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Introduction

The relation between language and emotions may seem obvious – we use language to communicate and express emotions as well as reflect on the emotionally invested speech of other people. In this chapter, we explore the subtleties of the relationship between language, music and emotion in terms of expression and performativity by analysing a widely known genre of oral poetry: ritual wailing poetry. Specifically, we focus on Karelian¹ laments. As folklore scholars, we approach oral poetry as sung performances during which the singer creates her poem on the spot, improvising on the basis of traditional conventions of one particular genre (Lord 1960; Bauman 1984; Foley 1995). In this chapter, we examine multimodal affect displays: the verbal, musical and thematic expressions and emblems of emotion. In addition, we present an overview of how the emotional state of lamenter changes and develops during the performance.

Lamenting is a widely known ritual practice. The ways of lamenting, as well as its nuances and functions, vary from culture to culture (Honko 1974, 11–4; Urban 1988, 382–400; Feld 1990, 241–66; Briggs 1992, 337–61; Feld and Fox 1994, 39–40; Misharina 2011, 155–72; Olson and Adonyeva 2012, 36–42). In Karelia, laments were performed also in other than, ritual context; lamenters applied this ritual-based tradition to express their intimate sorrows and worries (Honko 1974, 42; 1978, 81). The tradition had already been on wane in Karelia when laments were recorded on audio tape a few decades after the mid-20th century. Nowadays some professional folk musicians and an association for contemporary lamenters in Finland are attempting to revitalise the lament tradition (Tenhunen 2006, 287–310; Wilce 2009a, 209–14; Fenigsen and Wilce 2012; see also Wilce and Fenigsen 2015, 187, 198–203).² In terms of our chapter, we concentrate on traditional Karelian laments and the archived material recorded in Karelia.

Definitions of emotion differ not only culturally but also within disciplines. The main terms used for conceptualising the phenomenon are affect, emotion, and feeling, which are imbricated and employed in complex or even contrary ways in different fields of study (see, e.g., Wilce 2009b, 28–32, 35–8; Wetherell 2012, 2–24; Scheve 2017, 40–1). Within social sciences and cultural studies the discussion about affects and emotions have rather vast background (see, e.g., Rosenwein 2002, esp. 834–7), which has at least in some extent lead to terminological and conceptual diversity. Some researchers distinguish affect and emotion linking affects to biology seeing them pre-semiotic bodily intensities and emotions conscious classifications of these sensations (Massumi 1995, 88–9, 96; Newell 2018, 2, 7). These kinds of approaches have been criticised about the dualistic approach (Wilce 2009b, 30–2; Wetherell 2012, 3, 10–1, 17–20; Newell 2018, 2, 13, 20; White 2018, 18–9). However, even when using two concept – affect and emotion – the phenomenon can be treated as a whole, without

contrasting different approaches as opposites. For instance, Sasha Newell notes that even though affects are bodily intensities they are social and communicative, thus affects and emotions are interwoven (2018, 2, 13, 20).

By contrast, some researchers prefer approach with single inclusive concept that covers these differing aspects but the emphases and definitions vary between researchers and with the chosen concept. The shared domain seems to be the understanding of emotions as an embodied as well as social experience (e.g., Wilce 2009a, 2009b, Wetherell 2012, esp. 2–22; also Newell 2018, esp. 2, 17). Margaret Wetherell finds *affective practice* as “the most promising” concept that “flow from psychobiology through to social analysis” (2012, 4). In her thinking, affect is meaning-making and *affective practice* puts together bodies and meaning-making (2012, 4, 19–20). James M. Wilce approaches the topic as a whole with concept of emotion (2009a, 2009b) stating that, “emotions are to a significant extent products of socialization” (Wilce 2009a, 43) and to avoid dualisms, approaches to affect or emotion should ground in social practices (Wilce 2009b, 31). Also, Newell emphasises the sociality, even though he distinguish affects and emotion (2018, 2, 13). He approaches them somewhat bridging the gap connecting affect – pre-semiotic bodily intensity – and semiotics to see them “both as the intertwined core of sociality itself” (Newell 2018, 2). In these inclusive, broad conceptions, the two-fold nature is present but the different aspects are not separable but interwoven (e.g., Wilce 2009b, 30, 32–5). In practice, the phenomenon has been seen as a complex entity, and thus it is sensible to use one term broadly. Expression and experience “interact and influence each other” as Wilce puts it (2009a, 43).

In terms of our topic, we use the concept of emotion following the broad approaches (Wilce 2009a, 2009b; Wetherell 2012). As a concept affect seem to carry rather emphasised connotation of purely biological and not sociocultural aspects. Emotion is somehow embodied experience of an affecting stimulus, which can be either physical or sociocultural. In Karelian laments, embodiments of emotions appear as intentionally produced emblems as well as automatic bodily reactions that bases on various nervous response systems. We seek to determine those linguistic, musical and cultural aspects, which are effective in the process of expressing and conveying emotions as meaningful emotional experiences, and we discuss the emotion phenomena on both sociocultural and neurobiological levels.

We approach the relation of a lament performance and emotion from two perspectives: we consider emotions as states of experience that exist before a lament performance and as emergent from the performance. In other words, we discuss performance (and expression) of emotions as well as the performance becoming a performative of lamenter’s emotions (see also Hymes 1975, 11–19; Wilce 2009a, 47–9; Fenigsen and Wilce 2012, 105–6, 108–9). Tradition – in this case Karelian laments – gets its meaning within performance (Hymes 1975; Foley 1995). In the performance the knowledge of what and how (Hymes 1975, 18, 69), the traditional referentiality (Foley 1991, 6–8, 58–60) and the certain context creates the special meaning, makes the tradition alive, communicative and social (Hymes 1975, 11–9, 69–72; Bauman 1984, 37–45; Foley 1995, 1–28, 208–9). Dell Hymes approaches this emergence within performance with concept of *breakthrough into performance*, which are performative elements or techniques, for example code-switch, that somehow enable the emergence, makes the difference (1975, esp. 20, 24, 69). John Miles Foley discusses the emergence and efficacy

with term *word-power* that “derives from the enabling event of performance and the enabling referent of tradition” (1995, esp. 27–8, 108). Thus, the performance differs from other expression and the performativity lies somewhere in the interdependence of tradition and performance, what and how. William Reddy has established a concept of *emotive*, which he draws from John L. Austin’s speech-act theory (1962) and presents that, in addition to “descriptive appearance” and “relational intent”, speaker’s statements about his/her emotions have a self-exploring or self-altering effect (Reddy 2000, 113–9). In this chapter, this kind of “self-altering effect” originates from not only the emotional utterance, but also the musical aspect as well as the multimodal affect displays – that is, the lament performance as a whole. With the multimodal affect displays, the neurobiological and psychological approaches can be seen linked to the performativity on emotions. The neural-physiological feedback system that is activated either by intentionally provoking or as automatic responses to stimuli influences the expression and emotional state of lamenter (Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 221–2; Nummenmaa et al. 2014, 646–50).

In our chapter, we, first, give a description of the spectrum of emotions that Karelian laments convey. Next, we analyse the expression of emotion, both pre-existing and emerging in performance, its embodiment and appearance. Then, we discuss variation in the intensity of emotion during the performance of lament. We conclude with a discussion of how emotion is displayed, audible and interpretable in the performance, on one hand, and, on the other hand, how these multimodal expressive features of a lament influences the emotionality of the performance. In the performance, the linguistic, thematic, and musical features as well as embodied emblems of emotions not only express but also create, uphold and deepen the emotional experience. Before discussing these aspects of emotion in Karelian laments, however, we provide a brief overview of the Karelian lament tradition and its special characteristics.

Karelian laments

As a genre of oral poetry, Karelian laments can be defined as improvised sung solo performances, enacted by women within a ritual context during rites of passage, for example, funerals, weddings and ceremonies for men conscripted to military service or war, or other non-ritual occasions of grieving (Honko 1974, 42, 57; Konkka 1985, 9–12). Ethnomusicologist Jarkko Niemi describes the mode of Finnic lamenting expression as tonal-textual improvisation (Niemi 2002, 708), which unites the central features of the laments’ composition—text, music and composition—within the performance. Lamenters improvise their laments anew in each concrete situation, following traditional conventions of this particular genre, for example, by using formulaic utterances. These conventions vary on both the local and individual level, although the basic principles of the genre are the same for every performer (see further Stepanova E. 2015, 262).

The common features of Karelian lament poetry include specific verbal and non-verbal aspects. First, a set lexicon with an abundance of circumlocutions to avoid naming any person, object or actions and the phenomenon is connected to naming taboos (Honko 1974, esp. 56–7). Second, one finds certain grammatical features – including diminutive forms, plural forms used even to refer to a single person, object or action, and frequentative verbs (Honko 1974, 30–5; Stepanova E. 2015, 263; Wilce and Fenigsen 2015, 196) – all of which index intimacy, endearment and honouring (see Wilce and Fenigsen 2015, esp. 190–2). Third, Karelian lamenters primarily use a descending melodic line. The

melody is mainly syllabic and the scale is constituted of four to seven tones, and the mode is *minorish*³; however, the music does not follow any exact mode (see Tolbert 1990, 87; Saastamoinen 1999, 336–7; Niemi 2002, 708–12). The tempo of laments is quite smooth and unhurried, tending to be slow rather than fast, although the tempo can vary between lamenters. Additionally, other non-verbal features of lament performances index grief and sorrow, for example, “icons of crying” such as sobbing and voiced inhalation, described by Greg Urban (1988, 389–91).

Furthermore, laments lack a regular metric pattern, and Karelian lamenters do not use refrains or other regular repetition. Parallelism occurs on several levels: repetition of speech sounds or alliteration, repetition of verbal and thematic content, and recurring melodic elements and musical structures (see Stepanova E. 2017; Silvonen forthcoming). The subthemes comprise verses – or, more precisely, poetic strings – that repeat the semantic meaning of the content with different metaphors. This type of textual parallelism binds singular phrases to phrase groups and produces the structure of the text. The interaction of textual and musical units is multimodal, and these both have their own trajectories (Silvonen forthcoming; see also Frog and Stepanova 2011, 204–9). By using all of these poetic – and musical – features, the lamenter expresses not only her own emotions but also those of the whole community, especially during rites of passage such as funeral, wedding and conscription to the army, which all involve tearing apart of the social fabric and separation from beloved ones. (Honko 1974, 44). Likewise, the audience may identify these expressed emotions and reflect on them vis-à-vis the various features of laments (see Bauman 1984, esp. 9–11 for the interpretational frame; Foley 1995, 47–9 for the performance arena).

The timbre of Karelian laments is often fragile and hollow (as opposed to solid and resonant). The sound is quite narrow and a bit exhausted, which may result from the advanced age of lamenters in recordings⁴ as well as from the physiological changes caused by the emotion. The sound of laments is not clearly singing, understood as coherent and consistent, harmoniously produced sound. The tradition has been widely followed, and researchers have noted that all women could lament; hence, the styles and ways of lamenting vary locally and individually. The musical styles comprise a continuum from rather speech-like dictation to a song-like style (see Silvonen forthcoming). The general stylistic features of lament sound, which recur in the personal styles of most lamenters, are a creaky and squeezed voice; even though their voice may be strong, the sound is often leaky and thin. Unstable pitches and fluid tonality are common. There are laments that come close to singing, however, and in these the sound is smooth and solid, and creaks and cracks are rare.

The following example (Figure 1) presents some of the features of a lament’s music, text and musical-textual structure. The excerpt is from a *tulendavirzi*, a ritual funeral lament in which the lamenter calls the kin of the deceased (here the children of her deceased sister); it was performed by Jeudokia Fedorovna Sofronova within a fieldwork interview on August 1968 (SKNA7592⁵):

A vai näm-mik-se tu- len- tu- ker- da-žin on nai-žen kan- da- ja-žen pi- ha-žil kai ki- vi-žet kria-pos- ti-žet kir- vot-tu rau- da-žet pis- to-žed i lan- get- tu.

Tu- let-to nai žen kan- da- ja-žen por- da- ha-žil sah ga mus-tad ua- loid-bar- that- ta-žed on oj- jen- del- tu por- da- ha-žiz on polk- ka-žet pa- kut- tu.

Tu- let-to ve- za-žed gu ve- rä-žis säh ga ve- rä-žiz on keä- gä-žet kir- vot-tu lua- du-žiz on mus-tad za- na- vies- ka-žed ik- ku- na- ži- le viäl- det- ty.

A tu- let- to kau- ne- hii lua- du- žii ga pa- ra- had i lah- ko- žed on lat'-t'ia-žis kat-ket- tu.

A vai nämmikse tulentukerdažin on naižen kandajažen pihäžil kai kivižet kriapostidžet kirvottu raudažet pistožed i langettu.

Tulletto naižen kandajažen pordahažil sah ga mustad ualoid barhattažed on ojjendeltu pordahažiz on polkkažet pakuttu.

Tulletto vezažed gu veräžis säh ga veräžiz on keägäžet kirvottu luadužiz on mustad zanavieskažed ikkunazi- le viäldetty.

A tulletto kaunehii luadužii ga parahad i lahkožed on lat't'iažis katkettu.

Just this time as you come in the yard of the woman carrier, the palace made of stones and the steel props are fallen.

You come to steps of the woman carrier's house, the black red velvet is spread, and there the railings have broken.

You offspring come to the gates, the door handle has dropped, the black curtains have been drawn.

And when you come to the beautiful rooms the best floorboards are broken.

Figure 1. Excerpt from a funeral lament (SKNA7592). Capitals and dots mark the poetic string, with other punctuation excludes from the original as they are not unambiguous on the audio; in the translation the punctuation makes the sense easier to understand. Each stave is a separate melodic line. Dots and commas below the stave mark emotion emblems, mainly tremor in voice. The pitches are approximate and standardised for notation.⁶

In this example, melodic lines (staves) and poetic strings (marked with capitals) correspond to one another, constituting musical-textual basic units. Structural parallelism and a lack of regular metre are apparent: the length of the basic unit fluctuates but the structure is repetitive, as the staves resemble each other. As for the text, this excerpt demonstrates the parallelism of semantic content; all poetic strings describe the changes in a familiar environment, which is one of the subthemes used to express death.

Conveying and expressing emotions⁷

Karelians have used the term *itkeä iänellä* ("to cry with voice/tone/sound") as an emic name for the lament genre, designating what scholars call a "lament" (*itkuvirsi*), to separate lament performances

from other kinds of “crying” (*itkeä*). In the performance, the textual and musical expressions are tied together, and laments are related to other Karelian song genres. Nevertheless, lamenters themselves never refer to lamenting as singing but as crying with the voice or words (*itkeä iänellä*) or “reciting” (*luetella*) (Konkka 1985, 10; see also Niemi 2002, 708).

Laments are expressions of emotions, mainly grief and sorrow. In addition to performances during rites of passage, lamenting can also give vent to performers’ personal sorrows in non-ritual contexts. The emotions conveyed can be roughly divided into two prototypical categories – positive and negative – following some general views of emotion theories (e.g., Gordon 1987, 27–32);⁸ however, the interpretation of the experienced emotions may vary in different circumstances and in different cultures (Lutz and White 1986, 427–8; Timonen 2004, 30). The spectrum of nuances of emotions is wide, and a single emotion – such as sadness – may include both positive and negative shades and, in that way, comprise ostensibly inconsistent “mixed emotions” (Gordon 1987, 31; Ben-Ze’ev 2010, 5–9). In laments, sorrow may appear as longing, wistfulness and ache. It may include a hint of positivity and index happy memories. Yet it may also have nuances of bitterness and disappointment. The positive emotions are connected to a reminiscing of the good and happy times when the departed one – the object or receiver of the lament – was still near. Mostly, however, these are expressed implicitly, not explicitly. The negative emotional nuances reflect the grief caused by the parting: how life and living became hard when the lamenter was left alone to carry the burdens of everyday life. In addition to these ritual expressions of sorrow and grief, the lamenter may also express gratitude. The overall emotional tone of lamenter constructs all of these nuances. The range of emotions expressed varies between different contexts and types of lamenting, but longing and aching grief are overpowering and always present (Stepanova E. 2014, 111–2; 162–76).

Laments express and convey emotions multimodally. In addition to linguistic and musical elements, emotions come across via bodily expressions, that is, indicative, non-verbal affect displays (see also Wilce 2009b, 51–4). The different ways of expressing emotions can be divided into expressions, which are either verbal descriptions (describing, telling and talking about emotions and emotional experiences) or intentionally produced embodiments (e.g., sounds of sobbing or creaky voice), and embodiments that originate on neural-physiological reactions to affective stimuli that influence the expression. These automatic reactions causes certain acoustic features, bodily actions and movements (Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 221–2). The first two do not necessarily include any indication of a real-felt affective state and they require more complex conscious cognitive processing than the embodiments with neural-physiological base, which are in a way more direct and “raw” (Johnstone and Scherer 2004) indexes of affective state, however, in practice, these all interact and interweave (Scherer 1994, 185–7; Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 222; Timonen 2004, 309; see also Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012, 435–6).

These “‘raw’ affect [emotion] vocalisations will be interpreted as more spontaneous and reliable signals, as well as more truly felt, than will conventionalized, ritualized ‘vocal emblems,’ produced in a socially stereotyped way” (Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 222). The laments’ multimodal embodiments, indexing sorrow and grief, represent these direct expressions of emotion. Yet in laments, these embodiments are not solely “raw”, but also intentionally produced and, in that way, culturally coded stereotypic emblems (explained in more detail in the following section “Performance

and increasing of emotional intensity”). In addition, lamenters verbally describe, comment on and narrate their emotions and sorrowful experiences. Thus, emotion talk and emotional expression combine in laments (Stepanova E. 2014, 163; see also Timonen 2004, 310). In a way, stereotyped vocal and embodied emotion emblems become alive in lament performances (Hymes 1975, 69–74; Foley 1995, 208–9).

A lament or other similar culturally and socially controlled performance is often expressed using formulaic elements and themes, which in some ritual contexts are strictly culturally determined (Abu-Lughod 1985, esp. 253; Wilce 2009b, 47). This kind of language is socio-culturally accepted way to reveal one’s vulnerability and express negative emotions (Abu-Lughod 1985, 253–4; Apo 1989, 176–7). Nonetheless, it is clear that the formulaic and idiomatic form of expression does not prevent the expressed emotions from being personal and individual (see, e.g., Honko 1978, 80–1; Nenola-Kallio 1982, 231–3; Hymes 1985, 391; Virtanen 1987, esp. 177, 179–82; Timonen 2004, 161). The emotions conveyed and expressed in laments are personal, yet at the same time that a lamenter expresses her individual sorrows, she passes on the sorrows and experiences of other lamenters – earlier generations – by means of a traditional formulaic expression (see also Honko 1978, 888–9; Apo 1989, 177). In general, the emotions of laments – as perhaps all emotions – index relationships, be they a sense of belonging to community, communal caring, or the warm intimacy between a mother (or both parents) and child (Nenola-Kallio 1982, 254; Stepanova E. 2015, 171).

Emotions arise in situations when something changes in a person’s psychological environment and the change is personally relevant: when something affects us emotionally and the object eliciting the emotion is somehow meaningful and significant to us (Ben-Ze’ev 2010, 3–4). Thus, emotions are personal and expressed from a subjective perspective (Ben-Ze’ev 2010, 5). Despite this personal aspect and the fact that in lament texts emotions are often described as being located inside of the lamenter (Stepanova E. 2014, 165), in some contexts the lamenter could perform on behalf of somebody else, acting as a vehicle for their emotional expression (e.g., Konkka 1985, 104–7). For example, often during a wedding, an older lamenter performs wedding laments on behalf of the bride, and during a funeral the lamenter could perform laments on behalf of the deceased. Furthermore, a distant female relative or acquaintance may have performed required laments at a funeral if females in the close family did not know the tradition well enough (for example a lament for a neighbour’s husband, SKNA7592). The lamenter herself most probably has had experiences of these situations, the reasoning goes – such as getting married and losing a close relative – and she could therefore empathise easily (see also Konkka 1985, 35). In these cases, the expressed emotions could be described as personal vis-à-vis both the subject (the ego, or “I”) of the lament and the actual performing lamenter.

In addition, laments reflect and convey emotions of the present community. Laments – and lamenters – transform individual and internal emotions into interactive and collective ones (Briggs 1992, 354).⁹ In the context of rites of passage, this social aspect is a central function of the Karelian lament tradition (Honko 1974, 42). In funeral as well as in wedding and recruiting laments, the community often had some kind of re-organisation as the social relations changed. Thus, the purpose of laments as collective ritual grieving and crying was to act as a remedy for individuals, as well as to maintain or re-establish social order in the community (Honko 1974, 42–4; Nenola-Kallio 1982, 262; Konkka

1985, 36). Besides all these social and ritual functions, laments are expression of lamentsers' personal, intimate emotional experiences and have that way therapeutic functions (Honko 1974, 44; Timonen 2004, 351–3). In Karelia, lamentsers vent their worries and sorrows with autobiographic laments, and autobiographic themes may be included also in ritual context-bound laments (see Honko 1978, Stepanova E. 2014, 112; 2015, 264; Silvonen forthcoming).

Multimodal expression and embodiment of emotions¹⁰

Several features of laments index emotions, and the lamenter has various multimodal techniques and ways of voicing emotions to create a sorrowful atmosphere and express emotionality. In order to facilitate comprehension of the expressed emotions as a whole, these techniques and ways are here handled on two different functional levels. The first aspect is the elements and features that induce emotions, and, the second is the elements that express, index and embody emotions. These two levels intertwine in several ways. The different ways of voicing emotions can be classified as linguistic, thematic (i.e., concerning the content) and musical. In addition to melody, rhythm, tempo and especially sound-based modes of expression are here counted as musical even though they all could more or less be conceived as prosodic features of language. Furthermore, phrase construction and parallelism are here understood as musical-textual structural manners, because these are inseparable and act closely together. Similarly, as the functional levels overlap, the ways of voicing are intersectional, and one technique may function as provoking, expressive and embodying at the same time.

In laments, the embodiment of emotions appears as intentionally produced, imitative embodiments as well as automatic, neurobiology based bodily reactions that index emotional state. Klaus Scherer abstracts three processes acting at the same time in emotional expression; these are physiological processes (e.g., respiration, muscular tone), communicational function, and representational symbolic signalling (Scherer 1994, 164; Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 221). The communicative function, symbolic signalling and interpretations they produce are cultural.¹¹ Lament performance is recognisable, the audible image is rather unique as well as the text and the posture, and the identification of the genre of a performance communicates the emotional content. The physiological processes and the responses in the nervous systems influence voice and sound production, causing vibrato and other changes in timbre as well as affecting respiration and articulation (Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 221–2).

This neural-physiological feedback system – bodily reactions, acoustic characteristics, and actions such as facial expressions and tears – is linked to the recognition and interpretation of emotions (see, e.g., Levenson 2003, 350–3; Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 222; Nummenmaa et al. 2014, 646–50; see also Hatfield et al. 1992, 161–4). These kinds of physiological reactions are compared to “fingerprints” (Nummenmaa 2016, 272), as reactions relate to certain emotions (Nummenmaa et al. 2014, 646–50). For example, the icons of crying (Urban 1988) in laments – sobbing, creaky voice and voiced inhalation – as well as crying itself are these kinds of “fingerprints” related to sadness. The recognition of emotions via these embodiments is both individual and social; similarly, as one recognises his/her own bodily reactions and connects them with certain emotional states, the emotion emblems communicate with other people (Hatfield et al. 1992, 153–64; Niedenthal 2007, 1004;

Scheve and Ismer 2013, esp. 407, 410–1). Thus, these “fingerprints” enable emotional contagion, the collective aspect of emotions.

Greg Urban (1988, 386) defines three commonalities behind the functions of ritual wailing in different cultures. These commonalities – means of expressing emotion – are marked melodic line, icons of crying, and the absence of an actual addressee (Urban 1988, 386; see also Tolbert 1990, 86; Feld 1990, 252–4; Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 227–9). The first two of these commonalities exist mostly on the basis of music and sound, but the absence of an actual addressee appears also on verbal level. However, all these levels intertwine, and the performance is always a composition of all of them. On the musical level of expressing emotion, Urban sketches line length, intonation contour and voice, whereas he divides icons of crying into cry breaks, voiced inhalation, a creaky voice and falsetto vowels (Urban 1988, 386–91). All of these musical features exist in Karelian laments but none of them are necessary for every performance.

Words and emotions

The lamenter does not tell about her emotions directly, but emotionality emerges, for example, through metaphoric language. The words of Karelian lament poetry, such as circumlocutions or substitute names, form a large avoidance lexicon of nouns to substitute for all the central terms and concepts referring to family relations (mother, child, etc.), the lamenter herself, certain objects (e.g., house, dowry, boat), and food and drink, as well as the “otherworld” or realm of dead members of the family, ancestors and supernatural powers, and verbs describing birth and death (see further Stepanova A. 2012, esp. 12–3; Stepanova E. 2014, 69–90). This avoidance lexicon bases on the naming taboos, especially around the deceased (Honko 1974, 56–7; Stepanova A. 2012, 12), and it is considered a highly honorific linguistic register (see further Wilce and Fenigsen 2015, 190–2).¹² A central function of the special linguistic register of performance was to ensure communication with the otherworld (Honko 1974, 56–7; Stepanova E. 2015, 270–1). Additionally, the register conveys a respectful and positive stance towards the otherworld and its inhabitants (Stepanova E. 2014, 191; Wilce and Fenigsen 2015, 191–2). A good example of the usage of this honorific register of avoidance is the first part of the funeral lament performed by Anna Kibrojeva to her deceased female relative, in which the lamenter is trying to “wake up” the deceased and talk with her (F.1017/4a, recorded within a fieldwork interview in Karelia in 1968).¹³ In the following excerpt, we marked plural and diminutive forms (.PL and .DIM) and translated the meanings of circumlocutions (in brackets):

Blahoslovikkua kallehedi syndyizet kadalaizel naizel iččeni da ihostettuu kuonuttelemah.

Blahoslovikkua parahadi syndyizet parastu da iččeni da ihostu pagizuttamah.

Nygöi näi gu olet sinä vakki da viero viilemättömih sobazih šuoriteldu.

Onnuakko oled valgehiih syndyzihi varusteltu?

Vastajeldihko valgijat syndyizet valgehien vahoituohustuluzien kera?

Dear.PL *syndyzet*¹⁴ [‘divine powers’], bless the miserable woman [me] to wake up the one who is like me [deceased female person].

Best.PL *syndyzet* [‘divine powers’], bless [me] to start talking to the best one whose face is like mine [deceased female person].

Now you see, as you are dressed in a special.PL and uncut.PL dress.DIM.PL [deathdress]

Are you already equipped for the white.PL *syndyzet* [‘otherworld’]?

Did the white.PL *syndyzet* ['inhabitants of the otherworld'] come to meet [you] with a white-wax-candle.PL.DIM?

The naming system of laments that avoids direct naming also relies upon a depiction of the relationship of the lamenter and the addressee, and it conveys stances as well (see Nenola-Kallio 1982, 52). The circumlocutions for beloved relatives are warm and they express cherishing, whereas strangers – other people than kin – get mostly neutral or even negative epithets. In the texts of laments, juxtaposition of the familiar and strange shows the importance of belonging to a community, and is also connected to the emotional impact of laments; the tension between positive (familiar) and negative (strange) stances raises emotions (Nenola-Kallio 1982, 52; Tarkka 2005, 313–5; Stepanova E. 2014, esp. 88–9). In most laments, the childhood home and family represent a safe, familiar environment, while all other environments are strange, and the connection between mother and children is the most central. The circumlocutions for children are often derived from the same core words as for the mother, which indicates the close relation and affection between them (Stepanova A. 2012, 28–39; Stepanova E. 2014, esp. 74–7). For example, one of the core words for circumlocation for a mother is *kantajaiseni* ['carrier.DIM.POSS'], while for the child it is *kannettuiseni* or *kantamaiseni* ['carried one.DIM.POSS'] (see further Stepanova A. 2012, 28–36). Alternatively, if the substitute name for child does not use the same core word as for mother, their relationship is expressed otherwise by means of a possessive suffix, and the core word implicates and refers to raising the child or caretaking, such as *kylvettämäiseni* ['bathed one.DIM.POSS'] or *verzomaizeni* ['sprouted one.DIM.POSS'] (Stepanova A. 2012, 28–39). These linguistic features index a warm, intimate relationship, conveying positive emotions, but at the same time that they raise positive memories of departed dear ones, they also increase the longing and sadness caused by separation.

In contrast to these good memories and positive emotions, negative ones are aroused due to strangeness and separation from what is familiar and safe. In general, other people than kin are addressed with colloquial words and the epithets are mostly positive (Stepanova A. 2012, 63), conveying a respectful stance. In wedding laments, however, the groom and his retinue appear negative and strange even. The circumlocutions for groom are similar to kin, and some core words are similar to those used for children, but the epithets differ; rather than being affectionate and warm, they are neutral or negative (Stepanova A. 2012, esp. 42–4; Stepanova E. 2014, esp. 74–7, 88–9). Furthermore, the lack of diminutives and possessive suffixes (Stepanova A. 2012, esp. 42) creates distance. All of these linguistic features can be seen as alienating the groom and, in this way, diminishing affection. Generally, these forms create a juxtaposition of “us and them”, which constructs tensions and increases the emotional impact.

As personal pronouns have been a taboo in lament language,¹⁵ the lamenter also uses circumlocutions for herself or the person for whom she is a proxy, in the case of lamenting on behalf of someone else (Stepanova A. 2012, 55). Nouns and adjectives derived from different words for sorrow act as substitute names for the personal pronoun “I”. The epithets used in circumlocutions for the lamenter always have a negative ring: for example, the lamenter describes herself as miserable, hopeless and suffering. The substitute name may contain only an adjective (e.g., ‘tired’, ‘poor’, ‘fraught’, ‘weak’, or ‘cold’) or an adjective and noun (examples being ‘body’, ‘bird’, ‘woman’, or ‘carrier’) (see

Stepanova A. 2012, 55–9). These euphemisms may also include references to social institutions and the social status of the named one, such as *leskinimyziē kandelija* [‘the carrier of widow-name.PL.DIM’] (see further Stepanova A. 2012, 55–9; Stepanova E. 2014, 87–9). These kinds of utterances provoke sadness and misery.

In addition, laments have euphemisms for the essential places and items of the rites (Stepanova A. 2012, 12), while the actual action of parting is narrated by means of metaphors with expressions of appreciation. Death is described through several different metaphoric utterances: for example, *ennenkäymättömile dorogažile toittšitulemattomile troppažile* [‘a path.DIM.PL never walked.PL and of no return.PL’] (SKNA7592); the bride leaves from the *kuldaisest kotisest* [‘golden.PL home.DIM.PL’] to *vierahin valtasih* [‘under strangers’ dominance.DIM.PL’] or *liitottomihi liittosihi dai palkattomihi palveluksih* [‘un-engaged.PL engagement.DIM.PL and unpaid.PL service.PL’] (AK0128); or a son leaving for war goes *tulisile juodvasile* [‘on a burning trail.DIM.PL’] (A148). Furthermore, loss and longing are described with sublime metaphors of nature and the passing of time: the ego of the lament, the lament’s “I”, may shed tears to fill Lake Ladoga or cry a whole river, or she may describe how the sun has not shone on her garden since she lost her beloved one (SKNA7592) (see further Stepanova A. 2012, esp. 79–80; Stepanova E. 2014, esp. 165–6).

Thus, the verbal form of Karelian laments is culturally thick and poetically coded metaphoric speech that arouses emotions. On the level of linguistic form, the emotional domain of laments seems to be twofold: first, good and dear relatives versus the poor and suffering lamenter or ego of the lament, and second, the lamenter and her family versus ritually opposed strangers, with the stranger even being a place in some cases (Honko 1978, 79–80, 89; Stepanova E. 2014, 74, 89). Special poetic linguistic forms create a sensitive and sentimental atmosphere, and the verbal elements simultaneously express and enhance the emotional state.

Themes and emotions

The texts of Karelian laments are composed of traditional themes and textual motifs, required by the particular ritual, and personal topics that lamenters can more or less freely choose (Stepanova E. 111–2).¹⁶ The thematic scheme follows a traditional order and is strictly organised (Honko 1974, 30). Ritually necessary themes and motifs express the obligatory content, and thus they are important to ensure the successful conduct of rites and the connection to the otherworld (Honko 1974, 42–4; Stepanova E. 2015, 270).¹⁷ The lamenter describes and narrates the actions of the rite for the participants and the audience: in funerals, laments describe death and the different stages of the funeral ritual with a wide range of poetical formulas,¹⁸ whereas in wedding laments the main topics are the preparation of the bride and instructions for married life. The ritual forms the context for creating laments; however, lamenters also often include autobiographical passages expressing both individual emotions as well as the emotions of the audience (Honko 1974, 42–4; Stepanova E. 2015, 270).

The overall main theme of Karelian laments is longing, sorrow and grief (Honko 1974, 42–3; Stepanova E. 2014, 111–2, 162–3). Furthermore, there are also context-bound themes, which are concerned with the ritual to which they contribute – a funeral, wedding or military conscription – and the influences that each situation has on the lamenter or on the object of the lament (the deceased,

bride or recruit), as well as on the community (Stepanova E. 2014, 112–62). The context-bound themes occur only in a precise ritual context, but the main theme of longing and sorrow can be connected to any situation (Stepanova E. 2014, 112). In cases when the lamenter combines themes of personal emotions and experiences with context-bound themes, the ritual content is handled first and the autobiographical themes follow. In addition to the lamenter's emotions, the ritual sections of laments convey culturally shared and recognised content of lamenting. Thus, as common cultural material, the themes also convey cultural meanings and mythic knowledge (Foley 1995, esp. 27–8) and express collectively shared emotions towards the otherworld, the rituals and the object of the lament (Honko 1974, 42–3; Stepanova E. 2014, 111).

Because the essential theme of grief and longing is based on the lamenter's individual experiences, the actual content expressed and the subthemes vary between lamenters. Despite that fact, lamenters use traditional material, such as crystallised, formulaic utterances and poetic register, to compose subthemes that narrate personal life experiences and emotions. A salient textual motif of autobiographical subthemes is a hard life, loneliness and taking care of the whole household all by oneself. Being alone with a burden is often described as resulting either from the death of some close relative or even several dear ones, leaving one's childhood home and its carefree atmosphere, being unlucky by "nature", or, most commonly, as a combination of more than one of these. In addition, the happiness and well-being of children of the lamenter is a common source of worry. Laments do not offer solutions or other forms of relief. The lamenter pours out her grief, worries and pain to some dear deceased one by his/her grave – often a mother or husband. However, these autobiographical themes do not always include an explicit form of address. Generally speaking, the strength of the relationship between a mother and daughter is apparent, and this relation is thus essential in autobiographical themes. (Nenola-Kallio 1982, 209–12; Timonen 2004, 307–54; Stepanova E. 2014, 162–71.)

Not only sadness but also emotions of gratitude appear among the themes of laments (Stepanova E. 2014, 172–6). Expressions of gratitude exist in certain wedding laments when the bride – or the lamenter performing on behalf of the bride – gives thanks for the dowry (Konkka 1985, 124) or asks her family and friends to prepare the bridal sauna (a ritual cleansing) (Konkka 1985, 129–31; Stepanova E. 2014, 172). There are also special types of laments expressing gratitude for scholars and interviewers. Lamenters perform their thanks to fieldwork researchers and listeners for their courtesy, thoughtfulness and pleasant relationship, and they could also thank for the company they enjoyed (Stepanova E. 2014, 172, 176). However, laments expressing gratitude may also include themes of sorrow and worry (Stepanova E. 2014, 174).

The specific themes in wedding laments express the bride's gratitude towards her parents and friends, the mother's instructions for proper behaviour as a wife and daughter-in-law, and advice and reminders about possible hardships and troubles. In addition, they counsel the bride not to worry too much about the husband's behaviour, even if it appears to be bad, and express certain wishes about the character and temperament of the groom. In both the mother's and the bride's laments, the juxtaposition of a familiar, caring home and a strange environment is dominant (Stepanova E. 2014, 123–5), as the carefree and safe childhood is ending and a hard life in patrilocal residence upon

marriage with new status as a wife is beginning (AK0128). All these descriptions and instructions are part of the ritual tradition; in real life, the situation may have been more positive.

Similarly, giving instructions is an essential theme in funeral laments. For example, in certain funeral laments the lamenter tells about how to wash the body, how to build a proper coffin (the eternal house for the departed in the otherworld), how to bury the deceased, et cetera. Funeral laments also tend to include questions for the deceased, which are sometimes aimed at ensuring that the arrangements are proper and pleasing, while also confirming that the journey to the otherworld was successful (SKNA7592; Stepanova E. 2014, 126–42).

Emotion in music and sound

The aural features of laments are the clearest signs of an emotional state of the lamenter. Excluding one example of text (F.1017/4a), the material on which this chapter bases is comprised of archival audio recordings. In several studies of ritual wailing in different cultures, timbre (i.e., quality of voice) has been seen as a substantial feature contributing to affectivity and emotional impact (Urban 1988; Tolbert 1988; 1990; Briggs 1993). The “vocal profile” of sadness is relatively distinct from other emotions, as the physiological concomitants of sadness (i.e., sobbing, gasping and breathy inhaling) affect the sound (Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 229). The biology-based emotional features of expression, embodiments with neural-physiological origin, mix and interact with the culturally coded musical and sound-based features that express emotions, and, within performance, these features with different origins are not separable.

The musical outline of laments, the “silhouette” with a descending melodic movement, can be regarded as an icon of sorrow, while a single melodic line resembles a long sigh (Tolbert 1990, 87). This sigh-like line determines melodic shape that is mostly stepwise descending but sometimes also a rounded arching musical phrase (Tolbert 1990, 87; Saastamoinen 1999, 36). These descending melodic elements can bear resemblance to spontaneous crying, having a strong clear beginning and gradually diminishing strength towards a new inhalation and then another exhalation of crying or lamenting (see also Tolbert 1990, 87). This kind of similarity sustains and raises the emotional state, keeping the lamenter in a melancholic mood. Nonetheless, the most conspicuous characteristics that show the emotional state and indicate the genre are the icons of crying (see Urban 1988, 389–91) and actual physical crying. These signs of crying and emotionality are essential characteristics for proper lament performances (Stepanova E. 2014, 99).

The heightened emotional state affects these genre-specific features of sound, causing variation on a micro-level. This kind of variation occurs, for example, as a microtonal instability of pitch, uncontrolled alteration of timbre, tremor and ragged voice, and little rhythmical accelerations or delays. In addition, emotionality influences respiration, causing strong exhalations and inhalations, thereby either accentuating or suppressing syllables. (See also Tolbert 1988, 227; 1990, 86–90, 99–102.) Furthermore, the musical style has some influence on the conveyed emotional mood; based on the archival materials, the more song-like style seems to have more affect displays than the speech-like style.

The sound of lamenting creates an impression of absence; even though the sound is vibrant and the melody is mostly clear, it is somehow audible that the lament is addressed somewhere else than the present audience. It feels like the lamenter does not actively make contact with the audience. The last syllables of phrases begin to vanish as the emotionality increases. The pitches of the melodic line get fuzzier and the control of the voice diminishes. (A148; A886; SKNA7592.) These features and other characteristics create an atmosphere where the lamenter directs her message to someone or somewhere else than the physically present audience (see also Hymes 1975, 24–6, 69; Urban 1988, 386; Briggs 1993, 936–8). Furthermore, these features – together with vague pronunciation and special linguistic forms that differ from colloquial speech – obscure the textual content, which was not completely understandable even to the present audience, as not all members of the community were initiated into laments.

One aspect of emotionality is the voice register, being either falsetto or modal voice production. The recorded repertoire from a single lamenter may include laments only in modal register or, on the contrary, mostly in falsetto register. Among the examples there also exist repertoires including both vocal registers (falsetto and modal), as well as laments in which the vocal register shifts as the intensity increases. For example, Elmi Tsokkinen performs a wedding lament in which she begins in a strong lower register; with an increasingly emotional state, her voice gets higher and eventually the register shifts to a thin mode, which is approximately an octave higher (AK0128). Thus, the divorce of vocal registers is not clear and unambiguous, as a single lamenter may use both of them and even shift from one to the other during a single performance. These kind of shifts have been connected to emotional intensity, and both Urban and Tolbert interpret the falsetto register to indicate a heightened emotional state and effective performance (Urban 1988, 390–1; Tolbert 1990, 101; see also Hymes 1975, 24–6, 69). However, within Karelian laments the shift of vocal register is not necessary in creating a successful, effective performance, because there are numerous complete and clearly emotional, emergent performances of laments without the shift (e.g., A886; AK0631; SKNA7592).

Musical-textual structural features

Compared to other genres of Karelian oral poetry, the most outstanding differing feature of laments – in addition to the performative crying – is the lack of regular metre; most Karelian traditional song genres use the conventional hexametric “Kalevalaic” metre. However, the phrase construction is not completely free; both text and music follow certain rules (see Silvonen forthcoming). Emotional expressions often appear at the end of the musical-textual units, where the overall expression calms, as if giving space for the emotion. Often the rhythmic pattern slows down at the end of the melodic line and the last tones are approximately half-tempo, compared to the others. The end of a melodic line is also the most common point for an inhalation. (See also Urban 1988, 389; Tolbert 1990, esp. 88–90, 99–102; Silvonen forthcoming.) Furthermore, the non-metric character frees expression and allows the lamenter to slow down the narration, to stop to describe a certain subtheme more profoundly and thus go deeper into her sorrowful emotions.

In the laments’ context, parallelism can also be connected to emotional dimensions. Multimodal parallelism (i.e., linguistic, textual, musical, and structural repetition) intensifies the affective effects that each of these convey (see also Margulis 2014, 57–9, 66–7). Furthermore, a repetitive melodic line makes for a hypnotic feeling, trance- or flow-like state (Margulis 2014, 68–9),¹⁹ enfolding the

lamerter in the emotion. Similarly, textual parallelism sustains emotionality; the lamenter stays in sorrowful themes by repeating their core idea with synonymous utterances.

To summarise, the bodily expression of emotions is required as a marker of the “correct” or proper way of lamenting, and thus it was essential to the lament tradition (Stepanova E. 2014, 99). Getting sad and going deep into emotions also have a symbolic effect; the lamenter communicates with the audience by showing emotions in a culturally coded and socially accepted way (see also Urban 1988, esp. 396–9). Embodied emotion emblems – both the intentionally produced and the ones with neurobiological origin – affect the overall expression (Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 221–2) and are effective in creating and upholding the emotional state of the lamenter as well as conveying and communicating emotions (Tolbert 1990, 90; Hatfield et al. 1992, 153–64; Niedenthal 2007, 1004; Scheve and Ismer 2013, esp. 407, 410–1; Nummenmaa et al. 2014, 646–50). The immediate, uncontrolled reactions and display of emotion allow hearers to be closer to the lamenter’s inner, more intimate space than other expressions of emotions (Urban 1988, 397). Furthermore, the position in which the lamenter performs, covering her face with a special handkerchief and bending as if huddling into herself or hugging someone (other grieving ones or the one on whose behalf the lamenter is performing), along with a rocking motion, creates an intimate space for the performance. Within the performance, the special poetic expression and performative features create the sensitive and sentimental atmosphere, and simultaneously both express and performatively raises the emotional state (Hymes 1975, 69–70). Furthermore, the whole performance with its characteristic linguistic forms and musical mode indicate communication to the otherworld and the role of esotericism connected to the sacred ritual nature of the tradition (see also Tolbert 1990, esp. 86–7, 102; Stepanova E. 2015, 270–1.)

Performance and increasing of emotional intensity²⁰

The emotional state is not unchanging throughout a lament performance; the intensity of the affect display increases and the emotion deepens as the lament proceeds. The increase of the emotional state is audible in most recorded laments, and often the lamenter ends her performance by saying *en voi enämbi* (“I can’t do anymore”) when it becomes too hard physically or mentally; she is either out of breath or about to fall too deeply into sorrow (SKNA7592; AK0631; AK1511). This also indexes the increase of the emotional intensity during the performance. In the unusual context of a lament performed in a fieldwork interview with a researcher, the lamenter may also stop due to other reasons, such as the sacred and delicate nature of the lament (see Honko 1974, 28).²¹

The intensity, depth and strength of emotion vary between different types of laments (i.e., funeral, wedding and laments without ritual contexts²²), between performances (as the performing context is different every time), and in different thematic sections within a single lament. The emotions are more intense the more close and relevant the objects that causes the emotions are to the lamenter. Similarly, the more immediate the emotional object is, the more intense the emotion.²³ Generally, it seems that the emotionality of any given lament increases as the thematic content and the narration become more personal and intimate and is less intensive with ritual context-bound themes.

In context-bound themes, the need to ensure that certain required motifs and themes are performed may restrain the intensity of emotion. On the other hand, in the ritual context, the situation is

constantly highly intimate and personal, and the emotional atmosphere is strong throughout the performance. Moreover, there is a crucial need to convey emotion and evoke emotional contagion. As the lamenter proceeds to the autobiographical themes, the emotionality often increases. In personal themes, the object is often narrower than in context-oriented themes; the focus of the former is the lamenter herself, along with her losses, while in the latter, the contextual events and the protagonist of the rite are in focus. Additionally, the content of autobiographical section is not determined by any ritual regulations, and the metaphorical verbal descriptions of emotions appear mostly within the autobiographical themes (SKNA7592).

At the beginning of the lament, expressions of emotion are sometimes imitated, and the affect display might be intentionally produces embodiments – at least as perceived in the archival recordings (see also Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 222, 232; Heinonen 2008, 249). As the lament proceeds, however, the intensity of the emotions grows (Tolbert 1988, 227; SKNA7592). It becomes more pronounced as a result of various multimodal techniques and the intentionally produced embodied emotion emblems; thus, imitated emotions suggest, influence and provoke, act as stimuli for the immediate, uncontrolled emotional reactions with neural-physiological origin (see also Tolbert 1990, esp. 99). A neural-physiological feedback system – activated either intentionally or by reflex – invites emotions (see also Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 222; Levenson 2003, 350–3; Niedenthal 2007, 1004; Nummenmaa et al. 2014, 646–59). This change or shift in embodiments is audible – that is, the audible images change. The musical substructure and other features (such as vibrato) are connected to the intensity of emotional expression (see also Tolbert 1988, 227; 1990). For instance, the tremor of voice and instability of pitches indicate emotionality (see, e.g., Urban 1988, 386–91; Johnstone and Scherer 2004, esp. 221–3, 228–9), and the amount and intensity of these features increase as the lamenter gets more and more into the performance (see also Hymes 1975, esp. 24–6, 69).

In brief, the expression and conveyance of emotions are one of the main aspects of Karelian lament genre, and the emotional intensity – the intensity emotional expressions, especially embodied ones – increases during lamenting. The embodiments of emotion emblems act as one of the triggers for emotion in a performance. This way, the lament performance itself increases emotions, acts as performative. In addition, the sociocultural frame of the performance – its premise, functions and meanings – with personal experiences and memories constitute the background for the emotionality. The mournful overtone of lamenter's emotional state – or at least the culturally coded assumption of emotional state – is a basis that enables the expression and development of emotions during the performance, the “breakthrough into a full performance” (Hymes 1975, 24).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we presented the multimodal affect displays of laments that are effective in the performance expressing and conveying emotions. In addition to verbal, musical and thematic expressions, the embodied emotion emblems are both intentionally produced emblems as well as automatic bodily responses to stimuli. Embodied affect displays are essential characteristics for an effective lament performance and proper, successful ritual practice. We discussed the emotions as a phenomenon and process in which sociocultural and neurobiological aspects are interdependent. To understand the whole process attached to laments' emotions – including the multimodal expression

of emotions and the emergence of emotions within a performance – an examination of its neurological (biological, physiological and psychological) and sociocultural aspects is relevant and needed.

Strong emotional reactions to the loss of a beloved person are common; however, the ways of expressing emotions and handling the emotional state are culturally specific. In Karelian laments, this is most often vocalised from the perspective of the grieving with themes of abandonment and being left alone, being separated from those with whom one is close or a safe familiar place. In addition to lamenter's own emotions, laments reflect the emotions of the present community, and with the formulaic expression of laments, lamenter passes on the sorrows and experiences of other lamenters – earlier generations. The primary emotions expressed and conveyed are deep sorrow, grief and despair, which may contain nuances of bitterness and disappointment, yet, laments also index happy memories and even gratitude exists in laments. In Karelian laments, the stance towards the otherworld and death, which both are central subjects of lament, appears warm and respectful.

Emotionality and the intensification of the affective state have an effect on the overall expression. The emotion bursts out uncontrolledly as sobbing, fluctuating and instable tonality, as well as timbre variations and strong voiced inhalation, which blur the aural appearance. These also make pronunciation more vague and, together with the use of special linguistic forms, lead to a lack of clarity around the textual content. This obscuration of expression creates an impression of absence; the lamenter does not actively make contact with the present audience but turns gradually kind of towards herself and to the otherworld as emotions intensify and enclose her. Nevertheless, affect displays enable emotional contagion, which engender and sustain communication with the present audience. Moreover, the performance convey emotions and with them cultural stances, values and meanings, especially focal is the significance of the community.

We have described and shown how the embodiment, expression and emergence of emotion are linked and interwoven. In laments, the features and techniques that express and convey emotions are multimodal. Highly metaphorical, culturally thick verbal expression with formulaic utterances, traditional themes and conduct of these themes, as well as the melodic outline and more subtle musical and sonic features, all have an influence on the emotions – or more precisely on expressing and performatively creating them. Within linguistic form, especially the contrast between happy past and miserable present creates the gloomy atmosphere. The thematic scheme and the lack of regular metric pattern of laments support the emotionality as the lamenter may slow down the narration within certain topic, and, furthermore, the parallelism and repetitive nature enfolds the lamenter into the emotion.

Thus, in a lament performance, the sociocultural background and context evoke the mood for grief and sorrow (i.e., inviting the emotions and the culturally coded expression), which during the performance often intensifies in terms of experienced emotions. Telling about and describing the sorrowful experiences of one's life arouses emotion; similarly, the embodiments of emotion, which appear both as neurobiological reactions to a stimulus or as intentionally produced vocal emblems of sadness and crying, increase emotional intensity. The emergence of emotional experience effects the audible image as the neural-physiological reactions affect the subtle nuances causing variation on micro-level on sounds and breathing, for example. All these various features and multimodal

techniques intertwine and are inseparable in the performance. In conclusion, the features that express and convey emotions, also create, uphold and deepen the emotional state – are performative. This way, stereotypic expressions of emotion become alive in lament performances, and create the effective performance.

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¹ Karelia is a region located on Finnish-Russian border. Karelians belong to the Finnic linguistic-cultural group, yet they have their own language and culture. Nowadays Karelians are mostly assimilated into Russian or correspondingly Finnish language and culture, and are struggling for preserving and revitalizing their language and cultural heritage. Karelian lament tradition belongs to the broader Finnic tradition, which includes also Ižorian, Vepsian, Votic, and Seto laments (see further Stepanova E. 2015, 258–9).

² Contemporary laments, "neolaments" (Fenigsen and Wilce 2012), have been approached several ways, for example, analysing how "neolamenters" attach their laments with the tradition and the continuum (Tenhunen 2006, 287–310; Wilce 2009a, 209–14; see also Wilce and Fenigsen 2015, 187, 198–203). Janina Fenigsen and James M. Wilce abstract four different kinds of authenticities among Karelian "neolaments" (2012, 109–17). Similar approach does not work with archived material because the material does not answer that kind of questions of authenticity that Fenigsen and Wilce analyse, but there are other discussions about authenticities such as the recording situation and context. In terms of our chapter, the authenticity is not a main topic, but we concentrate on analysing the expression of emotions and the performativity of traditional laments.

³ The exact modal or tonal terms are not suitable, because the pitches are not exact and even more because Karelian traditions do not follow theoretical base of musicology (western classical music).

⁴ The most esteemed lamenters were usually old women, and they were the ones who the researchers met, interviewed and recorded.

⁵ Archival code, see sources.

⁶ Transcription bases on text transliteration by Helmi and Pertti Virtaranta and notations by Ilpo Saastamoinen published in *Ahavatuulien armoilla* collection (1999). Viliina Silvonen has checked and retranscribed the texts and notation against the original recordings. English translation by Viliina Silvonen. Transcription © Viliina Silvonen. In this paper, transliterations of lament texts exclude other punctuation than the ones ending poetic strings. Additionally, versification follows poetic strings. All these are technical decisions, and the use of punctuation and other interpretative marks is minimal as they are not necessary for our topic here.

⁷ This section, as well as the theoretical framework and the sections concerning music in Introduction, are written alone by Viliina Silvonen.

⁸ This is very simplified model, but for the purpose of this paper more complex and profound examination is not needed.

⁹ About collective, shared emotions and emotion contagion see, e.g., Levenson 2003, 357; Du Bois and Kärkkäinen 2012, 434.

¹⁰ This section is written alone by Viliina Silvonen.

¹¹ However, some emotions, for example, sadness and disgust, are recognised in voice and facial expression well interculturally (see, e.g., Johnstone and Scherer 2004, 229; Nummemnaa et al. 2014, 646).

¹² In this paper, term register is attached to two discourses: linguistic and music / voice production. Hence, the terms linguistic register and vocal register are both established in their own fields, we do not consider the use of them problematic.

¹³ The text of this lament is published in Stepanova and Koski 1976, 244–5. The text is translated into English by Eila Stepanova, and published in Stepanova E. 2012, 269. In this paper other punctuation than the end of a poetic string is excluded (see endnote 5).

¹⁴ The special term of the Karelian lament register *syndyzet* is diminutive plural form of the word *synty* [Karelian, ‘origin’, ‘birth’, ‘emergence’] meaning ‘the otherworld’, ‘the world of the dead, the divine powers, the ancestors’ (see more Stepanova E. 2012, 257–87).

¹⁵ In newer laments appear direct addressing with pronouns ‘you’ and ‘I’, these appear in some recordings from 1960’s and become more common from 1970’s (Stepanova A. 2012, 55; SKNA6598). In speech and other communication, personal pronouns were not a taboo.

¹⁶ The themes and motifs of laments are discussed in earlier researches, for example, Nenola-Kallio 1982, Konkka 1985 and Stepanova E. 2014, and in terms of “Kalevalaic” lyric poetry Apo 1989 and Timonen 2004.

¹⁷ Karelian laments were directed to otherworld and deceased beloved ones there (*syndyzet*). Yet, in contrast to the Karelian shamanistic communication with otherworld, lamenters did not “travel” to the otherworld or fell into that kind of trance, the spirit of lamenter did not leave the body (e.g., Honko 1974, 57–8; cf. Tolbert 1990, 80; Tolbert 1992, 18 quotation in Wilce 2009b, 53; Wilce 2009a, 46; Fenigsen and Wilce 2012, 116).

¹⁸ In the context of laments, formula is a flexible group of words, which express a certain single semantic content. Within a formula the amount and exact form of words may vary but the semantic target object remain (see Lord 1960; Foley 1995; esp. in laments, e.g., Silvonen forthcoming)

¹⁹ The hypnotic or mesmerising power of repetitive music that engender a trance- or flow-like state has been studied in many fields from psychology to musicology (see Margulis 2014, esp. 56–60, 66–9). “[M]usical repetitions push processing down from the more cognitive, conceptual regions of the frontal cortex and into the more motoric, automatic basal ganglia.” (Margulis 2014, 74.)

²⁰ This section is written alone by Viliina Silvonen.

²¹ Additionally, the unusual context and the strenuousness of lamenting might have influenced in that way that lamenters have rather than performed complete, coherent laments, presented illustrative or figurative excerpts of laments or just dictated text excerpts than performed fully.

²² Laments without any ritual context are known broadly within Finnic, Russian and Komi lament traditions, for example (Misharina 2011, 155–72; Olson and Adonyeva 2012, 36–42).

²³ See also Ben-Ze’ev 2010, 5–6: Emotional objects and events culturally or geographically faraway from our own milieu do not affect us as much as the ones near of us. Ben-Ze’ev clarifies this with examples of romantic love, i.e., usually that kind of emotions are directed at one or a few people, not several, and the grief at the death of someone close to us vs. the reaction at the death of thousands of people in an earthquake in a place remote from us.