What to Call the Poetic Form : Kalevala-Meter or Kalevalaic Verse, regivärss, Runosong, the Finnic Tetrameter, Finnic Alliterative Verse or Something Else?

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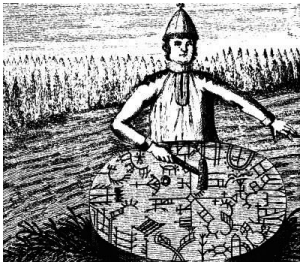

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COMMENTS, PERSPECTIVES AND REPORTS

What to Call the Poetic Form – Kalevala-Meter or Kalevalaic Verse, *regivärss*, Runosong, the Finnic Tetrameter, Finnic Alliterative Verse or Something Else?

Kati Kallio, Finnish Literature Society (SKS), and Frog, University of Helsinki, with Mari Sarv, Estonian Literary Museum

When writing about traditional Finnic (also called Balto-Finnic) oral poetry, everyone who is embedded in its long history of research encounters the same problem of what term to use for it. Several partly overlapping terms are in current use. The different terms are sometimes inconsistent, especially across different languages, contexts, approaches or even genres of poetry addressed. Each is also burdened with its own associations or connotations that in some cases are seen as quite controversial. These issues are not exclusive to Finnic traditions. Research on early Germanic poetries, for example, faces similar issues when referring collectively to the historically related Old English, Old High German, Old Norse and Old Saxon poetic forms – although the research discourse has at least developed vocabulary for it.[1] Although the present discussion concerns Finnic poetries, many of the problems addressed have more general relevance, at least by analogy, such as the burdening of terminology with links to nationalism, the inconsistency of terms across languages, and the ways that terms may foreground certain aspects of a poetic form while marginalizing others. The present review and discussion may thus offer food for thought to scholars working with other traditions where the choice of terms is also problematic.

Concern here is centrally with the terms used in scholarship; the vernacular, local or emic terms (i.e. words used within local singing cultures) remain outside of discussion,[2] except insofar as these have been adapted to use by scholars. A problem of terminology addressed here is related to the fact that the poetic form is used with a variety of genres, which prevents simply referring to its many variations through an associated genre label, as is done with Finnic lament poetry (on which, see Stepanova 2014) and with European or Scandinavian ballads.[3] Generally speaking, scholarly terms group into four broad categories: *a*) terms derived from the title of the Elias Lönnrot's national epic *Kalevala*; *b*) terms derived or developed from emic vocabulary; *c*) descriptive designations of the poetic form; and any of these may be complemented by *d*) a term for the ethnic group with which the poetry is identified. In order to make this discussion accessible to readers less familiar with Finnic oral poetries, we give short introductions to the current terminological situation, poetry, its meter and the forms it takes before turning to terminology in detail.

The aim of this article is to offer an overview of the terminological situation in English and Finnish languages, referring also to the terms in Estonian. This discussion makes no pretence of being comprehensive or of reviewing the history of terminology and its debate. The problematics of terms and the choice of which term to use are commonplaces of research on these traditions. However, the situation discussed here often only appears as a long footnote, explaining the situation in a very general way. Indeed, it seems the discussion on these terms has been largely limited to such footnotes and short definitions of the terms used. The present review is an attempt to gather some of these threads and consider them together, reviewing them in a more organized and developed way than has

been done previously. Bringing them into critical focus opens a discussion in which other scholars may respond. Returning to these terms and concepts is important because the ways we understand the networks, interaction and hybrid variations of different poetic forms also affects our ability to discuss the history of those forms. This context also offers a valuable possibility to reflect on the limits of a poetic phenomenon that has taken, as Anna-Leena Siikala (1994; 2000; 2012) has noted, many local, historical, and genre- or performance-dependent forms. These aspects of the tradition will here be considered in relation to how the phenomenon of the poetic system is defined and described.

Background and Basic Terms Today

In recent decades, the subject of terminology for this poetry has been discussed, for example, by Pertti Anttonen (1994: 137), Anna-Leena Siikala and Sinikka Vakimo (1994: 11), Jaan Ross and Ilse Lehiste (2001: 7), Tiiu Jaago (2008: 199), Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (2008; 2010), Seppo Knuuttila, Ulla Piela and Lotte Tarkka (2010: 8), Outi Pulkkinen (2010: 13, 51), Siikala (2012: 24), and most recently Mari Sarv (2015: 6–7). The review offered here has in part been precipitated and motivated by lively discussions (predominantly in Finnish) on such terminology held under a short blog-post (Kallio K et al. 2015a) and a Facebook thread (Kallio K et al. 2015b). We are very grateful for all those who were kind enough to elaborate on the theme and to open new views on different scholarly and popular contexts of use. These views will be included here alongside conventionally published research.

The problems of terminology concern national, linguistic or ethnic implications and associations of alternative terms and phrases. Different terms also vary in formal implications for what they do or do not include, such as referring narrowly to formal metrics of a line, more often the verse form or poetic form, or extending broadly to whole poetic or poetic-musical systems. Difference in the scope of relevance can also be significant, such as whether they primarily describe only a local or regional poetic form, the poetic form of certain genres, or the poetic form in a single language or a group of languages. Discussion is further complicated by the fact that terminology has evolved within each language of discussion rather than being uniform across them, even if they may impact each other and terms get adapted from one language into another.

The most commonly used terms for the poetry in current Finnish research are *kalevala-mittainen runo(us)* [‘Kalevala-meter poem (poetry)’ or ‘Kalevala-metric poem (poetry)’] and *runolaulu* [‘*runo*-song, runosong’]. In Estonian, the term *regilaul* [‘*regi*-song’] is the most common, alongside *regivärss*, which is more or less synonymic to it. Other possible terms in Finnish include *vanha* (*suomalainen*) *runo*(*us*) [‘old (Finnish) poem (poetry)’], *itämerensuomalainen runous* [‘Finnic poetry’], and *kalevalainen runo*(*us*) [‘kalevalaic poem (poetry)’], in older or popular use also *muinaisruno*(*us*) [‘ancient poem (poetry)’], or simply (*vanha*) *kansanrunous* [‘(old) folk poetry/folklore’]. The last of these is a broader term that may include other folklore genres as well, and a relative of the Estonian term (*vana*) *rahvaluule* [‘(old) folk poetry’]. In English language scholarship, terms based on *Kalevala* predominate (*Kalevala-metric poetry*, *Kalevala poetry*, *kalevalaic poetry*) alongside terms that implicitly identify the tradition as cultural heritage, such as *old / common Finnish / Finno-Karelian / Estonian/Finnic folk / oral poetry*. Especially when discussing musicological features, terms based on the Finnish and Karelian emic term *runo* (e.g. *runo-poetry, runo-song/runosong*) or its etymological translation (e.g. *rune-songs*, *runic poetry*) are common. Corresponding terminology has equally evolved in other languages where scholarship has long-standing establishment, especially Russian and German, which will not be reviewed here.

No fewer terms circulate to refer to the meter of this poetic form. In Finnish, it is primarily called *kalevalamitta* [‘Kalevala-meter’] or *nelipolvinen trokee* [‘trochaic tetrameter’, with spesific quantity rules] today, both of which have been carried into Estonian and English-language scholarship. Description-based terms such as *vanhan suomalaisen runon mitta* [‘the meter of old Finnish poetry’] have also been popular, and during recent year the terms *runolaulumitta* [‘runo-song meter’] and

kahdeksantavumitta [‘octosyllabic meter’] have been introduced. In particular contexts, the term *runomitta* [‘runo-meter’] has been used, although, in modern Finnish language, it refers to any poetic meter (just as *runo* refers to any poem in any meter).

In Estonian, the meter can be called *regilaulu värsimõõt* [‘meter of *regilaul*’], *regivärsimõõt* [‘*regivärsi*-meter’ or ‘measure of *regivärss*’] and *kalevalamõõt* [‘Kalevala-meter’], although the last one is mostly used today with reference to the rule-based ideal meter (e.g. in Põldmäe 1978; Sarv 2008). In English, *rune/runic meter* has been used less prominently overall, but *runo meter* or *runo-song meter* and *Finnic trochaic tetrameter* are increasingly used. When Estonian terms are used to refer to the meter in English, this is normally a phrase ‘*regilaul* meter’ or ‘meter of *regilaul*’; *regivärss* may also be treated as a term for the textual aspect of the tradition rather than as a synonym of *regilaul* as a term for the poetic-musical tradition. Each of the possible terms carries its own connotations owing to its history of use or associations (e.g. with the national epic *Kalevala*), and the terms also tend to be used in slightly different contexts.

Today, researchers tend to use the different terms rather flexibly and in a relaxed manner, often as synonyms. This presupposes a common knowledge of different backgrounds and scholarly loads of each term, or perhaps a degree of ambivalence to, or lack of concern about, those loads. At the same time, flexible and synonymic use reflects an acceptance of the fact that there exists no exclusive and ideal solution. Here, we wish to keep in sight the fact that the choice of terms and the operation of their loads is highly context-dependent, and therefore, quite naturally, we make no attempt to dictate or recommend what terms should or should not be used.

A Shared Finnic Linguistic Heritage

A key factor in the problems of terminology is that the poetic form is shared across language groups that identify themselves with distinct cultural and national identities. Varieties of the poetic form are found in all Finnic languages except for Livonian and Vepsian, which are at the peripheries of the language area (Kuusi 1994: 47). In addition to features of meter and poetic syntax, there are traces of a historically shared formulaic idiom as well as of historically shared metaphors, images, motifs and complex narratives with which the poetry was used (Harvilahti 2015: 311–315). This is unsurprising when, in an oral culture, meter is perceived and communicated through language (see Frog 2015: 84–87). The poetic system is considered to have been carried as a form of heritage from a period of common language, so-called Proto-Finnic. It has been estimated to have been in use for perhaps two millennia or even longer, but it presumably dates at least as far back as the breakup of Proto-Finnic into separate languages around the beginning of the Viking Age or ca. AD 800 (on which see Kallio P 2014) since it is unlikely to have spread across languages and cultures thereafter.[4] The poetic system is used with such a remarkable range of genres that it seems to have been a predominant mode of metered poetic expression (used alongside a distinct poetic system for ritual and non-ritual laments).[5] Whatever its actual origins and dating, the poetic system is infused with the quality of ‘heritage’ linked to language. Language has been viewed as iconic of ethnic identity, which in its turn, for nearly two hundred years, has been shaped and constructed (or with small minorities even suppressed) through nationalism. As a consequence, discussions of the meter, its forms and the terms used to describe it become bound up with ethnic and national identities.

The research history has constructed major divisions of the poetry traditions especially into northern and southern groupings that have shaped the thinking in research. An early major grouping mainly follows linguistic affinity that blur into national or regional and ethnic groupings of ‘Finnish’, ‘Karelian’ and ‘Ingrian’ on the one hand and of ‘Estonian’ and ‘Seto’ on the other. This major division is reflected in the publications of corpora. *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (*SKVR*) [‘Old Songs of the Finnish People’], of which parts I–XIV (1908–1948; 33 volumes) are organized by geographical regions of Finland, Karelia (and additional regions where Karelian is spoken) and Ingria, with part XV (1997, 1 volume) of additional early unpublished texts. The digitization as the SKVR-database remain within this linguistically and geographically defined structure. A similar

structuring is apparent in the publications of songs from Estonia and Setomaa, such as the *Vana kannel* ['Old Harp'] series (Hurt 1875–1886, with the project resumed in the 1950s) and Monumenta Estoniae antiquae ['Monuments of Ancient Estonia'] series. The Eesti regilaulude andmebaas – Estonian Runic Songs' Database (ERA-database) has evolved following the same basis of linguistic and geographical splitting of the Finnic traditions into northern and southern parts.

Speaking of a simple division between northern and southern areas has not been consistent over time. As research underwent a shift in emphasis from tradition as text to tradition as performance and practice, northern and southern Finnic tradition areas were reconceived on those grounds. Traditions in Ingria and southern regions of Karelia were regrouped with traditions of Estonia as (predominantly) women's singing traditions of agricultural village-centered communities, dancing and other performative practices linked to singing, the so-called 'lyric-epic' narrative form, and so forth (e.g. Virtanen 1987; Siikala 1990). Both ways of looking at the north–south division continue to be used according to a researcher's focus: researchers with emphasis on performance practices will discuss the boundaries according to one set of criteria while research with emphasis on mythology or poem-types will use another.

Simplified divisions minimize actual variation, often with the implication of an ideal for a broad area. For example, Finland and Karelia to the Karelian Isthmus are often treated as a single area for which an ideal of poetic form is generalized, marginalizing regional differences as deviations from that idea. Although grouped with Finland and Karelia, traditions of Ingria have also long been recognized as distinct to the point that the relevant volumes of *SKVR* are even organized on different principles. The region is relatively small, but Ingria's treatment as a coherent tradition area blurs ethnic and linguistic distinctions between Ižorians, a population with a long history in the region whose language is close to Karelian, so-called Ingrian-Finns, descended from populations that came from parts of Finland and Karelia some centuries before, and the often-marginalized Votes, who are linguistically closest to North Estonians but whose traditions were not as well documented. In some areas, differences between the traditions of these groups blur or are ambiguous, but there were also differences in songs and practices that remained distinct (e.g. Salminen 1929). Much as Ingria has been set apart for the northern group, Seto singing traditions of Southeast Estonia and Russia have been treated as distinct from traditions throughout the rest of Estonia, both for differences in form and content and also for differences in ethnic identity, connected with Orthodox religion and strong Russian rather than German influences (e.g. Hurt 1904–1907). Nevertheless, especially in Finnish and English-language scholarship, 'Estonian' has often been used inclusively of Seto, while 'Finnish' has been used as inclusive speakers of other Finnic languages in regions of Karelia and all of Ingria that have never been within the borders of Finland, divesting these groups and their tradition of independent value and identity (see also Kalkun 2011; Haapoja et al. 2017).

The north–south division is important because it created groupings within which the scholarly perception of variation was often minimized. The early division between northern and southern groups became linked to questions of whether the more regular northern form or the more flexible southern form was more archaic (e.g. Kuusi & Tedre 1979; 1987). The archival infrastructures and methodologies for approaching these traditions emerged in the environment that produced the so-called Historical-Geographic Method, which was oriented to historical reconstruction of song types as well as evolvement of tradition in more general terms (Frog 2013a). It was not that scholars were unaware of variation – on the contrary, they were often quite sensitive to it for methodological reasons – but the abstracted extremes were what was important because one of those extremes was presumed to be more archaic and the continuum of variation to the other extreme would most likely reflect a trajectory of spread and/or process of evolution.[6] Recognizing the splitting of the tradition and the differences in where that split occurs is significant here because some terms that might be used to refer collectively to the

common Finnic tradition have also been used only for northern or southern forms.

Metrical Form

This poetic system is governed by *conventions* that are customarily abstracted into ideal images of the meter. In oral poetry, "exceptions or irregularities" are almost inevitable "in the actual lines occurring in versification practice" (Sarv 2015a: 8). What we might call 'metricality' or the 'well-formedness of verses' operates as a perceived quality of text within a continuous flow of performance or other oral discourse. This fact allows lines to be perceived as 'better' or 'worse' rather than in terms of a black and white distinction between metrically 'right' and 'wrong' (Frog 2014a). In this poetry, all of the organizing principles associated with the meter can be conceived as open to varying degrees of flex, beginning from the rhythmic (which may also be melodic) structuring of the mode of expression, and which may also vary locally in relation to genre and context of communication. That is why scholars may speak of tendencies or constraints rather than rules of the poetic meters.

The most detailed studies of the meter of Finnic poetry are those of Walter Anderson (1935), Matti Kuusi (1949), Matti Sadeniemi (1951), Pentti Leino (1986; 1994), Petri Lauerma (2001; 2004), Mari Sarv (2000; 2008a; 2011a; 2011b; 2015) and Jukka Saarinen (2018). These studies also discuss historical perspectives while relationships of meter to historical language change receive focused attention in the works by A.R. Niemi (1922 [1918]); Mikko Korhonen (1987; 1994), Mari Sarv (1997; 2000; 2008a) and Arne Merilai (2006).

Because the problematics of certain terms are linked to giving emphasis or priority to certain regional forms of the poetic system, it is necessary to offer a somewhat more developed overview of the poetic form here in order to make discussion accessible to non-specialist readers. Viena, the northern region of Karelia, is where meter appears most strict. This region is also where those types of vernacular mythology and religion that were of greatest interest to collectors during 19th-century Romanticism were most vital. As a result, Viena became the most extensively studied region of traditional Finnic oral poetry, followed by Ingria and Setomaa owing to the richness of their singing traditions. The more regular form of the meter in Viena was made still more regular in Lönnrot's *Kalevala* and other literary works; this is the form of the poetry best known internationally. The poetic form in Ingria, on the Gulf of Finland, is somewhat more flexibly handled although it seems that mostly linguistic change has been compensated to accommodate metrical form; the poetic form changes outward from Northeast Estonia, while in Setomaa, the poetic form is at the far extreme from what is found in Viena. It is nevertheless possible to find nearly flawless examples of the stricter poetic form in all regions (even if with different proportions of formal line-types), and also to find poems in looser forms, so discussion of regional forms inevitably requires generalizations that marginalize the varieties and ranges of variation within each region. Today, rather than a simple binary division between strict and loose forms, variation is seen on continuums that progress from the White Sea to Southeast Estonia and from inland regions to coastal and island areas. The prevailing view is that the historical poetic form was stricter and that variations in different languages and dialect areas are outcomes of adaptations in relation to language change and in some regions also to contacts with singing traditions in other languages (see especially Sarv 2008a; 2011b). The stricter form thus provides a practical frame of reference for introducing the forms in other regions that increase in flexibility to the south through Ingria and Estonia and to the west through Finland.

A basic line of verse has eight positions organized in four feet with metrical stress on the first position in each foot. The stricter form of the meter is syllabic with a trochaic rhythm: each foot pairs one metrically stressed and one unstressed syllable normally yielding an eight-syllable line, although the first foot is flexible and may contain as many as four syllables. In the dialects of Russian Karelia and Eastern Finland, a line normally consists of 2–4 words. A convention of 'right justification',[7] which Sadeniemi (1951: 36) called the *Gesetz der Wannmühle* ['law of winnowing'],[8] inclines

longer words to be placed at the end of the line and excludes lines from ending in a monosyllable.[9] The poetry is stichic, which means that lines simply follow one another in series rather than being regularly organized in couplets or stanzas. Verses are characterized by alliteration: two or more words in a line would normally begin with the same sound. Strong alliteration was preferred, which means the first vowel is also the same, even when following an alliterating consonant (e.g. *sortu sormin lainehille* ['sank with his fingers into the waves']). Weak alliteration, or alliteration of the onset consonant only, is also used, but clear preference is given to pairing of phonetically closer vowels (Krikmann 2015). Although alliteration is a characteristic feature of this poetry, it is not metricalized: it is not connected with metrical positions and lines could also be without it (e.g. Sadeniemi 1956: 88; Leino 1986: 134); where line-internal alliteration is lacking, alternative phonic patterns, such as repeating consonants across lines, are sometimes used to weave verses into the acoustic texture of a poem (Frog & Stepanova 2011: 200–201). Verses are equally characterized by semantic and grammatical parallelism, not necessary in every line, but parallelism is fundamental to the poetic system (Steinitz 1934; Kuusi 1952; Metslang 1978; Saarinen 2017; Sarv 2015b; 2017). Parallelism is closely linked to alliteration (Steinitz 1934: 182–183, Sarv 2000: 93–105; 2017), and quite notably the frequency or prominence of alliteration and parallelism varied according to genre (Kuusi 1953; Sarv 1999: 132–137).

A distinctive feature of the meter is its conventions for the placement of long and short stressed syllables.[10] In Finnic languages, the first syllable of a word or part of a compound word always receives lexical stress. In poems, compounds are treated metrically as separate words. Apart from the first foot, long stressed syllables should be placed only on the lifts of the meter, whereas short stressed syllables should only on the falls, yielding what has been called a 'broken verse';[11] the placement of unstressed syllables is free (see Leino 1986; 1994). This feature generally takes precedence over the right justification of long words (Kuusi 1952). However, it was also a feature that was allowed at least some flexibility.

As Mari Sarv (2015: 6) stresses, the "meter of oral poetry is subject to variation and should not be treated as a static and petrified phenomenon." Meter and language are in a symbiotic relationship (e.g. Foley 1996: esp. 28; Leino 1986). The most significant factors affecting the evolution of the poetic form were changes that shortened words, affecting how they worked in the meter and the number of words that could be in a line (Sarv 1997, 2000: 32–45; 2008a: 63–90), and intense contacts with languages and their poetic systems organized on different metrical principles (Sarv 2011b). Viena was long considered as the most conservative region and thus as preserving the most archaic poetic form, but traditions had clearly evolved in that region as well (Kuusi 1994; Siikala 2002b; Leino 1986: 136). Flexibility increased to the south on and around the Karelian Isthmus and into Ingria, where two light syllables could sometimes fill a single position in the second foot, with variation increasing on a continuum through Estonia as the number of feet admitting syllabic flexibility rises and a line could have six to twelve syllables in its eight positions. In the southeastern regions, the percentage of 'broken' lines dwindles to a small percentage, where verses were more often accentually structured, simply aligning lexical stress with metrical stress. (See Sadeniemi 1951; Lauerma 2004; Sarv 2008a; 2015).

Western areas also exhibit significant increases in flexibility on both sides of the Gulf of Finland, including a weakening of conventions for the placement of long and short stressed syllables (Leino 2002 [1975]; Laitinen 2006; Sarv 2008a; 2011b; 2015). As in southeastern Estonia, these changes in the poetic form are linked to changes in language, especially the reduction of syllables and syllabic length, which was particularly prominent in languages south of the Gulf of Finland (e.g. Laakso 2001; Viitso 2003). Impacts on syllabic quantity rules in both Western Finland and the Western regions of Estonia may have also been impacted by centuries of intense contact with Swedish language traditions (Sarv 2011; cf. Laitinen 2006: 38). In sung performance, especially in Ingria and Estonia,[12] shortened words of spoken language were sometimes augmented

to affect the length of a syllable, the number of syllables or to allow one syllable to do the work of two so that verses would conform to metrical or musical templates (Lauerma 2004: 24–65; Sarv 2015a: 10). Thus, even in the Finno-Karelian tradition areas, there were significant regional differences in the poetic form.

The poetic form evolved in different ways in relation to changes in language, but, metrically, "similarities are much greater than the differences" in the Finnic tradition as a whole (Leino 1986: 129). Differences predominantly concern the tendencies in the placement of long and short syllables, the number of feet in which multiple syllables can appear, and the degree that those feet can be flexed.[13] The differences in the poetic form can, on the whole, be viewed in terms of the degree to which different conventions of meter hold and in what hierarchies, considered in relation to the linguistic registers and modes of performance of the poetry's use. Even if similarities may outweigh the differences at the broadest level, each regional variation can with equal justification be approached as a distinct poetic system with its own metrical conventions that differ to varying degrees from those of other regions. It might also be reiterated that northern and southern groupings are built on linguistic grounds linked to nationalist agendas or on grounds of performance practices that are more relevant to social use of the poetry than poetic form. The poetic form in Ingria and on the Karelian Isthmus might better group formally with that of Northeast Estonia than with regions to the north and Northeast Estonian traditions might be better grouped with those of Ingria – the regional forms have simply never been analysed areally in that way.

The problems of terminology result from a practical need for relevant terms of different referential scope on the one hand and how terms relate to variation and difference on the other. The degree of difference between the poetic forms in different language areas makes it necessary to distinguish them in certain analyses, while in others it can be equally important to be able to talk collectively about all of these related poetic forms. Whatever term is used, the broader the scope of tradition areas to which it refers, the more that certain features are likely to be projected as hegemonic while others are marginalized.

Terms Referring to Kalevala

Of all of the possible terms, variations of 'Kalevala/kalevalaic poetry/meter' are the most well known and widely recognizable internationally. These terms reference the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*, which many more people have heard of than Finnic oral poetry. However, it is exactly this reference that makes such terms awkward from some points of view. The potential awkwardness arises from a variety of associations and connotations linked to *Kalevala*. Another issue is that these terms have often been used only to refer to the North Finnic forms of the tradition.

Kalevala is a product of national Romanticism. It was compiled and composed by Elias Lönnrot (1835; 1849) out of literally hundreds of variants of oral songs from different regions and language areas. He and others had collected songs, riddles, proverbs, incantations and numerous other genres from the local oral cultures. The richest body of poems used as the basis for Lönnrot's epic were collected from Russian Karelia, territories that had been separated by the Swedish–Russian border until Finland changed hands and became a Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire in the beginning of the 19th century. *Kalevala* later played an essential part in creating the Finnish nation-state. (See Piela et al. 2008.) In addition to the nation-building of 'Finland', there was also discussion of establishing a 'Greater Finland' (*Suur-Suomi*) consisting also of parts of Russian Karelia, sometimes also Ingria and Estonia. Researchers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries tended to talk about all Finnic groups – Finnish, Karelian, Votic, Ingrian, and sometimes even Estonian – as 'Finnish', which was often seen as a neutral term even if it is ideologically encoded. The priority of 'Finnish' identity was also asserted by Finnish researchers in otherwise neutral linguistic terms for Uralic languages like 'Finno-Ugric'.[14] Especially between the World Wars, some researchers, politicians and activists presented ideas that all the Finnic peoples should form one nation-state and, in the popular discussions of the 1930s in particular, interpretations of terms like

'kalevalaic poetry' or 'Kalevala poetry' were often bluntly nationalistic (Piela et al. 2008). Of course, St. Petersburg had been founded in the middle of the Finnic cultural areas in the early 18th century, which made the proposal of a 'Greater Finnish' nation somewhat problematic. The idea met with immediate objections both within and from outside of Finland. During the Second World War, the Finnish army actually conquered, for a short time, some areas of Russian Karelia. The idea of 'Greater Finland' has not been taken seriously since that time, but for some scholars, terms referring to *Kalevala* still echo the idea of a Greater Finnish Nation.

Today, the making of the national epic can be seen as a process of cultural appropriation: oral traditions of Karelians and Izhorians were taken and branded as 'Finnish'.[15] In fact, the mythology and poetry of Karelia and Ingria are currently, by association, commonly referred to as 'Finnish' both in Finland and more widely in the Western world. In Finland, this tendency is rooted in nationalist discourse; internationally, this tendency is in large part because 'Finland' is a nation-state on the mental map of Westerners, most of whom have never heard of 'Karelia' or 'Ingria' (see also Ahola et al. 2014: 487). For a Finnish researcher, *Kalevala* is burdened with this history, which, by association, gets carried by terms derived from *Kalevala*. Yet, in Finnish popular use, the nationalist resonance is often received positively, acknowledging great oral and literary works as well as local and national (positive) identities.

As modernization progressed in (then Soviet) Karelia, *Kalevala* was 'appropriated back' by Russian Karelians as a *Карело-финский* ['Karelo-Finnish'] epic. Both Lönnrot's epic and the associated oral poetry traditions are addressed as 'Karelo-Finnish' from the perspective of Russian scholarship more generally (where 'Karelia' provides a meaningful frame of reference). Thus, in spite of the political burden on the Finnish side, *Kalevala* and terms for Karelian oral poetry derived from the epic's title seem to be positive from the perspective of Karelians and in Russian scholarship.[16]

The southern forms of the poetic tradition were associated with building Estonian national ethnic identities. The situation was particularly complex because, from the beginning of the 20th century, the Finns were seen as a sort of 'big brother' lending help and support to the Estonians, and Finnish culture was esteemed in contrast to the variety of German influences that had accompanied modernization. One consequence of the authoritative position of Finnish research was the unconditional acceptance of the 'rules' of the northern metrical form. Regional variations in traditions of Estonia were recognized, but performers would sometimes be described as making 'mistakes' and texts published in schoolbooks were edited to conform to the ideal rules. (See Sarv 2008b.) Especially among Finnish scholars, use of Kalevala-based terms for this poetry can thus be seen as cultural appropriation or (when done by Estonian scholars) transfer, or as linking to a 'Greater Finland' ideology. However, such views are dependent on a number of associations which must be seen as significant, particularly: *a*) the association of the term with the epic *Kalevala*; *b*) the association of *Kalevala* with (Finnish) nationalism; and *c*) the association of Estonian oral poetry with (Estonian) ethnic identity and/or nationalism. On the one hand, such associations have been critically revaluated in different contexts, unpacking their political loads. On the other hand, transnational scientific communities evolving in the wake of globalization seem to have relaxed the significance and role of nationalism in research at the level of individual scholars. It is thus unsurprising that many contemporary researchers in Estonia think it is fine to use these Kalevala-based terms also for the Finnic poetry traditions as a whole (see Kallio K et al. 2015b; Jaago 2008). However, this issue is far from being uncontroversial (see Sarv 2015a: 6).

Another issue raised for these terms is that it is considered anachronistic to refer to folk poetry through a derivative, modern epic, and potentially misleading. Although *Kalevala* is a great work of literature, it is a lousy metaphor for oral poetry. Lönnrot composed new narrative structures, regularised the poetic language, and even 'improved' the metricality of verses.[17] He constructed an epic of 22,795 lines out of oral songs that rarely exceeded 350

verses.[18] It has also quite appropriately been noted that terms relating to *Kalevala* bear strong literary associations: *Kalevala* is usually performed as readings or recitals unknown to traditional oral cultures. Moreover, for several decades after the publication of *Kalevala*, Lönnrot's epic was understood and studied as a source of original folk poetry, despite the fact that Lönnrot clearly stated his position as the compiler in the preface of the book (1835; 1849). The long history of treating *Kalevala* as oral tradition, still widely encountered among non-specialists both in Finland and abroad, made it important for researchers to assert the distance and distinction of the oral poetry from *Kalevala* as a literary work. Many scholars have felt that these Kalevala-based terms suggest this earlier interpretive paradigm – i.e. that the oral poems are derivative of *Kalevala* rather than vice versa – which has been seen as more problematic for the terminology than its burden of associations with nationalism.

The term *kalevalamittainen runo*(*us*) ['Kalevala-metric poem/poetry'] was apparently coined during the second half of the 20th century in order to have a neutral word for both the oral poetry and *Kalevala*. At least for many contemporary Finnish researchers, this term feels more neutral and technical than 'kalevalaic' or 'Kalevala poetry' because it names the oral poetry through its meter in an easily recognisable way (Kallio K et al. 2015a & b). On the other hand, the impression of 'Kalevala-metric poetry' as opposed to 'kalevalaic poetry' can be the opposite in English. In the former, 'Kalevala' is a noun that specifies the epic in a construction equivalent to the phrase 'poetry in the meter of *Kalevala*', which can easily sound derivative (and could equally describe Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*). In contrast, 'kalevalaic' is an adjectival derivative that may more neutrally indicate 'like or related to *Kalevala*', analogous to corresponding terms such as 'Homeric' and 'eddic'/'eddaic' (similarly named from a work called *Edda* by the medieval Icelander Snorri Sturluson). These latter terms did originate with a sense of 'derivative of' but today, at least in scientific discourse, they are generally understood as categories of traditional poetry that happen to be best known through the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* or poetry preserved in the *Edda*s. In any case, it is sometimes felt that no terms referring to *Kalevala* are sufficiently neutral owing to the heavy literary, National-Romantic or nationalistic undertones of Lönnrot's epic. Other researchers, however, feel that the current use of the terms relating to *Kalevala* has been made possible by a long and critical research history of the national, National-Romantic and nationalistic trends in the history of folklore studies and of history writing (see e.g. Wilson 1976; Sihvo 1973; Bendix 1997; Valk 2004; 2005; Anttonen 2005; Tarkka 2013): in other words, each time the *Kalevala* and terms related to it have been deconstructed, they could be rebuilt with less of this load, and this has been done so many times that – even if no terms are ever wholly neutral – they can be reasonably applied in scientific discussion.

A practical issue in using terms derived from *Kalevala* for the whole of this poetic tradition is its customary scope of reference and connotations for the poetic form itself. Within the scholarly construction of this poetry into northern and southern branches, Kalevala-terms have often been used to refer only to the northern / North Finnic forms (e.g. Leino 1986: 129). In practice, the context of discussion tends to eliminate any confusion regarding which way the term is being used. On the other hand, extending this term's scope only provides a general term for the broader poetic tradition at the expense of a term for the northern / North Finnic forms, for which it is also practical to have a term. Of course, the relevance of differentiating these branches is dependent on the investigation. If concern is exclusively for formal principles of the poetry, the northern–southern division appears as an artificial, political construct, while actual variation in poetic form seems to progress more fluidly from region to region, as does variation in many singing practices, for which a different northern–southern division is relevant. Conversely, the distinction is relevant for research on epic, incantations and mythology because the North Finnic branch of the tradition exhibits distinct and shared systems of poetry at the textual level that seem to be rooted in historical innovations (Frog 2013b). Although songs, verses and symbolism

also passed through networks of communities across thresholds of linguistic difference, innovations in the northern branch extended to basic symbols and metaphors in the poetry (Ahola et al. 2018: 281–283). When terminology for the poetic form is bound up with, or even used for, the broader poetic system and poems, knowledge and practices associated with it, the northern–southern division can be significant.

A more serious issue, however, is that terms referring to *Kalevala* often carry a normative frame of interpretation. The term 'Kalevala-meter' tends to refer to the most regular, strict forms of this poetry and any description of the 'Kalevala-meter' will normally be in those terms. However, this form of the poetry is found mostly in Russian and Finnish Karelia. It is both used and further regularized by Lönnrot in *Kalevala* and tends to be still more ideally represented in metrical descriptions, but this form is not accurately representative of, for example, the poetic form in southwestern Finland. The terms referring to *Kalevala* implicitly valorize the northern Kalevala-meter, of which forms in Ingria, Estonia and even other parts of Finland become viewed as derivatives. Thus, not only have these Kalevala-based terms been used to refer to northern forms of the common tradition but they also suggest a particular, hegemonic frame of reference for viewing the poetry. Thus, some scholars feel that 'Kalevala-meter' is a useful term for the idealized abstraction of the poetic form as a frame of reference for considering different local and regional variations of the tradition, but should not be used as a general term for these traditions as such (see also Sarv 2015a: 6–7).

In sum, terms related to *Kalevala* have the advantage of recognisability, especially internationally. However, they also carry a lot of historical baggage that compromise their usability in the eyes of some researchers. If Kalevala-based terms are used to refer to all Finnic traditions, we lose the benefit of use for the North Finnic forms of the tradition. In addition, Kalevala-based terms suggest a frame of reference for evaluating different forms in relation to an ideal, which may implicitly devalue and marginalize regional variants.

Regilaul *and* regivärss

Whereas scholarship on northern forms of the tradition evolved a terminology referring to *Kalevala*, Estonian scholarship has used the terms *regilaul* ['*regi*-song'] and *regivärss* ['*regi*-poem/song']. Both terms derive from emic vocabulary for local oral traditions and have been adopted for public and academic use first by Fr. R. Kreutzwald in the 1840s (Laugaste 1980: 1619). Estonian *regi* and its Finnish and Karelian cognate *reki* mean 'sleigh, sledge', but the element *regi-* in these compounds derives from a Low German term for secular or dance songs (*SSA* III: 63, *s.v.* 'rekilaulu'). The original emic terms for *värss* in the cognate *regivärss* were *virsud* and *versid*, which have common root with Finnish word *virsi* 'poem', 'song', not with latin *verse*. *Regilaul* and *regivärss* are now established and considered unproblematic in Estonian. In recent decades, they have also begun to be used also in English language scholarship, where '*regivärss* meter' and '*regilaul* meter' are also both used when making explicit reference to the meter. For a Finnish reader, however, *regilaul* is easily confused with Finnish *rekilaulu*: *rekilaulu* seems to be a loan adaptation of Estonian *regivärss* (*SSA* III: 63, *s.v.* 'rekilaulu'), but now refers to a certain type of rhymed stanza that is very far from the common Finnic unrhymed, non-stanzaic tetrameter (Asplund 2006). This makes the Estonian term problematic in a Finnish language context, although it works fine in English and Estonian.

Regilaul and *regivärss* can operate as generally inclusive terms in Estonian for Estonian, Finnish, Karelian and Ingrian traditions, although Seto songs are perceived as different and most often called Seto *leelo* ['songs']. In English, the words' scope has been structured in scope to refer to Estonian and Seto forms of the poetic tradition in contrast to those designated through terms derived from *Kalevala* (cf. Sarv 2015a). In this respect, these terms carry many of the same issues as Kalevala-terms regarding the scope of reference, although they are more neutral in their other connotations.

***Terms Based on* runo**

Many terms linked to this poetry and especially its northern forms incorporate the Finnish and Karelian word *runo*. *Runo* was an emic term for 'traditional poem, song' as well as having an archaic meaning of 'performer of poetry; sorcerer (*tietäjä*)',[19] with rare use in a Karelian dialect to refer to a (stringed) musical instrument.[20] From the 17th century on, *runo* appears to have been used to denote the traditional Finnish poem in Latin (*runa*, *runo*), but was mainly used in various compounds for the same in Finnish (*runo-nuotti* [lit. '*runo*-note', 'runo-melody']) and Swedish (*Runewijsor* [lit. '*runo*-songs']) (see Melander 1928–1941 I: 11–14; Niinimäki 2007: 307; Siikala 2012: 24). During the 18th century, the plain term *runo* mostly refers to poems in traditional Finnish meter (although in the literary uses of the 17th and 18th centuries, it was common to add rhymes to such verses, on which see Kallio K 2015).[21] Terms based on *runo* lack the sort of baggage of Kalevala-terms, but, like most Finnish terms relating to old oral traditions, they have accumulated new meanings across the centuries. *Runo* is now the modern Finnish word for 'poem' in any poetic meter. Already in the first Finnish hymnal (1583), Jacobus Finno used the term *runo* and *runoja* indescriminately of pagan, Biblical and Christian poets (Lehtonen 1916: 199–200). In 1642, the first Finnish Bible mostly uses other terms (*wirsi*, *weisu*, *laulu*), but, in the apocryphal book of Tobias also *runo* is used for Hebraic poems (VKK Biblia B1-Tob-e:0-501a20; VKK FinnoVk-e-3a, 5a.). In oral language, *virsi* ['poem, song'] denoted a poem or song in the traditional alliterative meter, but it was then taken to refer to Lutheran hymns, which is how it is understood in contemporary language today. The term *runo* does have a connection to traditional local terms, but it also has a history of four hundred years in the discourse surrounding the tradition and in various literary uses.

The adaptation of *runo* into Estonian has been relatively straightforward, but adaptations of *runo* into other languages come with a different set of problematic associations. *Runo* does not belong to a common Finnic vocabulary and was borrowed from Finnish into Estonian, presumably in connection with the discourse surrounding *Kalevala* and related publications. As such, it is used to refer to traditional poems and has been used in Estonian scholarship to refer to the common Finnic form (e.g. Tedre 2015 [1989/1996]) and also more specifically to Northern Finnic forms (e.g. Särg 2005: 13). Difficulties arise in English and other Germanic languages where it has been common to translate *runo* etymologically. The word *runo* derives from an early Germanic loan, relating it to Old Norse *rún* ['unit of mythic knowledge, charm; letter of the runic alphabet'][22] (the word *runo* was also sometimes used in 17th-century literary Finnish for the runic alphabet: VKK As1667b-A2a). It has thus been translated into English as 'rune' or 'runic' and with corresponding terms in other Germanic languages, but these translations have been gradually devalued because of their misleading primary association with the Scandinavian runic alphabet and, by extension, with Old Norse poetry. Quite recently, the Finnish and Karelian term *runo* has been taken directly into discussions in English, which alleviates this issue.

In Finnish scholarship of recent years, the terms *runolaulu* ['runo-song'] and *runolaulaja* ['runo-singer'] have been favoured as neutral and viable terms for addressing the Finnic alliterative poetry tradition. These terms have spread into both Estonian and English use. In Finland, the term *runolaulu* ['poem-song'] is popular especially among researchers and performers who want to emphasise the oral, performed and musical character of traditional oral poetry (e.g. Laitinen 2006; Heinonen 2007; Huttu-Hiltunen 2008; Pulkkinen 2010; Haapoja 2013; see also Lippus 1995). *Laulu*, a common Finnic word for 'song' (Est. *laul*), has referred and still refers to the aural, musical quality of the poem, although it does not specify the metrical system being used. Foregrounding the performative nature of the poetry has been an important counterpoint to the long history of viewing the poetry as literary text, a paradigm that some feel is embedded in Kalevala-based terms. The Finnish term *runolaulumitta* ['runo-song meter'] is a recent innovation in the same vein, used mostly by those emphasising the musical or performance aspect of the tradition (e.g. Huttu-Hiltunen 2010; Pulkkinen 2010). The

family of *runolaulu*-based terms have been thought to hold promise for breaking away from the limitations of many other terms discussed above – or at least from their baggage of associations and implications.

The term *runo(n)laulu* ['runo-song'] has been used here and there in literary contexts to mean the traditional Finnish poetry from the first dictionary with Finnish words onward (Schroderus 1941, 40: "Poema. Dicht. die Erdichtung. Runoin laulu."). Antti Lizelius, vicar in western Finland, used the term *runolaulu* when narrating the ancient pagan history of his parish Mynämäki in 1780. However, the terms *runo(n)laulu* or *runo(n)laulaja* are not found in the 18th century dictionary by Christian Ganander (1997), nor in the poems of *SKVR*-corpus of Finnic oral poetry – except for one short manuscript by Elias Lönnrot without any contextual or geographical information.[23] Nevertheless, in the contextual information of the *SKVR*, edited in early 20th century, both the terms *runo(n)laulaja* and *runo(n)laulu* are used, and in the newspapers at least from 1823 on, the terms are common.[24] On the other hand, the term *runoniekka* ['poet, versifier'] appears both in the 19th century dictionary and in some oral-like verses and contextualizing information in *SKVR* (Ganander 1997: 813, #21650; *SKVR* VI_1 813; XII_2 6876; $XIII_3$ 9000). It may be that *runo(n)laulaja* ['singer of *runo*s'] was a term coined by 18th and 19th century scholars to refer to the singer of a traditional poems.

Runolaulu has a long scholarly history, and it might also have been a vernacular (emic) term. Nevertheless, as the term has, during recent decades, been spreading into more commonplace popular uses (in contemporary newspapers, for example, *runo(n)laulu* is used for any kind of poetry that is performed as song), the term often needs some sort of qualification to distinguish reference to traditional alliterative oral poetry in the tetrameter (e.g. 'Kalevala-metric' or 'traditional Finnic' *runolaulu*). However, these issues are limited to Finnish language use. The ambiguities are escaped in Estonian, where the term *runo* was borrowed early in connection with the traditional poetry, but at present it is not clear that the use of the term in Estonian will be extended to the common Finnic tradition or mainly to refer more narrowly to Finnish, Karelian and Ingrian traditions. The rather new English translation of this term as 'runo-song/runosong', which retains rather than translates the first part of the compound, is quite specific and clear. The term is readily applied to the common Finnic tradition as a viable means of avoiding any political or ideological connotations of terms based on *Kalevala*. (See Knuuttila et al. 2010; Sarv 2015a; Siikala & Vakimo 1994; see also Kallio K et al. 2015a–b.)

One criticism against the terms with explicit reference to 'song' or 'singing' is that there were also genres performed primarily within conversational speech (e.g. proverbs) or recitation (e.g. some incantations and poems for children). Terms referencing 'song' or 'singing' thus bring particular forms of the tradition into focus with a consequence of marginalizing others. Pekka Huttu-Hiltunen (e.g. 2015) has been a vocal advocate for the terms *runolaulu* and its equivalent 'runosong'. He has recently called on a quotation from Karl Reichl that "singing makes the rule" of meter,[25] arguing that even if some forms of the poetry were not sung, the poetic form has been fundamentally structured by singing practice also for these genres. It is justifiable to claim that, as far as we know, the major part of this traditional Finnic poetry was used as sung poetry, although the interactions of different performance modes on meter remains uncertain. We should also be cautious about oversimplifying those relationships just as we should be cautious about presuming the meter to operate more consistently across genres than it necessarily did. For example, alliteration in metrical proverbs, which were commonly used in conversational discourse, tends to occur at the beginning rather than at the end of the line and, unlike in longer poetic genres, is preferred on particular syntactic elements (Leino 1970: 132–137, 186).[26] Metrical features operate in distinct ways in this genre, presumably connected with how proverbs are used.

Connecting *runo* with 'song' and 'singing' carries connotations for how the resulting terms are understood in our cultures today. In a technical sense, it is accurate to say that "[o]ral poetry is as a rule sung poetry" (Reichl 2012: 9). However, the potentially monotonous repeating rhythmic intonational patterns of much 'sung' oral poetry does not necessarily

align with the what is called 'singing' in many Western languages today, where even melodically rich rap is not called 'singing' (or even 'chanting').[27] Terms based on *runo* offer valuable alternatives to terms already discussed, but they are not without their own connotations that incline towards generalizations with a different emphasis.

Description-Based Terms

Another possible means of designating this collective Finnic tradition is to use or coin a general descriptive term based on the identification of characteristic features of the poetry. Features that have been or may be used include terms for the linguistic area, language or language group, such as 'Finnic', 'Estonian', 'Karelian', 'Ingrian', 'Finnish', 'Northwest Estonian', 'Seto', etc. Such terms may point to the traditional or shared nature of the poetry as 'traditional', 'common', 'folk', identify its medium of transmission as 'oral', or indicate its presumed age as 'old' or 'ancient'. Such terms may also distinguish one or more metrical or poetic features, such as 'tetrametric', 'trochaic' or 'alliterative'. These terms, like 'Kalevala-meter' or 'kalevalaic', qualify a noun for a general phenomenon such as 'poetry', 'poem', 'meter' (or 'tetrameter'), (song/singing) 'culture', and so on. Like other terms here, these ways of talking about the poetry are based on bringing certain features into primary focus as opposed to others.

Language and Geography

The descriptor 'Finnic' appears uncontroversial: the poetic system is generally accepted as a common Finnic linguistic heritage even if it is not attested in all Finnic languages. Such a descriptor can be calibrated to a particular study according to language or cultural group (e.g. 'Karelian', 'Seto'), dialect or dialect group (e.g. 'Viena Karelian', 'Saaremaa Estonian', 'Western Finnish'), or according to geographical space (e.g. 'Ingrian' / 'of Ingria'). Such descriptors only become potentially controversial where they generalize from one national or ethnic group to encompass and thereby marginalize others, such as using 'Finnish' as inclusive of Karelian and Ižorian (a language of Ingria).

'Folk', 'Traditional', 'Oral'

Descriptors referring to the traditional or shared nature of the poetic system each carry their own connotations and associations (e.g. 'folk', 'traditional') and ambiguities (e.g. 'common', 'shared'), which also extend to the many connotations of 'oral' as a medium of social transmission. Actually, in Finnish and Estonian, the general terms *kansanperinne* [Fi. 'folklore, folk tradition'], *kansanlaulu* [Fi. 'folksong'], *rahvalaul* [Est. 'folksong'], *rahvaluule* [Est. 'folk poetry'] and so forth are rather common, and often used in combination with various adjectives mentioned above. There have been long international discussions on such terms and concepts and the loads they carry (see e.g. Dundes 1980; Finnegan 2003). In Finnish and Estonian, the use of terms incorporating the element 'folk' retain established, although also problematized, positions in scientific discourse (see e.g. Laitinen 2013). The debate surrounding the term 'folk' has left it quite marked especially in English, in which some scholars now tend to avoid it and prefer terms like 'traditional', 'vernacular' and 'oral'. Nevertheless, the discussions on these terms have made them all viable for describing the Finnic poetry addressed here.

'Old', 'Ancient', 'Archaic', 'Inherited', 'Indigenous'

Somewhat more problematic are terms designating the age of the phenomena ('old', 'ancient', 'archaic'). The attribute 'ancient' in particular easily gets associated with the most declamatory interpretations of a great national past, carrying much of the same baggage as terms derived from *Kalevala* above. The same is true of referring to the poetry as 'inherited', which is comparable to calling the poetry 'Finnic' but characterizes it as heritage with all that that implies.

Denoting the age of the poems connects to an earlier emphasis on tracing and reconstructing their origins within a discourse of authenticity and heritage construction (see also Bendix 1998; Valk 2005). There was a radical paradigm shift in the second half of the 20th century that rejected the investigation of diachronic continuity to focus on the living tradition and its variation which had until then been marginalized and devalued (see e.g. Honko 2000). The new focus brought valid

methodological criticisms but also stigmatized diachronic investigation with great scepticism concerning any claims about the history of traditions prior to empirical evidence (see also Frog 2013a). The earliest sources are from the 16th century and the evidence remains very limited until the 19th century (see Sarajas 1956; Häkkinen 2013).[28] Variation is fundamental to oral tradition and has even been considered a defining characteristic (e.g. Honko 2013 [1991]: 36). In local cultures, new poems, themes, and variations of these were continuously being created: some themes and formulas have deep historical roots while others were contemporary creations.[29] Thus, very little can be said about exactly what genres, poems, themes, verses and songs were in use even five hundred years ago, and what little can be said remains in quite general terms (e.g. Siikala 2002a; Frog 2013b; Ahola et al. 2018). Referring to these traditions through their great age is thus neither unproblematic nor neutral. Even if there is general scholarly consensus that the poetic system has been in use for a millennium or more, many scholars feel that attributions of great age remain highly controversial and identified with outdated approaches. The controversy is exacerbated by the tendency to conflate ideas about age of the poetic system or certain poetic themes with the age of individual poems themselves.

In Finnish scholarship, some terms referring to the age of the poetry have a long-established place in the discourse (e.g. Häkkinen 2013). In fact, a scholarly distinction is often made between 'old folk poetry/poems' (poems in Kalevala-meter) and 'new folk songs' (rhymed and stanzaic songs). This is based on what we know of the history of alliterative and rhymed poetries in Finnic languages. It seems probable that the Finnic poetic form in focus here was the commonly used poetic medium in the Finnic cultural areas where it was documented up until the 18th century, and in many places well into the 19th century. Rhymed songs are thought to have been developed in various oral and literary forms on the basis of mostly German, Scandinavian and Russian models beginning from not later than the 16th or 17th century. (See Leino 1986; Asplund 1997; 2006; Rüütel 2012 [1969]; Kallio K 2015.) Within the discussion of folklore research, terms of relative age are therefore well understood. However, the difference between them is not always easily recognized in popular use.

These terms also have value-laden tones in 'old'–'new' oppositions. These descriptions confer both aesthetic and ideological priority and weight to the 'old' poems (see also Saarlo 2008), which correlate with 'inherited' as opposed to 'borrowed' traditions. These value-laden oppositions have in fact had a negative impact in a long line of definitions of the poetic phenomenon. At the end of the 18th century, when the professor of rhetoric Henrik Gabriel Porthan defined the poetic limits and most important areas of Finnish traditional poetry, he founded the beginning of a long history of learned interest in mythological and heroic epic in classical Kalevala-meter. This valorization of certain poetic forms and genres meant that others were regarded as more recent or commonplace and thus did not receive much attention either in the collection of folklore or in research. As a consequence, scholarly models of metrics and poetics have neglected the lyrical, personal, improvisatory or everyday poetic genres, and the non-canonical poetic forms near or even outside the limits of the tetrameter proper have similarly been dismissed or ignored. In recent decades, several researchers have deconstructed the historical context of the relative valorization of particular genres and poetic forms (e.g. Gröndahl 1997; Timonen 2004; Jaago 2008; Sarv 2008a; Kalkun 2011; Stepanova 2014). Nevertheless, terms distinguishing the poetic form according to its age or explicitly as a common heritage seem still to be bound up with quite subtle loads.

Metrical or Poetic Features

Simply calling the poems or poetic system 'Finnic traditional poetry' or 'old Finnic folk poetry' may be viable and effective, but these terms also remain ambiguous. However pervasive this poetic system may have been, it seems to have existed alongside the distinct system associated with laments that was equally organized on principles of alliteration and parallelism although lacking a periodic meter. Even though rhymed poetries do not share the same age extending to a common Finnic heritage, these have also been acculturated across the centuries. Terms such

as ‘traditional’, ‘folk’, ‘old’, and so forth are no less applicable to them. The ambiguity of terms like ‘Finnic traditional poetry’ can be resolved through reference to one or more features of the poetic form.

There are several features of the poetry that might be foregrounded in developing terms to refer to it. The most conservative form of the meter has been described as trochaic or syllabic. If trochaic is understood as the alternation between strong and weak verse positions and syllabic is considered not as a single syllable per position but in terms of clear conventions (‘rules’) for how syllables fill verse positions (as reflected in performance), then being trochaic and syllabic are almost the only common features uniting the local forms of this meter across the whole tradition area. However, it has already been stressed above that these characteristics are not generally representative of the broader Finnic tradition. Conventions governing the placement of long and short stressed syllables are generally distinctive of the poetic form, but a single, practical term for this metrical feature is lacking and the conventions also exhibit great variation across different singing areas. Organizing principles of alliteration and parallelism are both shared by the poetics of lament poetry. Referring to the poetry as ‘alliterative’ is quite common and highlights a key characteristic for someone not familiar with it. Although alliteration does not distinguish this poetry from lament poetry *per se*, it presents a neutral formal distinction from many other poetries that might equally be described as ‘traditional’ and ‘old’. ‘Alliterative’ is a widely used term in labelling the poetic form, presumably in part owing to international use of metrical features in labelling poetic forms. However, this term can also be seen as problematic in its connotations: calling the poetic form ‘alliterative’, especially in combination with metrical terms (e.g. ‘alliterative tetrameter’), suggests that alliteration is metrical, which, technically, it is not; alliteration has no formal link to the metrical template nor is it required in every line. Parallelism is not technically a metrical feature nor is it usually incorporated into a term for the poetry but rather appended to it (e.g. ‘characterized by parallelism’). The most general feature which sets this poetry apart from lament is the tetrameter, which seems neutral both as a technical designation and because it can be generally considered an organizing principle at the base of the many diverse forms of this poetry. However, at least in the North Finnic areas, most rhymed poetry from *rekilaulu* and *tsastuska* to ballads, metrical literary poetry, modern rock and rap is also tetrametric, so this term is also not without ambiguity.[30] Of the various compositional features, only ‘alliterative’ and ‘tetrametric’ seem generally representative, although neither is unambiguous alone. Used in combination to describe poetry in the tetrameter as alliterative, but leads to the inference that alliteration is a metrical feature, and thus their combination may be viewed as misrepresentative.

Referring to the poetry through its metrical features has the advantage of being more neutral than other ways reviewed above. In addition, when these features are combined with the linguistic distinction as ‘Finnic’, terms like ‘folk’, ‘traditional’, ‘old’, ‘inherited’, ‘oral’ and so forth all become unnecessary because there is only one ‘Finnic alliterative tetrameter’ in the sense of a tetrametric form characterized by alliteration shared among Finnic groups. The linguistic descriptor remains relevant to distinguish it from the corresponding ‘alliterative tetrameter’ of Germanic languages,[31] where, however, alliteration is metrical, highlighting the problem that the same term for the Finnic poetic form sounds technically inaccurate. In English, the terms ‘alliterative tetrameter’, where alliteration is a qualifier of the metrical descriptor, might be inverted to ‘tetrametric alliterative poetry’, where the tetrameter qualifies the alliterative poetry and, technically, avoids the implication that alliteration is metrical *per se*. The problem that people may infer alliteration as metrical in any term linking ‘alliterative’ and ‘tetrameter/-metric’ is unavoidable, but ‘Finnic tetrametric alliterative poetry’ is otherwise unambiguous and potentially effective. In contrast to other terms, however, its technically neutral is offset by being long, sterile and cumbersome, poorly suited for engaging students, enthusiasts and scholars not specialized in working with the poetry. Alternately, ‘common Finnic tetrameter’ can equally be effective when technical

ambiguity is ignored and 'common' is understood as a euphemistic reference to a common linguistic heritage as opposed to poetic forms that have spread later.

Overview

The Finnic poetry discussed here is both a distinct, shared phenomenon found across Finnic groups and it also takes a great variety of different forms. There is as yet no single, generally agreed term for designating the tradition as a whole, and it has not been the purpose here to propose any one term above others. Instead, the aim here has been to offer a general overview of the variety of terms and the issues associated with them. This has been done in a way that makes the issues of terminology accessible on an international level with the hope of stimulating more concentrated attention to this issue. This overview has highlighted that the question of terminology is not conducive to a single hegemonic answer; it seems to be dependent on language, context or situation, and also on national scholarships.

Terms derived from *Kalevala* carry huge amounts of baggage especially for Finnish scholars. These terms have the advantage of both international and popular recognisability, but they also tend to be suggestive of quite a specific, regionally-centered form of the tradition and an ideal, rule-based conception of the meter (especially in discussions of metrics). They are also associated first and foremost with texts over performance, and especially in popular use lead to mistakenly viewing Lönnrot's *Kalevala* as the exemplar of the traditional poetic form. *Kalevala* based terms have often been used with reference only to the North Finnic forms of the tradition, exclusive of the traditions of Estonia, particularly among Finnish scholars for whom the extended use of the term is politically and ideologically charged. The term has come to be used to refer an ideal model rather than a real tradition in its variability because, through the long history of its use, it was so often connected to normative descriptions of the Kalevala-meter in scholarly and also educational discourse.

The Estonian terms *regilaul* and *regivärss,* widely used in scholarly as well as in common language, are more neutral terms used mostly to denote specifically Estonian tradition, in Estonian and in English, but they are problematic in Finnish because the cognate *rekilaulu* refers to a quite different form of poetry. In Estonian this is also a feasible term for any branch of or the whole Finnic tradition, together with the reference to different languages or language group. Setos prefer to use their own emic term *leelo* about Seto tradition, accepting though that as a part of common Finnic tradition it may be called *regilaul* as well.

The older Finnish term *runolaulu* and its Estonian (*runolaul*) and English (*runo-song/runosong*) adaptations have gained more popularity in recent years. Like Estonian *regilaul*, these terms point to the poetical-musical tradition as a whole, not segregating texts, melodies and performance. Yet, these terms sometimes turn out to be problematic for describing genres using same poetics that were not sung, like incantations or short forms of folklore. *Runolaulu* also suffers from recent ambiguity in Finnish ('song performance of any poem'), but its adaptations into English and Estonian are semantically clearer. Like the terms referring to *Kalevala*, *runosong* is sometimes used to denote only the Northern branch of the poetic tradition as an extension of its derivation from Finnish tradition and its promotion by Finnish scholars. Thus, the vernacular terms deriving from either Estonian or Finnish/Karelian language and scholarly tradition tend to associate with the specific poetic tradition it comes from (*regilaul* in Estonian and *runsong* or *Kalevala-metric poetry* in Northern Finnic traditions), but with the clear reference to a group in question they can be used for a tradition as a whole or for a more specific branches of it.

One point of contention in terminology is whether terms structured by the division of the tradition into northern and southern forms along the North Finnic linguistic divide should be used at all. The variation in inclusive and exclusive scope of different terms by language foregrounds ways of thinking about Finnic traditions that are rooted in 19th-century constructions of 'Finnish' and 'Estonian' linguistic-ethnic identities as foundations for nationalism. This is quite a serious issue with regard to the analysis of meter, melody and especially other formal aspects of the tradition

and is also relevant to performance practices. For research in these areas, splitting the tradition in two seems a potentially arbitrary modern construct with a misleading terminological implication that there are two, fundamentally different forms or branches of the poetry. Linguistic and national boundaries were clearly permeable and it has never been shown to what degree either of these have structured differences in local traditions. On the other hand, for research with emphasis on language and text or what is performed, and especially research with a diachronic emphasis, there is a relevance and historical validity in distinguishing traditions of the North Finnic language groups. Such a distinction then provides a frame for considering local and regional variation according to contacts, even if the distinction may nevertheless be misleading in terms of poetic form *per se*. The inference that this distinction validates treating all other tradition areas as a coherent group is problematic if only because it homogenizes the traditions of different branches of Finnic language each comparable to North Finnic. This is like saying Old Norse / Scandinavian forms of Old Germanic poetry constitute a valid category so Old English, Old High German and Old Saxon poetries collectively form a second category. For some research there can be a practical advantage to using Kalevala-based terms for North Finnic traditions, *regilaul* as a complementary term for traditions of Estonia and Setomaa, and *runolaulu*/*runolaul*/*runosong* for all of them together. Those advantages do not, however, extend to discussions of the poetic form *per se*, and use of any collective term for non-North-Finnic traditions remains problematic.

A number of descriptive terms are also available, and these help to neutralize implicit thinking according to national, ethnic or linguistic boundaries by making such qualifications conscious and explicit specifications within the broader tradition. Terms relating to the age of the poetry or identifying it as heritage carry similar baggage to Kalevala-based terms. Adjectives like 'traditional', 'oral' and 'folk' each have their own connotations although these have been deconstructed to an extent that they now tend to be viable in the languages considered. The linguistic designation 'Finnic' seems to be neutral while the metrical descriptions as 'tetrametric' and 'alliterative' both seem to be generally representative and neutral. 'Finnic tetrametric alliterative poetry' forms a potentially viable term in English, but the clumsy cascade of syllables limits its utility, and there remains the unavoidable problem that alliteration will be inferred as metrical. 'Common Finnic tetrameter' is more manageable, but not technically without ambiguity.

There seems to be no simple answer concerning which term to use when wishing to refer to this Finnic poetic tradition as a whole. Nevertheless, the consolidation of discussions surrounding the different potential terms in the present review may, perhaps, offer a more substantial frame of reference for reflecting on the topic by not only considering their pros and cons of individual terms, but by looking at various alternatives together. We might also observe that technical ambiguities or inaccuracies and loads of potentially problematic connotations come into focus under detailed scrutiny, but as any phrasal unit becomes established in terminology, its meaning shifts from interpretation of its parts as a composition to a label for what we agree it refers to. Deconstructing and reconstructing potential terminology and its historical or other baggage reshapes the terminology itself. Ultimately, the question of which term to use in a given language has less to do with its semantics and connotations when placed under a magnifying glass than with social consensus, agreed usage in the relevant discourse environment. A reality of terminology is that it changes over time, and it is precisely that we are now in the midst of such changes, renegotiating terms that all seem open to question, that we felt the present discussion was needed.

Notes

1. In German language scholarship, the term *altgermanisch* ['old Germanic'] seems to have evolved in the 19th century under the aegis of National Romanticism, and Eduard Sievers' *Altgermanische Metrik* (1893) ['Old Germanic Meter'] was probably a catalyst in its spread. This term became a collective term referencing a common linguistic-cultural heritage for medieval and Iron Age Germanic languages and the people who spoke them. It is now quite well established. The translation of this term is widely used in English to collectively reference the

meter and poetics, but 'Old Germanic' sounds dated and imprecise; also used are 'early Germanic', just 'Germanic' or any of these combined with 'alliterative', and so forth. Joseph Harris' recent title "Old*er* Germanic Poetry" (2012, emphasis added) is symptomatic of a need to reconsider and perhaps rebuild the relevant terminology.

2. On emic terms in Ingria and Karelia, see Timonen 2004: 86–157, 238–303; Kallio K 2013: 166–172; Tarkka 2013: 95–102, 156–158; in Estonia, see Saareste 1955: 28; Oras et al. 2014: 10. No emic terms have cognates used consistently across all languages.
3. On the historically spread ballad form, see e.g. Vargyas 1983; Colbert 1986. Referring to a family of poetic forms through a genre category presents its own sets of problems which are no less complex, but they may vary considerably from one such poetic form to the next and many of those problems are distinct from issues addressed here.
4. The dominant view is that the poetic form derives from a common Finnic heritage (see e.g. Korhonen 1987; 1994; Kuusi 1994; Leino 1994; Helimski 1998: 44–45; Rüütel 1998; Siikala 2012: 438–441). Although some scholars may be sceptical about construing the age of the poetic form, there are currently no substantial arguments for a dating after the breakup of Proto-Finnic.
5. On the diversity of genres and their inter-relations, see e.g. Kuusi 1994; Krikmann 1997: ch. 2.2; Rüütel 1998–1999; Frog & Stepanova 2011; Tarkka 2013; Timonen 2004.
6. For example, Oskar Loorits (1932: 91) considered the Estonian traditions to represent a more archaic poetic on the implicit basis of an idea of cultural evolution from less to greater structure; in contrast, Matti Sadeniemi (1951: 147–149) took the opposite view that the more regular form of the meter is more archaic, and that this has changed especially in Setomaa in relation to historical changes in the language. The question of reconstruction was also a question of heritage, and which nation possessed the more 'authentic' poetry.
7. In the terminology of John Miles Foley (e.g. 1990: 96–106, 178–196).
8. This term has become the basis of reference as *viskurilaki* ['winnower's law'] in Finnish (Kuusi 1952: 242–248) and simplified as *winnowing* in English (Leino 1986: 133–134).
9. The final syllable sometimes appears as an expletive or vocable to accommodate some sort of variation, but this is rare, especially in epic. Right justification is not restricted to metered poetry: all else being equal, a longer or heavier word will often follow a lighter one as in expressions like *death and taxes* or *rhyme and reason*. The difference in kalevalaic poetry is that word length becomes a more significant determinant on word order than conventions of syntax, so word order appears more variable than unmetered discourse. (See further Sadeniemi 1951: 28–39.)
10. Nigel Fabb (2009: 163) implies that this complex constraint is unusual generally for poetry.
11. Description as a 'broken verse' is linked to Matti Sadeniemi's (1951: 27–39) theory of a mandatory caesura between the second and third feet of the line on analogy to Germanic alliterative verse: 'broken verses' have words spanning these positions. However, such verses are so common in Karelia that there is no reason to consider a caesura at all (Leino 1986: 133–134; Frog & Stepanova 2011: 201). They may instead be better viewed as a type of variation that creates aesthetic tension in performance (e.g. Niemi 2016: 29–30).
12. The meter was connected to local forms of speech (Korhonen 1994; Leino 1994; Sarv 2008a). In spoken and dictated forms of poems, the words were often closer to local dialect and, respectively, the lines could easily be shorter or the periodic structure of lines might dissolve, whereas in sung performance, the lines were typically full, their periodic structure more strict, and linguistic forms more archaic (Saarinen 1988: 198–199; Lauerma 2004: 24).
13. Additional differences, such as the percentage of lines with alliteration and type of alliteration may be a more incidental outcome of language change, for example allowing more words with the potential to alliteration within a line.
14. Such ethnocentrism in labelling language families belongs to the era when the term for 'Indo-European' in German scholarship was *indogermanisch* ['Indo-Germanic']. All Finnic groups have been identified, at least at the level of terminology, as essentially 'Finnish' through the earlier term for Finnic languages and peoples, 'Balto-Finnic' or 'Baltic Finnic' based on Lat. *Fennicus*, or simply 'Baltic Finnish', and their equivalents Finnish *itämeren-suomalainen*, and Estonian *läänemeresoomlane* meaning literally 'Baltic Sea Finnish' (Fi. *suomalainen*, Est. *soomlane* ['Finnish']). The current simplified English form *Finnic* is possible because it remains distinct from *Finnish*, which is not the case with Finnish and Estonian terms today.
15. On traditional Finnic poetry and cultural appropriation, see Wilson 1976; see also Haapoja 2013; Hill 2007; Haapoja et al. 2017; this topic is a concern of the current Kone Foundation project "Omistajuus, kieli ja kulttuuriperintö: Kansanrunous-ideologiat Suomen, Karjalan tasavallan ja Viron alueilla" ['Ownership, Language and Cultural Heritage: Ideologies of Folk Poetry in Finland, the Republic of Karelia and Estonia'] (PI Eila Stepanova). Within the framework of Romanticism, such appropriation was part of the general view that *das Volk* preserved parts of an archaic heritage, and that some ethnic groups preserved this heritage for others of the same language (= ethnic) family. Such claims on traditions were thus by no means exclusive to 'Finns': all of the Scandinavian nations laid claim to the mythology, epics and sagas discovered among the Icelanders – as indeed did the Germans and even the British; the common heritage of Germanic religion was largely appropriated from Iceland.
16. The anti-Romantic-Nationalist attitude that became established in the West in the aftermath of World War II did not penetrate Eastern Europe. *Kalevala* is thus not burdened by this more general discourse in Russian Karelia or in Russia more generally.

17. In detail, see Niemi 1898; Kaukonen 1939–1949; 1956; in English, see Pentikäinen 1999; Honko 2002; Järvinen 2010.
18. In Matti Kuusi's (1949) study of more than 700 examples and fragments of the so-called epic Sampo-Cycle (documented with varying aims and degrees of accuracy) around which Lönnrot organized his *Kalevala*, only eight examples exceeded 400 lines, and only an additional eight were 251–400 lines (Kuusi 1949: 22).
19. The sense of 'poem, song' seems to have been general through Finnish and Karelian dialect areas but was not found in the Värmland Finnish dialect of Central Sweden; the sense of 'poet, versifier' is found in the preface to the first Finnish Hymnal; it is found as a parallel term for *laulaja* in traditional poetry in Karelia and Ingria; and in the form *runoi* in Värmland Finnish meaning 'performer of traditional poetry, sorcerer (*tietäjä*)' alongside the verb *runoa* ['to perform sorcery, cast spell a spell, curse'] (*SKES* IV: 863–865, *s.v.* 'runo'; Toivonen 1944:189–190; *SSA* III: 104, *s.v.* 'runo[1]'; *KKS*, *s.v.* 'runo'; Lehtonen 2016).
20. On uses of *runo* for a musical instrument with examples, see *KKS*, *s.v.* 'runo'; cf. also *s.v.* 'kieli' [lit. 'tongue, language'], which has the meaning 'strings (of a musical instrument)' although only indicated for different dialects than this use of *runo*. The history of these semantic and whether these meanings of *runo* and *kieli* are independent or related developments requires detailed investigation.
21. This notion is based on the searches in the corpus of the old literary Finnish language (especially the sub-corpus *Varia*); see also Laitinen 2006: 52.
22. The Finnic form corresponds to a Proto-Scandinavian **rūnō* or earlier form (*LägLoS* III: 178, *s.v.* 'runo'). This word seems to have belonged to a common Germanic and Celtic religious vocabulary linked to (secret) council and communication or knowledge that in Germanic came to be used also for the Germanic script or runic (furthark) alphabet. The etymology of word has a long history of debate, recently reviewed by Bernard Mees; forms of the word are attested as Old Norse *rún*, Gothic *rūna* ['secret, mystery; plan, council'], Old High German *rūna* ['whisper, secret'], Old Saxon *rūna* ['council, confidential advice']; in Celtic: Old Irish *rún* ['hidden, occult, mystery, privacy, intimacy, enchantment, charm, virtue, attribute, nature'] with adjectival derivatives in Old Irish, Middle Welsh and potentially preserved in onomastics more widely; Latvian *runa* ['speech, speaking, talking'] is treated as independently derived from Proto-Indo-European (Mees 2014: 527, 520–531 and works there cited). Germanic **rūnō* was also used as a (feminine) agentive noun in compounds and may have already been archaic when documented, attested as: Jordanes' use of *haliurunnae* ['death-sorceress'] which he translates *magae* ['sorceress, witch'] (*Getica*, ch. 24); Old English *helerūna* ['death-sorceress'], *būrhrunan* / *burgrūnan* ['Furies; Parcas'], in only one manuscript *leodrūne* ['song-sorceress'], the *hapax legomenon* *heahrūn* ['high-sorceress, seeress']; Old High German, only in glosses, *liodrūna* ['song-sorceress, witch'], *tōtrūna* ['death-sorceress'], and a non-agentive use of *hellirūna* ['necromancy'] with a masculine derivative *hellirūnāri* ['necromancer']. (See Flowers 1986: 150–153; Macleod & Mees 2006: 5; BTASD, *s.vv.* 'burhrunan', 'heahrun', 'helleruna', 'leódruna'.)
23. Collectors did use these terms in their field notes to refer to singers and songs.
24. The forms *runolaulu/laulaja* are used mostly before 1920s, forms with the genitive *-n- runonlaulu/laulaja* after that. The contemporary scholarly use has returned to the 19th century form, possibly because of the elevated, romantic and nationalistic uses of the early 20th century. See SKVR-database (www.skvr.fi), searches runolau* and runonlau*; The National Library's digital collections, newspapers (https://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi/sanomalehti/search?language=en), searches runolaul* and runonlaul*.
25. Huttu-Hiltunen quoted this statement in an oral conference presentation (Huttu-Hiltunen 2015 in the works cited) with reference to a corresponding oral presentation by Reichl: the wording may not be precise.
26. Leino's study of alliteration in proverbs requires reassessment both in terms of the specific parameters whereby a proverb is qualified as metrical, and also to assess whether proverbs embedded within poems of the meter are more metrically consistent and in what tradition regions.
27. At least in the North Finnic branch of the tradition, local (emic) metapragmatic descriptions of sung performance and singing competitions seem to valorize the number of songs and their length with concerns for text organization; descriptions seem to attend to volume and clarity but aesthetic valuations of voice quality and melody of 'singing' are generally lacking, or veiled in metaphor (see e.g. the discussions in Timonen 2000; Siikala 2002b: 33–38; Tarkka 2013: 148–156).
28. Attempts have been made to interpret Novgorod birch bark inscription #292 (apparently a verbal charm in a Finnic idiom) as the earliest example of a Finnic metrical text, but this is highly problematic (Laakso 1999; Frog 2014b: 443–444).
29. See e.g. Harvilahti 1992; 2004; Siikala 2002a; Merilai 2006; Kalkun 2011. Some types of folklore might even move in and out of the poetic form over time, on which see e.g. Kuusi 1954; Rausmaa 1964; 1968.
30. Heikki Laitinen's (2006) proposal of *kahdeksantavumitta* ['octosyllabiv meter'] as a term for the metrical form faces a similar issue of non-specificity, even if it may work effectively as a term when its referent is contextually transparent.
31. Some Germanic metricists would object to description as a tetrameter since the meter in most languages allows hypermetric lines with a fifth foot.

Works Cited

Abbreviations

BTASD – *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Available at: http://www.bosworthtoller.com/.

ERA-database. Eesti regilaulude andmebaas – Estonian Runic Songs' Database. Available at: http://www.folklore.ee/regilaul/andmebaas.

KKS – Karjalan Kielen Sanakirja. Available at: http://kaino.kotus.fi/cgi-bin/kks/kks_etusivu.cgi.

LägLoS – Kylstra, A.D., et al. 1991–2012. *Lexikon der älteren germanischen Lehnwörter in den ostseefinnischen Sprachen* I–III. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

SKS: Suomalaisen Kirkallisuuden Seura / Finnish Literature Society

SKVR: *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* I-XV. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1908–1948, 1997.

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SSA: *Suomen sanojen alkuperä: Etymologinen sanakirja* I–III. Helsinki: SKS, 1992–2000.

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Literature

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