existing independently of an individual experiencer) of the viewers-commentators starts to enact a crucial part in this common undertaking of creative "realmaking".

I should necessarily note here, however, that I do not intend to wholly exclude the applicability—if sporadic and certainly not universal—of simulation and other similar comprehension practices. That being said, I do

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[12] Cf. Hafstein's (2014) "anti-authorial" and Howard's (2008) "alternative authority", that is: co-elaboratively increasing communal *competence*.

believe my empirical analysis throws legitimate doubts on the heuristic value of such strategies in *communal* discourse, present in the case of online communication.[13] In a similar manner, it is seemingly the very foundation of socially cohesive discourse to approach the people discussed as if commonsensically social existences, who, notwithstanding the presentational medium or objective reality, are conditioned by their surrounding relationships. Ecological film theorist Joseph Anderson's explanation might be useful here:

> The perceptual and cognitive activity involved in film viewing is the same activity we human beings engage in when interacting with the world at large. As such, that activity must be viewed from the perspective of our ecological relationship with that world, our active search for meaningful patterns in an overdetermined environment, and our simultaneous perception of possibilities for action (i.e., affordances) in that world [...] We must perceive meanings *in relation to someone*, to a character in the movie who inhabits the fictional world of the movie, who is subject to its constraints and affordances. (Anderson 1996, 136 137; emphasis added)

In other words, the narrative person *inhabiting* their own world exists in it as a sovereign agent. The narrative person is *with* this world (as opposed to conceptualizing the character as being one non-intentional "screw" *in* a given "geometrical" machinery of The Narrative; cf. Gibson 1996). To put the same point differently, I would argue that with regard to *Breaking Bad*'s narrative persons—as was illustrated in section 1—the viewers-commentators are actively *perceiving* **at** them, which is crucially also why they converse about these narrative persons *as* others, the lives of **whom** they are gradually absorbed *by*, as opposed to being absorbed *in* their lives (on this, see also Sorokin 2016a, b; Sorokin n.d.).

Taken strictly on the level of online (and the neighbouring spheres of communal) discourse, the conventional differentiation between "fictional" and "real" (person) appears to possess negligible significance. Yet, we are seemingly faced with the paradox of everyday imaginaries. For, as a general rule, the theorization of character engagement appears to be engulfed into the experiencer-based—or perhaps rather, (individual) *mind-dependent*—formula. Accordingly, we have got the treatments about being transported into the fictional world, of simulating the "fictional other" on oneself, and so on. Conversely, the theoretical vocabulary and the ways of (re-)thinking

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[13] It is indicative to note here that appropriateness of the proposed theoretical framework could also be tested with, say, real life book clubs. I am very grateful to the opponent of my Doctoral Dissertation, Prof. Dr Marco Caracciolo, for drawing my attention to such an option.

that I have presently proposed seek to outline a valid compromise to such ostensible contradictions. In doing so, my approach to character engagement throws doubt on the near-universally accepted applicability of the ego-centric narrative experientiality, especially insofar as the prolonged communal discursive practice is concerned.

Conclusion

I will conclude by summarizing what I am explicitly having in mind when speaking about *realitization*. My original notion was inspired by the English neologism "realitization" which the Merriam-Webster dictionary defines as "bringing someone to the state of reality".[14] In other words, prolonged serialized "encounterings" with narrative persons, predicated, in turn, on the constant enrichment of knowledge the viewers accumulate about them (i.e., their narrative-historical "life-history"); and finally, the consistent communal discussion space afforded by the Internet—all of these aspects, taken in unison, create an unique soil for the "mere" characters to be developed into narrative *persons*, due to them being *perceived* first and foremost as sovereign "reasoning agents". How does such "perceiving" manifest itself? In broad strokes, my proposed conception of realitization can be abridged as follows:

> (i)   the language use of the viewers-commentators is *narratively* 'tooled';
>
> (ii)   accordingly, narrative comes to "shape" the creative impulses of language, scaffolding a popular (bottom-up) initial phase of recognition whereby narrative persons are *acknowledged* as commonsensically real and sovereign *with* (as opposed to "in") their world (*viz.* ontologically affirmed);
>
> (iii)   herewith, the conventional conception of "the real" as antithetical to "the fiction" is effectively avoided, however, with "the real" reconceptualised as a *continuing* interest toward other people, regardless of the medium of presentation and nominally non-existent people thereof.

As follows, in keeping with as well as summarizing the central arguments of the present article, the treatment of the creative vernacular, in general, and the implicitly practiced act of the realitization, in particular,

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[14] http://nws.merriam-webster.com/opendictionary/newword_display_alpha.php? letter=Re&last=20 (accessed: 27.05.2018).

can respectively be summarized by the following "operational elements" in the sense-making of (or "realmaking" by) viewers-commentators (Sorokin 2018a, 34–35):

1. viewers-commentators scrutinize the "intentional fields" of the narrative persons (NPs) (*intentionale Feld*) (Wulff 2006)—*viz.* their "life histories" and relational surroundings—driven by intention of getting their stories "just right" by, therefore, invariably "sieving" the dominant authorial storytelling for any potential transgressions,

1b. hence aspiring to spot and "fix" ostensible inconsistencies and perceived disruptions, attempting to maximize context-sensitive "explanatory coherence" (Thagard 2000) by attending to, construing, complementing, and modifying "thick descriptions" (Geertz 1973) of NPs' larger narratives, as it were;

2. instead of perceiving themselves "in the shoes" of the narrative person, or, as "transported into their "world"—approaches which effectively undermine the (perceived) sovereignty of the narrative persons and thus conflict with (1) to boot—participants may, at particular instances of sense-making *entwine* the respective contexts of their own and narrative person's lives. I have indicated such phenomenon with an original notion of *twistory*—the storying entwinement of the real and the perceived life experiences (however, for more, see Sorokin 2018a, 72–76);

2b. and last but not least, viewers-commentators stay contingent on the discussion realm (*viz.* interconnected space across a number of blogs and forums) and it can be suggested that narrative persons obtain agency to "operate" alongside, and central to it, without, crucially, becoming "dissolved" *with* the onlooking viewers-commentators, and *vice versa*.

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