IDENTIFICATION OF UNNAMED NON-HUMAN AGENTS IN KALEVALA-METRIC INCANTATIONS

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Abstract: Kalevala-metric poetry is an oral-poetic system of various genres, shared by multiple Finnic groups. In addition to epic and lyric, one of the prominent main genres of the oral tradition is formed by incantations. The Kalevala-metric incantations regularly invoke non-human agents, which are aligned with the performer in various ways. While these agents are often explicitly named and addressed, in some cases their identity remains unclear. By conducting a case study, the paper proposes that in many occurrences the unnamed agents are identifiable by examining textual cues and the emergent text-structure of the incantations. The results show that the identification of unnamed agents can be achieved by biographic-metrical and contextual analysis of the incantation texts.

Keywords: Incantations, Kalevala-meter, Viena Karelia, textual cues

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Kalevala-metric incantations are a genre operating within the oral-poetic system of Kalevala-meter (see, e.g., Frog 2019a; Siikala 2002). These incantations regularly invoke various, differently aligned, unseen agents (Siikala 2002). In some of my earlier work, I have analyzed the way Finno-Karelian ritual specialists address these agents by using different discursive registers and align themselves by metapragmatic evaluations present in the incantation texts: ways of explicitly or implicitly evaluate the status of the given actor in relation to the performer of an incantation (Karlsson 2021b; 2022). Not all of the agents addressed in incantations are directly named, however. It is therefore of interest whether identification of these unnamed actors is methodologically possible. In this article, I will examine the subject of unnamed actors in Kalevala-metric incantations. I will approach this question by conducting a case study. The analysis will explore if identification of an unnamed agent in an incantation is achievable; and if so, what would be the methodological means of establishing the identification. The first part of the paper will briefly introduce the main features of Kalevala-metric incantations and Kalevala-meter more generally. After that, I will move to discuss the dataset and methodology. These will be followed by the analysis and conclusion.

KALEVALA-METRIC POETRY

The term 'Kalevala-metric poetry' embraces an oral-poetic system practiced by various linguistically related Finnic groups. The poetic form was shared by Finns, Estonians, Ingrians, Karelians, Setos, Votes, and Ingrian-Finns. Likely established during the first centuries of the Common Era, it survived in everyday use in some areas,

such as Viena Karelia, until the advent of modernization after the First World War (Frog 2019b; Kallio 2011: 391; Kallio et al. 2017: 140–143; Kuusi et al. 1977: 62; see also Virtanen 1968). The name derives anachronistically from Elias Lönnrot's epic *The Kalevala* (1835, expanded edition in 1849; see Lönnrot 1999; 2005) and has become established in both popular and scientific discourse. Technically, Kalevala-meter is a trochaic tetrameter that has flexibility in the first foot. Verses are normally eight syllables long and placement of long and short syllables is rule governed. Other main characteristics include parallelism, alliteration, and tendency to place longer words toward the end of a line (Kuusi et al. 1977: 62–68; Leino 1986: 129–146; Frog & Stepanova 2011; Saarinen 2018).

KALEVALA-METRIC INCANTATIONS

In folklore studies, Kalevala-metric incantations have for quite some time been categorized as communicative or non-communicative (Piela 1983, 2010; Siikala 1980; 1986a; 1986b; 1992; 2002; for earlier scholarship, see, e.g., Krohn J. 1894; Krohn K. 1901; 1915, 10–40; 1917; Hästesko 1910;1918). These definitions include additional attributes, such as whether the incnations work mechanically/non-mechanically. Non-communicative incantations have come to be viewed as a form that was known and used in pre-modern Finnish and Karelian communities by the more general populace. The category is usually viewed as correlating with incantations that work 'mechanically'. These kinds of incantations are, in other words, seen as functioning mechanically when recited correctly and without special knowledge of the otherworld or ritual competence. Following example (1) demonstrates an assumed mechanical incantation:[1]

    (1)
    Kivutar kipujen eukko
    Kipuvaaran kukkulalla
    Helmojansa heiluttavi*s*

> Vaatettansa vaaputtav
> 5 Toivoessansa kipuja
> Kivut pani kinttahasen

> *Kivutar old lady of pains*
> *On the top of hill of pains*
> *Whirled her skirts*
> *Swayed her clothes*
> *As she hoped far pains*
> *She put pains in her mitten*

> (SKVR I$_4$: 515)[2]

As this incantation's verses show, it does not include any directives, verbs which, e.g., command or request (Karlsson 2021a), which would make it, in principle, communicative. The assumption is therefore that the incantation has been effective as such, when the correct formulae have been used.

Communicative incantations, on the other hand, have been approached as instruments of ritual specialists called the *tietäjät* (Siikala 2002a: ch.3; Frog 2019a: 236–238). *Tietäjä* (lit. he/she who knows; a knower, *pl.* tietäjät) is a Finno-Karelian ritual specialist of premodern rural societies (Haavio [1967] 2019: 314; Jauhiainen 1998: 134, type D1; Siikala 2002: 79–80). The main tasks of tietäjä were related with healing and sources of sustenance. While the areas of tietäjä's expertise regularly included protection from magical harm, performance of liminal rites, and causing magical harm, the most prominent task of a tietäjä was usually healing. The tietäjät when operating in different geographical locations and different times shared ritual techniques, mastery of incantations, and ability to enter a light motoric-trance, that did not involve the loss of consciousness. Additionally, the social role of a tietäjä entailed expectations and responsibilities of competence and conduct, which has led researchers to adopt the concept of the tietäjä institution as a social framework (Stark 2006: 163–223; 2009; Siikala 2002: 80–81; Tarkka 2013: 103–127; Frog 2019a: 233). The tietäjä institu-

tion began to break down after the advent of modernization around the First World War, although individual specialists continued to survive afterwards (Tarkka 2005: chapter 12).

A tietäjä is distinguished in their ability to engage in real-time connection with unseen agents and forces in a ritual context. The instruments used by a tietäjä are discursive tools, or knowledge objects, known as incantations (Frog 2019). In addition, a tietäjä was required to possess a hard *luonto*, or kind of dynamic spirit present in humans (Stark 2006: 262–66; Tarkka 2013: 111). In a ritual context, the specialist usually used additionally equipment assumed to have another kind of dynamic force in them. The equipment used often had parallels in incantations: for example, using a tool made of iron paralleled with the building of a magical fence made of iron during the incantation (Siikala 2002: 105). Communicative incantations include the direct address of unseen-agents and often describe the denizens and places of the otherworld. Below, a communicative incantation used in closing wounds caused by iron is presented. I have divided the incantation into three parts in order to make it more easily interpretable:

(2)
[Part I: Diagnosis]

Rauta raukka koite kuona
Kuin rauta ravon tekee
Terä hieno hilpasou
Miksi vestit veljeäsi
Hakkasit emosi lasta
Ois ollut puuta purraksesi
Kiven siäntä syyväkses
Hakata vesihakoja

Poor iron wretched slag
When iron makes a slit
Fine blade cuts
Why did you carve your brother
Why did you beat your mother's child
There would have been wood for you to bite

There would have been heart of iron for you to eat
There would have been water logs for you to beat

[Part II: Account of the mythic origin of the phenomenon]

Et sie silloin suuri ollut
Etkä ni kovin korea
Kuin silma suosta sotkettih
Vetelästä vellottih
Muan muasta muokattih
Kuin seisoit sepän pajassa
Olit hiili hinkalossa
Koprin mussassa muassa

You were not large then
Nor were you so beautiful
When you were kneaded from bog
When you were mixed from soggy [bog]
When you were molded from earth's mud
When you stood in the smith's forge
You were a coal in the furnace's mouth
Curled in black earth

[Part III: Request for aid]

Muarie emosi lapsi
Tule tänne tarvitessa
Suoreissa sukkasissa
Kepeissä kenkäsissä
Juo viinana vihasi
Oluona omat pahasi
Jott ei riuskais rinnallani
Jott ei päälläni pärise

Muarie child of your mother
Come here when needed
In smooth socks
In light shoes

Drink your wraths as spirit [alcohol]
Drink your wraths as beer
So that my chest would not blaze [in pains]
So that my head would not rattle

(SKVR I$_4$: 151)

As the example shows, the so-called communicative incantation differs from the non-communicative in various respects. The communicative text includes an etiological part, where the origin of iron is recounted. While similar accounts of mythic origins of phenomena are not a necessary part of a communicative incantation, they are closely connected with ritual specialist usage. Another feature separating the communicative incantation from non-communicative is the afore mentioned usage of directives.

The performer of the incantation issues directives in lines 18 and 21. The former of these is a request addressed to Virgin Mary, a positively aligned agent. The latter, on the other hand, aims to command the wound maker to withdraw its harms. Despite the scholarly division of Kalevala-metric incantations into above mentioned categories, the emic practices have likely been less easily placed into clearly delineated classes. For example, it is probable that the so-called communicative incantations have been used not only by ritual specialists. Hunting incantations, to name just one text-type, often include directives with non-human agents as their recipients, while they have been used also by non-specialists (see e.g., Siikala 2002: 82). Correspondingly, as I have discussed elsewhere, incantations used by the tietäjät and not including directives cannot automatically be assumed being mechanical. (Karlsson 2022: 37–47.)

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The material for this case study draws from the corpus of published Kalevala-metric poetry, *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (Ancient

Poems of the Finnish People; 1908–1948; 1997). SKVR comprises of 34 volumes, which include over 89, 000 texts of Kalevala-metric poetry, and has been completely digitized. In addition to SKVR, approximately 60, 000 texts remain unpublished in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki, Finland. The SKVR is a diplomatic edition, meaning its editorial principles are consistent and follow spellings and diacritic markings of the collectors. Abbreviations, notes, and other markings made by the collectors are also marked. (See e.g., Karlsson 2022: 26.) Additionally, the texts contain metadata about, e.g., the collector and informant, when available. The texts in SKVR are products of fieldwork, and have been amended and edited by the collectors. This means they do not necessarily reflect actual performance contexts (Saarinen 2018: 17–20). However, the focus here is on the textual features and their text-level effects on the uptake of the incantations. The data comprises of actual types, from which text-level indices are analyzable. The methodological view I employ here is that the material allows for different styles of reading and is suitable for answering the questions I pose (Anttonen 2014; Kalela 2000: 92; Wolf-Knuts 2020).

The incantations I analyze here are taken from a corpus originally compiled for earlier studies, where different research questions have been addressed (Karlsson 2021b; 2022). The total corpus comprises of 515 communicative incantations of varying length, and includes all of the communicative incantations recorded and published from Viena Karelia (excluding the parish of Vuokkiniemi[3]) 1820–1919. For the present case study, I have examined a set of 288 incantation texts. This number derives from my earlier work (Karlsson 2021b; 2022), where I inspected what actors appear in the incantations exhibiting so-called discursive justification: performer's means of stating a reason for request or command issued to a non-human agent. The question of unnamed agents in incantations not utilizing justification remains to be investigated in possible further studies, as time did not permit the analysis of additional data at this time. The dataset used here comprises of incantations of which I have sorted out the non-human agents present. From 288 total texts, I

will here analyze 39 incantations, in which I have discovered un-named agents (it should be noted that an incantation could possess both named and unnamed agents).

Map A: Viena Karelia

The methodology I have used applies meticulous close reading, supported by accumulated knowledge of Kalevala-metric incantations and their characteristics (see also Karlsson 2022: 25; Piela 2010: 38). I have read the data and first identified text-segments where unnamed agents occur. Following this, I have evaluated the means of identifying the mentioned or addressed agent. Especially with category I have later in this paper dub 'contextual', I have checked my assumptions in the light of wider corpus and literature, and thus corrected my views when needed (see also Karlsson 2022b: 526–527, 532).

CATEGORIZATION OF THE DATA

The unnamed agents in the data occur in different segments of the incantations: the unidentified agent can appear in the very first directive of the incantation, or it can be addressed only in later verses. In addition, some texts, usually the shorter ones, can include only one addressed agent, while in some lengthier incantations unnamed agents occur with named actors.

I have identified three categories of means to recognize unnamed agents in the data. The categories are following (cf. Agha 2005: 44):

> Category A: Biographic-metrical identification
> Category B: Contextual identification
> Category C: Unidentifiable addressee

The category A, biographic-metrical recognition, describes cases where the identification of the actor bases occurrence of the agent's name, and furthermore on the surrounding text-structure. This kind of identification can occur various degrees of explicitness: as a part of metapragmatic evaluation by the informant or as a part of the verse structure of the incantation text itself. The total number of biographic-metrical identification tokens in the data is 59.

Category B is reserved for the contextual identification. This means that the identification of an actor relies on material extraneous to the current dataset. For example, if an unnamed agent occurs in a hunting incantation and no other cues for identification are present, it is in some cases possible to rely on larger number of texts to investigate if a named non-human agent appears in similar verse contexts. The total number of contextual tokens in the data is 19.

Category C includes in it the tokens where I was not able to make identification with adequate certainty. These kinds of cases are mainly situations where the unnamed agent is issued a directive in the very first line and no assisting cues are present. The incantations of this type in the data are mostly of the variable type, consisting of general healing verses. They are possibly fragments

of longer incantations, but that is difficult to assert with certainty. The total number of unidentifiable tokens is 6.

ANALYSIS OF THE CATEGORIES

I will start the examination of the categories with Category A, and the type where identification of the actor bases on the performer's explicit metapragmatic evaluation: a text-segment, where the performer evaluates and describes the performance of the incantation. Following example demonstrates the matter with an incantation where the informant's metapragmatic evaluation (here underlined) reveals the identity of else unnamed object of address:

(3)

Jos lapsessa$_A$ on joutava itkettäjä$_B$, niin otetaan kolme pintapärettä ja niistä tehään kolmella kynnyksellä viisikanta, yksi viisikanta aina kynnyksellä, toinen toisella kynnyksellä, kolmas kolmannella ja sittä ne viisikannat pannaan lapsen$_A$ kätkyveen vuoteitten alle ja siihen pannaan lapsi$_A$ nukkumaan, ja sanotaan että:

[If there is something$_B$ unjustifiable that makes the child$_A$ cry, you take three splinters made of pine and make from them a pentagram on three thresholds, one pentagram on the first threshold, second on the second threshold, third on the third threshold, and then you put the pentagrams into the child's$_A$ cradle under the linen, and you put the child$_A$ in there to sleep, and say thus:]

Makaa$_A$ kuin maatinsa
Veny$_A$ kuin vesihako
Elä$_A$ kuuntele kulkijoita$_B$
Elä$_A$ tutki tulijoita$_B$
<u>Niin sillä pääsee$_B$</u>

Lie_A like a ridgepole
Stretch_A like a water log
Do not_A listen to passers by_B
Do not_A study the new comers_B
<u>*With that you get rid of it_B*</u>

(SKVR I4: 659)

Here, the subscripts $_A$ and $_B$ mark the child that the performer wants to release from the entity that makes them cry, and the entity itself, respectively. The notable issue is that the directives in the incantation's verses do not reveal *who* is addressed, should the performer's comments be removed. However, when the verses are examined in relation with the metapragmatic evaluation, the recipient becomes idenfiable via the text-structure: In the last sentence of the informant's commentary, the child$_A$ is placed to sleep. This is followed by the verses, where the recipient is told with metaphoric language to sleep peacefully (lie like a ridgepole, stretch like a water log). The biographical identification of the recipient is then formed by the combination of the text-segments.

   The biographic identification functions also without performer's metapragmatic evaluation being present, however. I give example 4 below to demonstrate. The excerpt is from an origin of fire incantation: a text-type that often includes third person narrative describing the mythic origins of fire:

(4)

Löülüńi_A kivoisten lämmin
Hiki_B oñ vanhañ Väinämöiśen
Moarieñ makie maito_B
Hiki_B on nuoren Joukahaisen
Mesi-leipä_B Lemminkäisen
Mäne_A šanon läpi lattien lioista
Läpi_A šaunañ šammalista
Läpi_A kiukaen kivistä
Miss oñ tulta_C tuuvitettu

Vakavaista$_C$ vaivutettu
Peäll oñ taivośen ühekšäñ
Peällä kuuven kirja-kanneñ
Šisäššä šinervän uuheñ
Vaški-lampahañ vatšašša
Šieläpä tulta$_C$ tuuvitettih
Vakavaista$_C$ vaivutettih
Kultaśešša kätküöššä
Hopiaisissa hiihnoissa
Kirposi tuli-kipunat$_C$
Sitte poltti$_C$ moam porolla
Küpeńillä küüvätteli$_C$
Püörrütä pühät kipuśi$_C$
Pühät šakšet šammuttele$_C$
Puhät lainnehet lakase$_C$
Tunnen tuškanki lumoa
Vakavaiseñ$_C$ vaivutella

Warm steam$_A$ of the rocks
Sweat$_B$ is old Väinämöinen's
Sweet milk$_B$ is Virgin Mary's
Sweat$_B$ is young Joukahainen's
Nectary bread$_B$ is Lemminkäinen's
Go$_A$, I say, through the mud of the floor
Go$_A$ through the moss of the sauna
Go$_A$ through the stones of the sauna stove
Where has fire$_C$ been lulled
The quiet one$_C$ cradled
On top of nine heavens
On top of six many-colored lids
Inside of a blue ewe
In the stomach of a copper sheep
There was fire$_C$ lulled
The quiet one$_C$ cradled
In golden cradle
With silvery straps
Fire embers$_C$ loosened

> They$_C$ burnt the land with ash
> With sparks$_C$ ran through the land
> Turn back your$_C$ sacred pains
> Suppress your$_C$ sacred dregs
> Quit your$_C$ sacred waves
> I know also pain's spell
> To cradle the quiet one$_C$

(SKVR I$_4$: 323.1–26.)

The lack of metapragmatic evaluation by the performer necessitates identification of the object of the directives issued in lines six (*Go, I say through the mud of the floor*) and 22 (*Turn back your sacred pains*) by text-internal cues of the incantation. In both cases, the biographic identification relies on the preceding verses. Lines 1–5 describe the steam of the sauna with metaphoric language (e.g., sweat of Väinämöinen, demigod and hero often associated with water). The first five lines then establish the interpretative frame for the directive issued in line six. Similarly, the lines 9–21 talk about the origin of fire and havoc it caused when falling from sky to earth, and thus prepare the ground for the directive in line 22. The connecting factor is the way biographic (naming of the addressee) and metrical (text-structure) cues both participate in building the interpretative frame for the directives.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORY B

In category B, the addressees requiring identification are interpretable only by referring to larger sets of material. Such cases are typically incantations of which the collector has omitted parts while writing them down, or texts which otherwise do not include cues for interpretation of the directives. In example (5), segments of the incantations have not been written down. The dashed line after the

first five verses of the excerpt is an editorial addition and marks the segment that has been omitted:

(5)

Sammu tuli_A hiilihisi
Kätkete_A kipunohisi
Porohisi peittelete_A
Jos et tuostana totelle_A
Vääjänne_A väheäkänä

- - -

Hyistä kelkkoa vetävi_B
Jäistä talloa taluvi_B
Jäärekiä reutoavi_B
Hyyssä ilmat jäässä järvet
Ilman rinnat riittehessä
Hallassa hamehen helmat
Paian kaglus kalkkaroissa
Iho kaikki iljenessä
Käyös_B hyytä Pohjolasta
Jäätä kylmästä kylästä
Hyytä hymmön ikkunasta
Jäätä kammon karsinasta
Alta kylmän kynnyshirren

Fire_A die down to your coals
Hide_A to your sparks
Cover_A yourself with ashes
If you_A do not obey that
If you_A will not retreat even a little

- - -

Icy sled [unnamed_B] draws
Tramps_B with an icy one
Hauls_B an ice sled
Air is icy lakes are frozen
Air's breasts are in crusts of ice

> *Skirt's hems are in night frost*
> *Shirt's collar is covered in beads of ice*
> *All of skin is covered with ice*
> *Go$_B$ fetch ice from Pohjola*
> *Go$_B$ fetch ice from the cold village*
> *Go$_B$ fetch ice from dusky window*
> *Ice from the pen of fear*
> *Ice from under the saddle beam sill*

(SKVR I$_4$: 270.36–53.)

The text in question is falls into the same text-type examined in discussion of Category A, and is therefore an origin of fire incantation. This fact, along with the attributes assigned to the unnamed addressee, assists in determining the likely, if approximate, identity of the non-human agent. A short excerpt from another incantation of the same text-type looks like following:

(6)
Hyinen tytti$_A$ jäinen neiti
Hyistä kelkkoa vetäävi$_A$
Jäistä talloa taluuvi$_A$
Jäärekeä reutuoovi$_A$
Tulen$_B$ suuta sulkiessa$_A$
Panun$_B$ päätä painaessa$_A$
Tuos$_A$ hyytä Pohjolasta
Jäätä ilman ikkunalta

Frozen girl$_A$ icy maiden
Draws$_A$ an icy sled
Tramps$_A$ with an icy one
Hauls$_A$ an ice sled
When the mouth of fire$_B$ shall be closed
When the head of blaze$_B$ shall be pushed down
Bring$_A$ frost from Pohjola
Ice from the air's window.

(SKVR I$_4$: 250.100–107.)

A contextual comparison can then help to assign the identity of an unnamed agent, in this case likely an icy maiden. However, the slots for actors are most labile in terms of stability of the verse. This means that it may not be possible to assert with full certainty if the unnamed addressee identified by contextual cues is exactly the same. While the identity of actors of this kind can vary between e.g., icy maiden and mistress of Pohjola (see, e.g., SKVR I$_{4:}$ 323.27–29), the social status as a helper of the performer is arguably the same.

ANALYSIS OF CATEGORY C

The last of the categories I have formed based on the data is C, consisting of unidentifiable tokens. Following excerpt is recorded from a known *tietäjä* called Karhuńi Stepańie (see Niemi 1921: 31, 95) in 1911:

(7)

(Viijäh kipiehini aitojen perillä ta sielä mättähällä pessäh).

[*You take the patient behind fences and there you wash them on a tussock*].

Pese$_A$ puola$_B$ puhtahaksi
Ihalaksi ilman tuoma$_B$
Vaimon tuoma$_B$ valkieksi
Enämpi on emolla työtä
Liika vaiva vanhemmalla
Ennen kuin emolla sanon
Tahi virkan vanhemmalla
Mäne$_C$ tuska tuulen tiellä
Tauti$_C$ taivosen navalla
Tuulen tuuviteltavaksi
Ahavan ajeltaviksi

Wash$_A$ clean the lingonberry$_B$
[Wash] beautiful the one brought by air$_B$

[Wash] white the one brought by wife$_\text{B}$
There is more work for the mother
Much hardship for the parent
Before I tell the mother
Or I tell the parent
Pain go$_\text{C}$ *on wind's way*
Illness go$_\text{C}$ *to the top of heaven*
[Where you will be] lulled by the wind
[Where you will be] driven by the breeze

Akka sanoi: "Viime kesänä pieässin Trohkiman pojan, sillä oli ilmasta tullut tulelmus."

[*The old woman said: "Last summer I healed son of Trohkima, he had an illness caused by air."*]

(SKVR I$_4$: 596.)

The example (7) is a typical representative of the case of unidentifiable addressees in the data for a number of reasons. Firstly, the directive occurs in the first verse, thus offering no cues of identification based on the preceding lines. In addition, the metapragmatic evaluation of the performer offers no deictics or biographical individuation (Agha 2005: 42–45) on the recipient. This kind of cases differ from the contextually identifiable type in the way of including labile healing cliches (Siikala 2002: 105), for which direct counterparts are hard to determine. Even when the illness agent is identifiable in the text, the positively aligned unseen agent may remain unidentifiable (see e.g., SKVR I$_4$: 596). Examining the entire corpus of a performer can often help at least to form a hypothesis of the identity of an unnamed agent (Siikala 2002: 117). In the case of Karhuńi, even the other 22 incantations recorded from him (see Niemi 1921: 31) offer no sure hints. Similar lines are present in an incantation recorded from Karhuńi a few years later, in a case where the performer addresses "master of the earth" (*moan isäntä*) (SKVR I$_4$ 1709). However, there the context relates to livelihood and horses, not to healing.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding analysis, I have examined whether textual cues in Kalevala-metric incantations are able to help in identifying unnamed non-human agents the performer of the incantation addresses. I have established three analytical categories, which represent different ways of identifying the unnamed addressees present in the data. Based on the data at hand, the results show that close inspection of textual cues together with familiarization of the larger sets of texts can indeed help to establish identifications of varying strength. On the other hand, also the limitations of the method have been brought out, as some of the cases inspected remain unidentifiable.

On the grounds of this analysis, the biographic-metrical identification forms the most prominent category in the data. In this category, the identification of the unnamed agent(s) rise from the emergent meaning of the textual whole and its stylistic features, such as parallelism. In other words, the emergent metrical structure of the incantation guides and simultaneously limits the possible interpretations on the identification (see Agha 2005; 2007: 96; Tarkka 2017).

The category B, on the other hand, where the identification depends on what I call contextual factors, relies in great deal on the intertextual nature of the poetic system (Tarkka 2005; 2013). As a researcher, one must develop a kind of artificial competence in the tradition (Frog 2018: 27), where familiarization with the materials provides over time ability to identify lines indexing particular poems (Tarkka 2013: 90; Virtanen 1968: 55). At the same time, the contextual identification is in its part tied to the metrical structure of the texts.

Reasons for the difficulties of identifying some of the addressees (category C) vary. These cases in the data derive in great deal from the issues addressed above, such as occurrence of the directive segment in the very first line of the incantation, without preceding or following cues that would support interpretations. As with all of the data, source critical matters should also be considered. The ritual specialists are known often to have refused to be interviewed, and

could leave parts of their incantations undictated when talking to collectors (Frog 2019: 227–228; Siikala 2002: 76). It is then difficult to establish with certainty, how many of the texts in category C are incomplete. However, the aim here is not to reconstruct 'authentic' incantation texts, and investigation of the features that are present is sufficient in answering the questions posited.

The results of this case study are valid within a relatively small dataset. Nevertheless, I argue that the methodology based on the inspection of textual cues and emergent text-structures of incantations can be applied with larger data also from different geographical areas. Also to be solved is the methodology's applicability with other traditions, such as that of European charms.

NOTES

[1] All translations are my own. Punctuation and notes on spelling etc. made by the collector has been removed.

[2] SKVR stands for anthology Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot. Number I represents the first volume of the anthology, while the subscript numeral 4 stands for the fourth part of volume I. Following these markings, 515 marks the number given to the text. In some subsequent occurrences, numerals after the text's number mark the line numbers.

[3] Vuokkiniemi has not only undergone extensive research in recent years by Tarkka 2005 and 2013, but also boasts more incantations than rest of the parishes of Viena combined. On the principles of forming the research material see (Karlsson 2022a: 23–25).

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