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Cover: The crest of Ylistaro municipality, designed by Ahti Hammar, *Vihreässä kentässä kaksihaarainen kultalyhde*. This crest was in use between the years 1961 and 2008, until Ylistaro in 2009 was incorporated into Seinäjoki. Heraldic description: on green field two-pronged gold sheaf of wheat.

Cover design: Scott Kaukonen



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Helena Halmari</i> : Editorial	1
In Memoriam: Richard Impola	4
<i>Janna Kantola</i> : Images of Germans and Finns in Contemporary Finnish-Language Novels	6
<i>Veijo Pulkkinen</i> : The Hidden Sigh: The End of the Avant-Garde in Olavi Paavolainen and Aaro Hellaakoski	27
<i>Roman Kushnir</i> : Food in Constructing Transcultural Finnish American Identities in the Migrant Short Stories of Lauri Anderson	55
<i>Maarit Knuuttila</i> : Cooking and Cookbooks in Nineteenth-Century Finland: Changes in Cooking Methods, Recipe Writing, and Food Textualization	85
<i>Harry Lönnroth</i> : “Sie sagen skål und Herre gud und arrivederci”: On the Multilingual Correspondence between Ellen Thesleff and Gordon Craig	104
<i>Anu Warinowski</i> : Contemporary Finnish Emigrants: Finnish Expatriate Families in North America	121
<i>Anu Karjalainen</i> : Multilingualism and Finnish Americans: New Perspectives from Sociolinguistics and Ethnography	142
<i>Kathryn Remlinger</i> : Say Yah to da Finns, Eh! Linguistically Performing Finnishness at Festivals	163
<i>Päivi Granö</i> : Play Environments of Expatriate French Children and Native Children in Finland	187
<i>Francis Joy</i> : The Sámi Noaidi Grave in Kuusamo and the Significance of the North-South Orientation	208
Contributors	244



## EDITORIAL

During the past two years, the *Journal of Finnish Studies* published three guest-edited theme issues: “International Highly Skilled Migration: The Case of Finland” (edited by Driss Habti and Saara Koikkalainen); “From Cultural Knowledge to Cultural Heritage: Finnish Archives and Their Reflections of the People” (edited by Pia Olsson and Eija Stark); and “International Influences in Finnish Working-Class Literature and Its Research (edited by Kirsti Salmi-Niklander and Kati Launis). These theme issues, focusing on important topics about which little had earlier been written, were very well received—an indication of our significance as a venue for Finnish scholarship. Finlandia Foundation National provided support for the publication of the issue on working-class literature, which we gratefully acknowledge.

It is now time to introduce the current open issue, which consists of ten articles. The topics include literature and literary criticism; food in literature and Finnish cookbooks; multilingual correspondence and Finnish American language use and identity; Finnish expatriates in America; children’s play environments; and Sámi shamanism. **Janna Kantola**’s article describes the portrayal of Germans in a sample of twelve Finnish novels published in 2012. Kantola served as chair of the Finlandia Literary Prize Committee in that year and is thus able to paint a comprehensive view of the representation of Germans in these novels. **Veijo Pulkkinen** discusses two key literary figures in Finland’s modernist literature, Olavi Paavolainen and Aaro Hellaakoski, and ties these writers to the last vestiges of the avant-garde. **Roman Kushnir** focuses on how a beloved Finnish American author, Lauri Anderson, uses food in his stories in order to construct Finnish American identities in his portrayals of life in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula. **Maarit Knuuttila** continues the food motif but moves to a different genre, that of cookbooks. Knuuttila transports the reader to nineteenth-century Finnish kitchens and tells a story of Finland from this antique perspective.

**Harry Lönnroth** introduces the reader to the multilingualism of early twentieth-century Europe through the correspondence of a Finnish painter, Ellen

Thesleff, with her English friend, Gordon Craig. Much can be read between the lines, but what the letters explicitly reveal is the immense ability of an educated Finnish woman of that era to use a wide number of languages in conveying subtle meanings, while also portraying herself as a polyglot.

Drawing data from an online survey and with convincing statistics, **Anu Warinowski** approaches the questions of contemporary Finnish emigration. She compares the resources that Finnish expatriate families have available to them in North America and elsewhere in the world, and discusses the different levels of adjustments that Finnish families need to make, depending on where they migrate.

**Anu Karjalainen** and **Kathryn Remlinger** continue the discussion on Finnish American identities. Karjalainen's case study looks at Finnish as a heritage language through a third-generation Finnish American woman. Remlinger also focuses on language and moves the reader back to Michigan's Upper Peninsula to portray colorful examples of how Finnish Americans use language as a significant reflection of their identity. The "pulsit" cap will guarantee the reader a hearty laugh while also exemplifying Remlinger's point.

**Päivi Granö's** article looks at expatriate French children in Finland and native Finnish children in showing how national identities develop quite early and may be molded by environmental constraints. Granö uses children's drawings as a window to infer how they see the world and how these views reflect the children's play environments.

This collection of articles is concluded by **Francis Joy**. He starts from a discovery of a Northern Finland grave, where a Sámi noaidi had been buried. Joy then infers, from the facts of this grave, an intriguing context for the shaman's life, consisting of details of Sámi religion and practices of shamanism. We also learn about Lars Levi Laestadius, who was a highly regarded authority on Sámi religious customs.

While finishing up this issue, we received word from the Institute of Migration in Turku, Finland, that the *Journal of Finnish Studies* had been awarded a grant from the Lehtinen fund to support the publication of a forthcoming number, JoFS 21, that continues the discussion of Finland's migration. We acknowledge this support with gratitude.

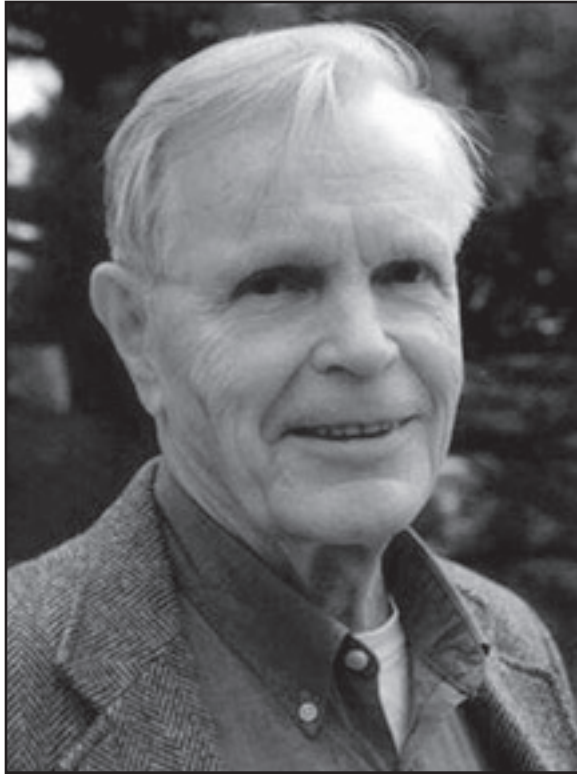
Next in our publication line is, however, issue 19.2, entitled "Bittersweet: Everyday Life and Nostalgia for the 1950s" and guest edited by Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto



and Hanna Snellman. This is a fascinating view of Finland during the 1950s and how people remember that time of rebuilding. Women's perspectives will be strong throughout the articles. Issue 20.1 is also slated to appear during this year. It is a collection of articles on poverty in nineteenth-century Finland—a topic that will be of interest for many of our Finnish American readers whose ancestors may have left that world to enter North America. This issue is entitled “Poverty of the Beggar and the Nobleman” and will include a large group of cutting edge Finnish scholars, led by Tiina Hemminki and Pirita Frigren. In sum, we can promise much interesting reading about Finland for our readership and supporters.

This issue of the *Journal of Finnish Studies* is dedicated to the memory of Professor Richard Impola, a translator of Finnish literature and a long-term member of our editorial board. Impola will be sorely missed, but we find consolation in the fact that his many contributions continue to live among those who cherish Finnish culture and its literature.

*Helena Halmari*



## IN MEMORIAM

### RICHARD AARRE IMPOLA 1923–2015

With the death at the age of 91 of Richard Impola on March 18, 2015, the Finnish American community lost a literary giant. The *Journal of Finnish Studies* lost a longterm member of our editorial board.

The ninth child in a family of ten children, Richard was born in Ahmeek, Michigan. After graduating high school in Calumet, Michigan, Richard joined the United States Army and served in Europe during World War II. He was wounded twice. After the war, Richard entered Columbia University to study English literature and ultimately received his PhD. Until his retirement in 1983, he worked as a professor of English at State University of New York in New Paltz.

Upon his retirement at the age of 60, Impola decided to return to his Finnish language roots. His command of the Finnish language from his childhood days was

rather limited, and so he decided to learn proper Finnish. This he would do, he said in an interview, by reading good Finnish literature. He began by arbitrarily picking a book from his parents' library. It happened to be the first volume of Linna's *Täällä Pohjantähden alla*. He soon determined that the best method for him to improve his Finnish was actually to translate the work into English. And so began his second career: translating Finnish literature into English. He is the translator *par excellence* of classics in Finnish literature: Aleksis Kivi's *Seven Brothers*, two of Minna Canth's plays, Juhani Aho's *Juha*, as well as more recent classics including Väinö Linna's *Under the North Star* trilogy and Antti Tuuri's *Winter War*. Impola also translated several of Kalle Päätalo's popular novels, as well as other Finnish authors.

In 2003, Impola received a prestigious recognition from the Finnish government: the medal of Knight First Class of the Order of the Lion of Finland. This award was given at the launching of part three of the Linna trilogy at the newly opened Finnish Embassy building in Washington DC.

Many participants in Finnish American cultural festivals remember Richard as a lover of music and dancing. They remember especially his captivating singing. Richard knew the lyrics of innumerable Finnish traditional songs and many Swedish songs as well. Richard always inspired others with his enthusiasm and gentle, relaxed intensity. The Finnish American literary community and the *Journal of Finnish Studies* board members and staff will miss him sorely.

*Börje Vähämäki*

# IMAGES OF GERMANS AND FINNS IN CONTEMPORARY FINNISH-LANGUAGE NOVELS

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*University of Helsinki*

## ABSTRACT

This article examines the literary representations of Germans in recent Finnish-language novels from an imagological angle.<sup>1</sup> The examination is divided into three thematic sections: (1) novels that deal with the Lapland War (1944–45); (2) novels that satirize Finnish contemporary society and extremist political movements by referring to Nazi Germany; and (3) finally, in brief, novels that show a more neutral attitude towards Germany or that acknowledge present-day Germany as Europe’s economic power. The idea is first to show that images of Germans and of Germany are startlingly present in contemporary Finnish novels and, secondly, to try to understand why this is the case. In other words, I will consider whether the phenomenon is related to broader issues in Finnish society today—issues that the novels’ authors criticize, such as rising xenophobia and the problems that arise from economic inequality. The conclusion is that the German image reflected in these Finnish novels is created by contemporary Finnish novelists in order to discuss delicate issues concerning Finnish society. This means, in imagological terms, that the image of Germans and Germany in these novels strongly reflects the Finnish self-image.

**Keywords:** Finnish novels, images, Lapland War, Germans, Germany, Hitler fiction.

1 The data consist of Finnish-language novels published in 2012, 126 in total: 12 of these novels (10 percent) incorporate “German images.” In addition, the article creates links to other relevant novels published around the year 2012, including novels written in Finland, either in Swedish or in English. Janna Kantola, the article’s author, was the chair of the Finlandia Literary Prize Committee in 2012. The Finlandia Literary Prize is awarded each year “in recognition of the best novel written by a Finnish citizen”; the 126 novels here are those Finnish-language novels that were sent for the jury to read in 2012. See <http://www.kustantajat.fi/en/thefinnishbook-foundation/prizes/>. Note that this article focuses on novels written in Finnish.

## INTRODUCTION

During the last decade, the number of groups in Europe that criticize immigration and multiculturalism has substantially increased, and there exists in almost all parts of Europe a right-wing populist party (Koivulaakso, Brunila, and Andersson 2012, 10). It is claimed that the Finnish Perussuomalaiset, “The Finns Party,” which became one of the largest parties in the Finnish Parliament in the 2011 parliamentary election, belongs to this European political family of populist movements that share a critique of globalism and that endorse the idea of ethnic nationalism. As Koivulaakso, Brunila, and Andersson (2012) point out, the nationalist populism promoted by these parties has provided a more fertile ground for such currents in society at large in Finland and in other countries by emphasizing threats caused by factors such as immigration and multiculturalism, since they legitimate a worldview that is shared by more violent and openly racist right-wing groups (Koivulaakso, Brunila, and Andersson 2012, 214–15). Even though this article sets out to examine the literary representations of Germans, these issues and the political climate described above, as well as the rising xenophobia, provide a background, I claim, against which not only are the images of Germans strongly present in contemporary Finnish-language novels, but that some of these representations are in part linked to a critique of such right-wing ideologies.

However, the methodological background, or rather a perspective for this study, is that of imagology, the study of cross-national perceptions and images as expressed in literary discourse. As characterized by Manfred Beller, literary imagology considers the function and origin of characteristics of other countries and peoples expressed textually. In imagological criticism, a wide-ranging terminological cluster including, for example, stereotype and cliché, is applied more or less synonymously, and often without conceptual distinction or precise definition (2007b, 7–8). The concept of “image” used here refers to the terms in imagological usage as well: it is “the mental or discursive representation or reputation of a person, group, ethnicity or ‘nation’” (Leerssen 2007a, 342). As Leerssen points out, these images specifically concern attributions of a moral or characterological nature or take the form of linking social facts and commonly believed collective psychologisms. Images differ according to their perspective, and the fundamental distinction in imagology is that between *auto-image* (characterological reputation current within a group and shared by it) and *hetero-image* (the opinion that others have about a group’s purported character) (2007a, 342–43.) Images are mobile (often exported by writers) and changeable, as Leerssen shows: the image of Germany, for example, has switched from that of unrefined boors (seventeenth century) to that of abtruse, artistically inclined

romantics (early nineteenth century) to that of soulless, obedient implementers of ruthless systematics (twentieth century) (Leerssen 2007a, 343). It is important to bear in mind that imagology is not concerned with cultural or national identities but with textual representations (Leerssen 2007b, 27).<sup>2</sup> In addition to the concepts of auto-image and hetero-image, the concept of *meta-image* is relevant in imagological discourse. It refers to how a nation believes it is perceived by others, and it is often used to achieve an ironic effect (Leerssen 2007a, 344).<sup>3</sup>

In what follows, I examine not only the way Germans are depicted in recent Finnish-language fiction but, and more importantly, the social context of these images. The aim of the article, then, is (a) to explore the manifestations and interpretations of Germans in contemporary Finnish-language literature, and (b) also to consider the ways in which these images reflect and interpret Finnish society. The examination is divided into three thematic sections: I start by examining (1) novels that deal with the Lapland War (1944–45), then I proceed to (2) novels that satirize contemporary Finnish society and extremist political movements by making reference to Nazi Germany, and finally I take a brief look at (3) those novels that show a more neutral attitude towards Germany or that recognize its powerful economic role in present-day Europe.

## THE LAPLAND WAR

Germany and the German image since 1945 have been burdened by the Holocaust and the Nazi regime (Beller 2007a, 163), even though the Nazi crimes against humanity might be a distant past for the younger generation (Berghahn and Hermand 2005, 7). Beller points out that the tradition of the militaristic German hate-figure and his lack of personal intelligence has been continued in comics and in television sitcoms (2007a, 163). In Finnish fiction and culture, the role of a hate-figure has been more habitually directed to Russians because of the bellicose history between the two nations. The question of the images of Germans and Germany in Finnish literature has not been previously explored, whereas the images of Finns in German literature have attracted some critical interest (see Assmann and Heikkilä 1995). However, these images are, of course, interconnected. Because cultural stereotypes have historically attracted most critical interest in Germany and the Netherlands,

2 As Leerssen (2007b, 27) points out, it is not the imagologist's task to verify or falsify "the referentiality claim," i.e., to comment on whether the nation in empirical reality has or has not the same set of characteristics as found in literary discourses.

3 For further information on the imagological method and the methodological assumptions at work in imagology, see Leerssen's detailed list in *Imagology* (2007b, 27–29).

the German image of the Finn has been studied as well. The most recent example of this is the collection edited by Robert Schweitzer (2010), *Zweihundert Jahre deutsche Finnlandbegeisterung* (Two hundred years of German Finland-enthusiasm).

In recent Finnish novels, there is an apparent tendency to look at and reinterpret Finnish history, in particular periods or episodes that have had few or no earlier literary representations because of the political or cultural sensitivity of the topic. For example, in the early 2000s, the Finnish Civil War (January 27–May 15, 1918) was highlighted in several novels,<sup>4</sup> as in Leena Lander's *Käsäy* (The command, 2003) and *Liekin lapset* (The children of the flame, 2010), Asko Sahlberg's *Tammilehto* (Oak meadow, 2004), Kjell Westö's Swedish-language novel *Där vi en gång gått* (Where we once walked, 2006), and Antti Tuuri's *Surmanpelto* (The field of death, 2008). In 2012 and 2013, the Civil War issue was further developed in Rosa Meriläinen's *Nainen punainen* (The woman red, 2012), which looks at the events from a woman's angle and at the same time analyses the psychological profile of a person in a position of power, as well as the psychological profile of someone who strives for such a position, and in Jenni Linturi's *Malmi, 1917* (2013), which takes place on the eve of the Civil War, the autumn of the general strike of 1917, and which explores the tense pre-war atmosphere from the perspective of young people.

The Lapland War, which was fought between Finland and Nazi Germany in 1944–45, has not attracted such general literary interest before. It seems that Katja Kettu's best-selling novel *Kättilö* (The midwife, 2011) sparked a broader literary and media interest in the subject matter, as it has since been present in novels of differing genres: Antti Tuuri's *Rauta-antura* (The iron heel, 2012), Heidi Köngäs's *Dora, Dora* (2012), Paula Havaste's *Yhden toivon tie* (The road of one hope, 2012), and Pekka Jaatinen's *Kuolema Suursaarella* (Death in Gogland, 2012), which is part of his Lapland War series, the first of which was published in 2004.

The Lapland War broke out after the armistice agreement with the Soviet Union in 1944. The Soviets demanded that the Finns remove German troops from its soil. This was, however, done in agreement with the Germans by staging a withdrawal (see Lavery 2006, 129). As Nevakivi points out, "the demand to drive out the Germans was made in the hope that the Finns would engage their former brothers-in-arms in a bloody encounter and distance themselves permanently from Germany" (1999, 219). The slowness of the German withdrawal did not please the Soviets, and

4 In Finnish literary tradition, these interpretations reflect Väinö Linna's red family saga *Täällä Pohjantähden alla* (1959–63; *Under the North Star I–III*, translated by Richard Impola, 2001–3, Beaverton: Aspasia Books).

the Finns needed to declare formal hostilities with Germany; the Germans withdrew methodically, and used scorched-earth tactics (Lavery 2006, 129). As a result, large areas, including towns and villages, were destroyed. From the beginning, the whole encounter was all the more bitter for the Finns because they had fought in the early years of the Continuation War against the same enemy, and because many of them had formed personal links with their former allies (Nevakivi 1999, 220). The number of Finnish dead or missing in the Lapland War was over 1,000, which was a little more than the corresponding German losses. Moreover, at least 1,300 Germans were taken prisoner, interned, and handed over to the Soviet Union (220). In Finland, the issue of the illegitimate children of German soldiers has been recently opened up for public discussion (see, for example, Wendisch 2006, 2009), and this might in part have raised the social and literary interest in the Lapland War years.

In Antti Tuuri's *Rauta-antura* (The iron heel, 2012), Finnish women who had been in relationships with German soldiers or who had been working for them and the German military play a prominent role. It is a story told by a first-person narrator, the nineteen-year-old Heikki Ojala, who travels with his division in northern Finland, helping Germans across the border, as well as fighting against them. Heikki's division is ordered to take the women to a war trial, possibly to be sentenced to death. A chaplain, whose wife is among these women, joins the fighting men. From an imagological angle, it is noteworthy that Germany, when referred to as the new enemy, is written with a small initial letter—*saksa* (germany) against the orthographic rules—so as to diminish the nation and its people to anonymity (see, for example, Tuuri 2012, 33, 61, 122, 185). In like manner, Adolf Hitler is several times referred to as “Aatu Hitler” or “Aatu” (see, for example, 280), that is, by a dismissive Finnish nickname. The chaplain, on the other hand, becomes a spokesman for humanity and a Christ-like character who forgives the wife and who even helps the German lover across the border to Sweden. When Sergeant Major Hiltu disapproves of helping the German wounded, he, too, comments sarcastically on the chaplain's Christ-like behavior, “turning the other cheek” (76). The name of the novel itself reveals the tension between the two former brothers-in-arms: in Karunki, a northern village, Hamari, one of the Finnish soldiers, takes the iron-heeled jackboots (i.e., “*rauta-antura*”) from one of the fallen Germans because he thinks that they “had walked over mother Finland long enough” (149). Time and again, the Germans are depicted as brutes who shoot their Finnish prisoners of war in the back for revenge (113),<sup>5</sup> thus

5 “They told us that Germans had shot our men as revenge for the accident this morning in which our fire hit a van that carried wounded Germans. All the Finns were found lying on their



heightening the popular German or Nazi hate-figure image. The novel's laconic narration accentuates the brutal subject matter, while the frequent use of the passive voice stresses the impression of little people at the mercy of greater powers.<sup>6</sup>

As Joep Leerssen has remarked, national characters and stereotypes are not always used seriously in fiction, but often as a "game of conventions" that both the reader and the writer are aware of (2007d, 75). Tuuri, too, makes use of the image of the drinking Finn, which, as W. R. Mead has concluded, is an international figure of fun in fiction (1963, 260). In the early pages of the novel, Heikki's division takes over "Little Berlin," the German depots in Tornio, and drains their expensive cognac; at one point the narrator notes that the cognac barrel used to belong to Adolf Hitler but it is now theirs (Tuuri 2012, 82). The drinking and its aftermath are discussed at length. Even the novel's ending exploits a typical symbol associated with Finns, the sauna (336), providing a sort of a catharsis for Heikki.

Paula Havaste's *Yhden toivon tie* (The road of one hope) and Pekka Jaatinen's *Kuolema Suursaarella* (Death in Gogland) both emphasize the role of women, the Finnish Lottas,<sup>7</sup> and their voluntary work in hospitals and in other auxiliary tasks with the armed forces. In Havaste's novel, the protagonists are two women, sisters, the younger of whom works as a nurse in a German hospital in the northern city of Kemi.<sup>8</sup> She falls in love with Horst and wants to follow him—by foot from Kemi to Rovaniemi—when the Germans start withdrawing. Because of her German nurse's uniform, she is raped by Finnish soldiers on the way. Jaatinen's war novel has several narrators, one of whom is a woman, Signe. She and her friend Irene are both Lottas working in Gogland (Suursaari), a strategically important island on the Gulf of Finland in World War II. The novel depicts the events in connection with September 15th, 1944, which marks the beginning of the Lapland War, when the German navy attempted to take the island (*Unternehmen Tanne Ost*/Operation Tanne Ost) as well as the lives and loves of these women and their German or Finnish fiancés. Irene and Signe fall in love with the same men, first Nils Erik, a Finn, then Lukas, who is German. Both choose Irene, and the reader is led to believe that she gets pregnant

stomachs, shot in the head from behind. That made us so furious that we no longer felt pity for the Germans even though they were the same boys who had fought the Russians with us in the eleventh infantry regiment in Vienna since 1941." All the translations in this article are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

6 Throughout the novel, the narrator prefers the passive voice—instead of using "we"—when depicting the division's undertakings; see especially the opening sentences in each chapter.

7 Lotta Svärd—hence the term "Lotta"—was a Finnish auxiliary paramilitary organization for women from 1920 to 1944.

8 Havaste's novel is a sequel to her novel *Kaksi rakkautta* (Two loves, 2010).

by Lukas. At the end of the novel, time has passed, and Irene's son, Kari Järn, now Professor Emeritus of History at the University of Helsinki, is visiting Gogland, as is a German veteran, Gustav, another voice in the novel. Gustav is about to tell Kari about a handsome, fallen Finnish soldier who looked exactly like him, but he has a heart attack and dies. The Germans, the Finns, and the Russians (two of the narrators, Oleg and Kunitsa, are Russians) are portrayed as people with the frailties and virtues of human nature. The role of the villain—the German hate-figure—is, however, played by First Lieutenant Wilhelm Müller, who immediately after his arrival puts a giant Hitler poster on the wall of his cabin (Jaatinen 2012, 20), so as to underline and anticipate the villainy, and who mistakenly assures his fellow Germans that the Finns will not defend themselves against the Germans, as did the real-life Dr. *Oberleutnant* Wilhelm Müller. Unlike most of the other Finnish World War II narratives discussed here, Jaatinen's novel also has a Jewish character: he is Albert Homann, a watchmaker, who, at the beginning of the novel, makes an ominous prophecy for Signe, Irene, Lukas, and Nils Erik (16).

Heidi Köngäs's *Dora, Dora* (2012) is a psychological novel about the anatomy of power and its sexual undertones. It draws on Albert Speer's visit to Finland on the eve of the Lapland War, in the winter of 1943–44. The close proximity with the war becomes a dramatic setting for depicting the tense relationships between the protagonists (most of them Germans), and the absent fictive Hitler and his Minister of Armaments. The novel has four perspectives, or focalizers: Albert Speer; his secretary, Annemarie Kempf (the name of an actual longtime Speer secretary); Eero Kallankari, the Finnish interpreter; and "The Magician," who is a member of the German ensemble and who is of Jewish descent. In his memoirs, Speer describes his visit to Finland, mentioning that he was accompanied by a violinist (Siegfried Borries)<sup>9</sup> and an amateur magician, who became famous under the artist name "Kalanag" after the war; they were to cheer up the German soldiers at Christmas (Speer 1969, 192). He also says that for the first time he was now faced with the reality of war as he witnessed a corporal killed at close range (193). In the novel, this scene is utilized and developed, as is Speer's real-life ski trek and overnight stay in a hut in freezing conditions (cf., Speer 1969, 194). In the novel, the fictive Speer sustains a knee injury, which later troubles him like his guilty conscience. It should be noted here that in Hitler fiction, i.e., in fictional texts which feature Hitler as a

9 The writer Olavi Paavolainen mentions Borries's concert in Finland in his World War II memoir *Synkkä yksinpuhelu* (A solemn monologue, 1946). In his 1936 travel book, *Kolmannen valtakunnan vieraana* (Guest of the Third Reich, 1936), Paavolainen makes critical observations on Nazism (and Joseph Goebbels in particular).

character, Speer has rarely had a role—Michael Butter’s *The Epitome of Evil: Hitler in American Fiction 1939–2002* (2009) mentions none—perhaps because of his reputation as “the good Nazi” or “the Nazi who said sorry” and that Kögäs does not build her novel on this less-complicated image.

Kögäs makes use of Speer’s and Hitler’s personal histories and emphasizes an interpretation of Hitler’s homosexuality, shown, for example, by Lothar Machtan in *Hitlers Geheimnis: Das Dobbelleben eines Diktators (The Hidden Hitler, 2001)*. The homoerotic relationship between Speer and Hitler, suggested by Gitta Sereny in *Albert Speer: His Battle with Truth* ([1995] 1996), creates a fundamental tension. In *Dora, Dora*, Speer acknowledges Hitler’s disinterest in women (Kögäs 2012, 226); his secretary on the other hand wonders about Speer’s homosexuality based on his disinterest in women (233). In the novel, Speer’s fictive homoerotic relationship with Hitler is highlighted by expressing sadistic thoughts about Hitler (227). The fictive Speer rapes the male interpreter and, in remembering the incident, he concludes that “he [the interpreter] now knows” (259–60). The sadistic relationship between Speer and Hitler in the novel thus expands to Speer and Kallankari. In the novel, the rape marks a climax in which Speer’s growing feelings of discontent with Hitler turn into an endless melancholy, a true dead end.

In the course of the novel, Speer analyzes the symbiotic relationship between him and Hitler. Without Hitler, Speer ceases to exist (Kögäs 2012, 274), but he (Speer) has had all the power over Hitler (296). The novel ends with Speer swearing, on the eve of his return to Germany, that for the sake of “mein Führer,” he will return and endure all the things to come: “Do you hear, I am coming home and I will deal with everything, because of you, and only for you, mein Führer” (Kögäs 2012, 333). In negotiating the position of power, the relationship between Speer and Hitler in the novel bears a resemblance to that between the historical Finns and their German brothers-in-arms. This emotional relationship is commented on in Pete Suhonen’s satire *Hitlerin kylkiluu* (Hitler’s rib), which looks briefly at the Lapland War from a ludicrous Neo-Nazi perspective. For the protagonists, the German outburst in Lapland only proves the intensity of devotion between the former brothers-in-arms (Suhonen 2012, 260).

As already indicated, novels in which foreigners are depicted often make use of meta-images, i. e., representations that show how the nation in question believes it is perceived by others. The Finnish language and its difficulty are often mentioned in foreign representations of Finns (see Kantola 2010) as well as Finns’ views of themselves. In *Dora, Dora*, Speer comments on it as well (Kögäs 2012, 79); it is also

worth pointing out that one of the narrators is an interpreter, acting between the two poles. From his position, the Lapps' supposed image of Germans as well as the Germans' supposed image of Finns are highlighted in that we are told that the Lapps consider Germans to be cruel and selfish (85–87) whereas Germans are supposed to consider Finns as slow but hard-working and obedient (145). This emphasizes the barrier between the “Aryan” master race, the German auto-image, commented on by the interpreter (145), and the idea of the more primitive, animal-like brothers-in-arms. However, Kallankari's pleasant, “Aryan” appearance (blue eyes, blond hair) is later commented on by Speer's secretary, Kempf (173).

However, the contemporary image of Finns as great readers is reasserted in the novel by showing at one point that the interpreter is reading (the Finnish nobel prize-winner) Frans Emil Sillanpää's (1888–1964) *Ihmiset suviyössä* (*People in the Summer Night*, 1934)<sup>10</sup> (Köngäs 2012, 168), which also provides an intertextual link with Köngäs's novel since Arvid, Helka, and Nokia—who is homosexual—resemble her protagonists. Similar to the contemporary image of the reading Finn, the frequent present-day literary presentation of Finns as architects (Kantola 2010) is touched upon when the fictive Speer mentions the eminent Finnish architect Lars Sonck (1870–1956), whose work he is not familiar with (Köngäs 2012, 160). Such details implicitly question the condescending Nazi view of Finns.

Even though Sofi Oksanen's *Kun kyyhkysset katosivat* (*When the Doves Disappeared*, 2012) is not about the Lapland War, it has affinities with such novels because of the German presence; historically, too, the end of the German occupation of Estonia (September 18, 1944) and the beginning of the Lapland War (September 15, 1944) overlap. The doves in the novel disappear because the German occupiers eat them; the dove is, of course, in addition to its literal meaning, a symbol of peace, which is shattered by the Nazi regime. In Oksanen's novel, however, the historical fact that many Estonians sympathized with the German occupiers as liberators from the Soviets is acknowledged, but the psychological complexity of being at the mercy of someone more powerful is explored at the same time. The novel's main German figure is Hellmuth, an SS Captain, with whom one of the protagonists, Juudit, involved in an anti-German resistance movement, has a liaison. Even though the novel elsewhere depicts the Germans in a cold, reportive manner, from the perspective of Edgar, the novel's villain, an opportunistic turncoat, the lovers are depicted as

10 Sillanpää was also one of the successful Finnish authors in Nazi Germany (see Peltovuori 2010, 198, and Laitinen 1997, for discussions of Sillanpää's relationship to Germany).

people in an impossible situation; it takes a while for Hellmuth to find out about Juudit's double life (Oksanen 2012, 258–62) which in the end jeopardizes him as well.

The face of Hitler marks the chapters that cover the year 1943, the novel's narrative solution to point out the time and place (and the "rule") by placing a stamp at the beginning of each chapter. The Hitler head stamp was, of course, widely issued and used in Nazi Germany, but Estonia was also one of the occupied nations to issue such stamps. In the novel, these stamps stand for 1943, the middle point in the Nazi occupation of Estonia. There are imagological links between Oksanen's and Kõngäs's novels in representing the condescending German attitude towards the Finns and the Estonians as well as the negative Estonian and Finnish attitudes towards the Nazis. In the plot of Oksanen's novel, the Nazis are guilty of rape and other cruelties (Oksanen 2012, 87–88); on the other hand, they and Hitler are ridiculed in the storyworld—in Estonian, which they do not understand (147). Languages are of importance in image-making, as well as conventional devices in making foreigners into figures of fun (Zacharasiewicz 2010, 325). They have other functions as well: in Oksanen's novel, a lot of Nazi titles in German are used (*SS-Obersturmführer*, *SS-Unterscharführer*, *Hauptsturmführer*, *Unterscharführer*, etc.) in order to recognize the power relations between the two nationalities as well as the distance between them. Hitler, too, is simply *Führer*, not always mentioned by name (Oksanen 2012, 263).

Furthermore, in line with Kõngäs's novel, "the Nazi" as such does not represent the German national character, but something more abstract, a universal embodiment of evil that relates to the human "lust for power," as well as to the ideologies of contemporary extremist political movements. Moreover, the communist rule and Stalin's atrocities after the German occupation are another incarnation in Oksanen's novel. Michael Butter has argued that in the U.S. culture Hitler has become a powerful trope that is employed to negotiate contemporaneous domestic concerns (2009). *Mutatis mutandis*, it seems that the broader "Nazi" concept has occupied a similar, active role in contemporary Finnish fiction.

## **AGAINST EXTREMIST MOVEMENTS**

In Finnish-language novels published in 2012, there is a clear tendency to (a) discuss social problems (racism, the disadvantaged in society, extremist movements) and (b) to make statements about these issues. Jari Järvelä's *Parempi maailma* (The better world, 2012) is a satire of present-day public sentiment in Finland and, in

particular, its xenophobic characteristics, as well as the black-and-white media climate. It is also one example of recent Finnish novels that draw a parallel between 1930s Germany and present-day Finland. Its protagonist is a Finnish minister, Väinö Kataja, who sets in motion a personal tailspin when, in an interview, he is asked what the most beautiful Finnish-language word is. His answer is *neekeri* (negro), and he is thus branded as a racist and is abandoned by many. Kataja eventually finds his way, in standing against racism, with the help of his Muslim cleaning lady, Naïmi, and her daughter, Jamira, refugees from Iraq. Naively, they pronounce the mission by burning Astrid Lindgren's *Pippi Longstocking* books, which they think reassert a racist world view (Järvelä 2012, 240). This act is associated with the Nazi book burnings, in particular because of the the novel's parallel, non-satiric storyline: the letters from Kataja's grandmother's former fiancé, a Finnish sculptor, the protagonist's namesake, from the Berlin of 1920s and 1930s. Unlike Kataja, he starts out as an idealist but later opportunistically backs down on his former points of principle. He becomes acquainted with Heinrich Himmler (129–30), *Reichsführer* of the *Schutzstaffel* (1929–45), who sees this Väinö make a name for himself. Väinö, now under the surname Wagner (to be associated with Hitler's favorite composer), produces a large piece, a sculpture of a four-in-hand carriage, for Göring on the roof of his ministry (256) (cf. the "Quadriga" on the top of the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin). Special attention is paid to Väinö's first name as it reminds Himmler of the powerful Väinämöinen, whom he appreciates.<sup>11</sup> Järvelä (2012, 250–51) alludes to Heather Pringle's *The Master Plan: Himmler's Scholars and the Holocaust* (2006), translated into Finnish in 2009, which highlighted Himmler's interest in Finnish Karelia and which brought out the fact that he owned numerous kanteles, Finnish zithers.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, the Nazi view of art is brought into play, climaxing in a Degenerate Art Exhibition (Järvelä 2012, 336–37) showing some of Väinö Wagner's earlier sculptures under the name of his friend, another Finnish sculptor.<sup>13</sup>

The most lucid example of novels with a social message is, however, Pirjo Hassinen's *Popula* (2012), which depicts everyday people and their attraction to a

11 As Risto Peltovuori has pointed out, Finnish literature figured prominently in Germany during Nazi rule; in 1935, the centenary of the *Kalevala* was widely covered in German newspapers, and an abridgement of the epic was made for the use of *Hitlerjugend* (2010, 198).

12 In Finland, Himmler's fascination with Finnish folklore gained further exposure in 2014 because of Heikki Huttu-Halttunen's document on Finnish anthropologist Yrjö von Grönhagen, *Himmlerin kanteleensoittajat* (Himmler's zither players, 2014), who worked for Himmler at Ahnenerbe, the pseudo-scientific institute in Nazi Germany.

13 Another recent example of a novel that draws heavily on historical Finnish-German co-operation during World War II is Jenni Linturi's *Isänmaan tähden* (For the fatherland, 2011),

political party, “Popula,” with populist elements, not unlike the The Finns Party in today’s Finland. This novel discusses racism as well, since the protagonist Pirjo’s daughter is the stepmother of an adopted teenage girl from Africa. In line with Järvelä’s novel, one line changes everything for her. In a moment of frustration, the stepmother tells the stepdaughter to go back to Africa, and the stepmother, too, is abandoned by many.

The protagonist, Pirjo, the author’s namesake, is an amateur painter who on a whim sabotages abstract art in an art museum and thus attracts national attention as well as sympathy from “Popula.” The author thus utilizes recent real-life politics, making a direct reference to the Finns Party, as the party platform and its statements in favor of representational art instead of “artsy postmodern experiments” caused controversy in Finland in 2011.<sup>14</sup> Thus, a meta-level link is made between the Finns Party and the Nazi view of art, and their understanding of all modern art as degenerate (*entartete Kunst*). A direct reference is made in James Thompson’s *Helsinki White*, an English-language crime novel written in Finland in 2012, in which the rhetoric of the barely fictive “Real Finns Party” headed by the experienced politician Topi Ruutio reminds the detective Kari Vaara of Nazi propaganda.<sup>15</sup> In the novel, the leading immigrants’ rights advocate, Lisbet Söderlund, a Finland Swede, is murdered and her head is sent by mail in a cardboard box to the Finnish Somalia Network.

It should be briefly pointed out here, too, that Maritta Lintunen’s *Sydänraja* (Heartborder, 2012) also discusses extremist movements at several levels as it explores similarities between two forms of fanaticism, religious fanaticism, a sect of missionaries called “Lähetysmatkalaiset” (missionaries), who do missionary service in Karelia (which was ceded to Russia after the Winter War of 1939–40), and patriotic fanaticism, a group of female patriots, the *Sydänraja* network, who are of Karelian descent and who aim to incorporate Karelia into Finland. The protagonist Ronja admires her blood relative, Otto Sachse (note the German family name), who died as a young freedom fighter; his notes constitute one voice in the novel. Declarations by two real-life right-wing nationalist groups, Suomen Isänmaallinen Kansanliike (The which depicts Finnish men who volunteered for the Waffen-SS (*Finnisches Freiwilligen-Bataillon der Waffen-SS*)).

14 <http://www.perussuomalaiset.fi/ohjelmat/getfile.php?file=1536>

15 “Real Finns believed that government should decide what qualifies as good art to receive government support. They looked to nineteenth-century Finnish classic works as ideals. They made wild promises to spread the wealth that couldn’t possibly be met. They wanted to leave the EU. Their rhetoric reminded me of early Nazi propaganda. Like I told Kate, Real Finns are like a more virulent strain of American Teabaggers.” (James Thompson, *Helsinki White*, 59)

Finnish Nationalistic Popular Movement) and Suomen Vastarintaliike (The Finnish Resistance Movement), are cited within the story (Lintunen 2012, 202–3, 209). It is worth noting that in the Finnish cultural imaginary Karelia has figured as almost an earthly paradise and that “the Karelian issue,” or regaining the ceded areas, is not only popular among those who lost their homes but among the nationalist right-wing groups in present-day Finland (such as “Suomen Sisu,” see <http://suomensisu.fi/periaatteet/>).

In imagology, the images are considered mobile and changeable, and they may over time generate *counter-images* that do not abolish the previous image, but accumulate (Leerssen 2007a, 343). The present-day cultural representation of Adolf Hitler in Finnish literature and film is mostly comic, as a result of Veikko Huovinen’s famous representation in *Veitikka: A. Hitlerin elämä ja toiminta* (The rascal: A. Hitler’s life and deeds, 1971), a fictional biography of Hitler, as well as the worldwide embodiments in popular culture such as the parodied clips from the film *Der Untergang* (2004), which are widely available on YouTube. In addition, the film *Iron Sky* (2012), a “comic science fiction action film,” directed by Timo Vuorensola, written by Michael Kalesniko and Johanna Sinisalo, an acclaimed Finnish author, and released at the Berlin International Film Festival in 2012, had wide media coverage in Finland. Briefly, the film is a crazy comedy about Nazis who fled to the moon after the 1945 defeat and who are returning in 2018 to conquer the world. Timur Vermes’s successful recent German novel *Er ist wieder da* (He’s back, 2012), a Hitler satire, which depicts Hitler “becoming present-day celebrity after awakening from 66-year sleep in 2011,”<sup>16</sup> comes under the same heading. According to Michael Butter, almost all American Hitler fiction written from 1968 on belongs to the alternate history genre (2009, 13).

Pete Suhonen’s *Hitlerin kylkiluu* (Hitler’s rib, 2012) is no exception to this. On the one hand, it depicts a colorful group of present-day Finns—a brotherhood of three goofs—who share an interest in Nazis and in right-wing extremist ideology. The novel, however, provides an alternate story of Hitler’s death and his remains: the brotherhood’s Nazi expert, agronomist Hildén (cf. the name’s resemblance to that of Hitler), follows a message-in-a-bottle lead on Hitler’s last whereabouts, discovering that Hitler had visited Finland before drowning in 1945, and that Samuel Rotburger, a Jewish businessman in Germany, has Hitler’s rib. It turns out that Rotburger’s father, the writer of the message-in-a-bottle, was a crew member on board *Nautilus*, the German submarine U-479, a VIIC-type submarine, Hitler’s

16 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/feb/05/adolf-hitler-novel-german-bestseller>



first, which survived its collision with Russian gunboat wreckage (Suhonen 2012, 369-74). In reality, U-479 disappeared in the Gulf of Finland in November of 1944 and is listed as missing. Nevertheless, Rotburger explains that his father had double-crossed both Stalin and Franco by selling the bones of a Finnish mess girl Hintriikka as genuine Hitler remains (364). The novel plays with both the stereotype of the (crazy) Finn—often utilized, for example, in Arto Paasilinna’s picaresque novels—as well as with the stereotype of the militaristic, empty-headed German hate-figure, and blurs the distinction between the two by ridicule, thus producing a new, two-way counter-image. This is in line with the notion that irony and humor are used to present national clichés and stereotypes in fiction (cf. Leerssen 2007c, 354) and that national characters and stereotypes are thus often used ironically, as a “game of conventions” that both the reader and the writer are aware of (Leerssen 2007d, 74).

The leader of the bizarre brotherhood in the novel, Jaakko Mutttilainen, has been a Real Finns Party candidate in local elections (Suhonen 2012, 47), but the group of three is now delivering for a political party of their own. Mutttilainen is constantly and blatantly associated with Hitler: he drives a car with a license plate “A H - 89” (34), “88” being the code for “Heil Hitler” in Neo-Nazi usage, and he is greeted “Heil Hitler, Meil’ Mutttilainen” (119, 292), which mixes the famous Hitlergruß in a Finnish pun (in Finnish: “They had Hitler, we have Mutttilainen”). The Hitler salute is, of course, commonly used and parodied in Hitler narratives, as is the Swastika symbol (cf., for example, Charles Bukowski’s “卐” [1972]).

Mutttilainen is not only associated with Hitler but he and his life decisions are compared to those of Hitler. Like Hitler, Mutttilainen can achieve his goal by pushing hard (Suhonen 2012, 71), and he does not have children either because he considers his supporters as his children (103). Hitler is his “other father,” and both the fathers die by drowning, as he himself comes to realize (117). Suhonen makes use of the most common Hitler “knowledge” (e.g., Hitler’s supposed monorchism and vegetarianism (367, 382, 246)). At the same time, he rewrites these clichés. In the novel, Hitler is not “the embodiment of evil” but a figure of fun satiristically pointing out present-day issues.

Either the German language or the German accent is often brought to play in foreign representations of Germans. In World War II narratives, and especially in parodying the Nazis, the German accent heightens the militaristic image of its user. In *Hitlerin kylkiluu*, the German language does not have a large role because of the novel’s obvious intention to draw parallels between present-day Finland’s political

climate and that of Nazi Germany. As the brotherhood is “blue-and-white,” it is the Finnish language and the Finnish symbols that are brought into the German context. During the brotherhood’s visit to Germany, Mutttilainen mistakes the German greeting “moin” for Finnish greeting “moi” (Suhonen 2012, 345), the singer Katri Helena (b. 1945) and her “blue-and-white voice” symbolizes Finnishness to the members of the brotherhood, and a comparison is made with Marlene Dietrich (15) and her significance for the Nazis (283). In addition, “Katri Helena” is the name of their final getaway boat (325); Mutttilainen’s first tugboat is renamed “Marlene” (283).

In line with other contemporary Finnish novels, Suhonen’s novel approaches the question of prejudice from several angles. The Nazi tyranny of the Jews is present as one dimension of the story, but the operational principle is enlarged to another time and place as the brotherhood disapproves of the Finland Swedes and of the Swedes (Suhonen 2012, 330) as well as of the Russians. In like manner, the Nazi terror against the physically disabled is activated in the story by multiple events: constable Parviainen, a member of the brotherhood, is blackmailed into killing a colleague’s quadriplegic wife; Mutttilainen’s father has sold Thalidomide to the Finns; Rotburger, the son of a Nazi Jew and the owner of Hitler’s rib, is a Thalidomide child (352).

While linking the virulent German nationalism with that of present-day Finland, Suhonen makes a number of references to the actual Finnish Nazism during the period from 1932 to 1944. For example, the agronomist Hildén’s father, Olof Hildén, is described as a National Socialist, a treasurer of “Suomen Kansallissosialistinen Työjärjestö” (the Finnish National Socialist Labor Organization), an actual Finnish Nazi movement led by Teo Snellman from 1940 to 1944 (see Ekberg 1991, 168–85), and as carrying a giant silver *Reichsadler*—Imperial Eagle—ring (Suhonen 2012, 245). Later in the story, Hildén drones on about Arvi Kalsta, another real-life Finnish Nazi, who had been involved in the National Socialist movement in the 1930s in Finland, and who had founded a new organization, “Kansallissosialistien Järjestö” (National Socialist Organization) in 1940 (see Ekberg 1991, 188). In addition, Suhonen hints at a writer’s Nazi sympathies, since the novel’s appendices, documents “written by Hildén,” are said to have been found “between the pages of a certain book by Mika Waltari” (Suhonen 2012, 467). In 1933, Mika Waltari (1908–79), best known for his international bestseller *Sinuhe egyptiläinen* (*The Egyptian*, 1945), translated the biography of Horst Wessel, a Nazi Party activist and a “posthumous hero of the Nazi movement” following his death in 1930, and Waltari wrote a

report of his trip to Germany in 1939, which gave a positive impression of Nazi rule (see Waltari 1988). Thus, the usual negative image of the Nazis is expanded to that of a more honest historical Finnish self-image, in spite of the starting point in satire. This has, however, some affinities with Butter's arguments about American Hitler fiction, which, according to him, deploys the Hitler trope "neither for open self-critique nor for the explicit affirmation of a positive self-image through othering, but instead performs these opposite kinds of cultural work implicitly and simultaneously" (2009, 61). In a similar fashion, Suhonen's novel performs self-criticism only by "othering," that is, by accentuating the boundary between a conception of the other, the bizarre brotherhood, and the more positive (Finnish) self-conception shared by his readers who comprehend the social criticism.<sup>17</sup>

### **MONEY TALKS**

The interest in Germany in contemporary Finnish fiction is in part generated by Germany's present-day role as Europe's economic power. This Germany is represented in some of the Finnish novels in 2012 that deal with the questions of economics and the evil power of money, another major theme in recent Finnish novels (explored by Kari Hotakainen, for example). A couple of Finnish novels of 2012 actually take place in Germany. Joel Haahtela's novella *Traumbach* (2012), for example, has a German protagonist, Jochen, who is trying to find a mystery man called "Traumbach" (a typical motif in Haahtela's oeuvre). Even though the novel in a sense builds on the German hetero-image, it gives scarce relevant material here, as "Jochen" is really an everyman whose undertakings and inner monologues are more or less only aesthetized by the remote German setting.<sup>18</sup> A few of Haahtela's

17 The historical Finnish Nazism or anti-Semitism of the 1930s provides one background for Kjell Westö's recent Swedish-language novel *Hägring 38* (Mirage 38, 2013). Through its Jewish character, Jogi Jary, it deals with historical manifestations of anti-Semitism in the Finland of the 1930s. In the novel, Westö deploys a historical event, the scandal over the 100-meter dash during the Finnish Championships at the newly built Olympic Stadium in Helsinki, in which a Jewish athlete Abraham Tokazier (in the novel Salomon Jary) was placed fourth in the official results even though the finish-line photo clearly shows that he was the first to cross it. Because of the new publicity brought by Westö's novel, the Suomen urheiluliitto (the Finnish Amateur Athletic Association) conceded in 2013 that Tokazier was the real winner of the race. See <http://www.hs.fi/urheilu/Vuoden+1938+oikeusmurha+oikaistiin++Tokazier+julistettiin+voittajaksi/a1380854813815>. For further historical information on this case, see Malte Gasche and Simo Muir's article "Discrimination against Jewish Athletes in Finland: An Unwritten Chapter" (Gasche and Muir 2013).

18 In addition, Enni Mustonen's *Kultarikko* (Broken darling, 2012) should be mentioned here as an example of light reading published in 2012 that deploys multiple national stereotypes (particularly those of Finns and of Finland) with a German connection. Its protagonist is Heidi Helder, a

earlier novels take place in Germany as well. In like manner, Riku Korhonen's *Nuku lähelläni* (Sleep close to me, 2012) takes place in an unnamed German city, a business city much like Frankfurt, where the protagonist, Teemu (a Finn), arrives to take care of his half-brother Tuomas's funeral arrangements. Tuomas has worked as an investment adviser for an international bank, which in part motivates the novel's important questions of economics and the power of money; Europe's economic crisis is in a way a mental setting in the novel with which the more humane or interpersonal topics are intermingled and reflected on. Germany is in this sense not only the European economical powerhouse but a symbol for a new *Menschenbild*. Even though the German image as such is not an issue in Juha Seppälä's *Mr. Smith* (2012), the novel is worth mentioning here because it, too, builds on the idea of the doomed power of money in Europe, which Germany embodies in Korhonen's novel. The story is told in several time-domains and from several perspectives (for example, in the early twentieth-century Karelian Isthmus, the aforementioned "earthly paradise," by "Mr. Smith's" grandfather "Mr Schmidt"). The protagonist Mr. Smith—perhaps the writer's alter ego since "seppä" means "smith" in Finnish—has dedicated himself to solving people's problems (often money-related); Seppälä then shows, as Tuomas Juntunen has pointed out, that markets eventually become "a force akin to the whimsical gods in Greek tragedies, a force that will destroy the helpless individual."<sup>19</sup> The socioeconomic issues explored in these novels, as well as in the novels already discussed in the article, point to historical equivalents, especially to that of the Great Depression in Europe in the 1930s and Hitler's subsequent rise to power.

As Joep Leerssen has remarked, the use of "national" characterization has undergone an "ironic turn" in the arts, including contemporary fiction, which means that stereotypes and clichés of national characters are often invoked ironically with a knowing wink from author to reader (Leerssen 2007d, 74), and because of this, in imagological analysis, it is always relevant to consider what genre conventions are at work (Leerssen 2007b, 28). In the novels discussed above, the images of Germans have been unidimensional in satiric texts such as Suhonen's *Hitlerin kylkiluu*, or in discussing the Nazis in general; in other, more psychological narratives such as in Oksanen's *Kun kyyhkyset katosivat* or in Könngäs's *Dora, Dora*, even the Nazis are depicted as complex human beings. Whether the twentieth-century image of the Germans as "soulless, obedient implementers of ruthless systematics" continues

daughter of a German neurosurgeon father and a Finnish mother, who after her German and Swiss years (the novel is the final book of a trilogy), travels to Lapland to help her grandmother and other relatives in 1989–90.

19 <http://www.booksfromfinland.fi/2012/08/the-ruins-of-civilisation/>

to be at work in other Finnish narratives than those drawing from the Second World War, remains open. However, it seems evident that the previous images have already generated some counter-images in money-related topics.

The conclusion is, however, that the image of Germans as Nazi as it is constructed in recent Finnish novels is used by the novelists in order to discuss topics concerning Finnish society. This means, in imagological terms, that the German image represented in these novels strongly reflects the Finnish self-image and that “the Nazi” and its historical context has become a trope which is employed to negotiate contemporary concerns such as those underlying the rise of the extreme right. In broader terms, however, it is evident that the present day in these novels mirrors history, and that history is explained by the timeless frailties of human nature, shared by textual Germans and textual Finns alike.

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**THE HIDDEN SIGH:  
THE END OF THE AVANT-GARDE  
IN OLAVI PAAVOLAINEN AND AARO HELLAAKOSKI**

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**ABSTRACT**

This article presents a new perspective on research in Finnish modernist literature by examining the idea of the end of the avant-garde in Olavi Paavolainen's (1903–64) and Aaro Hellaakoski's (1893–1952) views on modernism in the late 1920s. Paavolainen was one of the most prominent figures in the contemporary debate on modernism; Hellaakoski's typographically experimental poetry collection *Jääpeili* (Ice mirror) is considered to be a pioneer in Finnish modern poetry. In this article, the end of the avant-garde refers to the impression that the most experimental trends had already passed elsewhere in Europe. In Finland, the end of the avant-garde was, on the one hand, used as a weapon against modernists, but on the other, it also played a significant role in the understanding of the present state of art by the defenders of modernism.

**Keywords:** antimodernism, the avant-garde, modernism, visual poetry

**INTRODUCTION**

In the foreword for his translation of Ilya Ehrenburg's essay "Uusi romantiikka" (New romanticism, 1927), Olavi Paavolainen—the Finnish poet, essayist, and inspirational leader of the modernist literary group Tulenkantajat (Torch bearers)—brings attention to the phenomena within Finnish cultural life, where, according to him, "paljastuu salattu huokaus: 'Taivaalle kiitos, että taistelu on jo ohitse, ja että

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voimme ruveta rauhasa elämään!” (the hidden sigh is revealed: ‘Thank heavens that the battle is over, and that we can commence our peaceful lives!’) (Paavolainen 1927a, 31). As I shall demonstrate in more detail in the following, the battle and its end refer to a conception that the most extreme and experimental trends of modernism—which we today call the avant-garde—were no longer topical in the late 1920s. Paavolainen’s foreword has rightly been perceived as the manifesto of the machine romanticist phase of *Tulenkantajat* (Palmgren 1989, 76). Its genre could also be described as a sort of apology. Paavolainen is defending the avant-garde and seeks to convince the sighing reader that it is still relevant, even though its heyday has already passed in Europe.

The importance of the avant-garde in Finnish literature in the 1910s and 1920s has often been belittled, since it did not adopt the aesthetic and ideological values and stylistic norms of the Western centers of art history, such as Paris, Zurich, Berlin, and Vienna (Huuhtanen 1978, 23–24, 78–80, 94; Lassila 1987, 26, 109–12; Lappalainen 1993, 53; Envall 1998, 157; Sadik-Ogli 2000a, 49; 2000b, 46; Haapala 2007, 277–80; Herzberg, Haapala, and Kantola 2012, 447, 454, 456–57). In addition to such a center-oriented viewpoint, the avant-garde can also be studied horizontally, as Piotr Piotrowski has suggested. Rather than the norms dictated by the center, one can instead take special cultural characteristics as a starting point and examine the different positive or negative ways in which the avant-garde has been received, applied, adopted, and seized in the margins (Piotrowski 2009, 55–56; cf. van den Berg, Hautamäki, Hjartarson, Jelsbak, Schönström, Stounbjerg, Ørum, and Aagesen 2012a, 633–36; 2012b).

In the following, I will explore the conception of the end of the avant-garde as a margin-oriented viewpoint. The fact that Paavolainen—the most prominent Finnish-speaking advocate of modernism—took seriously the thought of the end of the avant-garde and—as we shall see—even admitted it to be true, implies that the end of the avant-garde in Europe had an impact on how the avant-garde was received in Finland in the late 1920s. The conception of the end of the avant-garde provides one vantage point on how the avant-garde was brought to Finland, what reactions it sparked, how it was understood among advocates and opponents, and how it was applied within the arts.

In this article, I will study how the idea of the end of the avant-garde manifests in Paavolainen’s and Aaro Hellaakoski’s late 1920s texts on modernism. Both are central figures of the Finnish modernism of the 1920s. Paavolainen was one of the most prominent figures in the contemporary debate on modernism. Hellaakoski’s

role, on the other hand, is based on his typographically experimental poetry collection *Jääpeili* (Ice mirror, 1928a), which is today regarded as a trailblazer within Finnish modernist poetry (Laitinen 1997, 389; Envall 1998, 154–55; Grünthal 1999b, 208; Hertzberg, Haapala, and Kantola 2012, 456).

Defining the avant-garde in a universally applicable way is an ungrateful task, since there always seem to be movements or groups that question the common features and properties that are used to describe it. The avant-garde is not just an artistic movement; it is also considered as a political, historical, and economic phenomenon. Many researchers distinguish between the so-called historical avant-garde that took place from the 1910 to the 1930s and included such movements as Futurism, Dadaism, and Surrealism, and the neo-avant-garde of later periods. It is quite common to think of the avant-garde as extreme modernism, i.e., the tendency to question traditional art forms and values in order to grasp the modern sense of reality that had begun in the late nineteenth century. Thus, in the avant-garde, experiments with form and antagonism towards institutions of art were taken to extreme measures, and the aim was often to change reality (Hautamäki 2007, 22; Katajamäki and Veivo 2007, 12–14; Mozejko, 2007, 19, 22, 28–29).

In this article, the concept of the avant-garde is used similarly as an extreme form of modernism, and it is obviously limited to historical avant-garde. This is a pragmatic definition of the relationship between the avant-garde and modernism, when one is examining the situation in Finland in the late 1920s, where neither the concept of modernism nor the rarely used concept of the avant-garde had a uniform meaning (Takala 1990, 56–60; Lappalainen 1993, 28–30; Riikonen 2007, 847–48). Words like “uusi” (new), “uudet suunnat” (new movements), “ismit” (isms), “nyky aika” (the present), “nykysuuntaukset” (present movements), “moderni” (modern), and “modernismi” (modernism) were used interchangeably, and it was common to use Expressionism as an umbrella term for all modernist art movements throughout the 1920s. Often these terms were equipped with modifiers such as “äärimoderni” (extreme modern), “ultramoderni” (ultra modern), or “superultramoderni” (super ultra modern) to distinguish particularly extreme branches of modernism (see, for example, Diktonius 1922, 128; 1925, 126; Wennervirta 1922, 157; Hintze 1923, 83; Bergroth and Matson 1928b, 24; Viljanen 1928).

## THE END OF THE AVANT-GARDE

The reluctant reception of the avant-garde in Finland in the 1910s and 1920s is partly explained by the country’s historical-political situation. Finland had just gained

independence from Russia in 1917, which was followed by a civil war in 1918, as the Finnish conservative Senate (the Whites) and the Finnish People's Delegation led by the Social Democrats (the Reds) ended up in arms against each other. The war ended in the defeat of the Reds, and the conservative atmosphere that followed favored art that supported the national identity and shunned international influences. The anti-avant-garde cultural critique was politically motivated and was linked with anti-Russian sentiments. The avant-garde was perceived as a morbid manifestation of modernism, and as a cultural Bolshevik trend flowing from Russia. The phenomenon existed in other Nordic countries as well—particularly in Norway and Iceland, which had also just gained their independence. Also the core centers of the avant-garde witnessed resistance, for instance in Germany, where the term *cultural Bolshevism* (German: *Kulturbolschewismus*) was originally introduced (Wrede 1985, 257–58; Huusko 2012, 565–69; van den Berg 2012, 42–43).

One way of coping with the avant-garde in conservative Finland was parody. Parodies of the avant-garde are one of its manifestations as a cultural phenomenon as well as seriously created works of art. Although their motives might be contrary to the avant-garde, parodies bear witness to the appropriation and transmission of the avant-garde (van den Berg et al. 2012b, 422). The most famous case is probably Åke Erikson's *Den hemliga glöden* (The secret glow, 1925). It was a collection of free verse poetry published under a pseudonym by the conservative Finnish-Swede poet Bertel Gripenberg (1878–1947). Hagar Olsson (1893–1978), for example, fell for it and was thrilled for a new poet joining the modernist ranks. When the real author was revealed, the work was interpreted as a parody of modernism and as proof that anyone could write modernist poetry. However, according to Gripenberg, the collection was not entirely parodic since he was sincerely interested in free verse poetry (Wrede 1985, 261–72).

Humor magazines like *Kurikka* (The beater) and the rightwing journal *Tähystäjä* (The lookout) constantly poked fun at the Tulenkantajat group and their modernist poetry. Tulenkantajat were mostly depicted as unruly children who wrote incomprehensible poems but who themselves regarded their achievements as strokes of genius. The genre was often parody that mimed forms of modernist poetry and the idolizing of modern phenomena. Some poets reputed to be modernists also ridiculed modernism, as in the “Futuristinen ilta-aria” (Futuristic evening aria) by Uuno Kailas (1901–33) (1922, 67–69), a member of the Tulenkantajat group, or Hellaakoski in several poems of *Jääpeili* (1928a).

One aspect that has received less attention in research on the reception of the avant-garde in Finland in the late 1920s is the impression that the time of the most extreme modernist experiments had already passed elsewhere in Europe. The conception of the end of the avant-garde was often used as a weapon to strike against modernists. For example, the writer and artist Viljo Kojo (1891–1966) criticized Hellaakoski and his typographical experiments in *Jääpeili* for clinging to “this style of fashion, while it already is a defeated stand elsewhere.”<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, central representatives and advocates of modernism, such as the Swedish-speaking Finnish writers Olsson and Raoul af Hällström (1899–1975) took note of the waning of avant-gardist extremism.

In addition to such avant-gardist trends as Purism, Dadaism, and Surrealism, the international field of art in the 1920s was also influenced by the neo-classical orientation, which returned to the traditions of art and the values it represented, which were seen as timeless and universal. At the center of neo-classicism lay post-war France: amid the reconstruction process, the return of art to *tradition* and order was perceived as a nation-unifying trend. Italy’s *Novocento* and the New Objectivity (in German: *Neue Sachlichkeit*) in Germany and the Netherlands, among others, are likewise representative of similar opposing reactions to the avant-garde and of the return to tradition. In many countries, the avant-garde was perceived as chaotic, foreign, and unpatriotic. In France, it was paralleled with German barbarity, whereas a French culture that stressed rationality and order was understood as the successor and defender of classical civilization (Salosaari 1964, 92; Bossaglia 1987, 52; Green 1987, 190; Silver 1989, 11, 25–26, 89; Cowling and Mundy 1990, 11–12; Härmänmaa 2000, 145–46; Riikonen 2000, 261; Nicholls 2009, 265–66).

During the First World War and the period that followed, many artists who had gained fame as avant-gardists, such as Georges Braque, Achille Funi, Fernand Léger, Jean Metzinger, Pablo Picasso, and Gino Severini, moved on to a more traditional form of expression, and themes and influence were sought from Roman frescos as well as the artistic traditions of Italy and France (Green 1987, 52–59, Silver 1989, 142–44, 154–55, 164; Cowling and Mundy 1990, 13–15; Härmänmaa 2000, 146–47). Classical themes also became more popular within music, theater, and literature. France, in particular, saw the rise of classical themes between the two World Wars. These themes were utilized by Jean Cocteau, André Gide, Jean

2 “... tähän muotikauteen, kun se mualla on jo voitettu kanta” (Kojo 1928, 10). All translations from Finnish and Swedish into English are by Sophy Bergenheim.

Giraudoux, Raymond Radiguet, and Paul Valéry, among others (Salosaari 1964, 92–93, 161; Brée 1983, 83; Riikonen 2000, 254–55, 261).

Many avant-garde and modernist representatives of the 1920s labeled the pre-war avant-garde movements, such as Expressionism, Futurism, and Cubism, anachronistic and outdated. The short-lived Dadaism was also soon added to this group. In Finland, the European field of art thus offered the possibility of interpreting the current state of art either as the end of the avant-garde and the return to tradition, or as the birth of a new modernist trend, or, rather, a new style period that had its root in the avant-garde but defined the field of art and the zeitgeist on a more general level. Simply put, the former stressed the end of the avant-garde, while the latter emphasized the continuum between the avant-garde and the current state of art.

An example of the former viewpoint is the essay “Maalaustaiteen uusimmista suunnista” (On the newest trends in the art of painting, 1924) by Onni Okkonen (1886–1962), one of the most prominent art critics of the time. He begins by outlining the importance of Expressionism and Cubism, largely disregarding Futurism and Dadaism as belonging to the degenerative extreme edges of Expressionism. While presenting the newest trends, Okkonen does not give even the slightest hint of the existence of Surrealism. Instead, he highlights Henri Rousseau’s Naivism, Henri Matisse’s Fauvism, and André Derain’s neo-classicism. Derain started his career as a Cubist, but moved on to traditional expression, in order to lead, in Okkonen’s words, “the art of painting into some new classicism.”<sup>3</sup> According to Okkonen, the return to national traditions and the revival of classical ideals were also traits of the newest international trend within the art of painting (Okkonen 1924, 475–76).

Another example is the essay on Dadaism “Kouristustako vai huijausta kirjallisella alalla” (A literary convulsion or a hoax, 1925) by the literary critic Aarne Anttila (1892–1952). Anttila regarded Dadaism as a continuation of the divergence of the art field into various conflicting movements following the demise of naturalism in the 1890s. According to Anttila, Dadaism was just an insane hoax motivated by money making. In Germany, Dadaism was still alive, but in France most Dadaists had come to their senses: “Thus is French Dadaism admitted to be dead even by its youngest adherents. Nothing has been heard from the leaders in a couple of years, and others have returned to ordinary literature.”<sup>4</sup> Anttila (1925) concluded

3 “... maalaustaiteen johonkin uuteen klassisuuteen” (Okkonen 1924, 475).

4 “Niinpä onkin ranskalainen dadaismi kuollut nuorimpienkin kannattajiensa tunnustusten mukaan. Johtajista ei ole pariin vuoteen kuulunut mitään ja toiset ovat palanneet tavalliseen kirjallisuuteen.” (Anttila 1925, 3)

that there was no reason to take Dadaism as a prelude to any future art movement. In his *Johdatus uudenajan kirjallisuuden valtavirtauksiin ja lähteitä niiden valaisemiseksi* (An introduction to the main movements of literature in modern times and sources for their examination, 1926) Anttila lists dozens of other short-lived avant-garde movements and considered the revival of neo-classicism to be a counteraction to the reckless pursuit for modernity (Anttila 1926, 261–63).

A more positive attitude towards the avant-garde was, for example, presented in the essay “Marinetti och futurismen” (Marinetti and futurism, 1923) by the Swiss-born translator and French teacher Jean-Louis Perret (1895–1968). Perret recounts his meeting and discussion with Marinetti, but he also gives a detailed account of the history of Futurism. He concludes that Futurism had had a significant impact on Western art but it was now in decline because it had failed to renew its old ideas. Interestingly, Perret describes Futurism’s golden era from 1910 to 1914 as the “Sturm und Drang-år” (Storm and stress years), which derives from the proto-Romantic movement of German literature and music (Perret 1923, 55–57). The same association reappeared later in Olsson’s and Paavolainen’s texts.

In the interpretations of Olsson and af Hällström, the current state of art was fundamentally built on the trail that the avant-garde had blazed. It is telling that they use the term Surrealism (in Swedish: *överrealism*) to describe the newly born period of art and the world view of the modern man (Hällström 1926; Olsson 1927a). Olsson (1927b) debates the question of the end of the avant-garde in her text published in *Svenska Pressen* on March 19, 1927, “Vi sitter inte mera på kaféer! Den franska modernismens nya signaler” (We are no longer sitting in cafés! The new signals of the French modernism), which is based on a series of interviews with French writers that were conducted by the French journalist and dramaturge André Lang (1893–1986).<sup>5</sup> Olsson notes how old and young writers were, despite their many disagreements, unified in the view that arguments between different isms and schools belonged to an era that had been left behind: “The stormy, dissolving period of the development of modernism—its childhood and springtime— which reached its peak in Dadaism, is unanimously regarded as past.”<sup>6</sup> The current state and the future of literature were defined by the calm period where all previous movements were melted together to a cultural movement similar to Romanticism and Naturalism that Olsson calls surrealism. By referring to the statements of Cocteau,

5 The interviews were originally published in the journal *Les Annales politiques et littéraires*, and André Lang has also published them as a book (1922).

6 “Det stormande, upplösande skedet i modernismens utveckling—dess barn och vårstadium—som nådde sin kulmen i dadaismen, anses enhälligt vara förbi” (Olsson 1927b, 4).

Roland Dorgelès, and Pierre Mac-Orlan, Olsson concludes that it was now time to concentrate on work instead of writing manifestos and arguing (Olsson 1927b).

In Finland, both the Finnish and Swedish debates on the modernism of the late 1920s were polarized into the juxtaposition between the old generation, which represented Realism, Naturalism, and traditionalism, and the new generation, which represented modernism. In this sense, Olsson's and af Hällström's descriptions of the moderation process within the international field of art can be understood as an attempt to make modernism more approachable. Instead of attacking the previous generation and its aesthetic conceptions, the new period of style was woven into the continuum of art history.

The same idea of dropping the weapons and declarations, and instead focusing on work, can be found a little later, with very similar wording in a text written by Mika Waltari (1908–79), a writer who belonged to the literary group Tulenkantajat. “Modernismi, saxophon, D-juna ja minä” (Modernism, saxophone, the D-train, and I, 1928) is written in the form of a letter and is addressed to his “Uncle”—a clear reference to the older generation. In the letter, Waltari disclaims modernism and declares that “to be a modern man—it is the same as *to work*.”<sup>7</sup>

## A CRITICAL PERIOD

On the Finnish part of the debate, the most significant text dealing with the conception of the end of the avant-garde is the previously mentioned foreword (“Alkulause”) by Paavolainen (1927a) to Ehrenburg's (1927) essay. Paavolainen's text, however, should be taken with a pinch of salt. He was a notorious weathercock. It was Paavolainen who introduced many members of Tulenkantajat to Expressionism. However, just after a couple of years he dismissed Expressionism in favor of machine romanticism (Viljanen 1958, 294–96), and when he later openly criticized the shallow modernism of the prosaists of Tulenkantajat in his pamphlet *Suursiivous eli kirjallisessa lastenkamarissa* (Spring cleaning or in the nursery of literature, 1932), many contemporaries wondered whether he had now turned his back to his former group and modernism altogether.

Paavolainen does not really define the terminology he uses, which makes it open to interpretation what he actually means with terms such as modernity or modernism (Riikonen 2014, 115).<sup>8</sup> However, Paavolainen's texts were central to the

7 “. . . olla nykyajan ihminen,—se on sama kuin *tehdä työtä*” (Waltari 1928, 404).

8 For instance, in *Nykyaikaa etsimässä* Paavolainen actually mentions the word *avant-garde* when he lists the forerunners of Finnish modernism. “[M]eidän todellinen pieni avant-garde'eimme” ([O]ur true little avant-garde) includes various cultural figures from the architect



contemporary discussion on modernism in importing and spreading information about international trends. Being the inspirational leader of Tulenkantajat and the most central and well-known Finnish-speaking advocate and representative of modernism in the late 1920s, his impression of the end of the avant-garde is especially important. It shows that the phenomenon had weight in the debate on modernism.

Studies on Paavolainen usually refer to his essay collection *Nykyaikaa etsimässä* (In search of the modern age, 1929), which is a collection of his modernism-related articles previously published in periodicals. These texts were edited by Paavolainen in order to form a more coherent work. This, in turn, has led to the alteration of the original references in the articles. This is particularly true regarding “Alkulause,” where Paavolainen discusses the conception of the end of the avant-garde. In *Nykyaikaa etsimässä*, Paavolainen’s reference to the hidden sigh of the opponents of the avant-garde is much more ambiguous. In the original “Alkulause,” on the other hand, Paavolainen brings up *Sininen Kirja* (Blue book, a periodical) as an example of the hidden sigh, and thus connects it to a contemporary debate on modernism (cf. Paavolainen 1927a, 31; 1929, 28).

The periodical was one of the few publications that presented international modernist literature in Finland. However, its editors Bergroth and Matson were profiled as representing the older generation, not least because of their criticism of the Tulenkantajat group in the two-part essay “Huomioita kirjalliselta sotarintamaltamme” (Observations on our literary war front, 1928a; 1928b).<sup>9</sup>

In 1927, *Sininen Kirja* had published extracts from Cocteau’s new work *Le rappel à l’ordre* (1926). Quotes such as the one below were easily interpreted as *Sininen Kirja*’s attack on the modernism that Tulenkantajat represented—especially since Paavolainen had just published texts idolizing the machine culture (see, e.g., Paavolainen 1927b, 1927c, 1927d, 1927e, 1928a, 1928b):

I am not one of them who admire the machines. The word “modern” sounds ever so naïve to me. It makes one think of a negro bowed down in front of a telephone.”<sup>10</sup>

Alvar Aalto (1898–1976) to the Finland-Swedish poet Örnulf Tigerstedt (1900–62). Even Okkonen made it into Paavolainen’s list, thanks to his presentation of new directions of painting in his essay “Maalustaiteen uusimmista suunnista” (Paavolainen 1929, 44–52). Paavolainen obviously uses the word *avant-garde* here in a sense that is more synonymous with modernism in general than the extreme forms of modernism that the avant-garde is associated with today.

<sup>9</sup> On the attitudes of *Sininen Kirja* toward modernism and Tulenkantajat, see Takala (1990); Nikula (1972); Bergroth and Matson (1928a; 1928b).

<sup>10</sup> “Minä en kuulu niihin jotka ihailevat konetta. Sana ‘moderni’ tuntuu minusta naivilta. Tulee ajatelleeksi neekerä, joka on polvillaan puhelimen edessä.” (Cocteau 1927, 54)

The Cocteau quotes in *Sininen Kirja* gave the impression that a poet who had come to be known as a modernist had now turned his back on modernism. Thus it could be concluded that the most experimental phase of modernism had already passed.

This was at least what Paavolainen did, admitting that “the worst modernist period of storm and stress has passed, and something ‘new’ has born that is the result of the battle and the synthesis of the ‘isms’.”<sup>11</sup> The figure of speech is clearly borrowed from Olsson’s above-cited article “Vi sitter inte mera på kaféer!” where she describes the development of modernism towards its peak in Dadaism as a by-gone stormy and dissolving period (Olsson 1927b).

However, Paavolainen argued that one cannot simply dismiss the extreme phenomena of modernism (*modernismin äärimmäisyysilmiötä*) inspired by machine culture such as Futurism, Constructivism, Abstractivism, Simultanism, and Purism. Without them one cannot comprehend Cocteau’s past or present take, nor “the birth and justification of the new world view, *overrealism*, *Surrealism*, of the whole present.”<sup>12</sup>

In his late 1920s essays that were also inserted in *Nykyaikaa etsimässä*, Paavolainen repeatedly stressed the importance of modern phenomena and modern art to the new worldview. According to Paavolainen, “a new sense of the world, a new psychology have to be found.”<sup>13</sup> Modern artists had understood that there was a need for a new way of thinking, feeling, seeing, and describing the modern man and the world dominated by machines (Paavolainen 1927e, 43). This is why modern art was replete with descriptions of cities, machines, means of transportation, electricity, neon lights, radio waves, and other modern phenomena (Paavolainen 1927c, 23).

It is noteworthy that Paavolainen also admits some of the modernist art movements to be bygone. For example, in “Säikähtyneet muusat” (The frightened muses), he observes that Futurist painting had abated and oriented itself towards Cubism and Classicism (Paavolainen 1928a, 31–32). He ends the essay with a description of a Futurist pantomime performance that he had witnessed in Paris, which bore “a stamp of a too wealthy, too popular and official patent.”<sup>14</sup> In a word, “Futurism is dead” (*ibid*, 34). Like Futurism, Dadaism also became established and stale. In the

11 “Pahin modernistinen myrsky- ja kiihkokausi on mennyt ohi, ja että on syntynyt jokin ‘uusi’, joka on kamppailun tulos ja ‘ismien’ synteesi” (Paavolainen 1927a, 32).

12 “... koko nykyhetken uuden maailmantunnon, *ylirealismin*, *surrealismin*, syntyä ja oikeutusta” (Paavolainen 1927a, 31–32).

13 “On löydettävä uusi maailmantunto, uusi psykologia” (Paavolainen 1927e, 43).

14 “liian rahakkuuden, liian suosion ja virallisen patenttoimisen leimaa” (Paavolainen 1928a, 34).

essay “Dada” (1927b), Paavolainen argues that Dadaism had fulfilled its mission as an artist’s protest against its time: “therefore it was its [Dadaism’s] time to die.”<sup>15</sup> Paavolainen also touched upon Russian avant-garde in his essay on Alexander Blok, Sergei Yesenin, and Vladimir Mayakovsky entitled “Venäläisiä vallankumous-runoilijoita” (Russian revolution poets), noting that the state had stopped supporting Russian Futurism after 1922 (Paavolainen 1928b, 48). Unlike Italian Futurism and Dadaism, Paavolainen does not link Russian avant-garde with the celebrated new worldview, although he recognizes the impact of Blok, Yesenin, and Mayakovsky on modernist poetry. Considering the anti-Russian sentiments in Finland and the already Bolshevik stain of the avant-garde, Paavolainen perhaps thought that it would be better for the cause to keep these associations as remote as possible.

Although Paavolainen seems to admit the end of the avant-garde, he strictly opposes the conservative stance implied by the hidden sigh that the avant-garde was just a passing fad without any serious significance. As Paavolainen states in “Alkulause,” they were in the middle of “murroskausi” (a critical period) where nobody believed in old truths and the truths of the future had not yet revealed themselves (Paavolainen 1927a, 27, 32). In his opinion, there is yet no Finnish-speaking critic who has “the right to talk about the results of the battles and draw syntheses,”<sup>16</sup> in other words, to draw conclusions about the significance of the avant-garde. Instead, Paavolainen claims that the Finland Swedes, Olsson and af Hällström, do have this right because of their lengthy pioneering work. Paavolainen thus seems to put face to face the two ways of interpreting the end of the avant-garde in Finland. And he favors the idea of the new modernist style period being born out of the avant-garde over the view of the definitive end of the avant-garde.

Like Olsson and af Hällström, Paavolainen concludes that the most extreme experimental phase had passed and that terms such as “modernism” and “machine culture” had become a part of everyday speech and experience. Various competing and short-lived trends were expected to be replaced with some kind of unifying and more general trend—a kind of conclusion of modernism, which represented the human who had come to terms with modernization. Ehrenburg calls this new romanticism, Olsson and af Hällström surrealism (Olsson 1925, 39–41; 1927a; 1927b; Hällström 1926; Ehrenburg 1927, 51; Paavolainen 1927a, 29, 32–33).

Bergroth and Matson (1928b) answered Paavolainen’s accusations in their essay “Huomioita kirjalliselta sotarintamaltamme” (Observations on our literary

15 “siksi oli sen [dadaismin] aika kuolla” (Paavolainen 1927b, 80).

16 “oikeus puhua taistelujen tuloksesta ja vetää synteesejä” (Paavolainen 1927a, 33).

war front), making an interesting distinction between *modernism* and *modernity*. Bergroth and Matson admitted that they might have attacked modernism, but not modernity. In their view, they had defended the new against the old: “In matter of fact, Cocteau’s new stand is not only more recent but also more superultramodern and radical than his old stand” (24). Paavolainen was thus clinging to the past instead of taking note of “the real new spirit of the time” (24).<sup>17</sup>

Bergroth and Matson criticized the elevation of the latest trends, such as Surrealism, to an all-embracing truth. In their view, the previous ten years had shown how easily various trends and movements faded away (Bergroth and Matson 1928b, 28). According to Bergroth and Matson, modernism should not be regarded only as a superficial aesthetic phenomenon, but one should be aware of its underlying political and economical forces. Modernist literature and art, as well as the discussion of modernism was free advertising for big businesses like the distributors of jazz sheet music and the dealers of modernist paintings. And the attacks against the traditions of art advocated for the interests of Soviet Russia to overthrow the bourgeois state along with other traditional values (ibid. 16–17).

## A CORRECTIVE STEP

Hellaakoski is one of the few mid-generation writers who brought Expressionism into Finnish literature in the 1910s (Lassila 1987, 109). When Tulenkantajat rose into the center of the modernism debate in the latter half of the 1920s by openly attacking the older generation and the literary values it represented, Hellaakoski kept a neutral distance in terms of publicity. At one time, though, Hellaakoski defended Tulenkantajat against Kojo, who was also a mid-generation writer like Hellaakoski (Hellaakoski 1929). However, Hellaakoski’s relationship with the young poets was not merely positive. A closer examination shows that part of *Jääpeili*’s poems and some unpublished poems in the manuscript, in particular, were addressed to Tulenkantajat and opposed their views on modernism. An especially enlightening example is the unpublished poem “Nuorimmille” (To the youngest ones). I quote the middle of the poem:

Ettäkö modernisteja?  
Mitä se on? uudenaikaiset mukavuudet  
Joukkopsykoosia? etistyksen laajaperäisyys  
Muotileijonismia? Snobismia à la Cocteau:  
“toujours du dernier mouvement.”

17 “todellisen uuden ajanhengen kanssa” (Bergroth and Matson 1928b, 24).

ajan auto pikajuna Singapore jazz  
? ääni ? tropiikin viettelijätär  
yksilössä margariinireklaami

Mutta olkaapa moderneja  
yksilön ääniä ajassa  
kymmenen vuotta sata vuotta  
niin joku nostaa hattuaan.  
[. . .] (Hellaakoski 1928b)

*Modernists, you say?*

What is that? modern conveniences  
Mass psychosis? the breadth of progression  
Fashionable patriotism? Snobbery à la Cocteau:  
'toujours du dernier mouvement.'  
the voice car express train Singapore jazz  
? of time ? the seductress of the tropic  
in the individual margarine advertisement

Try instead to be modern  
individual voices in time  
ten years a hundred years  
and someone will salute you.  
[. . .]

The title of the poem itself reveals that the poem is addressed to Tulenkantajat, who were commonly referred to as “nuoret runoilijat” (the young poets). In addition, in the parallel verses the lists that include the car, express train, Singapore, jazz, tropical seductress, and the margarine advertisement refer to the exoticism and machine romanticism of Tulenkantajat’s poetry. The most interesting part, however, is the mention of Cocteau’s snobbery and of being part of the latest trend, which is a clear reference to the polemic between Paavolainen and *Sininen Kirja* on the end of the avant-garde.

The poem shows how much Hellaakoski saw Tulenkantajat’s modernism as foreign, wrapped up with technique and the urban lifestyle. It is telling that Tulenkantajat’s poetry crashes forward with the express train into the modern world’s metropolises, while the destination in Hellaakoski’s poem “Keväinen junamatka” (A train ride in the spring) is the countryside, away from the city (Hellaakoski 1928a, 7; Palmgren 1989, 99). The same complex relationship with modernism is present in *Jääpeili*’s idiom, mixing old and new. Researchers have

noted Hellaakoski's method of mixing several techniques familiar from avant-gardist poetry, such as free verse, colloquial expressions, parallel verses, onomatopoeia, lack of punctuation, omission of capital letters, and experimental typography with traditional forms of expression in poetry, such as meter and rhyme (Lyytikäinen 1995, 24, 26–28; Grünthal 1999a). This poetic strategy relates to the idea of the end of the avant-garde that was present in the debate on modernism in the 1920s.

The most central text that opens up Hellaakoski's views on modernism is the essay "Kubismista klassisismiin" (From Cubism to classicism), published in *Taiteilijaseuran joulualbumi* (The artists' association's Christmas album) in 1925, in which he examines primarily French painting of the early twentieth century, picturing the evolution leading from Expressionism to Cubism and the neo-classical turn after the World War.<sup>18</sup> Hellaakoski's presentation of the art field is mostly based on formal characteristics and complies well with contemporary conceptions (Ahtola-Moorhouse 1996, 123). For example, the essay has clear similarities with Okkonen's (1924) aforementioned article "Maalaustaiteen uusimmista suunnista." What is original in Hellaakoski's essay is the attempt to picture a unified line of development from Expressionism to neo-classicism. According to Hellaakoski, post-war classicism is not merely one ism among others, but a broader phenomenon. Hellaakoski states that the principle of form became the primary target of interest along with Expressionism, and prevailed in Cubism, Futurism, and Dadaism. It is telling that he states that Cubism is French Expressionism, and likewise claims Futurism to be Italian Expressionism (Hellaakoski 1925, 61, 63–64, 68, 70, 74).

It is not surprising that the importance of Expressionism is stressed, as it was an artistic movement that was of personal importance for Hellaakoski. His early work is Expressionist by nature (Lassila 1987, 75–83). He himself told how the paintings of the famous artist Tyko Sallinen (1879–1955), a member of the group of Expressionist painters Marraskuu (November), had already had a powerful impact on him at an early stage (Hellaakoski 1964, 29). Hellaakoski was also connected to Marraskuu through his friend and brother-in-law, the renowned sculptor Wäinö Aaltonen (1894–1966), who was a member of the group. In the essay "Kubismista klassisismiin," Hellaakoski examines the development of the Expressionist principle of form, primarily within Cubism. According to him, it was precisely Cubism that developed the principle of form to perfection—and even beyond, to the point of excess. Hellaakoski could stomach a Cubistic subject being simultaneously represented

18 The essay was later republished in Hellaakoski (1959).

from several different angles, but when artists started to glue objects or bits to their paintings, the experimentation had gone too far (Hellaakoski 1925, 69–70).

Hellaakoski's rejection of the collage technique illustrates his aesthetic views on the art of painting: the explicit act of brushing paint onto a canvas or similar foundation, thus stressing the purity of form. This conception of the autonomy of the different forms of art was common in the early twentieth century. For example, in his manifesto *Ordkonst och bildkonst* (Literary art and pictorial art, 1913), the Swedish writer Pär Lagerkvist (1891–1974) sees the purity of form as a defining characteristic of the modernist art of painting. Hellaakoski had most evidently familiarized himself with *Ordkonst och bildkonst*, as a copy has been found in his library, looking very well read (Viljanen 1972, 215). According to Lagerkvist, both Expressionism and Cubism seek to cleanse the art of painting from all foreign elements that disturb the composition and the artist's imagination. It is about specialization, which, characteristic of contemporary times, occurs in all areas of society. According to Lagerkvist, this has been noted to generate the best results, when artists concentrate on developing their own field (Lagerkvist 1913, 24–25).

Like Lagerkvist, Hellaakoski believed that each form of art has its own assortment of methods, which defines its identity, and in this context, individual works of art earn their meaning as the representatives of their own form of art. According to Hellaakoski, a collage into which the artist glues different objects or pieces of objects breaks away from painting as an art form (Hellaakoski 1925, 70). When questioning the artistic value of collage, Hellaakoski seems to draw a line between art and non-art, which is defined by the art institution's traditional conceptions of works and forms of art, on the one hand, and avant-gardist experiments seeking to shake the art institution, on the other. Hellaakoski clearly defends the art institution against avant-gardist attacks. Hellaakoski's stance is illustrated by the way in which he belittles the impact of the avant-garde—Dadaism in particular—in his essay, and neglects to analyze its possible incentives. Cubist collages are described as missteps, the victory of theory over rationale, and a sign of doom. To Hellaakoski, Italian Futurism had little more sense, but German and Russian avant-garde was totally incomprehensible and senseless (1925, 70).

The end of the avant-garde and the return to classicism is pictured in Hellaakoski's essay as a corrective step, where Cubism, which he believed had developed in a too theoretical and abstract direction, was steered back into the field of serious art. Hellaakoski does not pay much attention to the societal background of the post-war neo-classical turn, but finds the underlying motives to be mainly

psychological. According to him, there was a psychological need for content and meaning in painting, which the most abstract Cubism failed to take into account. Neo-classicism, however, did not mean abandoning Cubism and the Expressionist principle of form that it had developed. At the very beginning of his essay, Hellaakoski notes that Cubism had attained sustainable achievements. Apart from the short-lived phase of purist reproduction of tradition, methods developed within Cubism's principle of form were also utilized in neo-classical art (1925, 71–74).

Hellaakoski concludes his essay with an assessment of the art field's then-present state, which was characterized by the curb on the extreme notions of the avant-garde and neo-classicism. According to Hellaakoski (1925), only Germany saw the continuation of zealous Cubist-Expressionist abstractions. On the other hand, in Italy and France, the countries that he regarded as the current pioneers in the art of painting, neo-classicism had balanced out the Experimental art. In Italy, Futurism appeared to have merged into neo-classicism, while in France, neo-classicism was living in some sort of coexistence with Cubism. France had not yet seen “the emergence of a new hegemonic and unifying movement after cubism, not even by the demands of classicism.”<sup>19</sup>

Hellaakoski's view on the end of the avant-garde differs essentially from the views of Paavolainen, Ehrenburg, Olsson, and af Hällström, who interpreted the then-current state of art as a new period of modernist style generated by the avant-garde. In Paavolainen's interpretation, in particular, emancipation from tradition, radical manifestos, and innovation played a central role: new art is born on top of the avant-garde and brings its fascination with machine culture into modern urban life. In such a perspective, Dadaism, surrealism, and neo-classicism are seen to reflect the trend that admires the modern age.

In Hellaakoski's interpretation, on the other hand, the current state of art was characterized rather by the coexistence and partial blending of regenerative and traditional movements. Although Hellaakoski, too, awaited the emergence of a unifying, more general movement of art, he refrained from making predictions. However, in relation to Hellaakoski's views on modernism and the poetics of *Jääpeili*, it is interesting to note that he specifically speaks of a unifying trend that would bring together the regenerative and traditional movements. Hellaakoski was not a classicist who cultivated the themes and meters of the classical antiquity, but he sought his own path between modernism and traditionalism by combining them

19 “. . . ei vielä kubismin jälkeen, klassillisuudenkaan vaatimuksesta, ole mitään voittoisaa yhdistävää tyyliä ilmestynyt” (Hellaakoski 1925, 74).



or rising above them. The poem “Nokipoika” (The chimney sweep) from *Jääpeili* can be seen as a programmatic example of the collection’s poetics, which mixes the old and the new. I quote the first verse of the poem:

Kun minä nokipoika laulun teen  
en sitä tee kuin Ryynekreen,  
jykerrä en moderniin en klassilliseen stiiliin,  
näppää en lyyraan en automobiiliin.<sup>20</sup> (Hellaakoski 1928a, 43)

When I, the chimney sweep, compose a song  
among Ryynekreen’s methods it won’t belong  
no tinkering with the modern nor the classical style  
I’ll pass the lyre and the automobile by a mile.

In the posthumously published *Runon historiaa* (History of poetry, 1964), Hellaakoski reminisces about how, during the process of writing *Jääpeili*, he dreamt of a new style for which he sought inspiration from new art as well as old. Besides studying old and modern art and literature (especially French modernist poets and painters), Hellaakoski mentions discussing the opportunities of Cubism and Futurism with Wäinö Aaltonen (Hellaakoski 1964, 61).

Hellaakoski’s description of the preliminary work for *Jääpeili* can be seen as a textbook example of how Lagerkvist (1913) believed literature should be modernized. In *Ordkonst och bildkonst*, Lagerkvist suggests that literature must be renewed by taking examples from the theoretical foundations of Cubist and Expressionist painting, but also from the literature of ancient and primitive cultures. The same principle of purity of form, which appears in modern painting, is expressed in practice in primitive art. According to Lagerkvist, writers should thus familiarize themselves with the oldest literary heritage, such as the Bible, the Quran, the Avesta, the *Poetic Edda*, and the *Kalevala*, in order to learn the arts of simple and distilled expression and of avoiding realistic description (Lagerkvist 1913, 21, 24–25, 44–50, 56–60; Schönström 2012).

In *Jääpeili* can be found intertextual references both to modern literature, such as Charles Baudelaire and the visual poetry of F. T. Marinetti and Guillaume Apollinaire, as well as to the Bible, old hymnals, and Finnish folklore. For example, the most well-known and interpreted poem of *Jääpeili*, “Hauen laulu” (The song of

20 The name Ryynekreen refers to the national poet of Finland, Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804–77), whose work was greatly inspired by the literature and moral standards of classical antiquity.

the pike), takes its theme—a pike climbing a tree to sing—from the folklore collection *Kanteletar* (Holsti 1969, 69). However, the poem is not written in the traditional Kalevala meter, which is probably one of the reasons why the connection with *Kanteletar* has not always been noticed. Hellaakoski thus reforms poetry by drawing from tradition and shows how something seemingly very modern can, in fact, be rather old.

The combination of old and new is also shown in the experimental typography of *Jääpeili*, especially in the last section, which is typeset in Fraktur. The oldest Finnish printed literature is in Fraktur, which was still commonly used in the early 1920s. Fraktur was associated with literature in Finnish, often religious literature, while Roman was seen as the typeface of the upper class, used for printing scientific publications and publications in foreign languages. As such, the use of Fraktur in the 1920s was nothing new. For example, Kojo had his collection of poetry *Sininen pilvi* (The blue cloud, 1920) printed entirely with a Fraktur typeface, and Joel Lehtonen (1881–1934) used typeset, hand drawn, and woodcut gothic letters in the book covers, titles, and title pages of his works, often in a parodying manner (see, for example, Lehtonen 1914; 1917; 1918; 1920a; 1920b; 1927).<sup>21</sup> Hellaakoski's use of Fraktur in *Jääpeili* excellently supports the last section's religious theme *vanitas vanitatum*, and at the same time refers to the history of Finnish typography and the oldest literature in Finnish.

### “TO HELL WITH THE ‘MODERN AGE!’”

Paavolainen reverted to writing about sighs in 1932 with his pamphlet *Suursiivous: Eli kirjallisessa lastenkamarissa*. This time, Paavolainen no longer defended the avant-garde; on the contrary, he distanced himself from Tulenkantajat by criticizing the poor state of contemporary prose, for which Tulenkantajat itself was largely responsible. Tulenkantajat had made its breakthrough mainly by publishing poetry. Over the years members of Tulenkantajat occupied the central chairs of critics, and published

21 One should be careful when interpreting the signification of typefaces because it is not always clear who has chosen them. For example, the body text of Kailas's *Tuuli ja tähkä* (The wind and the ear of wheat, 1922) is set with a Roman typeface and the titles with a Gothic typeface called Belwe Gotisch (1912). The designer of the typography is not mentioned, but it is probably not Kailas. There are reasons to believe that the book was designed by the graphic artist and book designer Toivo Vikstedt (1891–1930), who made the cover for it and showed a liking for the Belwe Gotisch. A year after the publication of *Tuuli ja tähkä*, the same publication company, Gummerus, issued an illustrated edition of Aleksis Kivi's (1834–72) *Nummisuutarit* (Heath Cobblers, 1864), which was designed by Vikstedt from the beginning to the end, including illustrations, typography, and binding. The entire text of the book was set with Belwe Gotisch.

reviews where the members patted each other on the back. This created a horizon of expectation where the prose of Tulenkantajat writers, when it started to appear, was accepted too uncritically. Paavolainen writes: “It was as if the whole country let a sigh of relief, when we could finally commence praising and declaring the arrival of new masters. . . .”<sup>22</sup>

The most important model for *Suursiivous* was probably *La farce de l'art vivant: Une campagne picturale 1928–1929* (The farce of living art: A pictorial campaign 1928–1929, 1929) by the French symbolist poet and conservative art critic Camille Mauclair (pseudonym for Séverin Faust, 1872–1945) (Riikonen 2014, 165–66). The work was translated into Finnish in 1931, and Paavolainen published a review of it (Paavolainen 1931). Paavolainen took the motto of *Suursiivous* from Mauclair’s work, and its influence can also be felt in Paavolainen’s style of writing. In *La farce de l'art vivant* Mauclair attacks the avant-garde painting, assimilating it with Bolshevism and the art of the mentally ill. He thought this internationalist “communisme pictural” (pictorial communism) was a profitable commercial operation led by Jewish art dealers who conspired to uproot French intellectual and moral traditions.

In his review, Paavolainen compliments the style of Mauclair’s book but also observes its dangers: it encourages the Finnish audience to ignore the merits of the avant-garde art (Paavolainen 1931, 162). Interestingly, Paavolainen seems to admit that the avant-garde—or what Mauclair calls “ugliness”—in painting is backing away. This, however, is not a result of the attacks of the likes of Mauclair, but because “art and artists have themselves started to blaze new trails. As a matter of fact, ‘Neoclassicism,’ ‘Neoromanticism,’ ‘Neue Sachlichkeit’ are all countermovements to the art of ‘ugliness’ (Expressionism, Cubism, Futurism, Surrealism etc.).”<sup>23</sup>

*Suursiivous* was a scandal when it came out, not only because Paavolainen had harshly attacked contemporary prose, but first and foremost because he appeared to have abandoned his previous modernist values (cf. Olli 1932). It is illustrative that Paavolainen dedicated his book not only to Lauri Viljanen (1900–84), a member of Tulenkantajat, poet, critic, and researcher in literature, but also to his former nemesis Bergroth, one of *Sininen Kirja*’s editors. In his pamphlet, Paavolainen criticizes precisely the superficial description of modernism by contemporary prose. It seems as if the young prose writers had even adopted his teachings from the late 1920s

22 “Koko maa päästi ikäänkuin helpotuksen huokauksen, kun vihdoinkin saatiin ruveta kehu-  
maan ja julistamaan uusien mestareiden tuloa . . .” (Paavolainen 1932, 30).

23 “. . . taide ja taiteilijat itse ovat lähteneet etsimään uusia uria. ‘Uusklassisuus’, ‘uusroman-  
tiikka’ ja ‘Neue Sachlichkeit’ ovat kaikki itse asiassa vastavirtauksia ‘rumuuden’ taiteelle (ekspres-  
sionismi, kubismi, futurismi, surrealismi jne.)” (Paavolainen 1931, 156).

too rigorously. He mentions Viljo Saraja's (1900–70) novel *Taivas yllämme—meri allamme* (The sky above us, the ocean beneath us, 1929) as the most crude example; Paavolainen proves that several of its passages were plagiarized from his own essays. "Hiiteen 'nyky aika!'" (To hell with the 'modern age!') Paavolainen curses, and prays to the Lord to protect him from new disciples (Paavolainen 1932, 145, 151, 160). As in the case of Cocteau, it seemed as though a former modernist had become an anti-modernist.

Paavolainen's pamphlet represents the end of the more permissive and experimental era of Finnish literature in the 1920s. In Finland, the 1930s brought along a more frigid economic and political as well as cultural atmosphere. The economic boom of the 1920s ended in a worldwide recession, the far right gained a foothold in politics, thus challenging the democratic foundation of the young state, and the debate regarding modernism and the avant-garde withered away. *Suursiivous*, in the end, made it clear that the story of *Tulenkantajat*, which had already started to break down, had now come to an end. It is also noteworthy that after *Jääpeili* Hellaakoski did not write poetry for over a decade. P. Mustapää, alias of folklorist Martti Haavio (1899–1973)—one of the most experimental Finnish poets of the 1920s, who was also closely associated with *Tulenkantajat*—shared a similar fate: his break from poetry lasted eighteen years. The debate about modernism was brought back to life only after World War II, which is what many see as the starting point of actual Finnish modernist literature.

Contemporaries, however, did not hesitate to see *Tulenkantajat* as modernists. As the case of Paavolainen shows, there is no such thing as one modernism—possibly not even for one single person. In retrospect, modernist works in Finnish from the late 1920s appear rather modest, if the avant-gardes of the historical art centers are used as reference. But examined from the perspective of its contemporaries, a rather different view is presented. Both the opponents of the avant-garde as well as its defenders seemed to be under the impression that the avant-garde had already passed elsewhere in Europe. This might offer a partial explanation for why the reception of the avant-garde and its adoption into art was fairly spiritless.

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# FOOD IN CONSTRUCTING TRANSCULTURAL FINNISH AMERICAN IDENTITIES IN THE MIGRANT SHORT STORIES OF LAURI ANDERSON

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## ABSTRACT

In this article, I analyze the position of food in constructing the transcultural identities of Finnish migrants in three collections of short stories, *Heikki Heikkinen* (1995), *Misery Bay* (2002), and *Back to Misery Bay* (2007), by the Finnish American writer Lauri Anderson. The American-born settlers look back at their Finnish heritage with nostalgia and use foodways to establish their versions of Finnishness. First, food serves to express the migrants' ethnic difference and sameness by separating them from Americans and uniting as Finns. Second, food is a part of the settlers' inter-generational relations when Anderson's younger-generation characters invent new culinary symbols of Finnishness and rebel against their Finnish heritage or return to it with the help of foodways. Third, the migrants express their Finnishness through their relation with nature in the form of living off the land. At the same time, the characters incorporate the traits of Finnish and American cultures within their identities, which can be addressed as transcultural.

**Keywords:** Finnish Americans, foodways, transcultural identity

## INTRODUCTION

In three collections of migrant short stories<sup>2</sup> by the Finnish American author Lauri Anderson, the role of food is instrumental in constructing the migrants' identities.

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2 These collections are *Heikki Heikkinen and Other Stories of Upper Peninsula Finns* (1995; 31 stories; hereafter HH), *Misery Bay and Other Stories from Michigan's Upper Peninsula* (2002; 8 stories;

The characters' food practices serve them as what Angus Gillespie (1984, 148) calls "a badge of identity," as visibly uniting the migrants, distinguishing them from others, and also allowing them to find their place in the mosaic of an already multifaceted American society. In this article, I will analyze the roles of food in constructing the identities of Anderson's migrant characters as transcultural. The Finnish American<sup>3</sup> settlers live in what Mary Louise Pratt (1992, 6) defines as the contact zone—the social space where Finnish and American cultures meet and interact. These encounters lead to the formation of identities which, to use Celia Jaes Falicov's (2002; Suárez-Orozco 2004, 192) expression, do not require choosing between cultures but incorporate the traits of both of them. The characters use their foodways to nostalgically reconstruct Finnishness in the USA as well as to negotiate their identities with the past and the present, old and modern, Finland and America. The resulting food practices comprise Finnish and American features, and demonstrate that the characters' identities selectively incorporate traits of both cultures.

I want to concentrate especially on three aspects of this identity construction. First, I will focus on the role of food in expressing the migrants' ethnic difference and sameness. Eating habits stitch the characters together, and distinguish them from Americans, but at the same time bridge these differences. Second, I will concentrate on food and intergenerational relations. Food simultaneously binds the generations of the migrants together and divides them. Through their eating practices, the young Finnish Americans negotiate their relations with their Finnish heritage and manifest either a rebellion against it or a return to it. Different generations have different culinary markers of Finnishness. The younger and older migrants both actively use the old foods from Finland in their own ways and also invent the new "Finnish" practices. Third, the characters' identities are constructed through their relations with nature in the form of living off the land by hunting and fishing. On the one hand, these practices manifest the characters' Finnishness by portraying them in accordance with the myths of a special Finnish affinity with nature. On the other

hereafter MB), and *Back to Misery Bay: "Dostoevsky's Three Annas" and Other Stories from Michigan's Upper Peninsula* (2007; 16 stories; hereafter BMB).

3 An intense migration from Finland to North America took place from the late nineteenth till the mid-twentieth century, but Finnish Americans remain a relatively small ethnic group in the USA (approximately 650,000 people). They have been active in the production of their ethnic literature, which experienced a growth spurt particularly in the late twentieth century because of the third-generation writers' activity in producing socially realistic fiction reflecting their experiences as Finnish Americans (Kauppila and Wargelin 2005, 741). Notable authors include Jane Piirto, Rebecca Cummings, Aili Jarvenpa, Lynn Laitala, Lauri Anderson, and Timo Koskinen (ibid.).

hand, their hunting and fishing also demonstrate the adaptation of the migrants and their Finnish identities to the United States.

The author of the stories, Lauri Anderson, is a professor at Finlandia University in Hancock, Michigan, and a second-generation migrant himself. Anderson has written a novel, a memoir, a book of poetry, and seven collections of short stories, all with Finnish characters and themes. In *Heikki Heikkinen*, *Misery Bay*, and *Back to Misery Bay*, he primarily writes about the second-, third-, and fourth-generation Finnish Americans living in Michigan, in the Upper Peninsula, also known as the UP or “Yooperland”—one of the centers of their concentration. The texts profile the comic and tragic aspects of their daily lives from the early to the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, and the stories are primarily set in the 1980s and 1990s. Although some stories focus on Finnish American women, the protagonists in Anderson’s fiction are generally men. Anderson revises often-held assumptions of Finnish Americanness. In a humorous disclaimer in *Back to Misery Bay*, he warns his readers that in all his stories he portrays the “wrong” Finnish Americans (such as troublemakers and divorcees) rather than stereotypical hard-working Lutheran church-goers (*BMB*, v).

Heikki Heikkinen includes mostly comical stories and is divided into three sections: (1) Becoming a Finn, (2) Heikki Heikkinen, and (3) An Odd Collection of Finns. The first section consists of three stories: “The Author,” “Eddie Maki,” and “Sam Dorvinen” (all analyzed in the section “Food and Intergenerational Relations of the Finnish American Characters” below). In these stories, the protagonists, third- and fourth-generation Finnish Americans, learn how to “become Finns” in the late twentieth century. The second section includes twenty interconnected stories, which feature the one and the same second-generation protagonist, Heikki Heikkinen, a stereotypical old, rugged, and stubborn Upper Peninsula Finn with a strong love of beer, hunting, and fishing. The texts describe his adventures and misfortunes through the 1980s and 1990s. These adventures are not unlike the ones of the proverbial Finnish simpletons Hölmöläiset.<sup>4</sup> The third section comprises eight stories, which tell about the hard and often tragic (nonetheless, also not without a hint of humor) lives of various Finnish Americans, who range from lonely hermits to World War II refugees to ultra-conservative church-centered families.

4 See the tales about the Hölmöläiset in the collections of Finnish folklore, *Tales from a Finnish Tupa* (2009), edited by James Cloyd Bowman and Margery Bianco, and *The Enchanted Wood and Other Tales from Finland* (1999), edited by Norma J. Livo and George Livo.

*Misery Bay* and *Back to Misery Bay* are far less lighthearted than *Heikki Heikkinen* and mostly tell the bitter stories of the Finnish Americans' losses, tensions, and family tragedies. *Misery Bay* is set in the Copper Country, an area in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and is divided into the sections named after the local Finnish-inhabited towns and communities: Coppertown, Misery Bay, Ramsay, Watton, Toivola, and Tapiola. *Back to Misery Bay* is mainly set in the Upper Peninsula, but it also tells about the Finnish Americans from this region who now live in California, Colorado, and Illinois. The loosely connected stories in these two collections revolve around the topics of loneliness, family problems, and other troubles; the characters range from farmers and loggers to high school teachers, senior citizens, and war veterans.

Food holds a prominent position in Anderson's fiction as the titles of the stories in *Heikki Heikkinen* indicate. "Fishing," "Hunting Deer," "Taking the Smartass Fishing," and "The Poaching Hall of Fame" tell about skills of the protagonist, Heikki Heikkinen, and other Upper Peninsula Finns for living off the land. "Growing Tomatoes," "Old Finnish Cooking," and "The New Barbecue Grill" concentrate on Heikki's food conservatism and his stubbornness in keeping his own ways of cooking and eating. Anderson describes in detail the migrants' cooking and eating practices, the acquisition of the ingredients, and food-related rituals. As he often exaggerates and uses parody in portraying the characters, in some stories their foodways (such as drinking thirty cups of strong coffee a day) also become exaggerated. The foodways from Finland also have ritualistic and supernatural significance, as for instance the potential to cure soul wounds (not unlike sauna). In the stories "Uuno" in *Misery Bay* and "Another Soldier's Home" in *Back to Misery Bay*, food, hunting, and fishing, alongside sauna bathing, help "to cleanse [ . . . ] (the) soul" (Anderson 2007, 129) of the protagonists, a World War II veteran and a modern-day soldier returning from Afghanistan, both of whom are haunted by memories of war.

Although there are some studies on the short stories by Anderson (primarily *Heikki Heikkinen*) (see, for instance, Frandy 2007; Taramaa 2007a), the role of foodways in his fiction has not been explored before. Raija Taramaa's (2007b) dissertation *Stubborn and Silent Finns with 'Sisu'<sup>5</sup> in Finnish-American Literature: An Imagological Study of Finnishness in the Literary Production of Finnish-American Authors* focuses on the representations of Finnishness in several Finnish American literary texts, including *Heikki Heikkinen*. Taramaa's research pays some attention to the characters' coffee-drinking in constructing their Finnishness, but it does not address the role of

5 The Finnish word for strong will, determination, and perseverance, one of the key components of Finnishness.



other foodways. Furthermore, she mostly concentrates on the Finnish side of the settlers' identities, and does not approach them from the perspective of transculturation. Tim Frandy's (2009) article "Ecology and Identity in the Northwoods: Finnish American Poaching Techniques and Narratives" explores the role of poaching for constructing Finnish American identities. Frandy briefly discusses the representations of this practice in Finnish American fiction, including *Heikki Heikkinen* and other short stories by Anderson. Anderson's *Misery Bay* and *Back to Misery Bay* have not been studied before, and my article attempts to fill this gap.

### FOOD AND IDENTITY IN A DIASPORIC CONTEXT

In my analysis of the stories, I draw on the concepts of a connection between ethnic identity and food developed by Wsewolod Isajiw (1990, 1992), Mary Douglas ([1973] 2003), and David Sutton (2001). I approach the characters' identity formation as a dynamic process of locating themselves in relation to the Finnish American community through their cultural practices and lifestyle choices such as foodways. According to Isajiw (1990, 35), ethnic identity as a social-psychological phenomenon that derives from membership in an ethnic group gives to individuals a sense of belonging and provides the ethnic community with a sense of oneness and historical meaning. This identity is in the process of change, and new forms of it may emerge, as some aspects may gradually lose their meaning or acquire a new one (Isajiw 1992, 418). Observable behavior, such as foodways, is notable for the way it constructs and retains ethnic identity; ethnic foodstuffs, along with other ethnic traditions, constitute one basic part of a culture that makes it unique (Isajiw 1990, 37, 67). Douglas ([1973] 2003, 29) also comments that where ethnic identity is a vital issue, ethnic foods are revived in order to maintain it, and new items are recruited to the old traditions. In Anderson's stories, the characters' ethnic foodways play the roles outlined by Isajiw and Douglas, as they are prominent in constructing and manifesting the migrants' sense of affiliation to their ethnic group and in reviving their Finnishness.

The characters primarily do not have any memories of Finland of their own, and they use the practices of the first generation to look back to the past from which they are otherwise distanced. Sutton (2001, 84, 86, 102) describes this connection between food, memory, and identity in the following way: the food "from home" allows migrants to remember, reconstruct, and return to their home and past, and it evokes a shared identity with fellow people who eat the same. The Finnish American settlers use food to construct their own version of Finnishness by re-creating the

culture of “home,” which in fact has never been their real home because they have never lived there. This process can be characterized by Svetlana Boym’s (2001, 38) concept of nostalgia as missing and longing for what people have not lost. Through their food, the Finnish Americans nostalgically reconstruct an idealized and romanticized version of their past. They form their identities by inserting themselves into this past in order to create the continuity between themselves and Finland. Thus, the Finnish American settlers’ foodways mark their common ancestry and togetherness.

In migration and ethnic literatures, the language of food is prominent and plays different roles including remembrance, nostalgia, cultural contact, assimilation, and integration (Gardaphe and Xu 2007, 5–7). Foodways can be read as a significant site where community building, identity formation, and negotiation take place (*ibid.*, 9–10). First, food has the potential to unite migrants in their new home. The food from the old country is a vital recurring topic in migration fiction and non-fiction. The familiar foodways have the power to evoke memories of the settlers’ homeland and hence to evoke and construct their identities. As Edward Steiner puts it, “[. . .] noodle soup, with the right kind of seasoning, touches more channels of memory than—say, a lullaby or even a picture of their homeland” (1914, 68).

The old food signifies the ethnic integrity (Mannur 2007, 13), or, in other words, the sameness of the migrants in the new country. For them, cooking becomes a site where they nostalgically seek to produce the sense of home and the version of their oneness (*ibid.*, 14–17, 28). Second, the tropes of food in ethnic and postcolonial literature function to separate characters from the dominant group (Nyman 2009, 282). In doing so, food constructs their identities in terms of contrast and difference. Defining “difference” and creating the other are significant in establishing identity (Porter 2001, 101–2), and eating habits are instrumental in demarcating “us” and “them” (Ashley, Hollows, Jones, and Taylor 2004, 83). Moreover, migrant foodways have been traditionally perceived by mainstream culture as markers of ethnic inferiority, and, accordingly, in migration literature characters often try to dissociate themselves from their ethnicity through a disavowal of their ethnic foodways (Gardaphe and Xu 2007, 6). Third, food is also connected with the negotiation of migrants’ identities in the context of the dominant culture of their new country. Food tropes have the potential to bridge cultural differences between characters and the dominant group and to create new transcultural identities (Nyman 2009, 282). In migration literature, foodways can blend the past with

the present and the migrants' old home and culture with the new ones; as a result of this blending, new traditions and new identities are formed (Mercer and Strom 2007, 36).

Nevertheless, despite the fact that migrants often cling to the food of the former homeland, their food practices are not to be viewed as static and fixed. Food cultures and national foods are in a constant process of flux and change (Raento 2010, 298; Ashley et al. 2004, 89). The gradual changes of the migrants' foodways in a new country are usually inevitable and are linked with various factors, including changing ethnic identities (Tuomainen 2009, 528). The degree of the settlers' accommodation to the food culture of their new home may vary, but, on the whole, the food habits of the second generation are often a mixture of the various cultures in which the migrants are embedded (*ibid.*, 528). In migration literature, the foodways demonstrate the ambiguous situation of the settlers. On the one hand, they often view their old homeland and cuisine as an unchanging cultural essence, and seek to reproduce their "authentic" and fixed identities through their "authentic" and "original" foods (Mannur 2007, 14–15). On the other, during their attempts to reproduce "authenticity" the migrants demonstrate a great deal of creativity and innovation (such as using the ways of their new home in cooking the old food) as well as their adaptation and belonging to their new adopted country and its cuisine (*ibid.*, 15–16). Anderson's stories, such as "The Author," "Old Finnish Cooking," and "Sam Dorvinen," demonstrate this mixed character of the protagonists' diet in which the components of the old-time Finnish cuisine stand side by side with the products of various food cultures of the USA.

As the migrants' Finnishness is not unchangeable, different generations of the characters construct their ethnic identities in different ways and use different foodways in this construction. As Isajiw (1990, 37) puts it, the ethnic identity retained by the third generation may be of a different type or form than the one retained by the first or second generation. The same external aspects of identity, such as ethnic practices, may acquire different subjective meaning for different generations and may be lost or transformed in the course of time (Isajiw 1990, 37; 1992, 419–20). In Anderson's stories, the ethnic foodways are of different importance for the second, third, and fourth generations. The characters' juxtaposed "old-fashioned tastes" and "new-fangled ways of cooking" (Anderson 1995, 29, 72) distinguish older and younger Finnish Americans, less and more Americanized. In addition to abandoning some old food practices or giving them new meanings, the migrants recruit from their American environment new items, with the purpose of using them

as the culinary markers of Finnishness. Ethnic cuisine can absorb new foods from the outside, provide them with new meanings, include them into its system, and use alien items for the maintenance of ethnic identity (Douglas [1973] 2003, 29–30). Furthermore, in Anderson's texts the younger generation uses food for the purpose defined by Marie Gillespie (2000, 199–200): to negotiate their relationship to the parental culture and their ethnic heritage by the negotiation of food. The young Finnish Americans rebel against or return to their Finnishness with the help of eating practices. In this article, I will thus concentrate on the position of foodways in the characters' intergenerational relations and will view food not as a fixed entity (notwithstanding many migrants' culinary conservatism) but rather as a dynamic process of appropriation, reconfiguration, and transculturation.

In addition to food, the characters' ways of getting food are also instrumental in constructing their identities. According to Sutton (2001, 25), food-acquisition methods are crucial for identity formation as they can be used to show one's skills and to build a reputation in a community. In the stories, the migrants' ability to acquire their food from the land plays a strong role in the formation of their Finnishness. Angus Gillespie (1984, 150) points out that the traditions of hunting and fishing can transfer cultural values between generations and carry memory. According to him, food hunted or gathered from nature can provide settlers with independence from the larger civilization, and customs of hunting and gathering pass on the value of self-sufficiency. As a result of this, living off the land can be a symbol of separation from the surrounding urbanized culture, but at the same time it can adapt to satisfy the needs of the outside culture (150, 153). Thus, on the one hand, the characters' Finnish tradition of an affinity with nature unites them as self-reliant Finnish backwoodsmen and distances them from modern mainstream Americans who lack the necessary skills of hunting and fishing. On the other, the settlers' old ways of living off the land are influenced by surrounding American culture, adapt to it, and develop into the new forms bridging the gap between Finns and Americans.

The resulting identities constructed by the characters' foodways can be addressed as transcultural. In my analysis, I will draw on the concept of transculturation as developed by Pratt (1992). According to her, transculturation is a phenomenon of cultural exchange in the contact zones where the encounters between the dominant and the minority culture lead to mutual cultural influence (*ibid.*, 6). The subordinated or marginal groups use the materials transmitted by the dominant culture, select and invent from them, and incorporate them into their own culture (*ibid.*, 6). In the contact zone of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, the minority

culture of Finnish migrants encounters the mainstream culture of the USA, and selectively adapts to it. The culture of the settlers is both influenced by and in turn influences America in the form of creating the new Finnish American culture in the host society. This leads to the formation of new identities with the help of food. The Finnish American characters manifest multiple affiliations, to Finland and to the USA, by the incorporation of the elements of two cultures into their cuisine. Their identities are established as hyphenated and combine several identities or, in other words, as “American Plus Finnish.” Suárez-Orozco (2004, 192) views the process of constructing a transcultural identity as a creative fuse of the aspects of the migrants’ parental culture and their new culture or cultures. As a result, the migrants synthesize an identity that allows them to incorporate the traits of both while fusing additive elements (Falicov 2002; Suárez-Orozco 2004, 192). The foodways comprising Finnish and American features construct the characters’ identities as simultaneously Finnish and American, selectively incorporating the traits of both cultures and adding new elements such as “Finnish” practices invented in the USA.

### **FOOD AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES**

In Anderson’s stories, it is the characters’ daily food practices rather than some ethnic feasts that connect the migrants with their past and construct their identities. Food and memory come together on the level of daily life, not only at “loud” ritual occasions (Sutton 2001, 28). The characters use foodways to reconstruct their Finnishness chiefly at mundane occasions. Their daily products remind them about their past, link them with their forebears, and bring Finland to the USA.

The migrants’ food practices unite them as Finns and distinguish them from others but simultaneously allow negotiating their identities with Finland and the USA. As was stated in the previous section, generalized representations of “our way” of eating unite “us” around mundane items and activities and simultaneously distance “us” from the foodways of “others” that may cause suspicion and fear (Raento 2005, 50; Ashley et al. 2004, 89). The Finnish Americans’ daily food habits are a visible marker of their cultural distinctiveness in the USA, and by eating in their own specific way the characters manifest who they are. For example, in “Santtis” in *Misery Bay*, a story featuring a Finnish American family of three generations, the grandson’s clinging to Finnish eating habits is viewed by his grandmother as one of the signs of his being a true Finn: “He looks like a Finnish hero with his blond hair, blue eyes and broad shoulders. Plus he loves smoked fish and everything pickled [. . .]. For breakfast, he gobbles up blood sausage and blood pancakes. [. . .]

Even his eating habits are heroic" (*MB*, 58–59). Moreover, to accentuate the difference between Finnish and American, and to communicate the Finnishness of the foods, the texts often use the original Finnish and dialectal Finnish American words without any translation or explanation. An example of this can be found in the story "Old Finnish Cooking" in *Heikki Heikkinen*: "His homemade *viili* [Finnish sour curd] was stringy but rich and creamy, far superior to Dannon" (*HH*, 29, original italics). Yet another example is present in the story "Heikki Rejuvenated" in *Back to Misery Bay*: "He [. . .] made himself a breakfast of fresh bacon, eggs, and *nisu* [the dialectal word for a traditional Finnish wheat sweet bread]" (*BMB*, 103, original italics). The strategy of using the original food names is powerful in ethnicizing food products and adding an exotic flavor to them (Girardelli 2004, 314–15). The juxtaposition of the migrants' foodways with the practices of Americans and other ethnic groups constructs their identities by manifesting who they are not, through contrasting themselves with culinary "others" (see the previous section). However, the migrants' foodways not only demarcate and retain the boundaries between the Finnish American diaspora and the majority culture, but also allow the characters to cross these boundaries by including the foods of their new country into their diet and drawing on both cultures.

Food embodies cultural contrasts between the Finns as migrants and the Americans as hosts. In "Eddie Maki," in *Heikki Heikkinen*, a story about a mixed Finnish-New England family in the 1960s, the differences of eating habits demonstrate how distinct the family's two heritages are. The text juxtaposes the Finnish and New England grandparents of the protagonist, the third-generation migrant Eddie, and food is no less powerful than class, language, and religion in demarcating them. Not only did the newcomers from rural Finland speak "little English," live "in the log farmhouse," and attend "the Lutheran church when the service was in Finnish," but they also "had odd customs and ate strange food—pickled fish, yogurt, heavy dark bread with smelt inside" (*HH*, 11). Meanwhile, Eddie's mother's forebears, wealthy New England urban dwellers, proud of their heritage and considering themselves ideal Americans, "lived through history," tracing their roots back to the original colonies and "did not associate with newly-arrived immigrants" such as Finns (*HH*, 11). They "attended a Congregational Church" and "ate plain food without seasoning—roast beef, boiled vegetables, potatoes, and beans" (*HH*, 11). Through the imagery of food, the text demonstrates the alienation and displacement of the first-generation migrants in the United States. The settlers' Finnish eating habits accentuate their exoticism from the perspective of the American majority

culture in the early twentieth century and their failure to comply with the ideals of culinary Americanness as it is understood by Eddie's mother's family. Thus, food is influential in drawing a visible border between Finns and Americans.

Eddie's father, a second-generation Finn, manages somehow to cross this border by marrying Eddie's mother and consequently eating the food she cooks, but his and her foodways still mark their difference and link them to their different pasts. Husband and wife keep their foods separate and treat each other's cuisine with disgust. Eddie's mother "prepared the same plain foods that her mother had prepared. She refused to make any un-American foods except spaghetti and pizza, but her Italian cooking had a peculiar New England flavor" (*HH*, 12). She "found Finnish incomprehensible and Finnish food disgusting" and "could not comprehend how anyone could eat fish roe in eggs, animal organs, or fish preserved in lye. Yet she had married a man who ate all these things." (*HH*, 12) Eddie's father in turn "abhorred his wife's cooking. Often he prepared Finnish food [. . .]" (*HH*, 12). The difference between the Finns and Americans is constructed from both inside and outside, by the foodways of the dominant and minority group. Although Eddie's father (very unwillingly) eats what his wife cooks, he is not eager to share her culinary Americanness. He prefers to cling to the old Finnish foodways of his parents and manifests his Finnishness through this choice and the emphasis of his difference from his wife.

Eddie's father's foodways also function to establish his identity in terms of ethnic sameness with other Finns and to re-create Finland, nostalgically, in the USA. He turns the old food practices into a business and runs an ethnic grocery store selling Finnish foods to the local Finnish Americans:

The Maki store was popular with Finns because Eddie's father stocked Finnish foods, made his own blood sausage, pickled his own tripe, and salted his own salmon. He spoke their language and understood their wants. (*HH*, 11–12)

His foods unite him with other Finnish Americans who eat the same. This is in line with what was presented by Sutton (2001, see above): the food "from home" brings the migrants memories of their homeland and evokes a shared identity with fellow eaters. Accordingly, besides the familiar food, Maki's ethnic grocery store offers also a sense of shared belonging, understanding, and nostalgia. It reconstructs the past by reproducing the characters' forebears' products, and in doing so it brings Finland to the USA, at least in terms of eating. This is missing and longing for what

they have not lost (Boym 2001, 38). The American-born characters have not lost Finland but they, nevertheless, miss it and try to reconstruct it. On the whole, the shared Finnish food practices allow the migrants to be independent of the food practices of the majority culture and to live in their own little diasporic world.

In the stories about Heikki Heikkinen, food also has the potential to divide. Heikki's foodways, on the one hand, set him apart from mainstream Americans and other ethnic groups, such as Italian Americans. He is an "old-fashioned Finn with old-fashioned tastes in food" (*HH*, 29), and his food practices link him with his past as he likes "to eat the kinds of food his grandparents ate in Finland" (*HH*, 29). Part of the construction of Finnish identities draws on the appropriation of American food traditions. Although Heikki is persuaded by his younger and more Americanized relatives to try such American practices as barbecue and grilling, his complete failure with barbecuing and his subsequent throwing away of the grill in the stories "Old Finnish Cooking" (*HH*, 31) and "The New Barbeque Grill" (*HH*, 71–72) demonstrate his difference from mainstream modern American culture. This illustrates that he is not a prototypical American as understood by Heikki's family. The protagonist is very conservative in his eating practices and stubborn in keeping his own ways:

Heikki was not an okra or kohlrabi kind of guy. Artichokes totally baffled him. He didn't know if they were a fruit or a kind of thorn bush. He knew his Italian neighbors ate them, but he didn't know how or why. He stuck to root vegetables, like turnips, rutabagas, carrots, and beets, but sometimes he would eat corn, green beans, cabbage, or peas. Other vegetables didn't exist in Heikki's world.

The proper way to cook a vegetable, said Heikki, was for a long time in a lot of water. Then he drained it and greased it up with thick slabs of butter and sprinkled it liberally with salt and pepper.

Today there are crazy people out who spice their foods with garlic and hot pepper, and a whole slough of other condiments. Heikki thought these people should not be allowed across the Mackinac Bridge. (*HH*, 29–30)

On the other hand, food also has the potential to bridge the differences between the migrants and the dominant culture. Despite the fact that Heikki clings to the old Finnish foodways, he also likes to eat in the old-fashioned, American way:



Heikki's idea of a good American meal was canned and frozen in the forties and fifties. He preferred beef to other meats and liked it fried or roasted. He liked to fry his steak in butter to a crisp, even, dark color on the outside and dry gray inside." (*HH*, 29)

This illustrates the generational difference between Heikki and his relatives as they have different understanding of what is "American" food according to time in which they live. Heikki considers American the food practices of his youth, whereas his relatives view modern barbecuing and grilling as American practices. Moreover, Heikki does not only eat American, but also uses the American foods to express his belonging to Michigan and to the USA in general. The stories "Old Finnish Cooking" and "Taking the Smartass Fishing" emphasize Heikki's passion for growing and eating the American varieties of potatoes:

Potatoes were close to Heikki's Finnish heart. He could wax eloquent about potatoes, especially Michigan Reds, Kennebecs, and Green Mountains. New potatoes fresh from the garden sent him into paroxysms of rhapsody. (*HH*, 65)

He views this passion as a sign of his being American, and juxtaposes potatoes with "un-American" foods:

Heikki was a real fanatic about potatoes. He liked them with nearly every meal. He preferred the red ones. Rice was for sissies and the hordes of Asia, he said. Pasta was for people who never quite became real Americans. (*HH*, 30)

Heikki seems to consider himself as having already become a "real American" in contrast to Asians and Italians. At the same time, potatoes are not only markers of Americanness, as they also are a significant part of Finnish cuisine. So, Heikki's Michigan "Americanness" has a Finnish taste to it. His identity constructed through food selectively draws on the elements of both Finnish and American cultures, and Heikki sees no controversy in his being simultaneously "an old-fashioned Finn" and "a real American."

Food allows the migrants to express solidarity, belonging, and inclusion on the basis of their shared practices through which they reconstruct Finland in the USA. Food also manifests exclusion and repulsion. The characters repulse the foods of

the culinary others, and their own Finnish practices are repulsed by others in turn. At the same time, the migrants both resist and embrace changes in their foodways. They use the new food to express their belonging to the USA and thus demonstrate their being both a part of the minority and a part of the mosaic dominant culture. This illustrates the transcultural position of the Finnish Americans. They are in the contact zone as defined by Pratt ([1991] 2005; 1992, see above): the space where the encounter of Finnish and American cultures leads to the migrants' selective adaptation to the dominant culture and the use of its materials and subsequent formation of the settlers' new culture and identities. This leads me to the question of how different generations of the migrants approach their dual heritage through their food.

### **FOOD AND INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONS**

In Anderson's stories, the migrants' transcultural identities are negotiated differently by different generations. As the stories follow the lives of multigenerational Finnish American families, the texts often use food to illustrate the shifts and confrontations of cultures and identities in the lives of less and more Americanized migrants. An example of this is in the way in which foodways are involved in the characters' intergenerational relations and conflicts to demonstrate the dynamic differences between the generations. On the one hand, while fathers cling to the old eating practices to remember about their heritage, trying to pass them on to their children, the younger generation may reject the old foods as a gesture to forget the past and abandon their Finnish heritage. On the other hand, the younger Finnish Americans may use foodways to demonstrate the return to Finnishness and, in other words, "becoming Finns." They do not necessarily embrace the practices of the older generation but rather reconfigure the old Finnish foods according to their needs. They also invent their own "Finnish" practices with the help of the American environment and use contemporary, commercialized, and mass-produced symbols of Finnishness. The stories also accentuate the culinary Americanization of the younger generations who are eager to accept the eating habits of the mainstream American society and to Americanize the foods of their forebearers. Nevertheless, despite the juxtaposition of the foodways of the older and younger generations, the practices of the older Finnish Americans also demonstrate the adaptation to the USA, appropriation of the new food items and recruitment of the American foods as the markers of Finnishness. This illustrates the way that, in spite of their differences, both younger and older Finnish Americans negotiate their identities with both Finland and the past, and the USA and the present, and synthesize the new

form of identities in the American context. They become “American Plus Finnish” in the multifaceted society of various “Americans Plus” (Italian Americans, Irish Americans, Jewish Americans, and so on).

Food is a place of an intergenerational rebellion of the migrant children against their traditionalist parents. For instance, in the story “Eddie Maki” the protagonist’s father tries to introduce Finnish heritage to his son. He often cooks Finnish food which he and his son eat together (*HH*, 12). When Eddie associates his father’s and other elder-generation Finnish Americans’ values and way of life with the migrants’ lower status in America, unattractive job as miners, and lack of prospects, he tries to distance himself from their diaspora. Among other things he does this through rejecting his father’s Finnish food:

Eddie reacted by refusing to eat his father’s favorite foods—*mojakkka* [the dialectal Finnish American word for a stew, popular among the migrants in Minnesota and Michigan], *nisu* [the dialectal word for a traditional Finnish wheat sweet bread], and *sillikaviaari* [herring-caviar]. (*HH*, 16, original italics)

As was stated by Marie Gillespie (2000, see above), the rejection of the parents’ food is a gesture expressing the desire to gain some independence from the family culture. In migration literature, characters can disavow their ethnicity by rejecting their ethnic foodways (see above). Therefore, while Eddie’s father, through his foodways, seeks to create a sense of continuity between generations, Eddie uses his eating practices to distance himself from his father’s generation and to break away from their “Little Finland.”

However, the story later demonstrates a dynamic and transcultural character of Eddie’s identity, which can draw on Finland and the USA and synthesize the elements of both into something new. When Eddie again negotiates his identity through foodways in order to reconcile with his Finnish heritage, he does so with the help of his Finnish American diaspora as well as American society. Among the Finnish Americans in his hometown, hunting/poaching is popular and provides them with food and an opportunity to show oneself as a “real” man (*HH*, 17). When Eddie’s friend Paavo teaches him to hunt, “[f]or the first time, Eddie felt at least a little bit like a Finn” (*HH*, 17). Then Eddie decides to use the Finnish Americans’ passion for hunting to find his place and respect in their community. He goes to university to study wildlife management and becomes a game warden, a figure of power for the

local hunters and poachers. This finally reconciles him with his Finnish heritage and gives a sense of belonging:

Eddie smiled. [...] He felt he was home at last. "I'm a Finn after all [. . .]. For a while there, I just wasn't aware of it." (*HH*, 23)

Both the practices of the Finnish American diaspora and the American university help Eddie to "become a Finn," or rather a Finnish American, and settle for this transcultural identity as he incorporates the elements of both Finland and the USA in it.

The clash between the different generations' foodways and the mixture of Finnish and American practices are also present in the story "Sam Dorvinen" in *Heikki Heikkinen*. However, the text also demonstrates that both the younger and older generations are open to Americanization and the synthesis of different foodways in constructing their transcultural identities. The story features a fourth-generation Finnish American youngster in a quest for Finnish identity in the 1980s and 1990s. The protagonist's father reminds his son about their common Finnish heritage by telling about his youth and the camaraderie of Finnish American loggers and miners in the past:

In the old man's stories, every self-respecting Finn had driven a pick-up and had worked in the woods or in the mines. [...] They had all worn ragged and stained flannel shirts as a sign of their fortitude, their *sisu*. (*HH*, 4, original italics)

The father praises their eating habits and associates them with shared experiences of the hard work of the tough and hardboiled Finnish migrants in the past:

Every tough old guy had eaten pickled eggs, pickled fish, and beef jerky at the Mosquito Inn. Every one of them had guzzled gallons of Stroh's mixed with cheap brandy. (*HH*, 4)

Naturally not every Finnish man was as tough as Sam's father claims. He wants to impress his son, and in his nostalgic stories reinvents the past as what Lupton ([1996] 1998, 49–50) calls the idealized fiction of the past. In doing so, the father draws on both the old Finnish products such as pickled fish and pickled eggs, and more modern American foods and drinks such as beef jerky and Stroh's, the beer of the

Michigan-based company and the same signifier of regional Michigan identity as flannel shirts.

For him these foods manifest “true” rugged Finnishness, and later in the text they are juxtaposed with the eating habits of his son, influenced by American mainstream culture:

Sam’s Finnishness was greatly diluted. He couldn’t even speak the language [. . .]. He preferred pizza, Twinkies, and Coke to pickled eggs and beer. (*HH*, 4)

There is a paradox: while some American foods and drinks (including regional-specific items such as Stroh’s) are put along the foods from Finland in representing Finnishness for the father and his generation (and do not “dilute” that Finnishness), the American foods and drinks of his son “dilute” it.

Nevertheless, Sam seeks to negotiate his identity with his Finnish heritage through his foodways but uses other markers of being a Finn than his father, even though—just like the father—Sam draws on both cultures in constructing his identity. The protagonist uses more modern, mass-produced, and commercialized symbols of Finnishness:

By his teens, Sam wore his Finnishness like a badge of honor. Through his T-shirts, he was always daring the world to insult his heritage. [. . .] The only liquor he would drink was an occasional nip of Finlandia vodka. (*HH*, 5)

The father clings to the foods brought by his forefathers from Finland in the early twentieth century, but his son prefers Finlandia vodka, first imported to the USA in the 1970s. It is almost exclusively directed at the export market and is one of the most iconic and recognizable Finnish drinks and brands associated with Finland by foreigners worldwide. So, Eddie’s drinking Finlandia vodka signifies that that he longs for Finnish heritage and wants to manifest himself as an iconic rugged and masculine Finn with a love for strong spirits. Despite seeming differences, both the father and the son select and incorporate within their diet the elements of Finnish and American food cultures and invent new symbols of Finnishness in the USA. This constructs their identities as transcultural—negotiating with the past and present, and comprising belonging to both Finland and the USA with no need to choose between the two cultures.

While the foodways inherited from the first generation demonstrate the characters' continuity with their ancestors and Finland, the new mixed practices illustrate the change in Finnishness from the newcomers' to their descendants' generations and the adaptation of this Finnishness to the USA. A powerful metaphor of the migrants' transcultural identities is the characters' new foods that fuse the elements of Finnish and American cuisine together. One noticeable example is Jell-O, the American gelatin dessert, which is served with dill by the migrants. It naturally does not belong to the foodways that came from Finland with the first generation. Furthermore, Jell-O is not generally supposed to be served with dill. As the stories are not aimed at the realist representation of Finnish Americans, Jell-O with dill seems not to be a real Finnish American food. Rather it is the author's comical exaggeration of the passion for dill that is for some reason considered Finnish by the characters, or even a parody of culinary Finnish Americanness mixing seemingly incompatible elements. However, the product stands side by side with the real items of the Finnish cuisine. In "The Author" in *Heikki Heikkinen*, a story following a life of the third-generation narrator, from the early days of his life surrounded by Finns in his little town in Michigan, the Jell-O with dill is one of the essential products making him realize his Finnishness: "I also knew I was a Finn because all fish in our house were pickled, all potatoes were boiled, and the Jell-O had to have plenty of dill" (*HH*, 1). For the protagonist who "becomes a Finn" in the USA, the Jell-O with dill does not seem strange. After it has been reconfigured in accordance to the migrants' tastes, it functions to manifest the characters' version of Finnishness and to unite the narrator with his family. This composite product illustrates the migrants' position in the contact zone between cultures and highlights their opportunity to use the elements of both in constructing their identities. It can be viewed as a metaphor of transculturation when two diverse elements of the dominant and minority culture, American Jell-O and Finnish dill, come together, blend, and form something new.

Both older (in spite of their conservatism and claims for authenticity of their food) and younger migrants adapt their Finnish cuisine to the American environment and invent new mixed food practices which construct their transcultural identities. An example can be found in the story "Old Finnish Cooking." In spite of Heikki's inclusion of some American foods and drinks such as canned meat Spam, Van Camp's pork and beans (*HH*, 32), and the Michigan-produced beer Old Milwaukee (*HH*, 30) into his diet, he takes pride in the authenticity of his home-made Finnish products and laughs over his younger relatives' Americanized habits. When they try to

introduce him to the modern American eating habits and put his own habits “under siege,” he is not going to change his tastes:

“Even if it’s good,” he said, “I’m not going to like it!” He had *sisu*. (*HH*, 32, original italics)

When his younger relatives try to cook “Finnish” (although in an Americanized way), Heikki does not consider their store-bought and haute style-served food authentic:

He ate his home-pickled fish right out of the jar with his fingers and didn’t understand why his chic granddaughter served store-bought pickled herring in cream sauce on a platter with a toothpick stuck in each piece. “A toothpick is only useful with peanut brittle,” he said. (*HH*, 29)

Nevertheless, Heikki’s own eating habits demonstrate a great deal of appropriation and Americanization, when he also invents new foods based on the elements of Finnish and American eating practices:

Two ingredients were usually essential when Heikki cooked American—cream of mushroom soup and Jell-O. He stirred the soup into all leftovers and called it a casserole. He added a can of mixed fruit to the Jell-O. For a Finnish touch, he mixed dill into both. (*HH*, 29)

Heikki treats the American ingredients in his own way to conform to his tastes and to make these foods “Finnish” to stand along with the ones of his forebearers. If his original Finnish foodways construct Heikki’s Finnishness in terms of continuity with Finland and the past, through such composite dishes as the Jell-O with dill, his identity is also negotiated with the USA and the present. So, the eating practices of both Heikki and his younger relatives highlight their position between cultures, countries, the past, and the present. Their food practices illustrate their being both Finns and Americans, and simultaneously neither Finns nor Americans, but something new.

There is a paradox, however: Heikki resists the Americanization of his habits without noticing that they have already been Americanized. Some food products of the USA, for him, are more “Finnish” than others. This represents the generational differences between the migrants in their ways of life and position in the USA. The generation of such old-timers as Heikki was generally confined to the jobs of loggers,

miners, and farmers and to isolated life in their close-knit ethnic communities in the rural areas of Michigan. The American foods that were present in their lives comprised mainly rough foods and drinks of miners and loggers such as beef jerky and local beer, as well as canned products and concentrates such as Jell-O or Campbell's condensed cream of mushroom soup. Consequently, these products have become more "Finnish" for Heikki and other old-timers. The younger generations of the Finnish Americans have had better opportunities in the American society; they have left the rural ethnic communities in favor of urban life (often outside Michigan) and, therefore, have had access to more varied American foods.

On the whole, food in Anderson's stories both divides and unites different generations of the migrants, and illustrates continuity and change between them. The younger generations are more Americanized than the older ones and do not necessarily retain the old food practices. Instead of clinging to the parents' and grandparents' Finnish foods, the characters use modern and mass-produced symbols of Finnishness such as Finlandia vodka. They use food items from the American culture to revive their Finnish identity or, in Douglas' ([1973] 2003, 29) terms, they "recruit" the new items and eating habits to the old traditions. The older generation's food practices also have the potential of adaptation. This demonstrates actual sameness between the older and younger migrants, whose eating habits construct their identities as drawing on and blending their Finnish and American heritages. These intergenerational differences and sameness are also manifested in the characters' food-related practice of living off the land, which will be discussed in the following section.

### **FOOD FROM NATURE IN CONSTRUCTING IDENTITIES**

In Anderson's stories, Finnishness is expressed not only in terms of the characters' ethnic difference and sameness and their continuity between generations, but also in terms of their relation with nature, which provides them with food. The Finns' commitment with it is considered a vital component of Finnishness because nature and living off it have been a common factor in Finnish life (Johnson 1996, 243). Therefore, a far-reaching myth about Finnish people is the myth of forest dwellers and people living close to the land (Taramaa 2007b, 74). Anderson's stories portray the characters in accordance with this myth, as in the majority of the texts they are actively engaged with nature in the form of skiing, snowmobiling, living in the wilderness, gathering, hunting/poaching, and fishing.

In *Heikki Heikkinen*, *Misery Bay*, and *Back to Misery Bay*, the characters, both young and old, have the reputation of being prominent hunters, poachers, and gatherers of



the Upper Peninsula, and their practices of living off the land and woods construct the settlers' identities as transcultural. They link the migrants to the past, bind different generations, distance them from mainstream Americans, and unite as Finns who are frugal, independent, and close to nature. Marjatta Hietala (2003) refers to Ojakangas, Zug, and Roemig's (1985) Finnish American booklet *Fantastically Finnish: Recipes and Traditions*, which demonstrates that even the third- and fourth-generation Finnish Americans praise nature's gifts as an essential component in the Finnish diet. They consider closeness to forest and the love for natural ingredients as something inherent in their Finnish identity, and they consequently view picking berries and mushrooms as the activities central to it (Hietala 2003, 195). Within the Finnish American community in Michigan and Minnesota, such form of commitment to nature as hunting/poaching has become some kind of an ethnic symbol, and the Finnish Americans have long been regarded as the region's most notorious poachers (Frandy 2009, 130). Nature and relationship with it hold a central place in Finnish American literature (Johnson 1996, 244–45), and many popular Finnish American writers, including Anderson, have used poachers as protagonists in their fiction (Frandy 2009, 130). In addition to manifesting the characters' Finnishness, the practices of living off the land demonstrate their adaptation to American culture and the incorporation of its elements. Wilderness is viewed as the basic ingredient of American civilization and the symbol of American identity (Nash 1982, xi). A dominant model of American manhood has been created from men's experience in nature, and many famous American men from presidents to folk heroes exemplify that model and gain their reputation at least partly through their exploits in the wilderness (Allister 2004, 2). The characters' food from nature brings them close to their Finnish forebearers as well as to the iconic heroes of America such as Natty Bumppo, Frank Buck, Daniel Boone, Henry Thoreau, and Ernest Hemingway. In doing so, food levels out the differences between Finns and Americans.

The practices of living off the land also illustrate the generational differences in their integration into American society and highlight the migrants' transcultural identities. While among the less Americanized older generation hunting and fishing are considered a survival activity, the younger generation transforms and commercializes the old practices in accordance to the new conditions. The survival activity is influenced by the characters' American environment and turns into a sports activity, a business, or a lifestyle that has not been caused by necessity. This adaptation constructs the Finnish Americans' identities as transcultural, creatively fusing the elements of their parental culture and the culture of their new country.

Through the practices of living off the land, the characters pass on the values and skills of their ancestors from one generation to another, which creates a sense of continuity among Finnish Americans and unites them around their heritage. For example, in “Arvo Salonen” in *Misery Bay*, a story portraying a hard life of the third-generation Finnish American lecturer, the traditions of frugal and self-reliant life in the wilderness bind together three generations of his family in distinct historical settings from the 1920s to the 1980s. Arvo’s grandfather had brought these traditions from Finland and transferred them to his son, who was born in the USA:

From the time he was a little child, the father taught the boy survival skills [. . .] The boy became an excellent hunter and fisherman. (*MB*, 79–80)

The latter in turn passed on these skills to his own son Arvo: “His [Arvo’s] father taught him the same survival skills that he had learned as a boy” (*MB*, 84). For Arvo’s grandfather, a former Finnish peasant, frugality and living off the land were natural. For Arvo’s father, who grew up during the Great Depression, these skills and values were necessary to survive in Michigan. But for Arvo, a lecturer in the 1970s–1980s, who can afford to buy any products in supermarkets rather than get food himself, such frugality has not been caused by actual necessity. However, the frugality of his father and grandfather and their food acquisition methods have become enrooted in his lifestyle, and he continues their tradition of living off the land to reconstruct the past, or, as the author puts it, “to live as if the present were the past” (*MB*, 83):

From his Depression-era father, Arvo learned to be frugal and hard-working. [. . .] Much of his food came from the land. (*MB*, 84–85)

Despite the changes in society from his grandfather’s times and Arvo’s distance from the first generation, he replicates their food acquisition methods and tries to be as frugal, independent, and self-reliant as his father and grandfather. The continuity of the Finnish practices in the life of Arvo’s family creates a sense of their affinity as Finns, who know how to live off the woods.

These practices set the characters apart from mainstream Americans of Anderson’s stories, who either lack the skills of hunters and fishermen or view these activities not as food acquisition methods but as leisure. In an era of supermarkets, those who take pride in their self-sufficiency and outdoor skills and pass on these skills to their children are in sharp contrast with mainstream Americans who are

primarily food-consumers rather than food-producers. The stories contrast different roles and attitudes to hunting and fishing: survival versus recreation. Finnish foragers who could be “frugal with the little they had” (*BMB*, 21) and consider fish and meat from the woods “all free food” (*BMB*, 24) are contrasted with American sportsmen who do not need the catch. In the story “Fishing” in *Heikki Heikkinen*, Heikki’s attitude to the catch distances him from mainstream American sport fishermen on TV-shows: “He was horrified that the fishermen on those shows always released their catch. Heikki saw no sense in that. “‘If it’s big enough to catch, it’s big enough to eat,’ he said” (*HH*, 54). In “Eddie Maki,” the rugged Finnish American backwoodsmen laugh at the city hunters, totally incompetent in the woods:

The hunters hailed from places like Detroit and Lansing, and they had no intention of actually hunting. They had no knowledge of the country and no bait stands. They stayed up late, playing cards with cronies and drinking beer. [. . .] Eddie, Paavo and other locals gathered to stare at these phony hunters [. . .] Eddie and the others exclaimed over the downstaters’ stupidity. “Dumb bastards can’t tell a cow from a deer,” said Paavo, voicing the town’s clichéd wisdom. (*HH*, 18)

Accordingly, the characters’ outdoors skills serve as a symbol of their difference from modern mainstream Americans and their culture. On the other hand, the stories emphasize the fact that the migrants’ food from nature also constructs the characters’ identities as negotiating with both Finland and America. The Finnish American backwoodsmen are close to and compete with famous outdoorsmen who are the real and fictional icons of masculine Americanness. In the story “Hunting Deer” in *Heikki Heikkinen*, Heikki is portrayed as “a real hunter—every bit as daring as Frank Buck or Ernest Hemingway” (*HH*, 28), who sees himself “as a kind of Finnish Natty Bumppo” (*HH*, 27). In this story, eating venison makes the characters no less daring than Daniel Boone, an American pioneer and frontiersman: “I would soon be eating North American big game! Daniel Boone, watch out!” (*HH*, 28). Moreover, the characters consider living off the land and ruggedness so inherently Finnish that they view these iconic Americans as “a kind of Finns.” In the story “Heikki” in *Misery Bay*, the protagonist wants to read a book by a Finnish author, and his friend offers him Hemingway’s Michigan stories such as “Big Two-Hearted River.”<sup>6</sup> There

6 References to Hemingway are abundant in Anderson’s fiction. For example, one of his first collections of the short stories is titled *Hunting Hemingway’s Trout* (1990) and revolves around people somehow influenced by Hemingway and his literary legacy. In the title story, two young

is no surprise in this choice, as Hemingway frequently visited Michigan himself to enjoy the natural environment, and in his several texts the characters explore the landscapes of the Upper Peninsula, familiar to and inhabited by Finnish Americans. Heikki identifies himself with one of the most iconic American male writers, whose features of strong masculinity and ties to Michigan he shares:

“He’s [Hemingway] a kind of Finn,” he said.

“That’s not a Finn name,” said Heikki.

The professor agreed. “Hemingway has no Finnish blood,” he said, “but he acts like a Finn.”

Heikki wanted the professor to explain.

“Hemingway loved to hunt and fish, and he was prone to flannel shirts,” the professor said. “He had *sisu*, too. He could be stubborn as hell sometimes—could even punch a guy out if it came to that.”

Heikki thought that Hemingway sounded a lot like himself. (*MB*, 17–18)

At the same time, hunting and fishing demonstrate that the characters are in a state of negotiation not only with Finland and the USA, but also with the past and present. Different generations approach their outdoors practices differently, and many of the characters incorporate them into the mainstream culture and turn them into a business, sports or leisure activity, or an eco-friendly lifestyle. On the one hand, the migrants’ clinging to the old practices creates a sense of continuity between generations, but, on the other, the reconfiguration of these practices demonstrates the contrast between them. For instance, in the story “Taking the Smartass Fishing” in *Heikki Heikkinen*, Heikki’s attitude to fishing is contrasted with the one of his more Americanized nephew whom he invites to fish with him. The nephew’s releasing of his catch irritates Heikki as a waste of food: “‘That kid’s been watching one too many of those fishing shows off Channel Six!’ said Heikki, referring to the fact that the nephew then released the trout back in the pool” (*HH*, 64). Heikki “wouldn’t fish with the nephew again,” as “he wanted that trout for bragging” among his friend, and then for cooking “his favorite dish—a mixture of cubed cooked beets, raw onions, pickled fish, and mayonnaise” (*HH*, 64–65). Later, Heikki finally gets the trout by dynamiting the pond, and thus wins. For him, fishing should be a means of acquiring food, but his nephew considers it a sport and a leisure activity, in accordance to the views of the modern mainstream American culture.

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Upper Peninsula Finns in the 1980s try to find Hemingway’s fictional Big Two-Hearted River and to relive his fishing experience.

In Anderson's fiction, the migrants also use their inherited outdoors superiority over modern Americans for their profit and turn the ancestors' skills and ideals into a business. The traditional roles and skills of living off the land can be used to serve the needs of the outside culture, and a survival technique can be transformed into a sports or business activity (Gillespie 1984). The first generation hunted out of necessity, whereas the second- and third-generation migrants hunt not only to provide their families with meat and fish, but also to make money. They commercialize their hunting and sell American nature to Americans who want trophies but who, in the words of one of the characters are "just too damned lazy or incompetent to shoot" on their own (Anderson 2007, 26). In "Dostoevsky's Three Annas" in *Back to Misery Bay*, a story about the life of a Finnish American family in the 1970s, the generational shift in hunting is vividly described. The third-generation characters "poached, just like their fathers, but once they started, they quickly changed the rules" (*BMB*, 25). The youngsters "transformed poaching from a family necessity to a business, a livelihood that, in part, supported their families, but that also paid for their gas and cigarettes and put money in the bank" (*BMB*, 25). On the whole, they have fused together Finnish outdoors skills, American entrepreneurship, and the view of hunting as a sports activity by mainstream American society.

The migrants also reconfigure their inherited practices of living off the land to be their eco-friendly lifestyle and a means of finding harmony as they follow the footsteps of Finnish and American outdoors heroes. For instance, in the story "Isaac Tikkanen" in *Heikki Heikkinen*, a third-generation migrant returning from Vietnam decides to go into the woods and live there independently from civilization in order to find harmony in his life. He has money to live on, but prefers to rely on hunting and fishing. He is inspired by the example of both his Finnish ancestors, the fictional icons of Finnishness such as Väinämöinen, and Henry Thoreau, the American naturalist who lived in the wilderness:

"I'm going into the woods," said Isaac. "Thoreau did it, and he was sort of the ideal Finn. I want to live my life following his teachings. I want to be like Vainamoinen [sic]. I need to be away from people for a while. I need to find harmony in my life." (*HH*, 125)

The story demonstrates that for Isaac's identity his Finnish and American heritage are equally important, and they are somehow intertwined in manifesting who he is.

On the whole, food from nature, the characters' badge of Finnishness, is simultaneously a mark of Americanness. The migrants who cling to the practices of living off the land are represented as competing with the heroic Americans and hence as being more American than modern Americans. Their values construct their identities in terms of transculturation—being alike both Finnish and American heroes, belonging to both Finland and the United States, incorporating both cultures with no need to choose. The exchange between Finnish and American hunting cultures in the contact zone of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan leads to mutual influence, and the formation of new practices and identities.

## CONCLUSIONS

In Anderson's stories, the position of food is as significant as in many other multi-ethnic literatures of the USA such as African American, Asian American, or Italian American, which are filled with the language of food (Gardaphe and Xu 2007, 5). The migrants use food to explore their Finnish cultural heritage. The familiar eating practices mark the Finnish settlers' common ancestry and connect them with their past. Foodways invoke nostalgic memories and function as the ground on which to construct a common Finnish identity in the new home country. The characters use their foodways to manifest their ethnic sameness and difference from Americans, seek to unite different generations through eating, and express their Finnishness in terms of affinity with nature by living off the land. However, like any food culture and national food, their cuisine is in a process of continuous transformation. Among the characters, the notion of "authentic" and "original" Finnish foods is under constant redefinition. As the stories often use humor and parody in the portrayal of the migrants' diaspora, they are not aimed at realist representation and instead revise conventional understanding of Finnish Americanness. The migrants' "authentic" practices are often parodied, exaggerated, and even mocked to demonstrate that there is no such thing as fixed and unchangeable Finnish foodways—nor Finnishness itself. Despite the fact that the characters seek to reaffirm their Finnish identity, they and their Finnishness become more and more Americanized.

With the help of my theoretical framework of Douglas's, Isajiw's, and Sutton's notions of food and identity as well as Pratt's theory of transculturation, I have demonstrated that the migrants construct their identities as transcultural. They invent new foods and practices that allow them both to use their past Finnish heritage and to come to terms with their modern American environment. The migrants

construct not Finnish or American identity, but combine the third kind of identity in the American context. The new transcultural form of identity draws on belonging to both Finland and the USA, and selecting, incorporating, and creatively fusing elements of both Finnish and American cultures. On the whole, the characters have kept their heritage but have adapted it to the Upper Peninsula, the place for contact, transformation, and cultural exchange. The migrants are both influenced by the USA and influence their new home in turn by forming a new Upper Peninsula (or Yooper) Finnish American culture and a strong regional identity. As the culture (including of course the food culture) and identity of the USA are mosaic, the migrants use their food practices to find their place in already multifaceted American society and become a patch in the mosaic of the United States—among Irish Americans, Italian American, Jewish American, and many others.

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# COOKING AND COOKBOOKS IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FINLAND: CHANGES IN COOKING METHODS, RECIPE WRITING, AND FOOD TEXTUALIZATION

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## ABSTRACT

This article examines what the two most significant cookbooks of nineteenth-century Finland—*Kokki-Kirja* (Cookbook, 1849) and Anna Olsoni's *Keittokirja yksinkertaista ruuanlaittoa varten kodissa ja koulussa* (A cookbook for the simple preparation of food in the home and the school, 1893)—tell us about the circumstances and methods of cooking at the time, as well as the writing of recipes. The article also discusses how the early ideas of food science and home economics affected the food culture and the writing of cookbooks. The data (mostly recipes) were read and interpreted by using the author's own cooking skills, body techniques, and experiences of cooking, first to discover past ways of cooking, and secondly to understand how culinary skills and practices were textualized.

**Keywords:** cookbooks, culinary history, cooking, body techniques of cooking, textualization

## INTRODUCTION

I am thumbing through an old cookbook, *Kotiruoka* (Homefood), published at the beginning of the last century. It looks rather worn. The pages are yellowed, and notes fill the margins. Stains spatter the book, traces of cooking, which indicate that it has been in constant use. It has three signatures on its cover sheet—maybe those of a mother, her daughter, and the daughter's daughter, who were the former owners and users of the book. It is not only myself and my contemporaries, but the women of the past, too, who have seen *Kotiruoka*—and cookbooks generally—as a

great practical help. Cookbooks have been real standbys, both in daily cooking and in times of special festivities.

Often I wonder how my predecessors used the book. What did they learn from it? How did they understand the recipes? Did they adjust the recipes to their own methods and facilities for cooking? Was the book used to make real food or just for daydreaming about fine dishes and nice dinner parties? How did these textual representations of dishes and techniques affect conventional ways of cooking? Naturally, it is impossible to get answers to these questions directly from the women of the past. There is no one to ask, and it is difficult to enter the kitchens of the past. But maybe cookbooks—which at first glance seem to stay silent on this subject—could help us to find out how women used to cook and what ideas they got from written recipes. Perhaps I could use my own cooking skills and imagination as a research tool to open up the messages of these simple handbooks of daily life.

In this article I will examine what the two most significant cookbooks of nineteenth-century Finland—*Kokki-Kirja* (Cookbook, 1849) and Anna Olsoni's *Keittokirja yksinkertaista ruuanlaittoa varten kodissa ja koulussa* (A cookbook for the simple preparation of food in the home and the school, 1893)—tell us about the cooking methods of the time and how these works affected the food culture of their era. *Kokki-Kirja* was the first cookbook written in the Finnish language, and therefore it opened access to the skills of cooking—at least at the written level—to anyone who could read. However, it was about “fine” cooking and was meant for use in wealthier households, whereas Anna Olsoni's book was used both as a textbook in cooking schools and as a handbook in ordinary homes (Knuuttila 2010).

First, I will explain my approach and my reading practices. My method could be described as “close reading,” but I will also use my own cooking skills to understand and interpret the books. In my approach, a scholar's own personal experience of cooking is signally exploited. Then I will briefly describe the kinds of cookbooks that women in Finland used before the publication of the first cookbook written in Finnish.

I will begin my analysis with *Kokki-Kirja*, which will be used to exemplify the ways of cooking that existed around the 1850s. Even though it focuses mostly on “fine dining,” it has certain strengths: it tells about the cooking facilities of the era, using the customary culinary language of the time, and it describes the cooking utensils and techniques that were common in high-society Finnish kitchens. I will then turn my attention to the cookbook of Anna Olsoni, who, in the 1890s, made Finns aware of new Western ideas about food culture. Her cookbook was aimed at

every woman who was responsible for running her household, be she rich or poor, living in the countryside or in the town. Its goal was to offer people modern and scientific food and nutrition information, not to present the accomplishments of the culinary arts.

### **COOKBOOKS, COOKING, AND A SCHOLAR'S PERSONAL EXPERIENCES**

Food is a phenomenon that exists simultaneously in both material and immaterial forms: in real daily life, there are raw materials—foodstuffs—and real edible dishes. When food is prepared, we eat it, and it is gone. It remains “alive” mostly in daily practices, in mental images, in memories, and in oral communication. It also lives in the body techniques of cooks and cooking women as well as in the routines of daily life and its foodways.

On the structural level, we have collectively accepted and coded patterns of food and cuisines, which often take the form of cookbooks, recipes, and other gastronomic writing. These textual manifestations of cooking unite and neutralize foodways and represent the upper structures of food culture. In the cookbooks, we find what is collectively considered as acceptable in cooking and dining. Daily cooking and common “culinary preparations become a cuisine when, and only when, the preparations are articulated and formalized, and enter the public domain” (Parkhurst Ferguson 2006, 1–2). Cuisine cannot exist as a phenomenon without its textualized and codified forms. “As dining socializes eating, so cuisine formalizes cooking” (1–2).

But is there a real connection between cookbooks and actual cooking? Cookbooks answer this question in their own way. They give directions and aid to real and practical problems, but they also tell us what food and various phenomena related to it should or could be like (Ireland 1981, 111).

Cookbooks published before the twentieth century were primarily meant for the wealthy households of the gentry. Few cookbooks were written for factory workers or poor families. Early cookbooks mostly avoided the plain fare of the common people in favor of foreign or fancy recipes for the elite (Knuutila 2010). It was believed that there was no need to publish those few recipes that ordinary folk used. Their diet was simple, and most of the recipes were so familiar and firmly established in ordinary people's memories that it was considered unnecessary to write them down. Folk cooking regenerated its own, unchanging, and repetitive habits mostly without the need for cookbooks (Camporesi 1998, 85–86).

Thus early cookbooks were not written for ordinary folk, and for that reason one can well imagine that they can be used as data only when turning the gaze towards the upper class and the food and customs of the gentry. However, some cookbooks, like Anna Olsoni's, were directed also at the households of lower-class homes. These didactic cookbooks did not describe real foodways, but rather used food to articulate various sociological, economic, or political modes of thought according to the ideas and aims of the writer (Metzger 2005, 377). In these cases, cookbooks revealed what was seen as fit and proper in the sphere of housekeeping and cooking, but at the same time they hid unpleasant phenomena. A scholar studying a cookbook should, therefore, examine not only what seems to be obvious but also the hidden and blank spaces "between the lines." Every cookbook then, intentionally or unintentionally, is a socio-historical illustration. For this reason, cookbooks can be regarded as cultural texts impregnated with the meanings of their own times and places (Storace 1986, 62). One must, therefore, be aware of the historical and cultural time spans between the writer and the reader and not apply one's own interpretation and ideas as such to cuisines that are ethnically, historically, or culturally distanced.

As mentioned above, food and dishes live to a great extent in other forms than their physical existence in daily life. We cannot preserve food as it is for scientific or archival purposes, although we can document cooking by taking photographs and drawing pictures. The techniques involved in food preparation can also be described in words. We can observe and illustrate how the cook moves between the stove, the fridge, and the worktop. In addition, we can document what ingredients and tools are being used in the cooking process. However, we cannot preserve the smells, tastes, and textures of food, the very features that are best detected by our senses. Nor can we observe what the cook is thinking and planning while preparing the food. We may interview the cook and ask questions to ascertain what happens during food preparation and what kind of meaning she attaches to food. So like food and dishes themselves, the process of preparing food is also hard to apprehend. We cannot reach another person's experiences as such. They can be approached only through various representations—performances, texts, objects, oral expressions, and so on—of the subject's thoughts and ideas (Bruner 1986, 5). For these reasons, a scholar's own experiences and cooking skills can be a great help in obtaining a deeper understanding of food and cooking.

While reading the old cookbooks studied here, I used my own body techniques and my experiences of cooking, and sought to empathize with the cooking women

of the past by trying to imagine what the actual process of cooking might have felt like. However, I did not limit myself to embodying their actions; I also considered how the daily life surrounding the kitchen might have affected the act of cooking. I asked what had possibly happened before, during, and after the act of cooking. I imagined how I would have organized the preparation of food if I had worked in a kitchen in the nineteenth century. I thought of the long and exhausting journeys to fetch water for cooking and to look for firewood. I pictured heating up the stove and oven and trying to keep the fire from going out. I tried to feel the fears, worries, and joys of the cook. My own cooking skills and experiences as a chef, cooking teacher, and cooking woman created an interpretative link between the text and the act of cooking despite the fact that the food culture of the nineteenth century was different and the time gap long.

My personal cooking skills also made it possible for me to fill in the unwritten gaps that had been left in the cookbooks because certain matters could be taken for granted. Naturally, one cannot write down every detail in recipes and food instructions. Cookbook texts and recipes have to be short and compact. The author of a practical guide—such as a cookbook—has to focus on the essentials. He or she must decide what information is dispensable and what is important. For example, in a cake recipe one does not have to explain what a cake is or what flour is. The baking temperature and time must be made clear, but it is not necessary to describe what an oven looks like or how to switch it on. The literary scholar Mike Baynham (1995, 189) has written that an author of a handbook on practical skills presumes that the readers bring with them the required knowledge in the form of prevailing cultural know-how. Scholars who themselves happen to have a mastery of the skill involved can go beyond the written text by bringing their experiences to analyzing the process.

## **EARLY COOKBOOKS IN FINLAND**

The earliest Finnish manuscripts dealing with food date back to the fifteenth century. One of the oldest is a collection of recipes from Naantali Convent (Niiranen 2012). However, it was written more for medical and dietary purposes than for daily cooking. The oldest handwritten cookbooks are from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and some of them are in the archives of Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland (The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland) and in the National Archives of Finland. During those times, handwritten cookbooks became very popular among the mistresses of the parish rectories and the manor houses. For example,

the womenfolk of Sarvilahti Mansion in Pernaja (Pernå) on the southern coast of Finland kept a recipe book from 1800 to 1917. The first writer in Sarvilahti's book of recipes was Catharina Elisabeth von Born (née von Morian), the wife of the county governor, Samuel Fredrik Born. The next writer was her daughter, C. A. Munck, and after that, her daughter's daughter, C. E. Hisinger. A similar book was also found in Tervik Manor House, likewise in Pernaja. The oldest recipes are from the 1820s, and they were written by Fredrika Lovisa de Geer (née Fock). When her daughter Mimmi got married, she copied out her mother's notebook and complemented it with her own recipes (Lüchou 1968, 156). To write and to copy recipes and recipe books seems to have been a fashion in the nineteenth century, and, together with printed cookbooks, they present the new food fashions and flows in Europe. They show that international trends were welcome in Finland too.

Printed cookbooks in Europe have a history going back more than five hundred years. There is varying information concerning the first printed cookbook. Was it the German *Kuchenmeistery*, which was published in 1485, or the cookbook of the Italian Bartolemeo Scappi, which was printed in the same year? Nevertheless, soon after these gastronomic pioneers, cookbooks were being written and published in all the main European languages (Mennell 1985, 65; Quayle 1978). The writing and publication of cookery books became very popular from the sixteenth century onwards, but the real boom in cookbooks in Western countries only began in the seventeenth century. However, one cannot claim that this period meant the popularization of cooking, because the cookbooks were not intended to be used by ordinary families. Instead, they were written for the ladies and hostesses of noble households. Their primary aim was to present the ways in which high society dined, the ingredients that were used, and the most sophisticated ways of cooking them and combining dishes.

However, during the eighteenth century, the aim of cookbooks changed. The middle class became stronger and its daily needs and household problems were different from those of high society. For example, in middle-class households there was often a lack of staff: the household had perhaps just a maid or a kitchen helper. Often it was the housewife herself who had to cook. And at least she needed to know what to serve to her guests, how to organize a dinner party, and how to set the table in the proper way. Any kind of written help was welcome in order to run the household, and there was a particular need for recipes. Moreover, the possession of a cookbook was seen as a symbol of status for a family (Gold 2006, 15).

A new genre of cookbooks, the "basic cookbook," provided good answers to



the everyday dilemmas of housewives (Theopano 2002, 194). The most significant of these books was Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy* (1747). Perhaps it was used in Finland, too, along with Cajsa Warg's *Hjelpreda i Hushållningen för Unga Fruentimber* (Household help for young women, 1755), which was of Swedish origin and was the most popular cookbook in Finland in the nineteenth century. Thus, foreign cookbooks joined handwritten collections of recipes as a source of information about cooking. The books were mostly used in the kitchens of rectories and mansions rather than in the homes of ordinary folk. The hostesses of wealthy households were well educated and could speak, read, and write several languages. Often Swedish was their mother tongue, though it was not unusual to use books in other languages (Lüchou 1968, 147).

Cajsa Warg's cookbook was very modern for her time, and through it Finnish women learned about new European trends. Warg's book was different from older cookbooks in two ways. First of all, it was written by a woman. Before the eighteenth century, the cookbooks had mostly been written or dictated by men, and only a few women got their books published (Knuuttila 2010, 38). Secondly, Warg's book resembled the works of cookbook writers from mainland Europe and Britain, who could—and did—cook themselves or were at least semi-professional. The first of these writers was Eliza Smith, whose book, *The Compleat Housewife*, was published in 1727. Her target readership was the rising middle class and women who had to cook without any help in the kitchen (Theopano 2002, 194–96). Instead of pricy fine foods—which she criticized—she wanted to present everyday ingredients and practical ordinary dishes. Like Cajsa Warg, she herself could cook, and her book was exceptional in that it was actually based on her own personal cooking experience. However, these first basic cookbooks demanded good cooking skills, decent utensils, and pricey ingredients. Nevertheless, we can justifiably claim that the eighteenth century witnessed the birth of basic cookbooks.

### **THE ERA OF *KOKKI-KIRJA***

Family cookbooks and books printed in a foreign language were, without doubt, of invaluable help in Finnish kitchens, especially among the higher echelons of society. Other Finnish women, those who could not read foreign languages, had to wait a rather long time before they got a cookbook of their own: *Kokki-Kirja* (Cookbook) was published in 1849. It had 144 pages and 383 recipes, and it was printed in Turku by J. E. Frenckel. The translator was Johan Fredrik Granlund, who was a writer. He was the son of Majjastiina Granlund, a celebrated village caterer known as “Pitkä

Maijastiina” (Tall Maijastiina), who worked as a servant in Hintsala Manor House, in Vesilahti in southern Finland, but did some catering, too (Räsänen 1980, 58). Until the beginning of the twentieth century, bigger feasts such as those held in connection with weddings and funerals were often arranged by self-educated cooks (pitoemäntä) like Maijastiina. They came to the house where the festivities were to take place a week before the event; they planned the menus, brewed beer, baked, cooked, and organized everything that was needed for a successful party. It is possible that Maijastiina owned a foreign cookbook, and this was the source of *Kokki-Kirja*; perhaps she collected recipes from her friends and relatives, or copied them from the recipe book (if there was one) in Hintsala Manor House. Maybe her son used these as his main source of information for *Kokki-Kirja*. Or maybe Maijastiina had compiled such a recipe book as an aid in her own work even though she was not herself a member of the gentry. She was, after all, a professional, who needed to have written material in order to help her remember all the different recipes for cakes, biscuits, desserts, beer, and so on. This is just guesswork; we do not have any literature or archival material that would enable us to find out more about the history and background of *Kokki-Kirja*. However, it was published on the crest of a gastronomic awakening. Famous names like Grimond de La Reynière (1758–1837) and Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1755–1826), as well as many novelists, had a new viewpoint on food, cooking, and dining. They evaluated and rated different kinds of foods and cooking techniques, and made distinctions between everyday food and *haute cuisine*. They—the men of the ladle and the pen—determined the textual formation of European haute cuisine and fine dining (Mennell 1985, 271).

*Kokki-Kirja* followed those new trends, introducing novel and interesting recipes to Finnish kitchens and providing new ideas for restaurants and hotels, too. Between its covers one could find such fine things as wines from the Rhine, exotic herbs and spices, and sophisticated ways of cooking. Some hints of early culinary aesthetics are also to be found in connection with the decoration and presentation of dishes. *Kokki-Kirja* also tells us about the ingredients that were available in the nineteenth century and how the kitchens were (or should have been) equipped. It shows the kinds of cooking techniques that were known and the kinds of procedures that were employed in cooking. *Kokki-Kirja*—like other nineteenth-century cookbooks—shows how people used to write about food, how a decent recipe was composed, and what kind of culinary language and terminology was to be used. And its recipes—textual representations of the preparation of food—provide insight into thoughts on cooking in a general manner. Of course, *Kokki-Kirja* does not

say anything about ordinary Finnish kitchens and foodways, only about the dishes that were common in better-off households. On the other hand, it does represent the first culinary steps in Finnish cuisine.

But how did ordinary women cook in the nineteenth century? In Finland—as well as all over Europe—the cooking skills of ordinary folk were rather plain. In the Nordic countries, there were few ingredients available, and the diet was simple. People usually had rye flour, beetroots, potatoes, beans, and some meat and fish to cook with. Most of the ingredients were homegrown, and only a few items, such as salt, sugar, and coffee were bought from stores. The seasoning was mostly salt and sometimes onions. Of course, the range of goods in wealthier houses was much wider. However, more often than not, the diet of the common people was the same from week to week, month to month, with the only changes occurring on the few yearly holidays or feast days.

The cooking places were modest. Most houses had wood-heated ovens or just an open fireplace where people could cook on the embers. The pot hung on a tripod, so the variety of dishes could not be very wide. Only the wealthier households had iron stoves and well-equipped kitchens. In manor houses and rectories, the cook or the housewife herself was often a skilful preparer of food and could cook much better than women from the lower classes. However, for all women, cooking was a difficult and time-consuming task that demanded different skills from those required in cooking nowadays (Knuuttila 2010, 52–53).

One factor that was true of all women who cooked was that they had to know how to use the natural environment. They needed to know how to take care of their vegetable patches or kitchen gardens, to be aware when to plant, to know how to take care of the plants and when to harvest them, and how to preserve and store different kinds of foodstuffs. Of course, common knowledge was a great help, but so were the cookbooks. *Kokki-Kirja*, for example, explains when to plant spinach if one wants to salt it for winter (“Spinach for salting should be planted so late that it is not fully grown before September”).<sup>1</sup> During the wintertime, women had to take care of granaries, cellars, and other storage places. It was fundamental to ensure that the foodstuffs should be kept in a good, or at least an edible, condition. It was a laborious task, which involved observing, smelling, tasting, and knowing, as well as keeping a constant eye on the foodstuffs, maintaining the storing processes, and

1 “Suolattawa penaatti pita oleman niin myöhään kylwetty, että se wasta syyskuusta on täysi-kaswosta” (*Kokki-Kirja* 1849, 142). All translations from Finnish into English are by the author.

deciding almost daily about what was good and what was ready to be taken out of the cellar (Knuuttila 2006, 142–43).

When we step into the kitchen of *Kokki-Kirja*, it becomes clear that there were further difficult problems to solve: how to take care of the fire, the firewood, and the cooking water. Women often had to collect dry branches, cones, and other suitable fuel from the nearby forests. *Kokki-Kirja* describes what kind of wood was good for cooking and what was suitable for baking: “For cooking on the stove, birch wood is the best; it produces a better and smoother heat than pine or spruce.”<sup>2</sup> Cooking water was another source of trouble. Women had to carry it from wells, rivers, or lakes. Sometimes there was no suitable water near the house at all, so one could not fetch it whenever it was needed, which meant that the cooking water had to be stored in the house for days. *Kokki-Kirja* teaches how to take care of it and how to purify it when it becomes murky. The book also carefully explains the kind of water that was suitable for different kinds of foods. Beans, for example, had to be boiled in “soft” water collected from rivers and lakes; if they were cooked in “hard” well water, they did not become tender enough.

Measuring was also problematic. No uniform measurement system existed, and the measurements varied a lot, as naturally did the recipes. In *Kokki-Kirja*'s recipes, one can find the measurements used in European and American trade. The most common of these were units used in the British Empire and countries that came within the British sphere of influence before 1824 (English units, after 1824 Imperial units). For example, a cup, a pint, an ounce, and a pound—and their eighths, quarters, thirds, and halves—were among these measurement units. In addition, some older Russian and Swedish measurements such as *luoti* (Swedish *lod*), *kannu* (Swedish *kanna*), *tuoppi* (Swedish *stop*), *khruzhka* or *pikari* (Russian *tsharka*) were used. In Finland, the metric—later the International System of Units—measurements of capacity weight came into force in 1892.<sup>3</sup> However, the most commonly used practical cooking measurements in kitchens continued to be teaspoons, tablespoons, cups, and drinking glasses, combined with the cook's own hands and senses (Knuuttila 2006, 178–80).

2 “Keittopuina liedellä owat koiwuiset parhaita; niillä saadaan isompi ja taiseempi kuumuus kuin mäntyisillä ja kuusisilla” (*Kokki-Kirja* 1849, III).

3 The metric system, which can be considered the first step towards standardized measurement systems, was developed in France during the 1790s. The Swedes started to use it in 1855, and the Finns between 1886 and 1892. The new measurements were taught in almanacs and newspapers and by schoolteachers, but even so the new measures came into general use very slowly. The SI system (International System of Units) was ratified internationally in 1960. (Kostet 2003, 12–13)

In *Kokki-Kirja*, one finds descriptions of the amounts and measurements of different kinds of ingredients. Their shapes and qualities are explained together with the cooking or baking times and the temperatures required. The measurements of the ingredients varied from the number of pieces required to very fine and detailed measurements that were (and still are) difficult—or even impossible—to describe with the written word, numbers, or any existing measurement systems. When making *Kakko-puljonki* (*Bouilloin de Poche*) one had to take “one or two old chickens with bones” (1849, 3). That is easy to understand. It is much harder, however, to describe how much is *mieltämyöten* (according to one’s judgement). And then, when making *Saakukryyni* soup,<sup>4</sup> a suitable sweetness—according to the writer of the recipe—was *mielenperäinen*, meaning “to taste.” In addition, very often the cook was asked to use a pinch of this, a dash of that, and a handful of the other. But cooks come in different sizes. Some had small hands and some had big. Some were generous and others thrifty, and so accordingly were their measurements. Maybe that is the reason why recipes varied so much before the era of standardized measurements. However, when it came to making cakes, pies, and other pastries, the recipes and their measurements were as exact as possible even at a time of great diversity in measurements.

Constant observation was another important tool of measurement: while cooking one had to watch the whole process and keep an eye on the food. Different shades of golden yellow or brown were the goals of baking and frying, and to achieve these it was necessary to observe the process closely. The same was true of soups, sauces, and porridges, whose composition and thickness were judged by watching the thickening and simmering processes. Suitable temperatures for cooking and baking were measured mostly by feeling the heat of the oven or the stove on one’s own skin. Sometimes it was also essential to listen to the fire or the sounds of cooking. *Kokki-Kirja* explains that for some foods the fire had to be quiet (*hiljainen walkia*), so that the cook could not hear the sound of it burning. Also, the terms *heikko walkia* (weak fire), *ilmi walkia* (visible fire) and *wäkewä lämpö* (strong heat) were useful indicators of the heat required.

To judge from *Kokki-Kirja*, cooking in the nineteenth century involved constant tasting, feeling, and smelling, and the need to make judgments based on the cook’s observations during the preparation process. What was important in the cooking process was the ability to combine signs, perceptions, body techniques, and experience. Cookbooks were not accurate, and recipes were more like narratives than

4 *Saakukryyni* is a kind of hulled grain made from the sago palm (*Metroxylon sagu*).

detailed instructions. The cook had to know what she was aiming to do and how to achieve this. Moreover, she needed to adjust her cooking to the prevailing situation and conditions (Knuuttila 2006, 188–89). On the other hand, this was also true of all kinds of daily chores, not only cooking. An inevitable intertwining between people, the environment, techniques, and circumstances is a predominant feature of every practical task (Vilkuna 1958, 17).

## THE EPOCH OF SCIENTIFIC COOKING

At the end of the nineteenth century, *Kokki-Kirja* and other contemporary works on cooking fell out of fashion: food, cooking, and eating as well as the writing of recipes were understood in new ways. The first scientific discoveries about nutrition and a better understanding of the human body and its functions were important findings, and these found their way into home economics and cooking. Moreover, ideas that arose from the processes of industrialization and modernization were applied to household work. The reformers wanted people to manage their homes, and especially their kitchens, like small industrial and economic units efficiently run by housewives (Laine 1931, 11–15). All these changes influenced both the cooking process and the way it was textualized.

In Finland, Suomen Naisyhdistys (The Finnish Women's Association) became interested in new ideas about housekeeping and announced that a scholarship was available for a suitable candidate to go to Scotland in 1889 to study home economics. The purpose of the scholarship was to make the latest international ideas accessible to Finnish cookery teachers and to convey the new information to ordinary homes. The Finnish Women's Association received applications from four persons, of whom Anna Olsoni<sup>5</sup> (1864–1943) was the most suitable candidate. She became one of the first promoters in Finland of the new ideas and ideologies in the field of home economics.

Anna Olsoni left Finland on May 15, 1890. She travelled first to Stockholm and from there to England and finally to Scotland. While studying at the West End Training School of Cookery in Glasgow, she became acquainted with new, scientifically validated ideas about nutrition, health, food chemistry, and home economics. Later in the same year, she graduated from the cookery school, thereby becoming

5 Anna Olsoni was born into a wealthy and well-educated family. Her father was a rector in Sakkola, and her mother was the multi-talented mistress of Kurkijoki Rectory. Anna was educated mostly by her mother. She learned how to take care of the various duties required of members of the higher classes, but she also had to learn the practical side of household management, including such tasks as cooking and taking care of the rectory's dairy (Knuuttila 2010, 66–67).

the first Finnish woman to obtain further education in cooking (Lüchou 1968). With the help of the the Finnish Women's Association and a few wealthy patrons, the first official Finnish cooking school—Helsingin Kasvatusopillinen Ruoanlaittokoulu—was established in Helsinki in 1891, with Anna Olsoni as its first teacher and principal. The aim of the new school was to educate teachers of cooking and also to disseminate information about cooking among ordinary folk.

There was no suitable teaching material in the Finnish language. Those cookbooks that had been published in Finland earlier were altogether out-of-date, and so Olsoni wrote her first cookbook, which was intended to serve both the students of the school and ordinary homemakers. Olsoni's cookbook meant an unparalleled change in attitudes toward cooking by presenting new ideas about food chemistry, nutrition, and economic matters related to cooking and housekeeping. The cookbook itself was written in collaboration with a Swedish colleague, Lotten Lagersted, who had been Olsoni's classmate in Scotland. They complemented each other well, because Lagersted was a theoretician, while Olsoni was more practical. Most of the recipes in the book were written by Olsoni, but they were adapted to the cultural environments of both Finland and Sweden (Lüchou 1968, 174–75).

The book belonged to the genre of basic cookbooks, but it can also be categorized as an encyclopaedic cookery book. In other words, it was not just a simple collection of recipes like the majority of nineteenth-century cookbooks but presented cooking within the framework of a larger context. A good example of the genre was Isabella Beeton's *The Book of Household Management*, published in 1861 (Storage 1986, 68). It gave advice on most aspects of household management, such as home economics, gardening, and many other subjects related to the home. Olsoni wrote about the history of potatoes, something on exotic herbs, and so on, although her book was not particularly wide-ranging. However, it did differ considerably from its Finnish predecessors. First, it presented its content in a very systematic way: it contained thirty chapters, or "lectures," in which she introduced the *basics of cooking*, a novelty in her time. Most of the new ideas in the book were based on chemistry. The book starts with a description of oxygen, nitrogen, phosphorus, chlorine, sodium, and calcium. For Olsoni, the skill of cooking lay more in a knowledge of chemical reactions than in the execution of simple everyday tasks based on traditional and experimental knowledge. She also regarded cooking as an exact and systematic procedure, like factory work—a process that needed to be clean, well planned, and organized according to straightforward tasks.

She also (together with Lotten Lagersted) formulated comprehensive cooking

rules: altogether fifteen different sets of instructions, which she described as plain cooking. They were for cooking potatoes, porridges, and gruels; reconstituting and preparing dried beans and peas; making puddings, sauces, and thickeners; baking breads; and heating foods. The instructions divided the cooking process into smaller units, but on the other hand they also constituted general rules, which students (or cooks) could apply to different tasks. She also considered matters of hygiene to be very important. For her, it was a case of "*Puhtaus on puoliruokaa*," a Finnish saying that states that cleanliness is half the meal. Students had to follow certain hygienic standards when cooking. Olsoni saw it as an indispensable part of good food preparation.

Anna Olsoni was also fascinated with bookkeeping and timesaving. She regarded them as accomplishments of the new woman. She considered the ability to handle one's household efficiently to be the key to a more independent and responsible position within the family. She regarded the home with its tasks as a small company and the mistress of the house as its efficient manager. Olsoni related economic ideas to cooking in many ways. Exactitude in recipes and in measurements came first of all. The next important factor was precision in purchasing, handling, and using ingredients. She considered it very important for women to be aware of the laws of commerce. One needed to know and understand how to save and what to buy and when. She added prices to all her recipes, which was a new phenomenon for people who were used to obtaining their foodstuffs from fields, gardens, forests, and lakes. Almost as important as saving money was saving time: "The woman who can spend her time wisely, and apportion it correctly, saves time, and time is money," she wrote (1893, 188). For Anna Olsoni, the home was not only a place to take care of one's human needs but also a social unit that was related to the welfare of the whole nation.

Olsoni's book was ambivalent: on the one hand she made cookery more complicated by bringing to it new, intangible concepts like vitamins, proteins, and germs, but on the other hand she tried to make cooking simpler by offering a new and plain foundation for it. Her novel ideas were not accepted without criticism. The public simply did not understand why cooking and eating had to be so complicated. Even though her modern ideas about housework were received with great interest, there was some resistance to them, and opposing opinions were expressed.

The emphasis on education pertaining to the affairs of home and housework met with resistance from some sectors of the women's liberation movement. For example, Minna Canth, a well-known writer and feminist, did not support the promotion of effective schooling in household tasks. She believed that reinforcing and



emphasizing the bond between the home and women would only serve to further entrench women's traditional position and prevent them from pursuing careers in demanding, creative occupations outside the home (Knuuttila 2010, 74). Moreover, traditionalists did not comprehend why such a simple skill as cooking had to be scientifically justified. The Finnish philosopher J. J. F. Perander (1883) wrote in the journal *Valvoja*: "The university which a girl should run to is her home, and her own mother is the only professor she should listen to" (15). In the newspaper *Hämäläinen* (on February 8, 1890), one journalist suggested that the "user of all sorts of chemical cookbooks"—such as Anna Olsoni's—should read them with the help of a doctor because they were so complicated (3). Olsoni herself noticed that it was hard to change the old ways and to overcome the obstinate resistance. It was a true challenge to make intangible phenomena—like bacteria, calories, and vitamins—understandable. These new concepts were foreign to her students and to the general public too.

Despite her efforts, cooking habits among ordinary families, especially in the countryside, were—and remained—quite old-fashioned in the late nineteenth century. Even though Anna Olsoni and her colleagues in the Cooking School of Helsinki worked hard, and the cooking instruction for young girls and cooking teachers was efficient, it took a long time to change the cooking habits of the ordinary folk (Knuuttila 2010, 83–92). However, Olsoni's cookbook was remarkable for its effort to implant new ideas in Finnish food culture and cooking methods. Food was no longer understood just as nourishment but as a rather more complicated entity embodying ideas about the home and cleanliness, together with mental, physical, and societal well-being. Olsoni's cookbook formed a foundation and model for modern recipe writing in Finland, and it also provided a good example of how a cookbook could also serve the function of a textbook.

## CONCLUSION

One's own cooking experiences and cooking skills may be significant aids in analyzing cookbooks or recipes: researchers can bring their own cooking experiences to the interpretation of the text. Owen Barfield (2002, 25) has written that words are "the best telescopes" in trying to understand the mind and meanings of the past. I argue that in the sphere of artifacts and practical skills it is also important to use the scholar's own senses, feelings, and experiences in order to obtain a deeper understanding. In the case of cooking, it is essential to think about how to read the text, to imagine the situation, and to use one's own competence.

The telescopes that I used to look at nineteenth-century cooking were *Kokki-Kirja* and Anna Olsoni's *Keittokirja yksinkertaista ruuanlaittoa varten kodissa ja koulussa*, which exemplify an important era in both home and professional cooking. While *Kokki-Kirja* represented "old-fashioned," disorderly, physical, and diverse ways of cooking, Anna Olsoni's book exemplified the desires of reformers in the sphere of household management, cooking, and home economics. These reforms got under way in different parts of the Western world at basically the same time. The biggest influence on the renewal came from the natural sciences—for example chemistry, medicine, and nutrition science—and, of course, from economic ideas, which among other things aspired to standardize the units of measurement used in cooking (Lakoff 2006, 157).

However, exact measurements were not just an idea promoted by household reformers, nor were they only a sign of the advent of a modern era in cooking; there was, in fact, a real need for them. The readers and users of cookbooks had changed. Early cookbooks were written for those who already could cook and who knew the techniques involved. Women from the new middle class and cooks or women coming from the lower classes needed a different kind of help. With the new modern measurements, cookbooks could replace the old physically defined guidelines for cooking with more precise instructions. For novice cooks, the new recipes were more understandable and easier to follow. Based on the new modern measurements and uniformity of their presentation, the recipes had the advantage of being more repetitive so that anyone could learn how to cook, at least to a certain degree, by using cookbooks.

A special linguistic register for written recipes has developed over the last two hundred years. The modern way of writing recipes began in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and became established in the last part of the latter century. The recipes in *Kokki-Kirja* and its predecessors were like little stories or narratives of everyday life. They had a name, an origin, a plot, and an ending. They did not have separate lists of ingredients. Instead, the recipe followed the cooking process. The measurements were variable, based more on the senses and body techniques of the cooker. On the other hand, perhaps that was the only way in which it was possible to textualize cooking before the advent of a standardized measuring system. The introduction of the new units of measurement made recipes, and cooking in general, more uniform and less ambiguous. The culinary terminology was made more lucid, and the "plot" of the recipe was modified. The ingredients were given in the form of

an exact list with precise measures, and the explanation of the preparation processes became more like a catalog of procedures (Knuuttila 2010).

New ways of writing recipes try to detach cooking and its techniques from bodily experiences and body-related measures. This means that the traditional ways of learning to cook—which took place under personal guidance alongside the instructor and usually through oral communication—were abandoned and partly replaced by the cookbook. It seems, however, that we cannot ignore the fact that cooking is after all based on the senses, body techniques, incorporated memory, and experience. Those body techniques that were employed before the advent of official measurements and were based on long experience still constitute an established property of an accomplished cook. A skilled cook, be he or she a master chef or a housewife, always cooks with his or her body. Despite all efforts at standardization, the new forms of recipes and the modern units of measurement alone are not enough to enable a person to cook or to explain the process of cooking. Bearing this in mind, the food researcher must be aware of the difference that exists between real cooking and “theoretical” cooking procedures, as propounded in cookbooks and recipes. It is necessary to know what recipes and cookbooks are capable of describing and what important things they omit or fail to express at all.

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**“SIE SAGEN SKÅL UND HERRE GUD UND ARRIVEDERCI”:  
ON THE MULTILINGUAL CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN  
ELLEN THESLEFF AND GORDON CRAIG**

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**ABSTRACT**

The Finnish painter Ellen Thesleff (1869–1954) is one of the most famous female painters in Scandinavian art history. During her stay in Florence, Italy, at the beginning of the twentieth century, she became acquainted with the British theater personality and artist (Edward) Gordon Craig (1872–1966). Their correspondence from the first half of the century is a part of European cultural history and art criticism; they write, among other things, about painting and graphics, literature and theater. Of linguistic importance is that the original letters preserved for posterity contain traces of many European languages: not only German, which is a central language in the correspondence, but also French, Italian, and English.

The focus of this paper is the coexistence of languages in the multilingual correspondence—about 200 dated and 60 undated letters—kept at the National Library of France in Paris. In this paper, microfilms are used instead of the original material, and the selection of letters is limited to twenty-five. The particular interest lies in Ellen Thesleff as a multiliterate, writing individual, and her choices of and switches between different languages. My study shows that Thesleff used a variety of languages when writing letters. This can, for example, be seen from the perspective of the personal nature and the communicative function of the personal letters, where the “self” of the writer is present. In a way, multilingualism has among other things an emotional function for her: one could, for instance, argue that it was used as a kind of “secret writing” or language play between Thesleff and Craig.

**Keywords:** multilingual correspondence, code-switching, Ellen Thesleff, Gordon Craig

## TOWARD THE LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF A EUROPEAN ARTIST AND POLYGLOT

Apollogatan 13[.] oder nicht. ich sitze Dear You am Meeres strand bei wasser  
und stein zu kommen in contact mit sie. [. . . ]<sup>1</sup>  
– Ellen Thesleff to Gordon Craig in an undated letter

This paper is about multilingual resources and practices in a Finnish–British artist correspondence. The main focus is on personal letters written by a Swedish-speaking Finnish female artist during the first half of the twentieth century to a contemporary colleague on the European continent (thus “correspondence” here means only letters from Ellen Thesleff to Gordon Craig but not Craig’s letters to Thesleff).<sup>2</sup> In this connection, it is possible to discuss only Ellen Thesleff as a polyglot and a user of multilingual resources while interpretations about the linguistic repertoire of Gordon Craig have to rely on secondary sources.

The sender of the letters, Ellen Thesleff, was a Finnish painter and graphic artist, born in Helsinki in 1869 into a bourgeois Swedish-speaking family. She is one of the most famous female painters in the Nordic countries (for the life and art of Thesleff, see Bäcksbäck 1955; Pettersson 1955; Lahti 1976; Ahtola-Moorhouse 1998; Sarajas-Korte 1998; Schalin 2004; Sinisalo 2007). Like many other artists before and after her, she made a Grand Tour—or, rather, many Grand Tours—to the European continent, mainly to Italy and France. Over the years, she stayed and worked abroad on several occasions, first and foremost in Florence. Her stays on the Continent gave her a good picture of artistic life at the time. During her stay in Florence in the early 1900s, Thesleff became acquainted with Gordon Craig, the addressee of the letters. Getting to know Craig, a pioneer of modern theater, was a great experience for Thesleff artistically. Craig inspired her, among other things, to make wood engravings and woodcuts and to publish them in his journal *The Mask*. It has been said that their relationship stirred up her creativity and became a friendship that lasted until the end of life. It has also been pointed out that Craig was Thesleff’s

1 Translation: “Apollonkatu 13[.] Or not. I am sitting, Dear You, at the seaside by water and stones, in order to come into contact with you.” The quotation is mostly in German but includes a couple of switches into English, too. The name of the street, *Apollogatan/Apollonkatu*, is given in Swedish, which is expected considering Thesleff’s first language.

2 Personal letters are so-called *ego-documents*. According to Fulbrook and Rublack (2010, 263), an ego-document is “a source or ‘document’—understood in the widest sense—providing an account of, or revealing privileged information about, the ‘self’ who produced it” (for the concept of *ego-document*, see also von Greyerz 2010).

muse. Thesleff had also a gift for languages; she was a writer, who expressed her thoughts, for example, in poetry (Sinisalo 2007).



Figure 1 (left): Ellen Thesleff in Murole in 1910. (The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, Helsinki). Figure 2 (right): Gordon Craig in Florence in 1908. (The Society of Swedish Literature in Finland, Helsinki).

## **ELLEN THESLEFF AND GORDON CRAIG**

Thesleff was in a number of ways an exceptional phenomenon in Finnish art history. She started her career as a painter in the 1880s and made her first trip to Italy in the 1890s. Craig, on the other hand, was an actor, director, theater and art theorist, graphic artist, and bohemian. Thesleff was one of his closest friends and colleagues. Craig called Thesleff the most intelligent woman he had ever met. However, in the biography of Craig written by his son Edward Craig in 1968, Thesleff is mentioned only once: she is called “a promising young artist” (1968, 232).

Thesleff and Craig became good friends and started writing letters to each other. Their correspondence, comprising both letters and postcards, covers the period from the early years of the twentieth century to the 1950s. However, the letters from Craig to Thesleff were destroyed by Thesleff herself. What in the first place caused Thesleff to destroy the letters has raised many questions concerning the nature of their relationship (see, e.g., Lahti 1976). For example, Thesleff does



not write much about Craig in her letters to Finland. Also, her letters to Craig in Florence in the 1910s were destroyed during the war (Lahti 1976, 52).

Still, most of the letters from Thesleff to Craig have been preserved, and it goes without saying that the cultural-historical value of the correspondence is great. Linguistically, the correspondence is highly multilingual and therefore fruitful, for example, as a data source for historical sociolinguistics (for historical sociolinguistics, see Hernández-Campoy and Conde-Silvestre 2012). As stated above, the original letters from Thesleff to Craig are written in many languages: German, French, Italian, and English, among others. However, the “main language” of the letters—the dominating language of each language-use situation—is often German. According to Patrick Le Boeuf at the National Library of France, most of the letters are in German (email, 27 November 2006; for a discussion on the matrix vs. embedded language, see Kalliokoski 2009, 14).

It is not at all surprising that the first letter from Thesleff to Craig is written in French, the *lingua franca* of art in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The formality of the letter, which—like many of the letters in the Edward Gordon Craig collection at the National Library of France—is inadequately dated, is different from other letters; it is signed “Ellen Thesleff” and not, for example, “Ellen.” In the first letter, she does not yet make use of her command of other European languages, which is to be expected as mixing languages tends to be an ingroup phenomenon among people familiar with one another (see, e.g., Gumperz 1982). Later on, however, Thesleff often resorts to linguistic elements written in foreign languages. Based on these later letters, it can be hypothesized that in their face-to-face interaction Thesleff and Craig also used different languages; the letters—at least theoretically—contain more or less spontaneous switches between languages probably in the “same” way as their real-life communication. The use of many languages thus contributes considerably to the textual dynamics of the correspondence.

In fact, the multilingual nature of the letters is not unexpected. It may be assumed that both Thesleff and Craig were polyglots, i.e., multiliterate individuals of their own time. They were both persons with social backgrounds that gave them opportunities to travel, read, and learn languages. However, direct references to their language skills and education are not frequent either in the letters or in the existing biographical literature (for Thesleff’s education and studies in Finland and abroad, see Schalin 2004, 44–51). Of Craig’s language skills and studies abroad we know, for example, that it was thought “expedient to send him abroad, this time to an English school run by a mixture of English and German mast[er]s in Heidelberg” and

that at home his mother arranged for him to have French lessons (Craig 1968, 60, 69). In a letter in 1901, Craig (1968, 138) writes to a friend: “Mon cher Martin—I write in or rather outside a café. . . . Fine place France—Fine people the French—can’t speak a word of English. . . .”

The Thesleff family spoke Swedish among themselves, and Craig appreciated the family very much. According to him, they were “a lovely family from Finland” and “the only nice people left in Florence” (Craig 1968, 228, 297). At the beginning of the 1870s, Ellen Thesleff’s father got a job as a leading engineer in the town of Kuopio in eastern Finland, so Finnish-speaking inland Finland was familiar to her from childhood (cf. Schalin 2004, 204, who discusses the possibility that Thesleff would have been an outsider living in a cultural and linguistic area that was strange to her). The family moved to Helsinki in the middle of the 1880s, but they still had a summer house in Ruovesi parish, near the major industrial city of Tampere, located in inland Finland. Thesleff started school in Kuopio and finished it in the Swedish-speaking girls’ school *Fruentimmersskolan* in Helsinki. In Finland, she studied, for instance, in a private academy and in a drawing school. She also studied in Paris at the beginning of the 1890s. In 1894, she visited Florence for the first time. Ten years later, in 1904, she visited Munich, Germany (Sinisalo 2007).

It is of special linguistic and cultural interest that Thesleff, who, as pointed out above, was originally Swedish-speaking, spent a great deal of time in predominantly Finnish-speaking parts of Finland, especially during summers. In spite of her Helsinki background, Thesleff can therefore be considered a representative of the so-called Swedishness of inland Finland (for Swedish “speech islands” in Finland, see Lönnroth 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2014). According to Schalin (2004, 204), Thesleff’s knowledge of Finnish was limited. However, if we consider Thesleff as a representative of the “Swedishness of inland Finland,” where the contact between Finnish and Swedish is closer than on the coast, at least theoretically, it would be natural if she knew more Finnish.<sup>3</sup>

## **AIM AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

The aim of this paper is to discuss multilingualism in Thesleff’s correspondence to Craig during the first half of the twentieth century—in other words, the

3 An example of Finnish in the material is the proper name *Kissa* ‘cat’ (cf. the Swedish *kisse*). Swedish is visible in the material in terms of place names (e.g., *Tammerfors* ‘Tampere’) and other names (e.g., *Akademiska bokhandeln* ‘The Academic Bookstore’). Thesleff has also sent some press cuttings in Swedish to Craig. This indicates that Craig may have known some Swedish, but Thesleff may also have sent the cuttings to Craig out of pure interest.

coexistence of many languages in a multilingual correspondence from the point of view of historical sociolinguistics and multilingualism. The multilingual resources, which here refer especially to the phenomena of language choice and code-switching in writing, are of particular interest in the paper. In addition to these phenomena, the paper also aims at describing the linguistic profile of one European female artist and polyglot, Ellen Thesleff, the sender of the letters. Indirectly, the paper will also touch upon the languages of art and cultural discussion in early twentieth-century Europe.

Code-switching as a phenomenon is a common discourse strategy in bilingual and multilingual communities (Pahta and Nurmi 2007, 404). It is not only a phenomenon of spoken language but also of written language. With a focus on written texts, it is possible to get some additional information about the contacts between languages during different historical periods (Kalliokoski 2009, 13–14).

The term *code-switching* refers traditionally to 1) the switches between varieties of the same language, and to 2) switches between different languages. The contact between two or more registers of language in the same language-use situation is of importance. Language contact is a phenomenon that can be studied on the levels of language system, community, and the individual (Kalliokoski 2009, 13, 19).

This paper is inspired by studies by Päivi Pahta and Arja Nurmi, especially their on-going research into multilingualism and code-switching in the history of written English. They have, among other things, written about the structures of code-switching in eighteenth-century personal letters (Pahta and Nurmi 2007) and code-switching practices in Charles Burney’s correspondence (Pahta and Nurmi 2009). Their joint publications also include papers on social stratification and patterns of code-switching in Early English letters (Nurmi and Pahta 2004) and multilingual practices in women’s English correspondence during the period 1400 to 1800 (Nurmi and Pahta 2012).

According to Pahta and Nurmi (2007, 403), *code-switching* is a term that is used variously by many researchers and in the literature on language-contact phenomena. In line with their usage, the term is used here as an umbrella term (Pahta and Nurmi 2007, 404). Pahta and Nurmi (2007, 404) point out that it can be used “for any definable changes from one language to another within a single communicative episode, in this case a single letter.” However, in the same connection they also emphasize the difficulty, or as they put it, “the virtual impossibility,” of knowing the distinction between code-switching and borrowing (Pahta and Nurmi 2007, 404;

cf. also Kalliokoski 2009, 15).<sup>4</sup> They mention that earlier studies focusing on historical texts have shown that code-switching as a phenomenon can be studied on two levels of linguistic structure: 1) the macrolevel of text or discourse structure, and 2) the microlevel of grammatical structure (2007, 407–8). Pahta and Nurmi's studies show, among other things, that English eighteenth-century letters "quite frequently" contain embedded foreign language segments, both from the languages of classical education like Latin or the languages used in contemporary western Europe like French (Pahta and Nurmi 2007, 415).

## **MATERIAL AND METHOD**

The correspondence under scrutiny in this paper belongs to the Edward Gordon Craig collection at the National Library of France, *Bibliothèque nationale de France*. As pointed out above, the collection includes about 260 dated and undated letters from Thesleff to Craig. Most of the letters are written in German. In addition to German, the letters also contain the occasional use of French, Italian, and English, among other languages. The microfilm for the material (identification number R 83441) contains over 300 images, with two pages per image. Given the importance of research ethics connected with the study of personal letters, the National Library of France cannot deliver any reproduction of the material from the Edward Gordon Craig collection unless one has obtained a formal authorization from the Edward Gordon Craig Estate (email from Patrick Le Boeuf, National Library of France, November 27, 2006). A formal authorization for this study was received via email (email from Marie J. Taylor, executor at the Edward Gordon Craig Estate, December 15, 2006).

In this connection it is crucial to emphasize that I have not seen the original documents in Paris, only the ones reproduced on microfilm, and that I have studied a part of the letters in the microfilm. These methodological choices have, of course, an impact on the representation of this study. The postcards in the collection have been excluded from the analysis, and the selection of letters is limited to twenty-five (about 10 percent of the entire material). The aim has been to choose letters that are of general interest and representative of the material based on how much code-switching they include. The method of analysis is a qualitative close reading of the archival documents, and the examples presented in this paper have been transcribed by me.

<sup>4</sup> However, it is possible to operationalize the distinction (see Halmari 1997).

Both language choice and code-switching in writing are phenomena that tell us a great deal about the textual dynamics of personal letters, where first person discourse is used quite frequently. The microfilm that belongs to the Edward Gordon Craig collection also contains other linguistically interesting material. There are, among other things, press cuttings in Swedish and letters from the Thesleff family to Craig (in German and English). These, however, are left for future research to tackle.

### ON THE DYNAMICS OF MULTILINGUALISM: THE CASE OF ELLEN THESLEFF

Ellen Thesleff's letters to Gordon Craig demonstrate a true dynamic multilingual interplay in writing. In this section, some observations on her use of different languages (language choice) and code-switching (switches between different languages) are illustrated. In their own way, the following examples shed light on the linguistic nature of the letters in question and on Thesleff as a multilingual letter writer.

According to art historian Monica Schalin, Thesleff was a polyglot who mixed many languages playfully, both in speech and in writing. Schalin (2004, 204) assumes that Thesleff's "linguistic exaggeration"—*språkliga excesser*, as she puts it—was probably inspired by her family background in the multilingual city of Viipuri, nowadays a part of Russia (cf. also Schalin 2004, 95). According to another art historian, Leena Ahtola-Moorhouse, Thesleff moved fluently between five languages, but she was not very particular about her spelling (cited in Schalin 2004, 95). However, it does not become apparent which the five languages are. The Finland-Swedish critic Erik Kruskopf has, according to Schalin (2004, 95), called Thesleff's language "*uttrycksfull rotvälska*" 'expressive dog Latin'.

Example 1 below contains a short letter from the early twentieth century. The letter is dated in Swedish for the day and the month, but the exact year is missing. In this highly multilingual letter Thesleff makes use of English, German, French, Italian, and Swedish. The content of the letter is mainly about a portrait to be published in a forthcoming book. She writes:

- (1) [. . .] Dear you[!] I muss send you this portrait de my mother that I think is veru [sic] god. Es soll in ein Buch gedrückt sein—ein Buch um die ganze famiglia Thesleff seit 1590. I hope you are well[.] My adress Murole via Tammerfors. Write when you no better to do. Your E. (10 June)

["Dear you! I **must** send you this portrait **of** my mother that I think is very **good**. It is to be published in a book—a book about the

**whole** Thesleff **family since** 1590. I hope you are well. My **address** Murole via **Tampere**. Write when you no better to do. Your E.”<sup>5</sup>

Thesleff starts the letter in English: “Dear you” (see also examples 3 and 6). The use of English can, of course, be explained by Craig’s first language. Often Thesleff finishes her letters in English, which is also the case in examples 2 and 3. The closeness of certain English and Swedish words explains the Swedish spellings of *god* ‘good’ and *adress* ‘address’ in the letter. However, the intention of the writer is probably English, not Swedish. Thus the first language of Thesleff has, to some extent, influenced her writing in English (see also examples 2 and 6). The use of the Swedish place name *Tammerfors* instead of the Finnish *Tampere* is also a sign of her Swedish-speaking background. Certainly, there may also have been an emotional dimension that explains her use of the Swedish place name.

On the basis of example 1, one could say that Thesleff’s command of English seems to be far from perfect, but she probably wants to try to write mostly in English because of the recipient’s first language. However, her command of German seems to be stronger—she has one fluent sentence in German—and she also expresses the most complex concepts, including the key content of the letter, in German, whereas English is used for more formulaic expressions (cf. phatic communion). In the example, the French preposition *de* ‘of’ and the German auxiliary verb *muss* (< *müssen* ‘must’) are interesting, as well as the Italian *famiglia* ‘family’; they are more likely reflections of a language play than of a weak command of the English language.

In example 2, from 1923, we find an example starting in English and ending in an interesting farewell phrase combining both Italian and English. The linguistic resources of the letter are English, German, Italian, and French. Thesleff writes:

(2) [. . .] Are you living o dear Robinson so am I most happy—soltanto I never see une ligne de votre main, so I have no idée von was zum Sie zu sagen. You are the stummet man du monde. Und doch. Ich habe so manchen Tage ein wort von Sie gewünscht—und warum. Robinson, un disegno prego! I must laught [sic] a little. It is winter und natale perhaps Sun über that vecchio Firenze. Chi lo sa. Ich habe une exposition in ein andere città nun—und warte für una telegramma ob ich habe money gemacht—komt nichts. Saluti saluti—Your E. (17 December 1923)

5 In the translations, the switches are indicated by bold.

[“Are you living oh dear Robinson so am I most happy—**only** I never see **a row from your hand**, so I have no **idea what to say to you**. You are the **dumbest man in the world**. **And still**. **I have so many days hoped for a word from you—and why**. Robinson, **one drawing please!** I must laugh a little. It is winter **and Christmas** perhaps sun **over** that **old Florence**. **Who knows? I have an** exhibition in **another town now—and wait for a telegram whether I have made** money—**nothing comes**. **Bye-bye—Your E.**”]

In example 2 above, the content of the letter is mainly about Thesleff’s longing for Craig, from whom she evidently has not heard in a long time (for the emotionally charged word “longing,” see example 3). That is why she—even twice—probably calls him “Robinson” (cf. the literary reference to *Robinson Crusoe*). In addition, she also mentions an exhibition, *une exposition*, in another town and her financial expectations for it (money is a topic mentioned also in the rest of the examples); in this respect, an artist speaks to a fellow artist. The naming of the “main language” of the letter is problematic, and sometimes the number of single words is not a sufficient criterion to decide this either. Here, the switches in the letter include English in the beginning and the end of the letter, and her German is, regardless of some grammatical shortcomings, quite fluent, too. The switches in Italian are probably used to evoke and refer to Florence, the city also mentioned explicitly in the text. Interestingly, the Swedish influence is visible in the superlative *the stummost man* with the Swedish *stum* ‘dumb’ (cf. *den stummaste mannen* ‘the dumbest man’).

The content of example 3 below, like many other examples in the material, gives a good picture of the contacts and the life that Ellen Thesleff—and Gordon Craig—had (e.g., discussion about art projects). The highly emotional letter, dated in Swedish, is, among other things, about literature and theater:

- (3) [. . .] Dear You! What is the matter? J’ai dis: “I will try zu vergessen Sie” und ich dachte Sie sollte schnell schreiben: um Gottes willen! Aber in vece, da komt nichts nichts niente. Das ist Sie: zu frieden ob Sie nichts höre von mich. Et moi I am longing (ich liebe so sehr diese “longing”) longing um was zu wissen um allas [sic] was ist Sie. Diese Bücher Sie nun finish. Um was ist es? Theater? I think auch Sie sind ein reicher man der sitzt mit ein possession, ein garden und Haus in Genova; und ein andere der soll gebaut sein i Paris. Ma splendido. Aber was ist Genova—puh. Wenn ich geld habe ich will kaufen ein in Firenze und ein villino in Forte

oder Napoli oder Siracusa. Wir wollen sehen. So gute nacht[.] I am sleeping. Your E. (Apollogatan 13. 12 March)

["Dear You! What is the matter? **I have said: 'I will try to forget you' and I thought that you should write soon: for God's sake! But instead, there comes nothing, nothing, nothing. This is you: satisfied if you do not hear anything from me. And me, I am longing (I love so much this 'longing'), longing to know about everything that is you. These books that you now finish. What is it about? Theater? I think that you are also a rich man who sits with a property, a garden and house in Genoa; and another that should be built in Paris. That is excellent. But what is Genoa—whew. When I have money, I will buy one in Florence and a small house in Forte or Naples or Syracuse. We will see. So good night. I am sleeping. Your E.**"]

In example 3, the French *j'ai dis* 'I have said' and the English-German quotation *I will try zu vergessen Sie* 'I will try to forget you', that follows it, is fascinating because they can be supposed to refer to an earlier letter or discussion between Thesleff and Craig. It seems that Thesleff has really looked forward to hearing from Craig (cf. also example 2). The repetition *nichts nichts niente*—'nothing, nothing, nothing'—first in German and then in Italian is a powerful example of this fact and mimics to a great extent a spoken interaction. Consider also example 4 below:

- (4) [. . .] Aber was ist das für new speech: "Das es konnte nicht mich interessieren zu lesen etwas about You".? Das hat mich immer plaisir gemacht. Die erste mal ich saw you bei Cencio à Florence ich dachte you mit your Wistler was etwas für mich!! Ja ich glaube nun Sie sind povero—aber nur für ein Monath—und so komt Geld enormement. So für diese mal I will put stamp on diese letter and go away with it—Saluti distinti E.

["**But what is this for new speech: 'That it would not interest me to read something about you'? It has always been my pleasure. The first time I saw you by Cencio in Florence I thought you with your Wistler were something for me!! Yes, I believe now that you are poor—but only for a month—and so it comes enormously**



**money. So for this time** I will put stamp on **this** letter and go away with it—**Best regards E.**”]

In example 4, there is also a quotation with quotation marks in the letter (cf. example 3). The linguistic expression in German and English (*Das es konnte nicht mich interessieren zu lesen etwas about You* ‘That it would not interest me to read something about you’) is probably taken from a letter from Craig. The meaning of this quotation is problematic. One way of reading it might lead to an understanding that Craig wrote to Thesleff that she might not be interested in reading about him. However, without seeing the other side of the correspondence, it is quite difficult to speculate. Also the expression “new speech,” spelled incorrectly *new speech*, may originate from a letter by Craig. Another interesting spelling is *Monath*, which, however, is clearly a mixed spelling with German ‘Monat’ and English ‘month’.

Example 5 below, an extract from a letter, starts in English and contains a relatively long embedded sequence in French. The example is interesting because it includes a linguistic meta-comment, a phenomenon which is quite uncommon in the material: Thesleff comments—in fact, in German—on her language skills in French and German: *Nein ich habe ganz vergessen wie man französisch schreiben soll—deutsch kan ich auch nicht* ‘No, I have totally forgotten how to write French—I do not know German either’:

- (5) You—quelques mot pour vous dire que maintenant je sais pourquoi vous n’avez pas en mes lettres. À la porte aujourd’hui on m’a dit que depuis le mois de novembre la taxe coute un mark de plus—et je ne l’ai pas sut! Peutêtre quelques une de mes lettres arrivées vous a couté assez chères? Per bacco. Nein ich habe ganz vergessen wie man französisch schreiben soll—deutsch kan ich auch nicht—was soll man thun.— [ . . . ]

[“You—a few words to explain that I know now why you do not have [a missing word] in my letters. At the door I was told today that from November onward the tax is one mark more—and I did not know that! Perhaps some of my letters that have arrived have cost you quite a lot? My word. No, I have totally forgotten how to write French—I do not know German either—but what should you do. —”]

Is Thesleff right? Can she write competently in French? If the answer to the latter question is no, it may be of significance when she switches to German, her stronger foreign language. It seems, however, that her French is comprehensible and for the most part even fluent, although grammatically a bit incomplete.<sup>6</sup> Her German does appear to be mostly quite fluent. In this respect, she diminishes her own language skills when she writes that she does “not know German either” (cf., however, the spelling *thun* instead of *tun* ‘to do’).

Finally, example 6 below contains the most part of a letter from 1913. The main language here is German. However, the example contains also English (*Dear you, fonny* ‘funny’) and Italian (*primavera* ‘spring’, *Italia* ‘Italy’, and *arrivederci* ‘good-bye’). Actually, what is interesting in this connection is the use of Swedish: *skål* ‘cheers’ and *Herre gud* ‘oh my God’ (in this case it is not a question of linguistic error, cf. example 1). Both are emphatic expressions that are probably understandable by a person with no or little command of Swedish:

- (6) [. . .] Dearyou [*sic*] [. . .] It is mein grösste succès! 3,000 mark zu reisen—ein stipendium das die haben mich gestern gegeben[,] ist es nicht fonny [*sic*]? Ich lache! Nun ich glaube ich bin ein Fögel. Vielleicht ich reise in primavera[,] vielleicht in Herbst—weiss nicht. Ein monath in Paris—I think—sieben monath in Italia—I think—Sie sagen skål und Herre gud und arrivederci [. . .]. (23 November 1913.)

["Dear you! It is **my greatest success!** 3.000 **marks for traveling—a grant that they have given me yesterday.** Isn't it funny? **I laugh!** Now **I think I am a bird.** Maybe I will travel in **spring, maybe in fall—don't know.** **One month** in Paris—I think—**seven months** in **Italy**—I think—you say **cheers and oh my God and goodbye** [. . .]"

In example 6, Thesleff explains everything that is a bit more complicated in German, and these passages require more elaborate vocabulary. However, her use of the other two languages in the letter, English and Italian, are more sporadic and also formulaic. The English construction *I think*, which is used also in German (*ich glaube*) earlier, is interesting because it is embedded twice to emphasize the

6 I would like to thank Pieta Turkka, University of Vaasa, for translating and commenting on the French passage for me.

uncertainty Thesleff expresses in the letter (cf. also *vielleicht* ‘maybe’ and *weiss nicht* ‘don’t know’, both in German).

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

The focus of this paper has been on the linguistic profile of a Finnish artist and polyglot, Ellen Thesleff. The paper shows that Thesleff was a multilingual person who used different languages in her letters with great creativity. However, it is important to bear in mind that Thesleff was linguistically and culturally privileged; her social background enabled, to a considerable extent, her artistic pursuits, including languages, literature, and other cultural capital (see Sarajas-Korte 1998, 36, for the literature that the Thesleff family read). The letters bear witness to Thesleff’s basic command of many foreign languages. In other words, the case of Ellen Thesleff must be seen against the background of Finnish society and the tradition of the connections that artists had with their European colleagues, for example, in Paris at the turn of the nineteenth century (e.g., Albert Edelfelt, Ville Vallgren, Maria Wiik, Pekka Halonen, and Magnus Enckell). In this connection, it is also important to recall that plurilingual circles were typical of artistic life during the period in focus here. Art has always been international and cosmopolitan, and this was also the case with Thesleff and Craig.

In his paper on the mystery of the relationship between Thesleff and Craig, the Finnish art historian Markku Lahti (1976, 52) has pointed out that their relationship was both intimate and warm.<sup>7</sup> His conclusion is based on the letters and postcards that Thesleff sent to Craig in the 1920s and 1930s. What is especially interesting here is that the letters and postcards, according to Lahti (1976, 53), are written in a kind of secret writing, *ett slags hemlig skrift*, that indicates the mutual respect the two artists had for each other’s art. This observation is interesting also for the discussion of the communicative function of the multilingual Thesleff–Craig correspondence. The languages of this correspondence tell us in part about the personal relationship between the two artists, a kind of language play that evokes the memories of their meetings in the Continent. The natural and quite fluent, imperceptible use of many languages is a rich stylistic resource; one could argue that this special language use was “their thing,” intended for their eyes only. Thesleff would hardly have written in the same way to a person she did not know as closely; with Craig, she could

7 To put the mystery of the relationship between Thesleff and Craig in perspective, it can be noted that while Thesleff lived and died single and had no children, Craig was not only married with many children but also had multiple lovers and children with them.

talk about art with enthusiasm, and this enthusiasm is also tangible in the letters. Furthermore, this raises the question of how much she tried to impress Craig with her wit and intelligence, reflected by her command of multiple languages.

The data in focus in this paper contain evidence of functional multilingualism (cf. Pahta and Nurmi 2007, 405). Thesleff, a native speaker of Swedish, was a multi-literate person. She was a person who to varying degrees was fluent in many foreign languages. In the Finnish context of the time, languages like English, German, and French were, of course, foreign languages, which were not known by everybody.

There are many problems that remain to be solved for future research. The following questions are speculative yet worth discussing in brief. First, did Thesleff use code-switching as a linguistic strategy because she lacked a particular word or phrase in her vocabulary? If the answer is yes, why did she not use circumlocutions, for example? Second, did Craig understand Thesleff's use of foreign words and phrases (cf. the question of language skills and education)? If not, the material would surely contain some meta-linguistic comments on that matter (consider, however, that the selection of letters here is limited). The answers to these questions are problematic because the letters written by Craig to Thesleff are not examined here, although there are some letters from Craig to Thesleff in Paris. In the future, it would therefore be interesting to look at these letters too in order to address the questions that are now left unanswered. Were Craig's letters as multilingual as Thesleff's? Judging from the quotations from Craig's letters that Thesleff comments on in her own letters, the main language of Craig's letters was English, which, of course, is to be expected as English was his first language (see also the image of a letter from Craig to Thesleff in Ahtola-Moorhouse 1998, 124, which is *in extenso* in English). Unfortunately, there are not many linguistic meta-comments in the chosen material to shed light on this matter. But what is essential is not whether Thesleff knew some words or not; what is important is that she produced letters in which many European languages are present, in active use. The final outcome, the personal letter, is therefore a highly multilingual, unique ego-document from the first half of the twentieth century.

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# CONTEMPORARY FINNISH EMIGRANTS: FINNISH EXPATRIATE FAMILIES IN NORTH AMERICA

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## ABSTRACT

Finnish emigration was and still is typically labor-based. Temporariness and higher education are two characteristics of contemporary Finnish emigration. Modern Finnish emigrants can be called expatriates. This study focuses on the adjustment of Finnish expatriate families and the family resources available to them. Research data were gathered by an online survey questionnaire completed by parents (N = 202) who had repatriated to a large city in Finland. One-fourth of the families (n = 44) had lived in North America. The main finding concerning family resources was that social support within the family itself was the most substantial resource in expatriation. Finnish expatriate families had few problems in North America. Clearly, the number of problems in North America was significantly lower than in other continents in terms of local culture, climate, language proficiency, and transportation. North America emerges as an excellent host continent for Finnish expatriate families.

**Keywords:** emigration, family resources, social support

## INTRODUCTION

Finland has a long history of emigration, including a significant stream to North America. In the past, Finnish emigration could be described as labor migration, and at that time the educational level of Finnish emigrants was low (Korkiasaari 2003a, 2003b; Korkiasaari and Söderling 2003; Söderling 2003). However, in the 1980s, Finland transformed from a country of emigration to a country receiving people and

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thus defined by immigration. For the most part, Finnish emigration has been low in recent years. Primarily attracting highly educated individuals, emigration is frequently temporary (Habti and Koikkalainen 2014). It can be said that temporariness and a high level of education on the part of the emigrants are two characteristics of contemporary Finnish emigration (Korkiasaari 2003a, 2003b; Korkiasaari and Söderling 2003). As was the case with the “old” emigration, contemporary emigration is also labor-based.

The number of mobile business people has increased worldwide, as well as in the Finnish economy. Along with their families, these “new” emigrants, who are temporary, highly educated, and labor-based, form the target group for this article, where they are called “expatriates.” Typically, expatriates have been defined in the context of a global work assignment. However, in this article, expatriates are seen widely, not just as business expatriates, but also as researchers, missionary professionals, diplomats, etc. (see also Habti and Koikkalainen 2014). An expatriate is defined as an employee working temporarily abroad, who can be either an assigned expatriate or a self-initiated expatriate (see, e.g., Bonache, Brewster, and Suutari 2001).

Understanding migration from a broad perspective, expatriates can be regarded as migrants (see Warinowski 2011a, 154) who experience dual transitions: expatriation (moving abroad) and repatriation (moving back). Finnish expatriates can be considered migrants in two ways: they are emigrants in an expatriation context (moving abroad), but they are also immigrants in a repatriation context (moving back to Finland). Members of the expatriate family represent both labor migration and family migration. Although expatriates themselves are connected to labor migration, the spouses and children of the expatriate family can be considered as belonging to family migration. In this article, an expatriate family is defined as a family with children that has moved abroad because of a parent’s work.

Expatriates are typically connected with highly skilled migration (see Habti and Koikkalainen 2014). Scott (2006) argues that skilled migration has become a “normal” middle-class activity, and international mobility, of which international migration is a part, is becoming a central component in the reproduction of middle-class identity. Skilled migrants accumulate different kinds of “mobility” capital in the process (see also Habti and Koikkalainen 2014). Nonetheless, migration is not the best conceivable concept to describe expatriates, because, for example, of the temporary nature of the move abroad (Habti and Koikkalainen 2014). Expatriates have three characteristics that separate them from other labor immigrants: the dual



nature of their moves; the temporary nature of their living abroad; and the high socioeconomic status of their families. In the 1990s, the concept of migration took on supplementary concepts. One of these concepts is mobility, which refers to a shorter stay abroad and a free self-initiated move (Habti and Koikkalainen 2014, 7). Specifically, expatriate families are especially globally mobile.

Expatriate research has been conducted primarily in the field of business economics and international human resource management (IHRM). The executive sojourn literature has been concerned with identifying the determinants of successful expatriate performance (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001, 190), primarily selection issues and adjustment challenges (Riusala and Suutari 2000, 81). Typically, the expatriate employee is male, and he takes his entire family abroad (e.g., Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001). Recently, expatriate research has been broadening its perspective to include issues dealing with female expatriates, dual-career families, and self-initiated foreign assignments (Bonache, Brewster, and Suutari 2001, 8; Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001, 22; see also Habti and Koikkalainen 2014). Nevertheless, for the most part, the expatriate family has been ignored in expatriate research.

Living temporarily abroad can cause more long-lasting and severe consequences for the children of expatriate families than for the adults. For instance, as a long-term consequence, children can have difficulties in identity construction (e.g., Nette and Hayden 2007). Despite expatriate research evidence, the significance of family concerns is commonly underestimated; moreover, at best, the preparation for the expatriate family before overseas relocation is haphazard (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001, 22). “Trailing spouse” is the term that refers to a (female) spouse, who is typically at home while living abroad. Oksanen (2006) studied Finnish female expatriate spouses living in Singapore. One of her main findings was that, because of the absence in the tradition of housewives in the Finnish culture, being a Finnish female spouse abroad without a job of her own can be especially difficult. In this research, the expatriate is not the only actor in expatriation; instead, included are all of the members of the family equally and the family as a unit.

Taking a twofold research approach, this study focuses on (1) the resources and (2) the adjustment problems that Finnish expatriate families experience while living in North America. Thus, the first approach is based on positive concepts (family resources), while the second looks at more negative concepts (adjustment problems). Broader perspectives on expatriate families can be obtained by combining the “old” problem-focused perspective with the “new” resource-oriented

perspective. I address the following question: “What kinds of adjustment problems do Finnish expatriate families face while living in North America and what family resources are available to them?” The structure of the article is as follows: first, the theoretical framework of the study is explained and then the methodological information is presented, followed by the main findings regarding adjustment problems and family resources. Finally, the findings are discussed.

## **EXPATRIATE FAMILY RESOURCES**

Throughout history, migration has been a challenge to human resiliency and resourcefulness (Marsella and Ring 2003, 9). With that consideration, family research, and more specifically a family systems approach, is used in this study to analyze resources that expatriate families utilize in expatriation. In family systems theory, the family is seen as both a unit and as a system. A family system consists of subsystems, or dyads; these dyads include the parent-child, the marital, and the sibling subsystems (e.g., Parke 2004). Family cohesion is a common concept used in family system research literature. Cohesion addresses how systems balance separateness versus togetherness. Family cohesion is the emotional bonding that a couple and members of a family have toward one another (Olson and Gorall 2003, 516). Family cohesion in an expatriate family could also be conveyed by the concept of a “family bubble” (see Schaetti and Ramsey 1999). According to the systems approach, a family is interdependent, interactive, and reactive to change. The family system is connected to other systems, such as work, and changes outside the family, such as cultural transitions, reverberate on the family itself. Therefore, expatriation has an influence on family dynamics (e.g., Hyvönen 2009).

From the perspective of the family system approach, McCubbin, Thompson, and McCubbin (2001) define “resiliency” as the positive behavioral patterns and functional competence that individuals and the family unit demonstrate under stressful or adverse circumstances, such as expatriation and repatriation. Resiliency is linked to the concept of family strength. According to McCubbin, Thompson, and McCubbin, a “resiliency resource” is a characteristic, trait, or competency of the individual, family, or community that facilitates adaptation. The Resiliency Model of Family Stress, Adjustment, and Adaptation (ibid.) provides the main resiliency framework of this study. According to this model, there are three levels in resiliency resources: individual family members, the family working as a unit, and the community. Respectively, there are also three potential sources of resources: personal resources, family system resources, and social support (ibid.). Family

resources are interpreted in this study as family system resources and external social support. This article focuses on family system resources as they concern family life from a temporal perspective.

### **ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS OF EXPATRIATE FAMILIES**

Migration is frequently discussed in concepts such as acculturation, stress, coping, and adjustment, which represent central issues in cross-cultural psychology (Schmitz 2003, 24). The concept of adjustment, which refers to the stress and coping framework, is used in this article (e.g., Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001). The use of the problem-oriented approach is prevalent in migration studies (e.g., Schmitz 2003, 28); this study also uses a “traditional” problem-focused perspective on adjustment.

Migration is connected to stress; this stress begins with the decision to migrate and it continues into the later phases of the migration (Marsella and Ring 2003, 9). The stress and coping approach is a contemporary theoretical approach that conceptualizes cross-cultural transition as a series of stress-provoking life changes that utilize adjustive resources (Ward, Bochner, and Furnham 2001, 36–37). The factors influencing cross-cultural adjustment are much the same as the factors involved in adapting to other transitional experiences (*ibid.*, 71–73). “Sojourner adjustment” is defined as consisting of two fundamental types of adjustment: psychological adjustment and sociocultural adaptation. Psychological adjustment is associated with psychological well-being and emotional satisfaction. Sociocultural adaptation is related to the ability to “fit in” and negotiate aspects of the host environment (Ward and Kennedy 1993, 132; Ward, Okura, Kennedy, and Kojima 1998, 279). A strong relationship between the two domains of adjustment is expected if the person is well-integrated into the host culture. Therefore, in the case of a sojourner residing primarily in an “expatriate bubble,” there should be little relationship between psychological and sociocultural adjustment (Ward and Kennedy 1993, 143).

Central concepts in cross-cultural psychology are important in understanding different kinds of migrant groups, including refugees and businesspersons (Schmitz 2003, 29). Combining these two migrant groups can be regarded as justifiable because of the similarities in their transitional processes. Nicassio and Pate (1984) studied the adjustment problems of 1,600 Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian refugees. Issues regarding the separation of family members and painful memories of war appeared to be the most widely reported problems. Issues of language ability, homesickness, and financial worries were also high on the ranking list. Nicassio and

Pate used factor analysis to identify adjustment domains. Their analysis revealed six factors, which were related to (1) finances and job, (2) family stress, (3) separation and emigration, (4) nutrition and medical care, (5) social interaction and sensitivity, and (6) language and cultural issues.

## **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DATA**

Investigating the resources and problems of Finnish expatriate families was a part of my dissertation study (see Warinowski 2012). The target group of this study was Finnish expatriate families who had children and who had returned to a large city in Finland after a period abroad. In this context, a child means a person who during the data-gathering stage is attending a school of basic education (grades 1–9, age 7–16). The study was an ex-post-facto investigation.

The data for this research were gathered in 2008. I used an online questionnaire completed by parents who had repatriated to various large cities in Finland. These Finnish cities included Espoo, Tampere, Vantaa, Turku, Oulu, Lahti, Kuopio, and Jyväskylä. The contact information for the parents was obtained through 399 school units in these eight cities. The response rate of the schools was 78 percent. The response rate of the returned Internet questionnaires was 73 percent.

The survey questionnaire was designed to cover different kinds of family resources with the parents. The questions about family resources, which are used in this article, were written specifically for this study. For the time-related emphasis in the family (distribution of time used), a four-point Likert scale was used; for the utility of social support, a five-point Likert scale was compiled; and for the adjustment problems, the “Scale for refugee families’ adjustment problems” (Nicassio and Pate 1984) was used. Nicassio and Pate’s scale is a five-point Likert scale. The data were analyzed statistically using the SPSS data analysis package. The main statistical characteristics were frequencies and percentage values, means, standard deviation, and especially a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA). My 2012 study used a comparative approach to obtain a more illustrative picture of expatriate families living in North America, as compared with “other continents” (see also Warinowski 2011a).

The online survey questionnaire data included the answers of 202 families. In most families, the mother of the family answered the questionnaire (72.9%,  $n = 145$ ;  $n = 199$  in this question). The father completed the questionnaire in 14.6 percent of the families ( $n = 29$ ). In 12.6 percent of the families ( $n = 25$ ), the two parents answered the online survey together. In most of the families, the father was the expatriate of the family (80.6%,  $n = 162$ ;  $n = 201$  in this question) and he was

on an international assignment (69.2%,  $n = 139$ ). Expatriate families were primarily nuclear families (90.0%,  $n = 181$ ).

One-fifth of the families (22.0%,  $n = 44$ ;  $n = 200$  in this question) had lived in North America. The United States of America was the top-rated single country with forty-two families. Although residence in North America was characteristically temporary, 55 percent of the families had lived for more than two years in North America (Table 1).

<i>Residential Time</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative Percent</i>
Less than 1 year	4	9.1	9.1
1–2 years	16	36.4	45.5
2–3 years	11	25.0	70.5
More than 3 years	13	29.5	100
Total	44	100	

Table 1. Residential time of Finnish expatriate families in North America.

In North America, 52 percent ( $n = 23$ ) of the expatriate families had lived in a small town, while the rest (48%,  $n = 21$ ) had lived in a metropolis. For the families in North America, the major occupational group was business expatriates (82%,  $n = 36$ ).

## **FINNISH EXPATRIATE FAMILIES IN NORTH AMERICA**

First, the results concerning expatriate family resources are described. Family resources are divided into family system resources and social support. Then the findings about the adjustment problems of expatriate families are provided to supplement the perspective.

### *Expatriate Family Resources*

The temporal emphasis on the family life was charted as it pertains to family system resources. The results concerning the temporal emphasis in the expatriate families living in North America can be seen in Table 2. Temporal findings for the complete set of data for the Finnish expatriate families have been previously presented elsewhere (see Warinowski 2011a). For the most part, the temporal emphasis of the families living in North America was parallel to that of the complete set of data for the expatriate families.

Table 2 below shows the distribution of time used in the family life within the study's expatriate families living in North America. Parents were asked to evaluate

from 1 to 4 (a four-point Likert scale) the emphasis on several activities in their family life by the amount of time used in that activity. Higher mean in table 2 indicates a greater emphasis on that particular activity. Standard deviation varied from 0.66 to 0.93, describing little scattering of the results. The most common time-related emphasis was mother and child having time together. However, in addition to the mothers spending time with their children, it was also quite common in the expatriation context for the fathers to spend time with their children. At the same time, the expatriate's work—meaning mostly the father's work—played a significant role in the life of expatriate families living in North America. Work was the second most common time-related issue abroad. Again, as table 2 indicates, work did not characterize the entire life of expatriate families, as vacation and travel were also significant in expatriate families while living in North America:

Temporal Emphasis in the Family	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	n
Mother and child being together	3.59	0.73	1	4	44
Expatriate's work	2.93	0.79	1	4	44
Travel/Vacation	2.89	0.81	1	4	44
Child's school	2.76	0.82	1	4	42
Father and child being together	2.64	0.81	1	4	44
Hobbies	2.48	0.93	1	4	44
Housework	2.26	0.85	1	4	43
Parents being together	2.02	0.89	1	4	43
Child being alone	1.24	0.66	1	4	42

Table 2. Temporal emphasis in the expatriate families living in North America.

Divided by continents, the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to compare the means of four continental categories (Asia, Europe, North America, and other continents) in temporal emphasis in the 202 expatriate families. For two-group comparisons, a post hoc test (Bonferroni) was used. The continent on which expatriate families lived abroad had significant differences concerning the following items:

- hobbies ( $F = 5.328, df = 3, p = 0.002$ )
- housework ( $F = 4.228, df = 3, p = 0.006$ )
- father and child being together ( $F = 3.952, df = 3, p = 0.009$ )

North America was in the second place in all three of these items. With hobbies, the category with the highest mean was Asia (2.58). The second was North America (2.48), the third “other continents” (2.28), and the last was Europe (2.03). In housework, Europe had the highest mean (2.34), while the mean of North America was 2.26; “other continents” (1.89) and Asia (1.79) were left behind. The “other continents” category had the highest mean (2.78) in father and child being together, while North America had a mean of 2.64. Europe was next (2.42), and Asia was left behind (2.05).

The main finding concerning family resources was that social support within the family itself was the most substantial resource in expatriation (see figure 1 below). Friends were the most important source of social support outside the family. The social support offered by other expatriates, especially Finnish expatriates, was particularly important to expatriate families. As figure 1 indicates, in the expatriation context, the expatriates’ work and the child’s school were both regarded as important supportive institutions:

Viewing the continents in four categories (Asia, Europe, North America, and other continents), the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with the post hoc test (Bonferroni) was used to compare means. The continents had a significant difference in the following items:

- hobbies ( $F = 7.531$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.000$ )
- friends ( $F = 5.231$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.002$ )
- neighbors ( $F = 3.917$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.010$ )
- church ( $F = 3.630$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.014$ )
- family ( $F = 2.851$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.039$ )

In these five items, North America had the highest mean in two items (neighbors and church) and the second-highest mean in the remaining three items (hobbies, friends, and family). Concerning hobbies, the continental category with the highest mean was Asia (3.59); families in North America had a mean of 3.48; Europe and “other continents” both had means of 2.67. In the item concerning friends, Asia also had the highest mean (4.69). Other means were 4.39 for North America, 4.11 for “other continents,” and 4.10 for Europe. In North America, the utility of social support from neighbors had the highest mean of 3.58. North America was followed by Asia (3.18), Europe (2.96), and “other continents” (2.39). In addition, North America scored highest (2.09) in the item concerning social support provided by the church. Other means were 1.84 (Europe), 1.53 (Asia), and 1.17 (other continents). Overall, the means concerning church were low. The social support of family

members was experienced as the most useful in Asia (4.85). Means in this item were quite high in all other categories as well: 4.75 (North America), 4.67 (other continents), 4.51 (Europe).

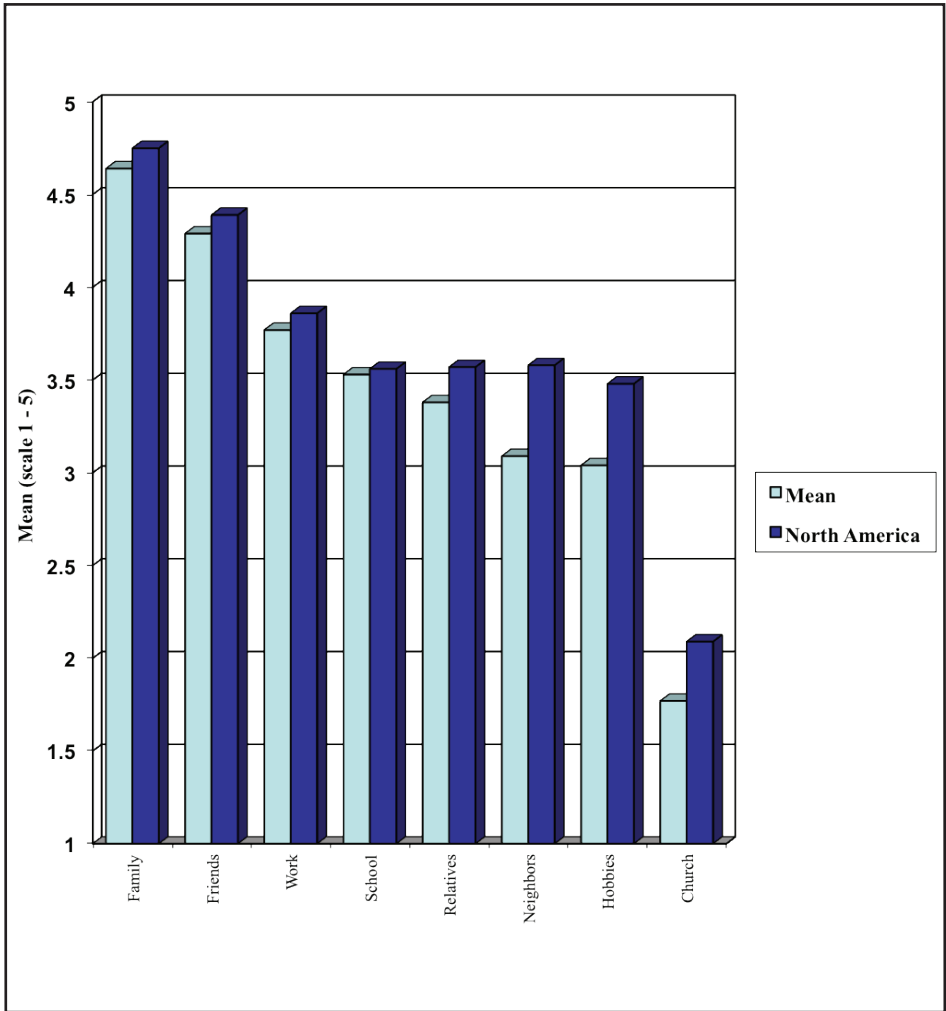


Figure 1. The utility of social support according to the parents.

### **ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS OF FAMILIES IN EXPATRIATION**

Figure 2 presents an overall perspective of the adjustment problems of Finnish expatriate families who have lived in North America; it also presents the adjustment problems, on average, in the entire data set. The overall perspective of the adjustment problems in the entire data set was that expatriate families had some problems,



but they were not excessive (mean 1.92 on Likert scale from 1 = “no problems” to 5 = “large problems”). The main problem, on average, was language proficiency, and the second was homesickness (figure 2 below).

For the families that lived in North America, the situation was slightly different. The results concerning nearly all of the items have the same tendency: families living in North America tended to have fewer problems than families living in other parts of the world (see Figure 2). Altogether, in 12 out of 18 items, families that lived in North America had the smallest number of problems. The one exception to this result was that Finnish expatriate families had more problems with childcare in North America than elsewhere. The mean of the problems, as a whole, was 1.71 for expatriate families who lived in North America. For these families, the main adjustment problem was homesickness (figure 2).

When divided up by continent, the families living in Africa, Asia, and South America had the most problems, while the families living in North America and Australia had the fewest. Viewing the continents in four categories (Asia, Europe, North America, and other continents), the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to compare the means of these four categories. The continent in which the expatriate families lived abroad had a significant difference concerning the following items:

- climate ( $F = 13.190$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.000$ )
- local culture ( $F = 5.462$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.001$ )
- language proficiency ( $F = 4.752$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.003$ )
- transportation ( $F = 4.696$ ,  $df = 3$ ,  $p = 0.003$ )

In all of these four items, North America had the lowest mean. For two-group comparisons, a post hoc test (Bonferroni) was used.

With climate, North America had a mean 1.48 for problems, the overall mean being 1.78. Europe (1.56) had the second and “other continents” (1.94) had the third lowest mean. The category with the highest mean was Asia (2.56). Families in North America had a mean of 1.84 in problems considering local culture (overall mean 2.22). “Other continents” had the highest mean (2.56), followed by Asia (2.54), and Europe (2.21). In language proficiency, North America had a mean of 1.93 (overall mean 2.43). Europe had a mean of 2.55 and “other continents” had a mean of 2.61. The highest mean (2.64) was in Asia. Problems with transportation had a mean of 1.89 in North America (overall mean 2.12). The category with the highest mean was “other continents” (2.61), followed by Asia (2.54), and Europe (1.97).

## CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

In this article, the focus was on the family resources and adjustment problems that Finnish expatriate families have while living in North America. By using a twofold perspective of the positive and negative aspects of the experience, broader overviews of expatriate families were secured. The expatriate family resources on which

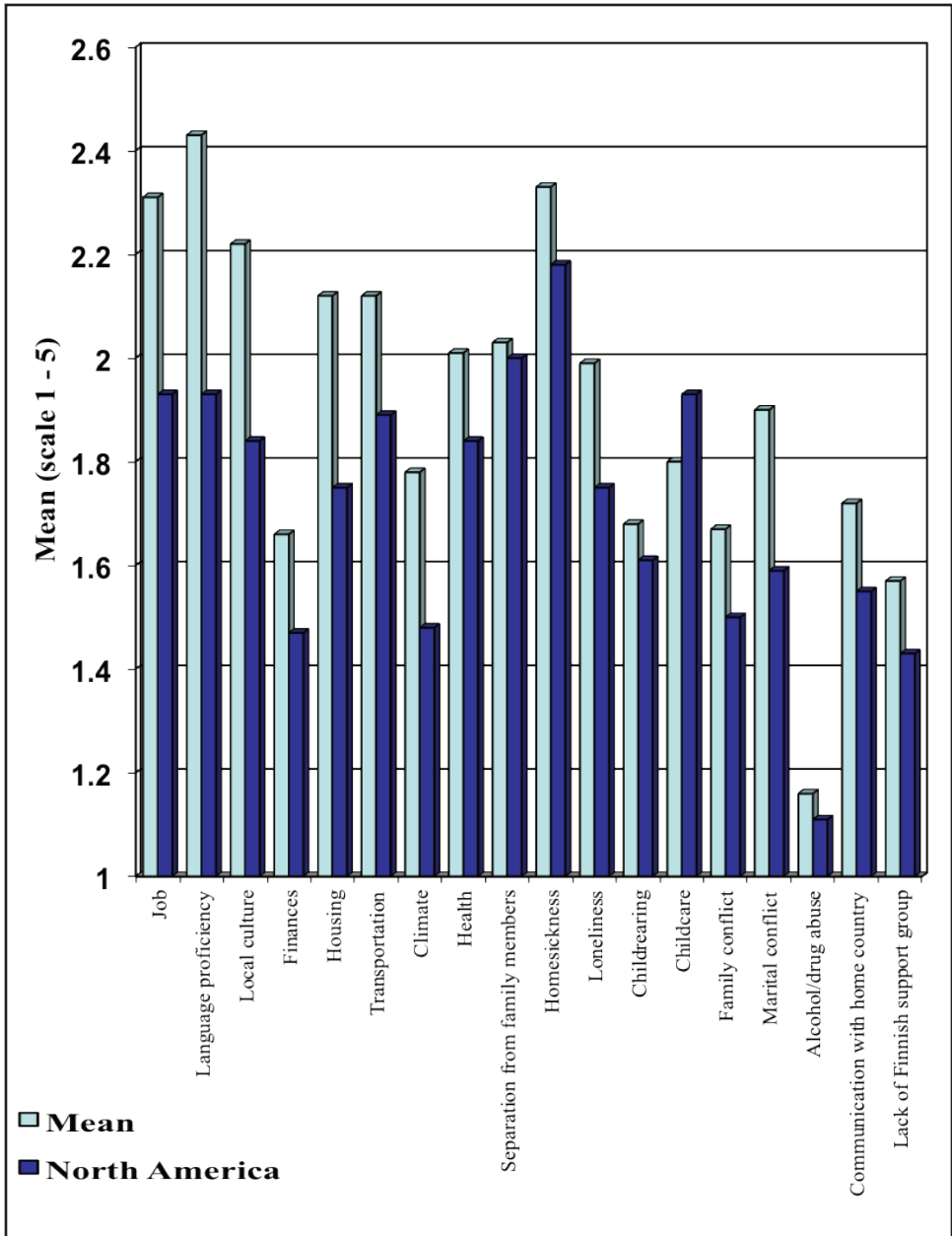


Figure 2. Adjustment problems of expatriate families living in North America.

this study focused included family system resources, especially temporal emphasis in the family, and external social support. For a supplemental perspective, adjustment problems were also determined.

Family system resources were the focal resources for Finnish expatriate families in expatriation. The family was the only permanent system in expatriation. Finnish expatriate families in North America had resiliency resources on the family level. Families had ample resources, which could also be called family strengths. Family system resources were so central in the expatriate family system that expatriate families living in North America could be described as living in a “family bubble” (see Schaetti and Ramsey 1999).

Concerning family system resources, the most common time-related issue abroad was the mother and child having time together, which was typically connected with mothers being at home instead of working in the expatriation context. This finding concurs with previous research findings (e.g., Nathanson and Marcenko 1995; Duque 2009). For the children, this result could predict a positive attitude to living abroad. In the expatriation context, it has been demonstrated that the children’s attitude toward living abroad is connected with the amount of time spent with their mother (Nathanson and Marcenko 1995). In general, the time that a parent and child spend together is seen as significant for the favorable development of the child (e.g., Monna and Gauthier 2008). Therefore, the result of the fathers’ spending time with the children was also a positive finding. This finding concurs with Kurotani’s (2007) research.

The role of the expatriate’s work was essential in these families—not only relating to time consumption, but in a larger context as well. Work is the driving force behind the decision to migrate. Work-relatedness is even at the definitional level: expatriate families are defined through the “expatriate” person in the family and that is through his or her work. Moreover, internal family resources with external social support elicited this work-relatedness nature of the expatriate family. Theoretically, it is the system theory approach that connects family with work.

Nonetheless, it is not only the expatriate’s work that defines expatriate families living abroad: according to this study, travel and vacation are also part of the family life. Some researchers (e.g., Kurotani 2007) have seen the temporary sojourn as a “long vacation.” In a previous study (Nathanson and Marcenko 1995), the number of family trips was found to predict the emotional well-being of the children. Therefore, this finding is also favorable to the children’s well-being.

In the results of the temporal emphasis on the family, there was one interesting result of an atypical time use. This was “children being alone at home,” which is conspicuous by its absence. Being alone is connected with the children’s independence as an educational goal. There may be a cultural emphasis on the weight of these goals. In Finland, for instance, it is more accepted than in many countries for children to become independent at a young age (see, e.g., Strandell and Forsberg 2005). In comparison, in North America, leaving children home alone at the age of twelve can be considered a crime, while in Finland it is considered more permissible. It appears that Finnish families living in North America adapt to a more “American” approach on this issue. Alternatively, it could simply be that the typical expatriate situation where the mother stays at home while the family is living abroad may explain this result better than “adaptation.” Therefore, the number of children being left alone is naturally reduced in the expatriation context.

Concerning the results on support outside the family, friends were the most important source of social support for the Finnish expatriate families. In the expatriation context, the role of peer expatriates was especially significant. In this respect, the results were congruent with those of Oksanen (2006) and Hyvönen (2009). These expatriate networks are informal types of social support. This informal social support, an “expatriate bubble,” is a well-known topic in expatriate research. Some traces of this phenomenon were also discovered in this study. An “expatriate bubble” particularly describes the situation of the members of a large expatriate community (see Brewster and Pickard 1994). However, since Finnish expatriate communities are commonly small, the “expatriate bubble” concept does not completely illustrate the situation of Finnish expatriate families living in North America (for an in-depth discussion, see Warinowski 2011b).

Conjoining a “family bubble” with an “expatriate bubble,” I previously (Warinowski 2011a, 2011b) introduced the concept of a “double bubble” to describe the importance of the family and peer expatriate network to expatriate families in general. According to some of the evidence in this study, it could be argued that Finnish expatriate families were living in a “double bubble” in the expatriation context. Nevertheless, rather than seeing Finnish expatriate families as living in a “double bubble,” I see them as living in a “family bubble” (Warinowski 2011a, 2011b). The expatriate family itself is the predominant space for the members of the family. This finding appears to be specific to the Finnish expatriate family experience. After repatriation, the social support provided by the relatives increases (Warinowski 2012), simultaneously weakening the surface of the “family bubble.”

In future research, it would be beneficial to investigate whether Finnish expatriate families living abroad differ from Finnish families living in Finland with respect to the concept of “family bubble.”

In addition to family resources, getting the “big picture” was possible only by placing an additional focus on adjustment problems. In comparing the results of adjustment problems with the results of Nicassio and Pate (1984), two issues found in this study, language proficiency and homesickness, were also common problems in their refugee study. However, there were two main differences between these two studies: in Nicassio and Pate’s study, financial problems and communication problems with the home country were common, but they were not in this study. Concerning financial problems, there was a major difference between the socioeconomic situations of the refugee and expatriate immigrant groups. Regarding communication problems, the world in 2008 (during the data gathering phase), with the Internet and mobile phones, is very different from what it was in the beginning of the 1980s.

In North America, families had problems with childcare. There can be different explanations for this result. It is possible that many dual-career expatriate families lived in North America and thus they needed more childcare than other families. When families living abroad did not have domestic help, which was probably the case in North America, separate childcare arrangements were needed. Furthermore, Finnish families are accustomed to the availability of municipal childcare in Finland, where a family has the right to childcare. In comparison, in North America, the task of finding childcare for their children can be very different from that of their previous experiences in Finland. In North America, the family itself is responsible for childcare arrangements, which can be problematic for the Finnish expatriates.

Comparing the results of expatriate family resources and problems, there were several issues that led to similar views in both perspectives of this study. For example, neither the financial situation (problem view) nor the external resources (resource view) of the family were problematic. Furthermore, there was no lack of a Finnish support group (problem view), which coincides with the social support of Finnish expatriates (resource view). Both views provided some additional information. The problem view showed that the concept of homesickness was an essential problem in expatriation, while the resource view, for example, showed the importance of the family system itself. I argue that both views, resource- and

problem-centered, are needed to obtain a general view of the Finnish expatriate family situation in expatriation.

In this study, an applied comparative approach was used to compare the results of four continental groups. Concerning the adjustment problems of expatriate families, the expatriate families, as a group, who had lived in North America, had fewer problems than those who lived in any of the other four continental groups. Expatriate families living in North America had substantial family resources and at the same time had few adjustment problems. According to this study, North America appears to be an excellent host continent for Finnish expatriate families. The practical implications of this study suggests that, from the perspective of an expatriate family, when considering expatriation, North America seems to be a recommended choice as a temporary residence.

To obtain a more illustrative picture of the Finnish expatriate families in North America, in this discussion, North America is likened to Asia. According to the results of the one-way analyses of variance (ANOVA), in spite of their differences in cultural context, some similarities between North America and Asia were discovered. In particular, the sources of useful social support were quite similar in North America and Asia. In both continents, the support of hobbies, friends, neighbors, and family members was relatively important. This informal social support can be linked with the “expatriate bubble” phenomenon. In Europe, as well as in “other continents,” families can have more contacts with the local people. Especially in Asia, but probably also in North America, links with the local people are limited. In addition to the “expatriate bubble,” the “family bubble” also seems to be thicker in North America and Asia. These results may suggest that Finnish expatriate families face the “double bubble” situation, especially in North America and Asia. This issue needs to be investigated more thoroughly in the future. Only the support of the church was clearly more important in North America than in Asia. Because of the different religious cultural contexts in North America and Asia, the meaning of Christianity and the activities in Christian churches in North America are more general than in Asia.

The differences between North America and Asia were especially noteworthy in the adjustment problems of the families. These differences can come from the cultural differences that Finnish expatriate families face in Asia, while the cultural situation is more familiar in North America (see problems with local culture). Climate problems were an issue in Asia, but not in North America. Language proficiency was also an interesting issue in the adjustment problems of the expatriate

families. The interpretation behind the result concerning the number of problems in language proficiency can be simple: Finnish expatriates and their spouses are typically proficient in English. Moreover, Finnish expatriate families are not frequently proficient in languages other than English (and Swedish, which, in addition to Finnish, is the other official language in Finland) and in Asia, English proficiency is not enough. Transportation issues were also included in the list of adjustment problems. These problems were infrequent in expatriate families living in North America. This result could be related to the good road network and the tradition of private motoring in North America, as well as the Finnish expatriates' familiarity with private motoring. In Asia, traffic can be more "chaotic," and thus private motoring can be difficult.

In general, problems with local culture could seem somewhat surprising from a European perspective. Although Finland is a part of Europe, Finnish expatriate families had more problems living abroad in Europe than in North America. There are several issues relating to this result. In spite of the European Union, Europe is neither an entity nor a region with only one, "European" culture. For the general public in Finland, American culture can be more familiar than, for example, "French" or "Spanish" culture. The substantial amount of American entertainment in the Finnish media can also have an influence on this. As a region, Asia is poorly known in Finland. Moreover, the result can interface with the context of North America, not just the Finnish families. The United States and Canada have an extensive history of immigration, which can additionally facilitate the immigrant's adjustment.

In addition to adjustment problems, the results on family resources showed some additional differences between North America and Asia. Housework took more time in North America. This result can arise from the situation in Asia where many of the families have domestic help at home (see, e.g., Oksanen 2006). Furthermore, the father and child had more time together in families that lived in North America, as compared with families living in Asia. The explanation behind this result can be found either in the working hours or in the cultural norms of fatherhood in North America and Asia. The working hours in Asia can be longer than in North America. On the other hand, it may be culturally more accepted for fathers to spend time with their children in North America than in Asia. Kurotani's (2007) finding may confirm this latter explanation: Japanese expatriate fathers spent temporally more time with their children when living abroad than when living in Japan.

Without question, further research is needed on these differences both to confirm and to find the explanations behind them.

As a practical implication of this study, instead of focusing exclusively on the expatriate, the sending companies and the expatriate research alike should consider the entire expatriate family. Because of the spillover effect that work can have on the family, the work-place, for example, should also be responsible for the issues concerning the family. Expatriate families need to be researched more thoroughly to get an all-around picture of the family processes that are elicited by the expatriation process. Further research is needed to compare Finnish expatriate families living in different parts of the world. It would also be important to study American and Finnish expatriate families and make comparisons between them. Moreover, it would be valuable to have research findings about the actual effects of the support measures as well. In addition, comparing Finnish expatriate families with Finnish families would be beneficial.

Expatriate families as well as other middle-class and temporary migrants should be included in the investigative focus of migration research. Similarities and differences regarding these “new” and “old” migrant groups could be illuminated. In the traditional immigrant continent of North America, the diversity of migrants should be noticed. What makes expatriates as a research group particularly interesting in terms of migration research is that, in this context, both types of migration (emigration and immigration) can be examined. This combination of both sides of migration can bring new perspectives to migration research. Theoretically, more permanent and temporary moves, migration and mobility approaches, could be investigated simultaneously. It would also be interesting to compare and contrast domestic transitions with international transitions.

Finally, I want to acknowledge some of the limitations of this research. This study was conducted retrospectively after repatriation, which can have some negative effects that influence the accuracy of the expatriates’ memory. In addition, it could also produce a more static view of expatriation processes than other research methods may have done. Concerning the results of adjustment problems, Nicassio and Pate’s adjustment scale in the questionnaire was rather out-of-date, and it focused on refugees instead of expatriates. The major limitation of this study is the lack of a child’s voice in it. This limitation is being rectified by my other research data (Warinowski 2012), which consist of interviews with children of Finnish expatriate families.



This study focuses on contemporary Finnish emigrants, expatriate families. These families had many strengths, and while living abroad, they seemed to live in a “family bubble.” The central interest of this study was North America, which emerged as a great host continent for Finnish expatriate families.

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# MULTILINGUALISM AND FINNISH AMERICANS: NEW PERSPECTIVES FROM SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND ETHNOGRAPHY

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## ABSTRACT

This article examines the various ways in which the Finnish language gets manifested in Finnish American lives in the present-day United States, and the methodologies that help to investigate these manifestations. It joins the line of the latest sociolinguistic and ethnographic research that conceptualizes language as a set of context-based, socially constructed, and multimodal resources. Methodologically, the article employs language biographies and material ethnography as tools to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences that Finnish Americans relate to their heritage language. The methodologies are presented through a case study of a third-generation Finnish American woman who has taken strong agency concerning her heritage language. The findings suggest that in order to understand individual experiences, the Finnish language needs to be conceptualized as a multimodal phenomenon. Recognizing material and emotional resources as parts of the language repertoire gives credit also to those with less fluent Finnish skills and shows the heritage language speakers' situation in a more positive light.

**Keywords:** multilingualism, language resources, Finnish Americans, material ethnography, language biography, methodology

## INTRODUCTION

The United States provides an interesting site for research on multilingualism. Along with the de facto official language, English, the country is a meeting place of innumerable immigrant and indigenous languages. This situation can be understood as a nexus (Scollon and Scollon 2004) in which different languages come together,

clash, and (re)form, usually in very unequal relations of power. In this article, I will draw attention to some aspects of the latest sociolinguistic theories on language and multilingualism, and demonstrate the power of these theories to understand multilingual language users' daily experiences in the American context. A specific focus is put on the situation of Finnish Americans. As a starting point, I take multilingualism to be an inseparable part of every language user's life. Language is conceptualized here as a set of context-based, socially constructed, and multi-modal resources (Bezemer and Kress 2008; Blommaert 2010; Heller 2007; Pennycook 2010; Pietikäinen et al. 2008). I will also introduce two emerging ethnographic methodologies, language biographies (Karjalainen 2012; Nekvapil 2003; Pavlenko 2002a) and material ethnography (Karjalainen 2012; Lane 2008; Pahl 2004), in order to capture the variety of manifestations of the Finnish language in Finnish Americans' lives. Furthermore, the methodological approach aims to unravel the various changes in the Finnish language as it moves from one country and generation to another.<sup>1</sup>

## **IMMIGRANT LANGUAGES IN THE UNITED STATES**

Traditionally, languages have been conceptualized as whole, bounded systems. This conceptualization goes back to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe and the French revolution. At the dawn of the nation-state, it was politically and ideologically motivated to expect the people of such states to be culturally and linguistically homogenous. The idea of "one nation, one people, one language" supported the view that language was a reified entity that could be captured within the borders of individual nation-states (see, e.g., Heller 2007; Makoni and Pennycook 2005).

In the American context, this ideology has to some extent survived from the foundation of the nation up until present day. Although the American people are formed by a very heterogeneous group of individuals with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, they have been and still are expected to build one single nation with shared values, rights, and responsibilities. In the process of nation building, the most important unifying factor has been the English language (to be more precise, American English). However, the ideologies concerning the immigrant languages have varied through the years. These languages have been viewed as a threat to the

1 The impetus for this article arose from my PhD research (Karjalainen 2012), which focused on language biographies of Finnish Americans in Seattle, Washington. My PhD research is part of the "Peripheral Multilingualism" project ([www.peripheralmultilingualism.fi](http://www.peripheralmultilingualism.fi)), which is funded by the Academy of Finland and coordinated by Professor Sari Pietikäinen (Department of Languages, University of Jyväskylä).

nation's unity, as an obstacle on an individual's path to becoming a full member of American society, as a barrier to personal success (e.g., Pavlenko 2002b; Ricento 2005), and even as a disadvantage to psychological development (Adler 1977). At other times, society has considered immigrant languages as a cultural and economic asset, both on a societal as well as individual level, and even as a core ingredient for the development of a balanced identity (see articles in Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis 2001, and Part II in Grosjean 2008 for language mode continuum).

All in all, neither the acceptance nor the rejection of multilingualism in the United States has been a straightforward process. Instead, the values attached to English and other languages have been strongly affected by the different social, political, and economic situations the nation has gone through during its existence (Lippi-Green 1997, Wiley 2000). Notwithstanding the reputation of the immigrant nation, the attitudes toward respecting and maintaining immigrant heritage languages have been fairly reluctant (Ovando 2003). Today, the language-related discussions are, on one hand, providing an arena for movements such as "English-Only" (Wiley and Lukes 1996; Wright 2007), emphasizing the importance of the English language. On the other hand, pro-multilingualism movements are simultaneously emerging (Fishman 1991; Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis 2001).

Previous research results show that the proficiency in immigrant languages typically disappears by the third immigrant generation (Veltman 1983). This renders multilingualism an exotic feature almost as soon as it is viewed from the perspective outside of the immigrant generation (Fishman 2004, 116). According to Fishman, the language shift or the loss of languages other than English can be understood as an "American experience" that in one way or another connects most Americans. The outcomes of this "experience" become obvious when looking at the dominance of native-language English speakers in all levels of society, but also in the myriad of heritage language courses in which adult learners try to reconnect with their ancestral language (such as Finnish) and to find connections to their heritage.

### **IMAGINED, PERFECT MULTILINGUALISM**

Language education in the United States, as well as in most other parts of the world, has followed the predominant conceptualization of language as a bounded entity. Languages have been understood and taught as structures that fit in to the pages of grammar books and dictionaries. This has heavily impacted the ways in which multilingualism and multilingual speakers have been defined. The attempt to achieve a native-like competence has been the ultimate goal for language learning in formal settings. The native speaker has been understood to master the grammar rules,

vocabulary, and the appropriate usage of his or her language, and, thus, to have control over the whole and bounded entity that has been conceptualized as a language. For a long time the “real” multilingual speaker was a speaker who possessed knowledge of two or more such entities. A speaker who possessed lesser skills was viewed to be in the middle of the process of becoming a multilingual speaker or as someone who has failed in this process (see Seidlhofer 2001 for an overview).

To gain native-like skills in more than one language is very difficult, if even possible (cf. Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005). This would require equal and rich input in all of the languages, which especially in the immigrant context is often far away from reality. In the United States, as well as elsewhere, the immigrant descendants’ decreasing skills to communicate in the parents’ or grandparents’ language are normally considered as a negative trait. The diminished ability to master the language is described with unfavorable terms such as *broken Finnish* or *bad Finnish*.

The conceptualization of a language as a holistic entity—and multilingualism as perfect control of multiple such entities—provides a suboptimal framework to a researcher who seeks to understand the ways in which real speakers experience languages and multilingualism in everyday life. To consider the situation of Finnish Americans, one may assume that the Finnish of those immigrants who left Finland decades ago might be very different to the Finnish spoken in Finland today, and many immigrant descendants are able to speak very little, if any Finnish. However, this might not keep them from enjoying their language and heritage as well as being proud of their roots. At the same time, the immediate members of the immigrant generation may worry about the future of their own, their children’s, and their grandchildren’s Finnish in the United States. Similarly, those Finnish American descendants who have lost or never gained their ancestors’ language might question their right to call themselves Finns or even to feel Finnish. No matter how much or how little the actual language is present in these individual experiences, they are all nevertheless manifestations of life with multiple languages. To be able to study these experiences in which the language does not present itself as an immutable entity but as a phenomenon emerging in context, new theoretical concepts of language and multilingualism are needed.

## **NEW SOCIOLINGUISTICS: LANGUAGE AS A SET OF RESOURCES**

The theoretical re-conceptualization of language and multilingualism as well as novel methods to study them started emerging along with the so-called “linguistic turn” that took place in the field of humanities and social studies at the turn of the

1960s and 1970s. At that time, the old theories and methodologies started losing their importance in favor of so-called *social constructivism*: an interdisciplinary theory that understands reality as well as language to be socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Although quantitative research methods, questionnaires, and historically oriented studies had produced important insights into languages and multilingualism, they were not able to fill the needs of the researchers interested in the connections between the language speaker's experiences and the broader social context. New theories and methodological solutions started drawing from related disciplines like sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, ethnography, and discourse studies.

In this paper, I will follow a recent sociolinguistic research approach, according to which the "unit of analysis is not an abstract 'language' but the actual and densely contextualized forms in which language occurs in society" (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005, 15). The focus of interest here lies not on linguistic artifacts but on what counts as a competence in real linguistic environments and the ways language users deploy these competences (*ibid.*; see also Pennycook 2010). Each language is a collection of different kinds of resources from which the language users try to choose the best variety according to the context at hand. Thus, when I talk about "a language" (e.g., Finnish), I actually talk about "Finnishes": a repertoire of linguistic resources and ways of speaking that help the language users to function in various situations. No two language users possess exactly the same kind of repertoire. Different users know different languages and different resource complexes within them (Finnishes, Englishes, Hungarians, etc.) (Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck 2005). These resources enable or disable language users to act in different contexts, to belong to certain groups, and to hold certain identities.

Furthermore, a growing number of sociolinguists understand language use to be multimodal (Bezemer and Kress 2008; Karjalainen 2012; Martin-Jones and Jones 2000; Pietikäinen et al. 2008). Language users do not communicate only through linguistic means but also through a set of visual, material, and emotional resources. From this point of view, language use means the utilization of all possible sets of resources that help to communicate, understand, and be understood in different contexts.

Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005, 199; see also Haviland 2003) suggest that we should understand linguistic competences to be organized on the basis of topics and domains. As follows, no one, not even a native speaker, possesses all possible sets of resources in their language. Every language user's skills are thus



to some extent truncated and imperfect. An elderly Finnish native speaker might find it difficult to follow the conversation between her teenage grandson and his friends. In a similar way, a Finn who does not know anything about cars but who needs to buy one might find himself lost in his own language as he enters a dealership in Finland.

The meanings and functions of the set of language resources also vary from context to context. In the United States, World Englishes such as Indian, West African, and Caribbean English do not carry the same value as American English or British English do (Seidlhofer 2001). Similarly, Americanized Finnish (sometimes humorously referred to as *Finglish*) used by the older immigrant generations might work well for communication in traditional Finnish settlements in the Midwest; however, it would most likely be considered strange and deficient by the Finnish speakers living in Finland or Finnish Americans who have recently moved to the United States. The ways in which languages get organized in hierarchies do not depend on the languages themselves. Instead, the meanings and functions added to them derive from social, political, and historical structures and discourses. This makes language inconvertibly a social phenomenon (Heller 2007).

### **MULTILINGUALISM AS A CONTEXT-BASED PHENOMENON**

The understanding of languages as a set of multimodal, socially constructed, and context-based resources also sheds new light on the concept of multilingualism. First of all, the fact that every language is divided into a complex mixture of resources makes every speaker, in essence, multilingual (Dufva and Pietikäinen 2009). Communication even in one language requires skills similar to multilingualism (see, e.g., Biber and Finegan 1993 for discussion about register, sublanguages, and genres).

As monolingual varieties, multilingualism is also a context-based phenomenon. As Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005, 198) put it, “multilingualism is not what individuals have and don’t have, but what the environment, as structured determinations and interactional emergence, enables and disables.” A third-generation Finnish immigrant in the United States might not possess good enough Finnish skills to be able to read novels in Finnish or to take a degree in a Finnish university. Nevertheless he might be able to use the language when talking with his relatives or to communicate with the locals during his holidays to Finland. He lacks the set of resources in some contexts, but is able to utilize them in others. This makes him multilingual for some situations but not in all.

Therefore, in order to understand the ways multilingualism functions in a language users' life, it should not be studied as a full and perfect competence in multiple languages. Since even a native speaker does not possess all sets of resources in one language it would be unrealistic to expect a multilingual speaker to possess such skills in many languages. The ability to apply one's multilingual resources always emerges contextually.

## **FINNISH AMERICANS AND MOBILITY**

In the United States, Finnish is a minority language within other minority languages. According to the latest census, approximately 674,000 people claimed to be of Finnish heritage and around 5.5 percent of them used Finnish as a home language (U.S. Census Bureau 2008–2010). This leaves Finnish far behind compared to the big immigrant languages such as Spanish, other Indo-European languages, and Chinese. The contemporary Finnish American community consists of two main immigrant groups. Its basis is formed by immigrants who arrived in the United States in the era of the Great Migration (between 1870 and 1930) and their immediate descendants. Within the last forty years, the global business, career, and study opportunities have attracted highly educated professionals to the United States, albeit in considerably lower numbers than during the Great Migration period. These highly skilled immigrants, along with their families, form the second part of the Finnish community. Their residence in the United States is not necessarily permanent, and their connections to today's Finland are often much stronger than those of the earlier immigrants and their descendants (Kero 1996; Korkiasaari 2004).

The contextually constructed and reconstructed sets of Finnish language resources are strongly affected by different kinds of mobility (see, e.g., Urry 2007). As Finns have moved from Finland to the other side of the world, the Finnish language that moved with them has lost some of its functions and meanings but has also gained new ones. Immigration and the complex mobilities connected to it have also actively changed the power relations within the language repertoires of Finnish speakers and affected the speakers' possibilities to apply their set of resources. As the Finnish language moves in the American context from one immigrant generation to the next, it often loses its status as the native language in the descendants' language repertoire and becomes, if thought in traditional terms, something "imperfect." Although the grammatical structures and vocabulary are often challenging, speakers who were born in the United States might consider the Finnish language as a much stronger identity marker in their lives than Finns living in Finland do. In addition, many studies about the Finnish language and culture in the United

States show that although some linguistic and cultural features have been lost in the new context, many new features were born. Prominent examples are various vocabulary and grammatical features which typify the Finnish spoken in the United States or cultural traditions such as St. Urho's Day that are unknown to the Finns in Finland (see, e.g., Asala 2001; Kero 1997; Stoller 1996).

In previous studies on Finnish Americans and their situation, important information has been collected about code-switching phenomenon (e.g., Halmari 2005), grammatical and vocabulary changes (e.g., Lauttamus and Hirvonen 1995; Virtaranta, Jönsson-Korhola, Martin, and Kainulainen 1993), and cultural habits and events (e.g., Stoller 1996; Susag 1998; see also Österlund-Pötzsch 2004). This article complements these studies by strengthening the arguments for looking at the multilingual Finnish American community from a more holistic perspective. In the following sections, I will apply the broader understanding of language as a set of multi-modal resources and introduce methodologies that help to understand the various ways in which the Finnish language gets manifested in the daily life of Finnish Americans.

## **ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACHES**

For sociolinguists working on multilingualism, ethnographic approaches provide an attractive starting point. Even though the way to do ethnography varies from researcher to researcher, common to all of them is a basis on the micro level and the individual's experience as well as a scientific stance that assumes that our reality is socially constructed. Ethnographic methods are often solutions to research topics that are inaccessible to experimental methods, and they help the researcher to conduct in-depth analysis of the research phenomenon. Even though researchers are ultimately responsible for providing an account of the phenomenon, ethnographic approaches are often referred to as a means to give a voice to research informants (cf. Heller 2008). The core of the data from which these voices are recovered usually consists of participant observations, fieldwork diaries, and recorded interviews (Blommaert and Dong 2010; Heller 2008).

The goal of ethnographic research is to provide information not only about micro-level phenomena, but also understand why a phenomenon takes a specific form in the informant's life. For this reason, it is crucial to zoom out and to have a look at the macro-level contexts. The uniquely situated individual experiences are meeting points of various layers of context and can thus reveal a lot of the macro-level phenomena (Blommaert and Dong 2010; also Lane 2008).

My own curiosity for ethnographic approaches arose from a desire to understand the various functions and meanings that the Finnish language receives during the life trajectory of Finnish Americans. I collected the data for my doctoral research (Karjalainen 2012) during a nine-month period of fieldwork (2007–8) in the Finnish community in Seattle, Washington. In the following, I will introduce two emerging ethnographic methods that I have utilized in my earlier work: language biographies and material ethnography. Language biographies provide a tool to track and to explain changes in the sets of Finnish resources during different stages in the lives of Finnish Americans. During my fieldwork I noticed that if I only concentrated on the set of communicative resources and ignored other multimodal resources (such as pictures and Finnish objects) utilized by the community members, I would not be able to tell the informants' story from realistic grounds. Therefore, I decided to apply material ethnography and to investigate how Finnish Americans use material objects as manifestations of their Finnish language.

In the following two sections I will present the use of these two ethnographic approaches by studying the case of Lauren. Lauren is around sixty years old, and she is a third-generation Finnish American. Lauren's maternal grandparents migrated from Finland to the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century. Her mother speaks some Finnish, but Lauren herself grew up in an English-speaking home. The only times she heard spoken Finnish were during the rare visits to her grandparents, who lived far from Seattle (for details, see Karjalainen 2012, 114).

### **LANGUAGE BIOGRAPHY:**

#### **A STORY OF ONE FINNISH LANGUAGE IN AMERICA<sup>2</sup>**

A language biography is a form of biography in which language users reflect on their lives through their language repertoire. The language biography approach focuses in particular on the values and functions different languages possess in an individual's life during different periods. The types of language biographies examined in the field of sociolinguistics of multilingualism vary from published language memories (Pavlenko 2001a, 2001b) to second-language learners' learning diaries (Kinginger 2004; Tse 2000) and to the life histories usually collected through interviews, in which the language users discuss the roles of different languages in their lives (Franceschini and Miecznikowski 2004; Nekvapil 2003). In my own research (Karjalainen 2012), I collected biographies (N = 9) through informal interviews

2 This discussion and data examples are revised versions of Karjalainen (2012, 143–44 and 149–50).

that allowed a group of Finnish Americans to tell their experiences in their own words.

Although the language biographies are told in a certain time and place (e.g., the interview context), they also help to study informants' experiences during a longer period of time and to bring together the past, present, and even the future of the language (Pavlenko 2002a, 214). Lauren's language biography sheds light on experiences typical to second- and third-generation Finnish Americans. Because of the negative attitudes toward immigrant languages in the early and middle part of the twentieth century, which affected her mother's decisions not to speak Finnish to her children, Lauren did not have a chance to acquire the language in her childhood home. In her language biography, Lauren tells how she has experienced the language shift and how she is taking agency today to find a way back to her heritage language.

Although Lauren has never been bitter about the fact that she did not acquire Finnish as a child, she has always been very curious about her roots. As a child she found it exciting to visit her grandmother, hear her speaking a mysterious language, and to admire different material objects from Finland, which her mother had at home. Nevertheless, it took years before Lauren had time to become active concerning the Finnish language:<sup>3</sup>

Lauren: you know, in my (.) who I am you know

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: as a mother

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: the most important thing was raising my children

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: ok, my kids are gone now

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: now, my, most important thing is, the wo— personally

Anu: [yeah]

3 The transcription conventions used in this article are the following:

[ ] simultaneous talk

, a very short pause

(.) a longer pause

(. . .) unclear talk

(( )) researcher's explanation or description about the interview situation

[. . .] deleted text

Lauren: the most important thing is to be the best teacher I can

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: uhm (.) I'm now getting to the point where I can do, some other things

When the time was eventually right, Lauren started gathering experiences about her heritage language with great enthusiasm. She signed up for a language course, contacted her relatives in Finland, and visited Finland several times. The language course helped Lauren get closer to her deceased grandmother and to better understand her grandmother's background:

Anu: how did it feel to start to study the language of your, grandma

Lauren: well I think it's you know fulfilling

Anu: [mhm]

Lauren: you know I wished I'd had the opportunity when, when she was alive

Anu: [mhm]

Lauren: to, you know, be able to talk to her or learn from her

Although she started the language course in order to learn some Finnish, her story shows that her language-learning process also filled very personal needs. For her, the learned Finnish skills provided a set of emotional resources that allowed her to find her own place in her family history as well as to place her family in the broader immigrant history.

Despite Lauren's enthusiasm for diving in to the Finnish language and her heritage, the language learning seems to have presented her more of a short-term project than a long-term process. She explained that outside the language course she had no one she could actually speak Finnish with. For her, learning Finnish had been "kind of an experience [. . .] rather than something I think is going to be useful in my later life." She also said that although she would like to re-visit her relatives in Finland, it would probably be too expensive to do this in the future. Visiting Finland had been her dream for a long time, and she said that "the fact that I actually had the opportunity, (. . .) to me is, you know (. . .) it's still a bit unbelievable." In order to understand Lauren's language-learning motivation, it is necessary to understand the broader context in which the learning happens (van Lier 1996, 111). Because of the lack of Finnish-speaking friends in Seattle and the geographical distance to her relatives in Finland, Lauren did not have a motivation to continue learning Finnish

in the future. Instead, her motivation to learn the language was based on her will to experience her grandmother's language, the language that had fascinated her since her childhood.

Thus, the analysis of language biographic data draws attention not only to individual stories but also to the broader social context and macro-level discourses (Nekvapil 2003, 69; Pavlenko 2007, 168–69). As Lauren's example demonstrates, the informants' experiences reveal a lot about the different discourses on multilingualism that have taken place in the United States during different periods of time. Moreover, their ideas about the role Finnish will have in their futures make it possible to understand the functions the Finnish language will have in the lives of later-generation Finnish Americans (Karjalainen 2012).

### **MATERIAL OBJECTS AS STORYTELLERS<sup>4</sup>**

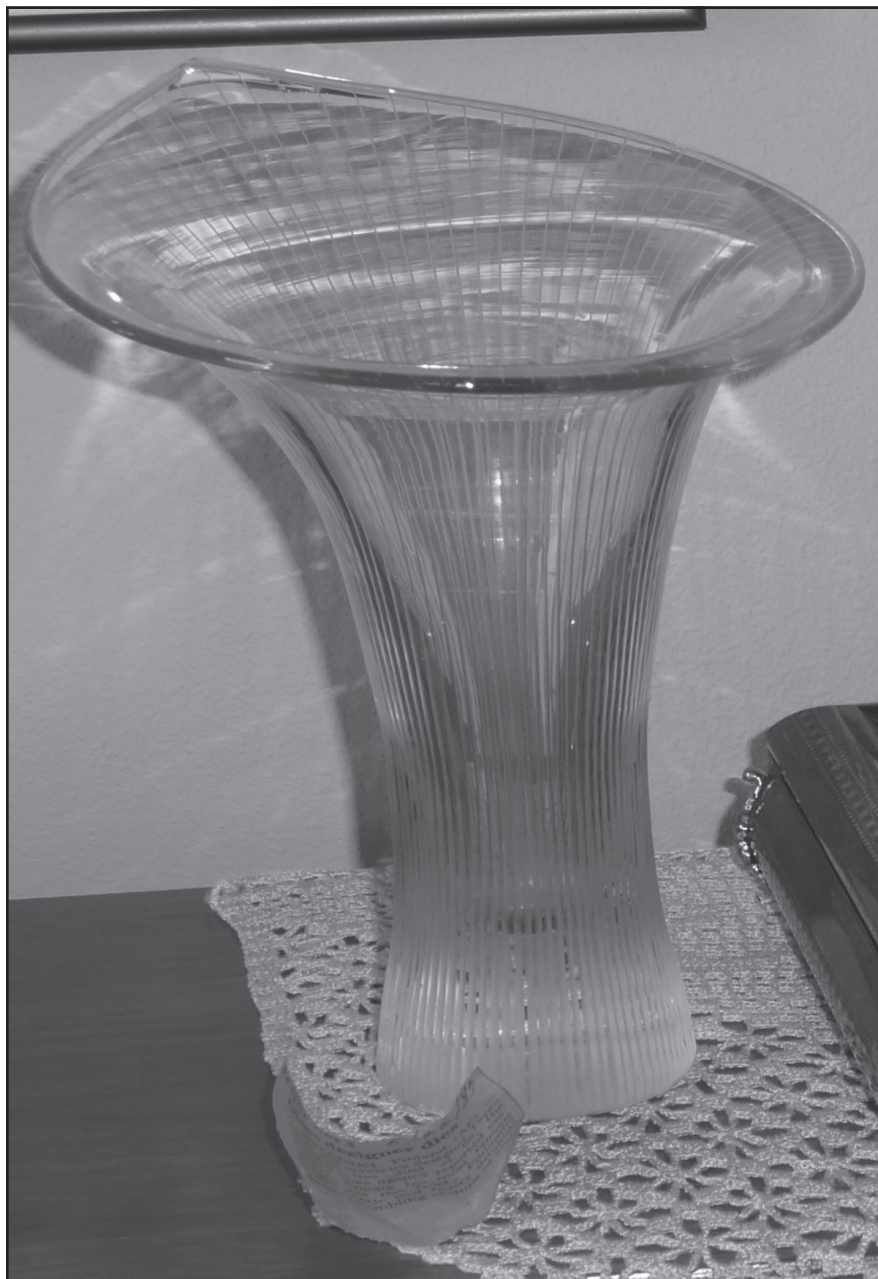
Material objects carry stories about our past experiences, who we are today, and what we dream of for the future. They are often interwoven into the language biographies, and to a certain extent, they can take the role of a language as a mediator of communications and meanings (Karjalainen 2012; Pahl 2004; Lane 2006, 2008). The advantage of using material objects as research data comes from their ability to make daily life experiences with various languages visible. The objects assist the study of the functions of non-linguistic resources in the individual's repertoire as well as the understanding of why and how material objects sometimes take the role of the actual language.

In previous research on multilingualism and material objects, data have been collected in two main ways. Some researchers have observed informants and invited them to talk about the objects that were present in the informants' homes (e.g., Lane 2006, 2008; Pahl 2004), while others have deliberately asked the informants to tell the story of objects that they find personally important to their language (e.g., Karjalainen 2012; Pahl and Pollard 2010). In both cases, the objects act as prompts for stories that might have been left untold in traditional interviews.

Lauren's example demonstrates how material objects have taken the role of language and how they have helped her to strengthen her Finnish identity. She presented the flower vase depicted in picture 1 (below) as her most important Finnish object. She had received the vase, which had a prominent place in her living room, from her mother. Her mother had received it from Lauren's grandmother, who again

4 This discussion and data examples are revised versions of Karjalainen (2012, 218–22).

had received it in the 1950s as a souvenir from her Finnish relatives. The designer of the vase is a well-known Finnish designer, Tapio Wirkkala.



Picture 1. Lauren's Finnish flower vase. Photograph by Anu Karjalainen.



In the following extract from her language biography interview, Lauren explains why the vase has such great importance to her:

Lauren: uuhm, well one thing I think it's a beautiful vase

Anu: [yeah it is]

Lauren: it is very lovely

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: and it was something that was very much treasured by my mother

Anu: [mhm]

Lauren: and she used it

Anu: [mhm]

Lauren: all my growing up

Anu: [yeah] (...)

Lauren: (...) my mum didn't have a lot things of beauty

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: but that was one of them

Anu: [yeah yeah]

Lauren: and she took care of it, I mean, it's in perfect condition

Anu: [yeah] (...) did you know it, when you were a child that it was a Finnish

Lauren: oh, absolutely (...) that was one of the things my mum didn't have a lot (...) attached to her heritage

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: that, the Finnish vase I think that's what she called it

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: her Finnish vase

Lauren's story demonstrates clearly the multifunctionality (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) of the vase in her life. On the one hand, without thinking of the vase's Finnish background, Lauren finds it visually *beautiful* and *lovely*. On the other hand, the vase also has far more personal meanings to her as well. It is a concrete memory of her childhood and a reminder of her Finnish heritage.

In general, objects designed by Tapio Wirkkala are often highly respected in the homes of Finns living in Finland as well. In the case of Lauren and her family, the vase has nevertheless gained functions that are normally absent in Finland. As the vase moved from Finland to the Finnish American context, its functions as a part of Finnish-language resources became emphasized. Lauren's mother has a very truncated set of Finnish resources and Lauren's own skills are at a very basic level. For both of them, the vase provides a resource that allows them to feel connected to their Finnish heritage and to display their Finnishness in daily life.

An additional meaning was attached to this artifact when Lauren saw a similar vase in the exhibition of the Finnish National Museum in Helsinki. This led Lauren to understand that the vase had value not only to her and her mother, but that it was also valued in the broader Finnish cultural context.

Lauren: the other day or maybe a couple of weeks ago I had it out 'cause I had some flowers in it

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: and I kind of fumbled with it and of course on this rock ((kitchen table))

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: (. . .) so uhm after seeing it in the museum

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: mhmmh I thought, holy moly

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: I have to be much more careful with it so

Anu: [yeah]

Lauren: so it is up there ((a vitrine in which she keeps the vase))

After the museum visit, the vase becomes a nexus in which micro- and macro-level discourses meet (Scollon and Scollon 2004). Breaking the vase would not only mean breaking a personally important object but also a culturally significant object. All in all, in the American context the vase helps Lauren to draw a line between Finns and non-Finns as well as to position herself in some way more different than "just" an American. This connects the objects and her everyday practices to the larger discourses about authenticity that circle around discussions related to identity, belonging, and minorities (see, e.g., Nagel 1994; Pennycook 2007).

## CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, I have highlighted approaches in sociolinguistics to conceptualize language and multilingualism, drawing special attention between the new conceptualizations and the everyday experiences of multilingual Finnish Americans. In order to understand the various manifestations of the Finnish language in the lives of Finnish Americans, I have abandoned the traditional approach to language as a bounded entity entirely commanded by a language user. Instead, through examples in the life of Lauren, a third-generation Finnish American, I demonstrated how the micro-level context as well as the individual's own agency affect the sets of resources that are available to language users in different communication situations, as well as how language users can apply these resources. In this article, the set of resources was understood in a broader sense: not just as linguistic ones but also as material ones.

In addition to introducing new theoretical starting points, I brought up two ethnographically oriented methodological approaches (language biography and material ethnography) that can provide tools for understanding multilingualism at the level of individual's experiences. Collecting and analyzing language biographies can represent and reveal the complexity of the trajectory that a language follows during its user's lifetime. As Lauren's case showed, the biographic approach together with material ethnography can provide ideas about how Finnish Americans are able to utilize their sets of multimodal language resources despite the fact that their actual communicative resources are very minimal.

Although the language is constructed and reconstructed socially, without individual language users there are no multilingual communities and societies. The language biographies and material objects discussed above certainly tell the story of an individual Finnish American, but at the same time they can reveal a great deal about the broader context the individual is a part of. Different manifestations of languages in language users' lives can help to investigate the meanings and functions attached to different languages themselves and the impacts of macro-level discourses on the past, present, and future of those languages. Thus, theories of language resources and methodological approaches are useful tools for capturing the multi-layered notion of languages and multilingualism.

I have conceptualized multilingualism here as a complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon. Although Finnish Americans share similar roots and heritage, the simple term "Finnish American" is somewhat misleading concerning the plurality among community members. Despite the shared background, every Finnish

American's story is different. In order to really understand multilingualism, paying attention to this variety is more than crucial. This article has provided examples of theoretical and methodological tools to capture these insights into individual language users' experiences.

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# SAY YAH TO DA FINNS, EH!

## LINGUISTICALLY PERFORMING FINNISHNESS AT FESTIVALS

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### ABSTRACT

This article examines how language is used to perform Finnish American identity at ethnic festivals in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, particularly in the Keweenaw Peninsula, which one festival claims is the “Finnish American nesting place” and “a pivotal center for Finnish American culture” (<http://finnfestusa2013.org/>). These festivals provide rich opportunities for mapping language and identity, where individuals rely on a range of linguistic practices not only to claim their Finnishness (Wilce 2006), but also to authenticate it by locating it in a particular place through the use of recognizable ethnic and regional features and by enacting it through participation in traditional activities. The significance of language in both defining Finnish American and locating it in the Upper Peninsula is evident in festival advertisements and websites, activities, presentations, and souvenirs, as well as participants’ use and display of family names. Meanings associated with these practices and the people–language–place connection are reinforced and legitimized through festival displays, genealogies, census data, traditional folkway demonstrations, Finnish language lessons, the use of Finnish, and references to historical Finnish texts and folklore. More importantly, individuals who come from outside the region and who do not claim Finnish American identities recognize what it means to be “Finnish

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American” with specific ethnolinguistic features that are recognized as “Finnish.” While social meanings attached to these linguistic practices are key in both their performance and recognition (Beal 2009; Johnstone 2010; Purnell, Raimy, and Salmons 2009), historical processes are also a significant element linking Finnish American identity, language use, and the Upper Peninsula (Remlinger 2007a, 2009), for it is historicity that legitimates these connections (Milroy 2002). Thus, historical, linguistic, and ideological processes contribute to the idea of an authentic Finnish American identity and to locating it in language tied to a particular place.

**Keywords:** Finnish American, ethnic festivals, identity, authenticity, regional dialect

## INTRODUCTION

Folk festivals where participants celebrate and take pride in ethnic identities provide particularly rich opportunities for examining language and identity. In addition, from a linguistic perspective, festivals provide a context where attendees rely on language not only to claim their Finnishness (Wilce 2006), but also to authenticate it by locating it in a particular place through the use of recognizable language features that signal “Finnish American.” Finnishness is thereby maintained through participation in festival events and traditional activities. These practices in themselves do not carry the symbolic value of Finnishness; this meaning is situated and negotiated in the actions that precede or accompany them—over time and in specific contexts (Lane 2009). In addition, ethnic festivals are fertile ground for examining ethnic identity because of the “talk about talk” that takes place—where ethnicity is recognized and claimed with specific and identifiable ways of using language, for example, greetings such as *hei hei*, *moi*, and *terve*; family names; and sing-alongs of hymns, folk songs, and the Finnish national anthem. Festivals are also where people talk about these uses of language in relationship to what it means to be a Finn, thereby creating a community based on specific ways of knowing and being. In this way, those who attend festivals come together as a *community of practice* (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992), where, through interaction and participation in festival events, attendees shape and define not only what it means to be Finnish American, but do so in deliberate, conscious ways that depend on the ideological process of *differentiation*. Participants who claim this identity thereby distinguish themselves from those who are not Finnish American through the use of insider knowledge about Finnish-accented English, the Finnish language,

Finnish classes such as the Salolampi<sup>2</sup> Finnish language workshops, literature, music, foodways (foods and food preparation), crafts, and other ways of being Finnish American. This approach to language and ethnic identity relies on the assumption that language is central to active, deliberate, and local constructions of identity, and speakers consciously and unconsciously draw on a range of available linguistic features, or an *ethnolinguistic repertoire* (Benor 2010, 159), to create and display ethnicity. Language, therefore, has social meaning that marks who individuals are and who they are not, and is a key and specific resource that people draw on to present themselves in certain, meaningful ways. In addition, language provides a link between the past and the present, where these meanings lie. These links between the past and present and among language, identity, and authenticity are forged from ideological processes of identification, differentiation (Gal and Irvine 2000), and traditionalization (Bauman 1992), and are represented in the linguistic performance of an “authentic” Finnish American identity.

This approach also draws on Agha’s (2007) concept of *cultural enregisterment* to demonstrate that participants at Finnish American festivals use recognizable ethnolinguistic features to construct and display their Finnishness, an identity that is contextually meaningful through linguistic and other social practices, and thus authenticated. As Agha (2007, 55) explains, cultural enregisterment emerges through “processes whereby diverse behavioral signs (whether linguistic, non-linguistic, or both) are functionally reanalyzed as cultural models of action, as behaviors capable of indexing stereotypic characteristics of incumbents of particular interactional roles, and of relations among them.” Thus, participants’ use of recognizable ethnolinguistic and regional features identifies them as “the kind of people” who use “that kind of talk,” and, with this, along with the reflexive activities that make up folk festivals, attendees signal identity and in-group allegiances. From this perspective, language and identity are mutually referential and locally meaningful: language and language use draw on ideologies about “Finns,” “Finlanders,” and “Finnish Americans” (and other labels for Finnish Americans) that are created, displayed, and understood within the context of the festivals. In this way, ideologies link people and language use, and map both onto a specific place. As participants recirculate and reproduce these ideologies through a variety of genres, practices, and media, they perform Finnishness.

2 These workshops have been offered at the Heikinpäivä festival in Hancock, Michigan. These “mini-Salolampi language camps,” developed and presented by the Salolampi Language Camp of Concordia College in Bemidji, Minnesota, are a particularly significant example of not only the links among language, identity, and tradition, but also ideas about authenticity.

My perspective on the role of language in indexing identity also reflects that of Bucholtz and Hall (2005), Silverstein (1985, 2003), Ochs (1992), and Gal and Irvine (2000), among others, where identity is created and realized through contextualized linguistic and semiotic practices, practices that function on a range of levels and that can only be fully understood in relation to their use in context. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005, 585) claim, “identities encompass macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions.” Identity is therefore both a practice and a process of *identification*, co-constructed and negotiated through contextualized linguistic practices that are displayed in language use, choice, and style.

Lexical features, such as proverbs and labels for Finnish Americans (for example, “Finlanders”), and phonological features are significant in this co-construction of a Finnish American identity and key factors in indexing, or representing, that ethnicity (cf. Fought 2006; Labov 1966; Eckert 2008). Similarly, studies by Agha (2007), Beal (2009), Johnstone (2010), Purnell, Raimy, and Salmons (2009), and Silverstein (2003), among others, have demonstrated that *enregisterment*, or the association of specific linguistic features with certain groups of people in particular places, and the related meanings of these linguistic features over time are key in both the performance and recognition of these symbolic social and linguistic practices. It is historicity that legitimates these connections (Milroy 2002). This kind of legitimacy results from what Bauman (1992, 126) calls *traditionalization*: systematic links between the present and the past that authenticate a story, object, or other action “(much like the art or antique dealer) by tracing its provenance.” Thus, historical and ideological processes contribute to the idea of an authentic ethnic identity and to locating it in language tied to a particular place. More specific to this study is defining the Keweenaw Peninsula (figure 1) as the “pivotal center of Finnish American culture” and “the Finnish American nesting place” (Loukinen 1997; Virtanen 2014). These claims of authenticity are grounded in immigration and settlement patterns, historical events, the use of Finnish and enregistered regional and ethnolinguistic features and related sociocultural practices. For example, Calumet, a major town in the Keweenaw during the height of Finnish immigration in the late 1800s and early 1900s was called *pesäpaikka* ‘nesting place’ by Finns. Authenticity is also evident in the linguistic traces of settlement patterns reflected in Finnish-named towns, including Tapiola, Toivola, Aura, and Nisula (Loukinen 1997, Virtanen 2014). Claims of authenticity are also supported through census data reporting percentages of ancestry and claims of ethnic heritage. For instance,

according to a 2000 Census brief on ancestry, Keweenaw County's largest percentage of ancestry is Finnish (Brittingham and de la Cruz 2004). These data compare to the percentage of residents who claim Finnish heritage, which I discuss later in the article.

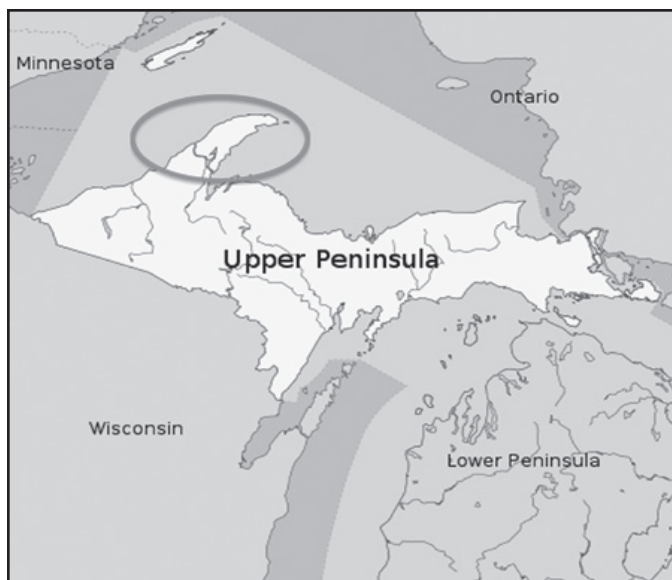


Figure 1. Map of Michigan's Upper Peninsula with the Keweenaw Peninsula circled (added) (Phizzy 2008).

## **METHODOLOGY**

I take a sociocultural approach to language and variation to examine how an ethnolinguistic repertoire, along with certain sociocultural practices, is recognized as an “authentic” ethnic identity. With the study at hand, I aim to show how meanings associated with social and linguistic practices are reinforced and legitimized through labels, language choice, enregistered ethnolinguistic and regional features, as well as references to traditional folk practices, literature, and “Finnish” ways of knowing. Data are drawn from interviews, surveys, and participant observation beginning in 2002 at folk festivals in Michigan's Upper Peninsula (UP) as part of a larger project focusing on the reflexivity of language and identity in the emergence of a UP identity. Festivals include the Scandinavian Midsummer Festival in Marquette; the Annual Finnish Music Festival in Covington; Heikinpäivä Mid-Winter Festival in Hancock; and the Grand FinnFest in Marquette. The significance of language in both defining “Finnish American” and locating it in the Upper Peninsula, and even more specifically in the Keweenaw Peninsula, is evident in festival advertisements

and websites, activities, banners, displays, and souvenirs, as well as in participants' language choice and use, from speaking Finnish, to family names, greetings, and enregistered ethnolinguistic and regional features that signal "Finnish American."

Questions I ask include the following: How do individuals use language to perform the ways in which they belong to a particular community, and how is being a part of that group key in recognizing and understanding the meanings attached to that particular identity, as well as to language use? How have these meanings and practices emerged, not only to shape the idea of a Finnish American identity, but to link this identity with language use that is associated with the UP, and more precisely, with the Keweenaw Peninsula? How are the ideological processes of identification, differentiation, and traditionalization represented in linguistic performances of an "authentic" Finnish American identity? In order to answer these questions, it is important to investigate historical, social, and economic factors, such as immigration and copper mining, which worked together to bring Finns to the Keweenaw. In the examples that follow, we will see links among people, place, and language and how they have emerged over time to shape the idea of Finnishness. We will also see how speakers draw on an ethnolinguistic repertoire to affect an authentic Finnish American identity.

### **LOCATING LANGUAGE<sup>3</sup>**

Census data provide evidence of both the linguistic and social history of the Keweenaw Peninsula. For example, United States Census data from 2000 indicate that the largest ethnic group in the western UP, and more specifically, in the Keweenaw Peninsula, is Finnish American (Brittingham and de la Cruz 2004). These data compare to those in figure 2 that describe the percentage of U.S. residents who claim Finnish ancestry. In each county in the Keweenaw Peninsula, at least 17 percent of residents claim Finnish ancestry, with rates as high as 30 percent in some counties, which is the highest percentage in the United States (Brittingham and de la Cruz 2004). FinnFest USA's website's link "Our Finnishness" (<http://www.finnfestusa2013.org>) similarly uses the Census data to demonstrate how, historically, the Keweenaw is "the Finnish American nesting place." Linguistically, the consequence of this history has been a regional variety of English that has emerged through contact among immigrant languages and with English. The use of the map (figure 2) on the Finn Fest USA's website serves as an act of authentication, which is

3 This section relies on previously published work by the author. See Remlinger 2006, 2007a, 2009.

part of the ideological process of traditionalization, and thus historically legitimates what it means to be a “real” Finnish American—a meaning tied not only to history, but also to national identity, region, and language use.

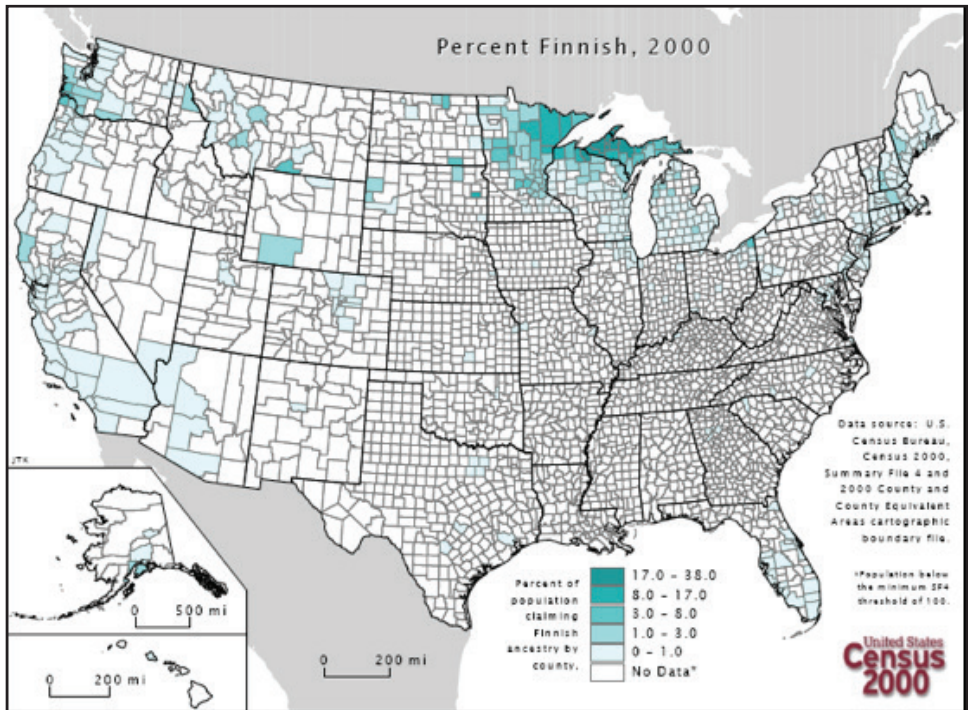


Figure 2. Percent of Finnish Ancestry by County ([www.finncamp.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/pct\\_finnish.pdf](http://www.finncamp.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/pct_finnish.pdf)).

Although commonly mistaken for Canadian English because of some of the shared vowel sounds and the use of *eh*, Upper Peninsula English has been influenced by the languages of the Anishinabek, more commonly known as Ojibwe, the indigenous people of the Upper Peninsula, and immigrants who settled in the region during the copper and iron booms of the mid-1800s and early 1900s. These languages included Canadian French, German, Cornish English, Italian, Irish English, Finnish, and Croatian, among others.

From the 1840s through the early 1910s, the Upper Peninsula was a booming copper- and iron-mining region. Other industries included timber, commercial fishing, hunting and trapping, and agriculture, along with businesses and shops needed to sustain the burgeoning population. Sociohistorical processes that have shaped the local variety of English include immigration, settlement patterns, and immigrant languages coming into contact with each other and with English. At the center of

these processes we see economic factors at work, from attracting settlers to the area to creating access to housing. Other significant processes include participation in social activities, the use of English, and tensions between insiders and outsiders over land, labor, and language. For example, although some of the first settlers to arrive were native English speakers from Boston, Chicago, lower Michigan, and Cornwall, England, the majority of settlers were immigrants from French-speaking Canada, central Europe, Scandinavia, and of course, Finland, who did not speak English.

Immigrants were often segregated socially, and they naturally spoke their family's heritage language at home (Lankton 1991, Thurner 2001). These daily uses of language helped to maintain heritage languages, at least for many of the adults. Yet school-aged children and adults who worked outside the home needed to learn English as a common language, or *lingua franca*, and because there was little contact with native English speakers, English was learned from other immigrants whose own languages textured the English spoken in the region (Remlinger 2007a). The sounds, words, and phrases of today's regional variety are a result of these various languages coming into contact as people migrated to the region, mixing and mingling with each other, and the sounds, words, and phrases of their languages melding with those of the local variety of English.



Figure 3. "Strawberry Harvest at Heinola Finnish Immigrant Community near Oskar Bay in Houghton County." Circa 1920. Keweenaw Digital Archives—Michigan's Copper Country in Photographs, Michigan Technological University Archives and Copper Country Historical Collections. [http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib\\_id=620969#](http://digarch.lib.mtu.edu/showbib.aspx?bib_id=620969#). Original image is property of Finnish American Center, Finnish American Archive, Hancock, Michigan.



Often the perception of UP English is that it sounds “Finnish.” It is true that Finnish has had a lasting effect on English in some areas of the UP, especially in the central and western regions, and this effect is a result of the comparably significant number of Finnish immigrants during the late 1800s and early 1900s. These immigration patterns, where people settled, what languages they used in their daily lives, their access to English, and the UP’s geographic isolation have combined to shape what UP English is today. A significant influence was the continued contact between English and Finnish; however, other influences, such as Canadian English, also significantly affect today’s varieties of UP English (e.g., Rankinen 2008).

The predominance of Finnish is in part a result of the large Finnish immigration to the central and western regions during the late 1800s and continuing into the early 1900s. This area includes Marquette County and the Keweenaw Peninsula, which the early Finnish settlers named *Kuparisaari*, or ‘Copper Island’. The name signifies the Keweenaw’s ties to the copper industry and originally referred only to the northern tip of the peninsula (Holmio 2001). Today, however, locals refer to the entire peninsula as the “Copper Country,” and older, local Finnish Americans as well as Finnish American festival materials continue to refer to it as *Kuparisaari*. Calumet, one of the major towns in the Copper Country, is the Anishanabemowin word for ‘peace pipe’, and was called *pesäpaikka* ‘nesting place’ by Finns who settled there, a place where they felt at home, and where they returned between jobs or after having moved away from the area (Loukinen 1997). *Kuparisaari*, *pesäpaikka*, and towns with Finnish names not only linguistically mark the region as “Finnish” but also reflect the immigration and settlement patterns that shaped the variety of English spoken there today. These settlement patterns reinforced continued contact between Finnish and English. Finns often settled in rural areas of the Copper Country, leasing land from the mining companies and participating in agricultural co-ops or community farms such as the Heinola Community in Houghton County, depicted in figure 3 (Lankton 1991). These rural settlements were more isolated and had more homogeneous populations than those of towns. In contrast, most other immigrant groups to the Copper Country and the Marquette area tended to live in towns where they had more opportunity to interact with a wider variety of speakers of other languages and thus used English more often as a lingua franca (Lankton 1991; Thurner 2001). Typically, families who used English as a lingua franca outside the home often lost their native language after the first or second generation, and thus, the characteristics of these other languages leveled, or got ironed out, and the languages themselves had less effect on English than Finnish, which tended to be

maintained for several generations (Remlinger 2007a). Because of the daily use of Finnish over generations, there was constant contact between Finnish and English. This contact led to borrowed words and their Finnish pronunciations, such as *sauna* [saunə] and *juusto* [ju:sto] (a baked cheese, translated as ‘bread cheese,’ and locally known as ‘Finnish squeaky cheese’). As locals’ speech began to be connected with being “Finn,” an ethnic and regional dialect emerged.

In addition to immigration and settlement patterns, another significant factor that affected continued contact between English and Finnish was that Finnish, unlike the languages of other Copper Country immigrants, such as Italian, German, Polish, Slovenian, and French (Lankton 1991), is not related to English: Finnish is from the Finno-Ugric language family, while English and the languages of immigrant groups mentioned above are part of the Indo-European language family. This means that there are few apparent similarities between the structure and vocabularies of Finnish and English, unlike similarities between English and the Indo-European languages spoken by other immigrants. The grammar and vocabulary of English was therefore especially foreign to Finns and compounded their difficulty in learning English.

Literacy is a third factor that played an important role in maintaining the Finnish language in the region. Finnish immigrants who had married and voted in Finland before emigrating were required to know how to write their names. Also the phonemic aspect of Finnish affected literacy, compared to other immigrant languages (see Kuismin 2012). There is a nearly one-to-one correspondence between standard Finnish vowels and consonants and the Finnish alphabet. Therefore, if one speaks standard Finnish and knows the alphabet and the sound each letter represents, then one is presumably literate. This is unlike English and most of the other immigrant languages that were brought to the Keweenaw Peninsula. Being literate, Finnish immigrants tended to keep in written contact with other Finnish speakers—here and in Finland, and continued to speak, read, and to write Finnish (Remlinger 2007a). This ability to read and write helped to maintain the use of Finnish on a daily basis and over time, from writing letters, to reading books and newspapers, to talking with neighbors and relatives, to attending Finnish-language church services, as well as to playing with siblings. Many older residents of Finnish descent today used to speak Finnish before they spoke English, some continuing to speak Finnish and to read and write it throughout their lives, others leaving it behind after learning English from siblings, friends, neighbors, and school (Remlinger 2007a). The lasting effects of literacy, along with the lack of relationship between

English and Finnish, helped to maintain Finnish through three and four generations, sometimes longer (Larmouth 1974, Loukinen 1997, Remlinger 2007a).

As families and communities maintained Finnish, it came into continued contact with English. Through this constant contact, a new variety of English emerged (see Karttunen 1977; Halmari 1997 for discussion of this process and description of related linguistic features). Over time the variety became recognized as specific to the Keweenaw, and more generally to the Upper Peninsula. The recognition of this way of talking often results in “talk about talk,” where people talk about what residents, many of whom are assumed to be Finlanders, sound like and noting specific pronunciations, vocabulary, and grammatical structures. What is particularly interesting, as well as important to this study, is how individuals use and recognize these linguistic features as meaningful in performing Finnishness and symbolizing what it means to be Finnish American.

### LOCATING FINNISHNESS IN LANGUAGE

At the Heikinpäivä parade there is a deliberate and conscious identification with Finnishness, along with acts of authentication. For example, three women carry a banner that reads *Ladies of the Kaleva* and *Ainon Tupa* #13. The organization and chapter names on the banner authenticate Finnishness through links to the past and to the Finnish language. Understanding the significance of the *Ladies of the Kaleva* relies on knowledge of the *Kalevala*, the Finnish nineteenth-century national epic poem, and an understanding of the Knights and Ladies of the Kaleva, a Finnish fraternal organization consisting of lodges throughout the United States and Canada dedicated to the preservation of Finnish heritage and to the transfer of this heritage to Finnish Americans. The Mass City chapter was established in 1907 (Holmio 2010) and takes its name, *Ainon Tupa*, from Aino, a character in the *Kalevala* whose brother, Joukahainen, gives her to his nemesis, Väinämöinen, in order to save his own life. What is important to my argument here is the use of the name *Aino*, for whom the *Ainon Tupa* is named. *Ainon Tupa* is translated as ‘Aino’s lodge,’ with the (–n) suffix functioning as a genitive. And here in the chapter’s name, *Ainon Tupa*, we see how links among language, history, place, and tradition are a part of the processes of identification and differentiation that constitute a community of practice: through language choice and references to a national text that has shaped Finnish national identity since the late 1800s. The history of the *Kalevala* is also grounded in identification and differentiation, with an understanding of cultural meanings that are based on language choice and national identity. The poem was instrumental in

defining a national identity prior to Finland's independence from Russia in 1917. The succeeding events around Finland's Civil War in 1918 and other social factors resulted in the emigration of many Finns to the United States, many of whom settled in the Keweenaw Peninsula. Thus, the Keweenaw Peninsula became part of the birth of a Finnish American identity.<sup>4</sup>

Through the Heikki's Day festival itself, attendees' participation in the parade, and the banner's identification of the chapter, a community of practice is defined. The community is based on a shared knowledge and goals of maintaining Finnish culture, and language is the vehicle that both defines and carries these meanings to others within the community.



Figure 4. Perceptions of Michigan Dialects (Tramontelli and Remlinger 2012).

Figure 4 reflects the process of differentiation and the role of an ethnolinguistic repertoire in shaping the idea of Finnishness and is exemplified in the label "Finish" ([sic], for "Finnish"), identified as the language of the Keweenaw Peninsula. The example is from a perceptual dialectology study that investigated university students' perceptions about Michigan dialects (Tramontelli and Remlinger 2012). Perceptual dialectology, the study of attitudes toward language variation, shows that individuals determine dialect boundaries not only by linguistic features, but also along geographic lines and according to sociocultural differences (Preston 1999, 2002). Tramontelli and Remlinger surveyed 157 students to determine perceptions

<sup>4</sup> This identity was born elsewhere as well, for example in Massachusetts, northern Ohio, and Minnesota.

about the varieties of English spoken in Michigan. The surveys included a blank map of Michigan where participants were asked to label and describe dialect regions. Figure 4 represents one participant's perception that English in the Keweenaw is influenced by "Finish," and simultaneously identifies language use with a specific and identifiable place, the Keweenaw. Language perceptions are only partially inspired by language use itself; they also reflect perceptions about geographic differences, such as distinctions between the Upper and Keweenaw peninsulas and Michigan's Lower Peninsula, as well as attitudes about certain groups of speakers.

Links among language, people, and place also occur with the use of enregistered regional features: *yah*, *da*, and *eh*, as well as the echo of the more common bumper sticker "Say yah to da UP, eh!" in the "Say yah to da Finns, eh!" bumper sticker (figure 5). These links also rely on perceptions about what makes a dialect a "dialect" and are based on a limited set of lexical, phonological, and syntactic features. Similar to the Ainon Tupa banner, the semiotics of "Say yah to da Finns, eh!" brings together national identity and place in a discourse of authenticity through the use of the Finnish national colors blue and white, the Finnish flag, and the enregistered lexical features *yah*, *da*, and *eh*.<sup>5</sup>



Figure 5. Grand FinnFest Bumper Sticker. Photo courtesy of Kathryn Remlinger.

In addition to lexical features, the display and recognition of "how 'Finns' talk" is also represented in the use of phonological features that are associated with being "Finn," although this perception is not always an accurate representation of actual Finnish-accented English, as the following example illustrates with the implied

5 While *yah* is an enregistered regional feature, it is important to note that it is not a Finnish derivative, and instead is a result of language contact with English and Swedish, Norwegian, and German, which use *ja*. All of these languages were spoken in the area during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

pronunciation of “huntit” for ‘hunted.’ However, the significance lies in the display of “how ‘Finns’ talk” and how the represented speech not only reflects the *perceived* existence of a Finnish American ethnolinguistic repertoire (real or perceived), but also how this perception connects language use and ethnicity with a specific place. In the example below from folklore collected by Richard Dorson in the 1940s, we see references both to place, “Upper Michigan,” and to ethnicity, “Finnish,” in the phonology of the “Finnish No Trespass Sign”:

**Finnish No Trespass Sign**  
**Whos the Hell Give It You Promis for Huntit My Land.**  
**Better You Get It Out My Land or I Get It My Two Pipe**  
**Sotgun. And Dats To be No Pullsit.**  
**(Everybody seems to know that in Upper Michigan.)**

—from Irving Edwards, Hancock, May 28, 1946 (Dorson 1948).

The ethnolinguistic repertoire of “how Finns talk” is indexed with phonological features. Key features include the phonemes /t/ for /d/ [“huntit,” referring to the past-tense marker (-ed) in ‘hunted’], /s/ for (sh) [“sotgun”], /d/ for the voiced interdental fricative (th) [“dats” for ‘that’], and /p/ for the /b/ and /s/ for the (sh) [“pullsit”]. The example illustrates how linguistic indexes of identity have shifted over time, from place, “Upper Michigan,” to ethnicity and place, and how speakers draw on these recognizably “Finnish” features for particular effects—here to affect the identity of “Finnish American.”<sup>6</sup>

Similarly, the “pulsit” ‘bullshit’ ball cap (figure 6), which was for sale at the 2008 Scandinavian Midsummer Festival in Marquette, relies on a recognizable ethnolinguistic feature to affect a Finnish American identity and simultaneously indexes “how Finns talk.” Identity and metalanguage, “talk about talk,” are not only mirrored in the phonological features but also in the semiotics of the Finnish national colors, blue and white. Through the reflexive activities that make up the linguistic and social practices of folk festivals as with the buying and selling of souvenirs such as this cap, participants co-construct identity, display in-group allegiances, and define what it means to be Finnish American. It is important to note that people outside this community would most likely not understand the significance of the colors

6 This identity is aligned with a certain type of masculinity, stereotyped as swearing, wary of outsiders, and gun-toting (see Remlinger 2007b for discussion of links between regional stereotypes and masculinity).

or the meaning of “pulsit,” and this differentiation reinforces the role of language and cultural understanding in shaping Finnish American identity and the related community of practice.



Figure 6. Pulsit ‘bullshit’. Photo Courtesy of Kathryn Remlinger.

A Finnish American community of practice and related identity are likewise reflected in language choice and ways of knowing, specifically the use of Finnish, including Finnish proverbs and meanings associated with local weather that are used in publicity and marketing for Heikinpäivä, an annual mid-winter festival in Hancock.<sup>7</sup> *Heikinpäivä* is a compound of *Heikki*, the variation of Henrik ‘Henry’ and *päivä* ‘day’. The festival takes place on or around the nineteenth of January, the name day of Saint Henrik, which is the halfway mark of winter. Heikinpäivä typically draws to its various events an audience of about 3,000 people, most of whom are from the Copper Country (James Kurtti, personal communication). The City of Hancock and its Finnish Theme Committee, a group that works to preserve Finnish heritage and to use Finnish themes for community development, created the festival in 1999. According to the festival website, “Heikinpäivä organizers keep a watchful eye on the celebration’s uniquely ethnic flavor” (“Heikinpäivä”). In part, the festival was developed in response to other regional folk festivals, such as DaYoooper Fest in Escanaba, which focus on the regional identity of “Yoooper” and its stereotypical social practices, some of which are seen as derogatory, such as outhouse races.<sup>8</sup> James Kurtti, a founding member of Heikinpäivä, describes the origin and purpose of the festival:

7 See Hilary Virtanen (2014) for a developed discussion of Heikinpäivä in Hancock and its role in shaping Finnish American tradition and authenticity.

8 These derogatory representations include a lack of social skills and technological knowledge, ramshackle housing without plumbing, excessive alcohol consumption, and the use of “bad English.” This stereotype “has deep historical roots, growing out of class, ethnic, and language differences in the area” (Remlinger 2007a, 77; 2007b).

There was a small group of Finnish Americans coming into town. While [we were] brainstorming ways to keep Finnish identity alive in the Copper Country—and Hancock in particular—for the next generation, Heikinpaiva was born [. . .]. Heikinpaiva has also been called *Keskitalvi* (mid-winter), and many Copper Country residents still commonly refer to Heikinpaiva as *Karhu kääntää kylkeä*, meaning “the bear rolls over to the other side.” (*The Daily Mining Gazette*, January 29, 2011)

In addition to the practical purpose of the festival to celebrate (and to survive) the Copper Country’s long and snowy winters,<sup>9</sup> the festival also celebrates the Finnish heritage of the region. Festival themes are taken from Finnish folk sayings associated with the name day of Saint Henrik. Social meanings that index a combined ethnic and regional identity are reflected in events such as the *tori* ‘market’, *seisovapöytä* (translated by the festival organizers as ‘Finnish smorgasbord’), *tanssi* ‘dance’, and *talvitohinat* ‘ski scramble’. Festival events also include classes that focus on traditional Finnish and Finnish American crafts and activities, such as birch-bark basket-making, foodways, and a snow house (*lumitalo*). Events also include the more recent Finnish practice of a wife-carrying competition<sup>10</sup> as well as the local tradition of a parade and a “polar bear plunge,” where participants jump into a hole cut into the frozen canal. Identity is defined in part by heartiness, toughness, and fortitude, which are reflected in these events and activities. At Heikinpäivä, where one purpose of the festival is to “keep a watchful eye,” authenticity, the use of Finnish, and participants’ familiarity with “authentic” Finnish culture is a way of performing Finnish American identity. Thus, in the context of Heikinpäivä, language use is simultaneously the source of identity construction and a reference to authenticity, which further defines the community of practice. Traditionalization is a key process in constituting an authentic Finnish identity. For example, the parade includes native Finnish animals, such as reindeer; displays traditional tools and vehicles, such as wagons and sleds; and the participants wear traditional Finnish costumes, dress as characters from the Kalevala, and re-enact a traditional “crown” wedding.

9 The average annual snowfall is 220 inches (560 cm) ([www.mtukrc.org/weather.htm](http://www.mtukrc.org/weather.htm)).

10 Wife-carrying (*eukonkanto* or *akankanto*) originated in Sonkajärvi, Finland, in 1992 as a sport in which male competitors race while each carries a female teammate. The objective is for the male to carry the female through a special obstacle course in the fastest time. The Wife Carrying World Championships are held annually in Sonkajärvi, Finland. The sport is based around legends of nineteenth-century Herkko Rosvo-Ronkainen, or “Ronkainen the Robber,” who, along with other men, abducted women and stole food from villages (Keränen n.d.; Morse n.d.). Virtanen (2014) discusses Heikinpäivä’s wife-carrying contest in detail.



This identity is created, displayed, and legitimized with the use of these references to local knowledge and cultural practices, which are re-circulated on festival brochures, posters, t-shirts, and the festival website. The website (<http://pasty.com/heikki>) relies on traditionalization and legitimization, and reinforces the positive value of both Finnish language and identity with names for festival events and activities, the name of the festival itself, *Heikinpäivä*, and with a list of Finnish proverbs related to midwinter time-reckoning and related agricultural traditions: *Heikki heinät jakaa* ‘Heikki divides the hay’; *Karhu kylkeänsä kääntää* ‘The bear rolls onto his other side’; and *Talven selkä poikki* ‘Winter’s back is broken’ (Virtanen 2014). The proverbs reinforce links between tradition and language and, thus, also to authenticity, by emphasizing both the meanings behind *Heikinpäivä* and the reality of the long, cold, snowy Keweenaw winter. The site further reinforces the positive value of Finnish language and identity, one specifically linked to the Copper Country, with the claim that “Finnish speaking residents of the Copper Country still recall the proverbs.” This claim, along with language choice and references to traditional culture, are forms of traditionalization and identification that function to define both regional and Finnish American identity. This identity is constructed, displayed, and made authentic through language choice and specific ways of knowing.

Traditionalization also emerges from the local value of Finnish language, identity, and culture, and their ties to the Copper Country and to Hancock in particular, in the honorary title “Hankooki Heikki,” annually bestowed by the Finnish Theme Committee on a person whose work represents the preservation and promotion of Finnish culture in the area. “Hankooki Heikki” leads the parade and reigns over *Heikinpäivä*. The linguistic reinvention of *Hankooki* and the role of Hankooki Heikki reflect the function of both the festival and language as ways to define and preserve Finnishness, but also to reinvent it, linguistically and ideologically. The 2002 Hankooki Heikki awardee, Seppo Mäkinen of Oulu, Finland, was architect of the festival’s *lumitalo* ‘snow house’. At *Heikinpäivä*, where one purpose of the festival is to “keep a watchful eye” on ethnic authenticity, Mäkinen’s award and participation, especially as a Finnish national, reinforces the process of traditionalization, further authenticating the festival, and through association, the participants. Therefore, the festival legitimates what it means to be Finnish American.

The value placed on authentic ethnic identity is also reflected in the parade members, who, in 2003, carried a sign reading, “Distantly Related to the Finns”; the parade members, who, in 2005, claimed “100% Finn”; and the *Heikinpäivä*

website that states, “The Heikinpäivä parade provides everyone an opportunity to celebrate being Finnish—whether you are, or not.” These examples represent a co-construction and display of Finnish American identity. Moreover, they highlight the symbolic capital of perceived authentic Finnish American identity and the significance of language and participants’ roles in co-constituting these meanings.

Within various festival venues, participants engage in conversations, some in Finnish, most in English, others relying on code-mixing and code-switching, and some beginning with a Finnish greeting, such as *terve*, a clipping of *tervetuloa* ‘welcome’, or including politeness terms such as *kiitos* ‘thank you’. Pragmatic features most commonly display identity: greetings, terms of politeness, along with names and naming. For example, one group of Heikinpäivä parade participants consisting of two generations of Finnish American women, some wearing traditional Finnish clothing, spoke in Finnish along the parade route. Together, their participation in the parade, clothing, and language choice, mark these women as “authentic Finns.” Thus, in the context of Heikinpäivä these women are simultaneously relying on traditionalization, differentiation, and identification as they co-create and index what it means to be an authentic Finnish American.

Likewise, at the Annual Finnish Music Festival in Covington we see Finnishness indexed and co-constructed through meanings related to cultural enregisterment and language choice. At the *Kahvin Aika* ‘coffee time’ vendor, one can buy *nisua* (a sweet yeast bread with cardamom) and *juustoa* ‘bread cheese’ or ‘squeaky cheese’. Finnish foodways and language use perform authentic Finnishness with the use of Finnish food names such as *nisua* and *juustoa*. What is particularly significant in terms of authenticity is the use of the partitive suffix *-a* in *nisua*, *juustoa*, meaning ‘some *nisu*’, ‘some *juusto*’, and the genitive *-n* suffix in *kahvin*, meaning ‘coffee’s time’. These grammatical features define the language choice as authentic. More importantly, through this linguistic interaction, festival participants differentiate themselves from non-Finns as they co-construct Finnishness and community through shared ways of knowing, doing, and being, as well as celebrating what it means to be Finnish American.

Similar to the use of Finnish food terms to index authenticity, proper names signify gender, place, ethnic, and linguistic affiliations (Agha 2007). The use of proper names, specifically family names that are recognized as part of the ethnolinguistic repertoire, are the most obvious and common displays; they represent claims to a legitimized and authentic Finnish American identity. At Grand FinnFest 2005 in Marquette, genealogies, such as that shown in figure 7, complete with photos,

decorated posters, benches, and chairs, function as participants' "vehicle[s] for authentication practices" (Bucholtz and Hall 2006, 385). A particularly significant example of this display was the use of nametags that participants wear. The nametags list both first and last names. However, if last names were not recognized as Finnish, and yet individuals wanted to display, and thus claim, an authentic identity, they would include the Finnish surname of an ancestor.



Figure 7. Grand FinnFest Family Tree Bench. Photo Courtesy of Kathryn Remlinger.

This display is significant in terms of identification and traditionalization. Surnames can locate identity within specific places, not only within the Keweenaw and more generally the Upper Peninsula and Upper Midwest, but, more importantly, map identity onto Finland, as many surnames are derived from the first name of the male head of the household, such as *Heikkinen*, occupations such as *Seppänen* for 'smith', and toponyms representing geological features, such as *Maki* for 'hill' and *Virtanen* for 'river' (Paikkala 2005). Through references to Finland and Finnish language, surnames discursively represent authenticity, but also a collective, group identity rather than an individual one, and thus are a result of the process of identification. Identification and authenticity reside in group membership, and in this way, names and genealogical claims are examples of co-constructed meaning: festival participants share and invite others to participate in their identity performance, what Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985, 181) call "acts of identity." Collectively these acts are claims to authenticity and are also locally meaningful, and these

meanings are enacted linguistically. These acts locate authentic Finnishness within the context of festivals and within the Keweenaw Peninsula, the “pivotal center for Finnish American culture” (<http://finnfestusa2013.org/>).

## CONCLUSIONS

The examples demonstrate how Finnishness is enacted in the context of folk festivals, and highlight the value of a perceived authentic Finnish American identity. This identity emerges through co-constructed social practices and processes of identification, differentiation, and traditionalization. Results demonstrate how Finnishness is performed with enregistered cultural and ethnolinguistic features and how this identity relies on an awareness of social meanings related to identity, language, and place, specifically the Keweenaw Peninsula, rightfully labeled by FinnFest USA 2013 organizers as “the Finnish American nesting place.” Festival participants use language to co-construct ethnic identity actively, in a variety of ways, by drawing on ethnolinguistic and regional enregistered features, by participating in various festival events that are purposefully organized to promote and celebrate Finnish American ethnicity and culture, and through a shared understanding of the social meanings of these cultural and linguistic practices. Language is therefore a key resource in these practices, whose meanings are defined through interaction and related ideologies. In addition, language choice and use at ethnic festivals and among participants are both the source of identity construction and reflections of its authenticity. Understanding the role of language in relation to social practices and how these practices shape identity construction also reveals that it is not the language use, traditions, or items in themselves that carry these meanings, but rather their use in locally and historically situated contexts (Lane 2009). As forms of cultural practice, ethnic festivals function to display, create, maintain, and celebrate ethnic identity, as well as to create community, a community grounded in a shared history, pride, and an understanding of what it means to be Finnish American. Historical, discursive, and ideological processes contribute to the idea of an authentic ethnic identity and to locating it in language that is tied to a particular place.

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# PLAY ENVIRONMENTS OF EXPATRIATE FRENCH CHILDREN AND NATIVE CHILDREN IN FINLAND<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

In this article I compare the favorite play environments of expatriate French children and Finnish children (ages 6–10) living in the same Finnish town. I examine the children's use of the space around them and their choice of play environments. The data consist of about eighty drawings and texts by the children. The theoretical approach is cultural geography, especially children's geography. The interpretation draws from the concept of the cultural context of children's drawings and applies the content analysis of visual culture. The results emphasize the significance of the culturally related way of using the space and the view of children's affordance of their environment—their license to use it.

**Keywords:** children, play environment, children's drawings, cultural context

## INTRODUCTION

I watched a little French Parisian-born boy play in his new hometown, a small town in Finland. He used to jump on his terrain bike in front of the apartment where they lived and head for the nearby woods, cycling. However, either parent was always following him there. His mother found it difficult to stay calm and confident, seeing her son occupying himself so freely outside the home. Her Finnish neighbors smiled at her concern: it was safe there, and Finnish children are familiar with nature from a very young age. The grown-ups' views about the safety of the neighborhood and

1 An earlier, popularized version of this article, under the title “Luen huoneessani kirjaa susien elämästä” [I read of wolves in my room], appeared in Finnish in *Matkalla* [On a journey], edited by Helena Ruotsala, Petri Saarikoski, and Maija Santikko, 119–32. Pori: Kulttuurituotannon ja maisemantutkimuksen laitoksen julkaisuja XVIII (Granö 2009).

their culturally bound relationships to nature seem to affect their children's way of using the space around them and their choice of play environments. Is the Finnish stereotype of Finnish children playing freely in nature now altered and without grounds? What about the common view of the urban and controlled childhood of continental European children? (Kalliala 1999, 253–57). In this article, I compare the favorite play environments of French children who have temporarily immigrated to Finland with those of Finnish children living in the same town. I am interested in identifying possible culturally bound differences between these groups of children, and the nature of the eventual differences.

### **THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

The study is related to the subdiscipline of cultural geography called children's geographies. This field, which has become increasingly prominent during the past decades, examines the significance of children's attachments to place (Evans and Holt 2011, 278; Prats Ferret, Baylina, and Ortiz 2011; Kraft, Horton, and Tucker 2007, 399). Researchers suggest that children are competent but not sovereign actors in their environment. Adults' perceptions of their children and the parents' wider discourses about childhood vary depending on where these perceptions and discourses are constructed (Atkins 2006, 36–37; Evans and Holt 2011, 282). Children's relationships to a place depend on their personal characteristics and on the wider social and cultural context of the family. Hence, for example, the comparative studies between Scandinavian, southern European, and Australian children, as well as studies of certain geographical areas, such as urban areas in Great Britain and the United States, show different kinds of relationships to local communities and different ways of using space (Derr 2008; Hume, Salmon, and Ball 2005; Jack 2010; Kraft, Horton, and Tucker 2007; Kytä 2008; Taylor and Kuo 2008). There is no previous study comparing French and Finnish children's play environment preferences and their ways of using space. Generally, it could be claimed that children in the Nordic countries have, according to the comparison, the greatest freedom to move about independently and to actualize the possibilities of the environment. They are the least controlled children. Marketta Kytä's (1997) study, which was carried out in three communities in Finland, shows that children's freedom to move around is high. The study showed that 98 to 100 percent of eight- and nine-year-olds were allowed to go home independently from school. In the European context, the Finnish children enjoy more freedom to move in their environment than children in Germany and especially in England. Kytä, who has also studied child-friendly

urban structures and environments, points that the most controlled are Italian, Portuguese, and Australian children (Kyttä 1997, 46–50; Kyttä 2008, 141–44). However, some studies show that, lately, children's possibilities and permissions to use the local environment, particularly unstructured outdoor play, have declined everywhere (Staempfli 2009). According to a comparative study, a growing risk aversion is evident in some Western societies, such as in Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States, though less so in Scandinavia (Little, Sandseter, and Wyver 2012). This is the result of questions and problems of traffic safety, for example, the pedestrian infrastructure and street network patterns, as well as experiences regarding social safety (Baran et al., 2013, 768; Evans and Holt 2011, 280–81; Hume, Salmon, and Ball, 2005, 1; Jack 2010, 755; King and Howard 2014).

Children's opportunities to actualize possibilities in an environment when playing and moving about are closely related to their mental and physical well-being. Many studies show how the possibility of utilizing the local environment supports the physical, mental, social, and cognitive development of children as well as their self-control and use of imagination (Derr 2008, 110–12; Hume, Salmon, and Ball 2005, 8; Kyttä 2008, 151; Staempfli 2009, 268–69; Taylor and Kuo 2008, 130). However, parents are often aware of children's need and find it difficult to balance between ensuring children's safety and allowing them to play in stimulating environments (Sandseter 2012). According to Gordon Jack (2010, 758–60), whose view comes from the field of applied social science, place, identity, and well-being are closely connected among children, young people, and adults. In terms of social work, it would be destructive if children became invisible in their own home area. Children's knowledge of their own environment could be utilized, for example, in city planning, and thus it could promote children's opportunities of being social actors.

## **THE CONTEXT OF THE STUDY**

I study play environment preferences by analyzing children's drawings and short essays. The material consists of pictures and texts produced by both pupils in a French school and pupils in a Finnish school in a small town in Finland. Among children included in the study, twenty pupils were from the French school and fifty-six were from the Finnish school. For comparative research reasons, it was essential that the day-to-day environment of the children be about the same. I asked children to draw their favorite play environment and, in addition, to tell me more about the picture in writing. Every child received the same instructions from the teacher. I

also emphasized that children are allowed to draw freely, choosing their equipment themselves as well. In case children should have liked to get further instructions or answers to their questions, the teachers were told to encourage the children to draw their favorite place to play, whether it was inside the house or outdoors. The season could be chosen freely, and they could draw themselves and their playmates as well. The children commented on the drawings in their complementary texts. They were allowed to tell in words where the place was situated, what could be done there, and with whom they played there. Sometimes the children even gave reasons for their choice. I recorded the age and sex of each child but kept their names confidential. I asked permission to perform this study from the schools in question and from the parents of the children. The youngest drawer was five years old, and the eldest were ten years old.

The French children were living in Finland because their parents—usually the father—had a temporary job for a few years in Finland. When the drawings were made, the shortest period of residence in Finland had been three months, and the longest had been four years. Most of the children had lived in Finland for two years. Some had moved to Finland directly from France, but a few had stayed in other countries as well. The children followed the French education program and had French teachers. Their school resembled a little piece of France in the middle of a small Finnish town. A French teacher, who was also a mother to two children and who had lived in Finland since 2011, confirmed that the curriculum, as well as the academic schooling tradition differed from the Finnish one. To learn to read is a difficult and challenging task for French children if compared to the Finnish children, because of the differences in the structure of the language.<sup>2</sup> In the French school, correct writing plays a more important role than children's creativity or free story telling (Moisy 2014). Also art education emphasizes clean and neat performance. The tradition is more academic than in Finland; subjects such as the arts and physical education are not essential in the curriculum. Also, contrary to education policy in Finland, the curriculum is more centralized in France, the teachers are supervised, and they are expected to strictly follow the national guidelines (Coubetergues et al. 2003; Moisy 2014).

According to a Finnish-born teacher working at the French school, the French children's comings and goings are more strictly supervised than those of the Finnish children. French families find it natural that the children are taken to

2 Finnish has a much closer grapheme-to-phoneme correspondence than French, and this facilitates the process of learning to read.

school to the teacher's care and collected from school directly from the teacher's hands, as kidnappings are considered a threat even in the smallest French village (Salo-Tammivuori 2008). In France, the children are not encouraged to move alone around their neighborhood. In the rural environment, cycling to school is not usually allowed until the students are in the seventh grade. Traffic is regarded as dangerous; there are no cycle tracks available, motorists drive too fast and do not pay attention to the pedestrians or cyclists (Moisy 2014). In their research, Phoebe Foy-Phillips and Sally Lloyd-Evans (2011, 380–82) highlight the important role of localized parenting cultures and gender discourses. For example, in rural England the social control is strong and the mothers are influenced by the fear of being judged as “bad mothers.” The moral panic and the spatially highly supervised lives of children have gripped English middle-class parents. France, on the other hand, has a higher proportion of working mothers than the United Kingdom and has also an extensive public childcare system. Nevertheless, the “maternal guilt” and parenting cultures, like social control experienced by the families, are widely discussed in France like in other European Union countries (*Eurostat* 2011; *Family Platform* 2011; *The Changing Face of Motherhood* 2012.) These issues may have become emphasized in the context of the French school in Finland because of the small community of the French families and a relatively high number of stay-at-home-mothers (Moisy 2014).

Finnish children are allowed to use the local environment in the small town in question to a very different extent. Many children walk or cycle to school independently, without parents. The working culture and parenting culture in Finland enable children's freedom to move. Women's rates of employment in Finland are significantly higher than in many other countries in the EU. At the same time the parents recognize the value of children's physical activity and support strongly their children's participation in sport (*Eurostat* 2011; *Kansallinen liikuntatutkimus 2009–2010*). However, the Finnish way of emphasizing independence in raising children has been criticized. Coping is sometimes counteracted by feelings of loneliness and insecurity in children (Junttila 2010).

I received my pile of pictures from the schools on a snowless and dark December day. I spread the two sets of pictures on the floor and saw immediately a prominent difference between the schools. The French children had only used marker pens and colored pencils when drawing. The drawings were precise and full of details. The drawings of the Finnish children represented a wide range of variety. The children had made vivid pictures with pastel chalks, giving the impression of great haste and a lot of action. There were pictures made by children with perception or motor

disorders as well. The homogeneity of the French school's children and the heterogeneity of the Finnish school's children are explained by the differences of the family background. The French mainly represent educated officials and executives. The scripts written by the children strengthened my notions. The Finnish children wrote a little longer and a little more descriptively than the French children did. The Finns used adjectives, verbs, and descriptions of feelings more often than the French did. My first impression was of a discreet, matter-of-fact, controlled, and skilled Frenchman, counterbalanced by a little messy, racy, talkative, and emotional Finn. Is this impression valid? Does it correspond to the stereotypes we make or like to maintain of European nationalities?

Outi Tuomi-Nikula (2008) has written an article about the origin and essence of national stereotypes. Tuomi-Nikula marks the matter-of-fact and sparse speech with almost no gestures as an example of typical Finnish way of expressing oneself, which is widely recognized in Central Europe. In particular, a Finnish man expressing feelings is something that simply does not exist, according to this stereotype. The sparse words and reserved manner are associated with high technology and trustworthiness. According to the stereotypes, this attitude arises from a cold, dark, and sparsely populated country, where the upbringing and work ethic follow Lutheran, hardworking modesty. A Finn has an intimate relationship to nature, but not to another human being (16–18). It is impossible, though, to interpret children, their play environments, and national differences without analyzing both the drawings and the writings more thoroughly and more systematically. In addition, it is advisable to study children's ways of expressing themselves in their drawings and their relationships to places.

### **METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH: PICTURE AND EXPERIENCE**

A picture of an environment is different from the perception or the lived experience of an environment. A child drawing a picture faces a task full of challenges when trying to describe his or her experience of a particular environment in a two-dimensional form. The child is forced to consider creating an image of a space—for instance, how to draw a room or a playground with its equipment. Many factors affect the act of drawing and the drawing skills of the child; some of these are age, motor skills, ability to manage the material and the equipment, education, and common interest in pictorial action. Most of the children participating in the study can be placed in the so-called symbol-making stage (7-to-9-year-olds). According to the definition of that stage, children use graphic symbols and more developed details in

their pictures. In a single drawing, they can use a variety of spatial representation strategies, such as multiple baselines, fold-over drawings and multiple viewpoints. Because the French children start school younger than Finnish children (who start school at seven years of age), in the material, there are a few drawings done by five- and six-year-old French children. Younger children develop symbols of their own and find out the power to communicate and express themselves. After the symbol-making stage, children have the desire for making a picture look “right.” Stage theories explain how the majority of children progress in a similar way through a developmental sequence, but they are problematic for explaining social and cultural factors (Luehrman and Unrath 2006, 6–8).

Instead of evaluating the drawings by the child’s developmental stage, I study the contents of the picture. I assume that the things children describe in their pictures, such as space, objects, people, and colors, tell something that the child has wanted to convey about his play environment. A child draws things that he finds significant in a certain place. In addition, it is important to take notice of the atmosphere in which the pictures are made as well as the social context and the visual culture (Freedman 1997). The pictures drawn in a classroom are affected by the drawings of a friend or the person sitting next to the child, as well as by other pictures of which he has experience. Habits, practice, and interest in certain themes are shown in the drawings. For example, the ice hockey pictures of the French boys and the sports field pictures of the Finnish boys refer to the fact that these sports belong in the hobbies of the children. The boys know what elements belong to a sports hall and what equipment a goalkeeper has. The comparison between girls’ pictures and boys’ pictures shows clearly that the girls are more used to drawing people, whereas in the boys’ drawings (especially in the younger boys’ drawings), the place and the sports are more important elements than the human beings, who are drawn as stick figures in a carefree manner.

Children’s drawings are used in cross-cultural studies especially in mixed-method research approaches (Ganesh 2011, 220). My purpose for having children draw play environments and write about them is to identify the significance that the children give to places. Helen Tovey writes about children’s outdoor play and use of space and emphasizes that, for children, an environment is not only full of objects and things but of significance as well. Things also appear as useful to them; for example, they become climb-on-able or crawl-under-able. The relationship is active and, according to Tovey, children would rather “write” their environment than “read” it (Tovey 2007, 5). The action and the phrases children use when describing

their perceptions in their drawings tell us about significance. Many children draw themselves and their playmates too in the drawing. They show us what the situation looks like in other people's eyes. Moreover, the drawer gives us a manual for using the place. What is interesting is the drawings where there is no one to be seen. In these pictures, the child describes his view through an imaginative camera lens as an observer but at the same time as a person who is in every sense present in the environment. These pictures represent a minority in both groups.

The studies of children's use of space mostly utilized various drawing material. The relationship that children have to their environment is studied especially with the help of landscape drawings and diverse cognitive mappings (Hume, Salmon, and Ball 2005, 3). Usually, such studies are related to human geography, social sciences, and environmental psychology. My interpretative method combines socio-cultural interpretation and content analysis. The socio-cultural interpretation defined by Kerry Freedman emphasizes the pictures being born in a relationship to the social group and visual culture in general. The contents and the structure of the drawings can easily be linked to the context in which they were drawn (1997, 100–101). The content analysis of pictures pays attention to the themes which arise from the material and by which the pictures can be categorized (Rose 2007, 65). Aside from the drawings, I examined the texts the children had written, in which they described the contents of their drawings and what the place meant to them.

I divided the drawings into groups according to subject. Both the French children and the Finnish children find outside play environments the best, but there are no other significant similarities to be found. Outside play environments include the child's own home yard in Finland or in France, the nearby woods, forests, shores, parks, grandparents' houses, summer residences, built city playgrounds, and sports fields. Indoor play environments include the child's own room, other rooms at home, and sports buildings. Half of the French children set their favorite play environment in France. The places there are situated by the sea, in a playground, or in the home yard. Pictures show, for instance, the fact that most of the French boys find the nearby ice hockey arena their favorite inside sports area in Finland, obviously as a new and exotic hobby, whereas Finnish children prefer the swimming hall. In France, the physical activities of children, like physical education in school, are usually practiced inside the sport centers (Moisy 2014), while the Finnish curriculum underlines outdoor activities. Three French children regard their own room as their favorite place to play. An almost six-year-old boy puts together puzzles, reads books about wolves, and draws (Figure 1), and two French children play computer



or PlayStation games with their friends. The Finnish children think that their own room is the best place because they can find solitude and peace there. “I play there because it’s peaceful and nice there. I don’t usually play with other children, it will become too noisy” (Girl, 10 years). In the child’s own room, there are their own important toys: “. . . my very own soft toy and another soft toy of my brother, and I play with them” (Boy, 9 years, Figure 2). For two children, the absolute favorite place is the sitting-room couch. There is another child who finds the walk-in wardrobe as the favorite: “. . . because the place is a shelter” (Boy, 9 years). A French girl, who writes how she loves playing at home, still draws two big windows in her picture, showing the colorful, and obviously Finnish, forest scenery— which is actually the most dominant element in the picture. In the similar drawings by Finnish children, the views outside appear insignificant. Instead, they describe their emotions at home in a stronger and more colorful way than the French children do.



Figure 1 (above). French boy, age 6. Figure 2 (below). Finnish boy, age 9.



### **TYPICAL FINNISH RELATIONSHIP TO NATURE—OR LACK OF CONTROL?**

Nature near home (i.e., the home yard, the neighborhood, the surroundings of grandparents' home, and the forest near home) is considered to be the best play environment by almost half of the Finnish children (24 cases of 56). French children find a built playground or the home yard with equipment the best place to play (10/20). As I observe the drawings and the writings of the children, the most profound and significant differences between the two nationalities become clear.

Finnish children who prefer playing in the nearby nature are both girls and boys, and most of them are nine years old. Hence, they have greater freedom to move about than younger children have. In the French group, there is only one similar "Finnish-like" place to play. It is pictured by a nine-year-old girl, who has lived in an apartment in Finland for two years. You can see two brown squirrels, too, climbing the tree in her drawings. The girl explains her drawing: "It used to be merely a pile of stones but we have built a house of it, it is situated near our flat. We make flour out of the stones. The yellow things in the picture are pine needles."

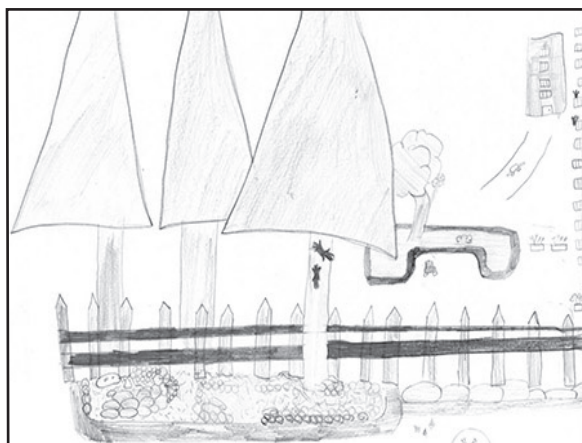


Figure 3. French girl, age 9.

This kind of a long-time, active building game, using the materials found in nature, can only be seen in this particular French drawing. It is much more common for Finnish children to actualize the possibilities they have found in a place. Outside play environments are, according to research, of special importance to a child because they offer a wide variety of experiences and, in consequence, have an effect on the child's relation to his own body (Tovey 2007, 16). The written explanations the children have linked to their outside play and sports drawings complement the impression of sensory experiences that are seen in the pictures. For example, three

French children describe their sensations like this: “It was really windy”; “I can see islands”; and “I like carrying out all kinds of fantastic things from the sea.” The descriptions of the perceptions that the Finnish children experienced in outside environments also cover shores, but the various woods near home are environments that are even more common. The explanations the Finnish children give of their drawings in writing include a lot of free moving about and many imaginative games where the children can exploit the elements in nature: “I play in our backyard with my friend, climbing the trees, pretending that we are squirrels” (girl, 9 years); “My favorite place is the fir hedge, we jump down from there” (boy, 9 years). In his long story, a ten-year-old Finnish boy describes the different activities he does in different seasons; all his games consist of building things out of the material found in nature. While a French boy is reading about wolves in his room, an older Finnish boy



Figure 4. Finnish boy, age 7.

tells a story of the werewolves in the forest and completes his story in these words: “The forest is nice if you are able to find bones there, it also makes a good game, you see, it could be just the bone of the wolf in question” (boy, 10 years). However, the Finnish children might just enjoy listening to the birds and lying on the grass: “We just stretch ourselves on the grass; that is our way of playing.” The Finnish children expand their environment upwards by climbing on trees and tall rocks (Figure 4). The French material totally lacks these more courageous games. Further, only the Finnish drawings show children spending time in nature alone, by themselves, enjoying it. The Finnish material matches the *Bullerby*-model that Marketta Kytta (2003), researcher of children’s use of the outside environment, has introduced in her doctoral thesis. According to Kytta, “Bullerby” (Swedish for ‘noisy village’) represents the ideal environment for a child. Invented by the Swedish children’s author,

Astrid Lindgren, this village, Bullerby, is safe, and it offers interesting challenges for a child. In many aspects, the child is a member of society but is still given plenty of possibilities to move about and feel socially free.

According to geographer David Sibley (1995), who has studied children's use of environment, a space is defined by different expressions of limits. Children's space has social, cultural, and emotional boundaries. It is typical for children to try to enlarge the boundaries and, especially, to act on the limits their emotional experiences set on them. The dangers linked to places can be about traffic or the nearness of water, but frightening people, older children, or angry dogs can also be considered as threats (Sibley 1995). Several studies have implied that children need and prefer "indefinite" spaces and elements. They do not utilize designed spaces as they were intended to (Tovey 2007, 58–59). Marjatta Kalliala (1999), who has studied the play culture among Finnish children, noted that the play culture in kindergartens allows a lot of freedom for children. The world of children is very much separated from the world of grown-ups, and the pedagogs have made this decision on purpose. Arguments for it arise from emphasizing play as an absolute value. Outdoor games especially allow children to act freely in both an environmental and emotional sense. Kalliala calls the phenomenon "flagpole pedagogy": the grown-ups are rigid and do not easily move about. Nevertheless, children know the physical boundaries of the play, the ones they are not allowed to cross, but which they, at the same time, try to cross (208, 227–29). The existence of different boundaries can be discovered in children's drawings in the form of cropping the drawing area, and the inclusion of fences, roads, and grown-up people in the pictures. The texts, too, tell us about experiences of crossing boundaries. They tell us, for instance, how you can get in the woods from the home yard. Some of the Finnish children report playing with their father or at their grandparents' premises, but none of them drew grown-ups in their pictures. In comparison, two of the French drawings include grown-ups: a teacher, and in another drawing, the parents of the child.

### **WILL THE CHILD BECOME A CHILD IN NATURE OR ON A PLAYGROUND?**

Both French and Finnish children like urban playgrounds designed for children, where there is equipment such as swing sets, merry-go-rounds, slides, climbing frames, and sandboxes. These built playgrounds clearly mean a lot to children, regardless of their nationality. There, they are able to accomplish and experience the same things as in nature: they jump, feel dizzy, get excited, put their courage on trial, and just spend time together. However, a more careful study of the drawings shows

that all built playground pictures but one were drawn by girls, with only one being drawn by a French boy. For Finnish boys, sports fields, traffic parks, or swimming halls represent built playgrounds. The French boys replaced the built playground with an ice hockey arena, and one boy even with Disneyland. Playgrounds seem to interest only girls, with the nationalities of children making no difference. Girls describing playground visits in writing always mention the person with whom they visited the playground. Corinne Aves (2006) emphasizes that the playgrounds are highly demanding places in a social sense. In order to survive there, you have to manage simultaneously the rapidly changing situations in play, in friendship, and in the hierarchy between children (44) (Figures 5 and 6). Additionally, according to Kraft, Horton, and Tucker (2007, 400) many researchers have criticized the conflation of children's play with the playground designed by adults.

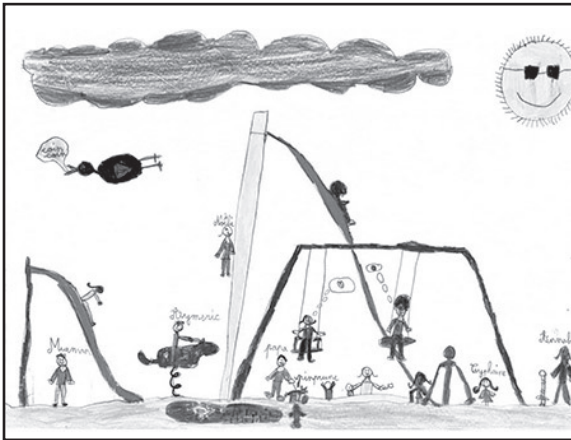
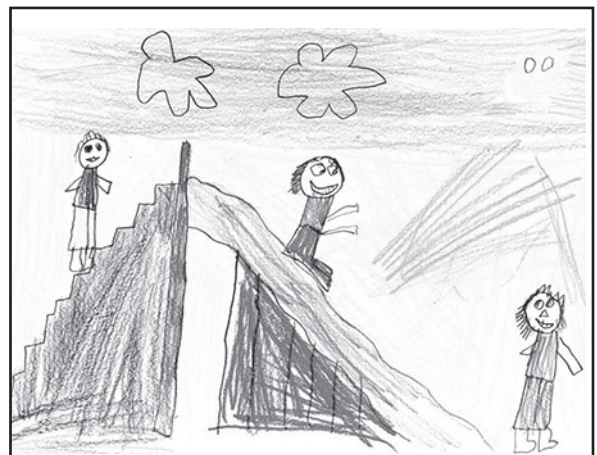


Figure 5 (above). French girl, age 7. Figure 6 (below). Finnish girl, age 7.



The boys' descriptions of the places where they engage in sports always include competition and chances for different kinds of matches. The sports-area drawings are also the most carefully completed, and the Finnish boys, especially, used maps and other advanced methods of describing space when drawing pictures of the area. When Finnish boys describe visits to swimming halls, they concentrate on having fun, but the ice hockey arenas and the sports fields are popular places for the French boys to measure achievements as well. "I like ice hockey and have played it for two years and I already have three medals" (French boy, 8 years). On the contrary, the boys' sports arena descriptions also underline the chances to have fun and be together with friends. Many boys also mention the huge area of a sports field as a positive thing, as is the fact that there are woods behind the field. In their writings and drawings, many Finnish children convey the possibility of slipping into the woods. The need of Finns to get out of socially demanding and controlled built environments into "wild nature," to carry out their favorite activities there, is shown in these drawings in an almost ridiculous manner, confirming the stereotype. The Finnish children are also given permission to behave like this, and with pleasure.

Stressing the role of nature as an important play environment or, in general, the theory of children's need for experiences in nature, is a cultural aspect. It relates to the concept of childhood as an idealized state and to a romanticized view of nature (Tovey 2007, 87). Fröbel, a nineteenth-century pedagogue, who has had a strong influence on Finnish kindergarten teacher education, emphasized the use of natural material in the pedagogy of small children (Tovey 2007, 42). Further, Rachel (1859–1917) and Margaret McMillan (1860–1931), the pioneers on early childhood education, underlined the outdoor learning environment to promote children's physical and mental health (Giardiello 2014, 122–23). The interview material of Kalliala's study showed clearly the tendency of Finnish parents to stress the importance of experiences in nature. Playing in the countryside or at the summer cottage was preferred to other activities because of the freedom and the assumed imaginative aspects with which they were linked. For Finnish parents, the combination "child, play, and nature" is a holy trinity without equal, in a positive sense (Kalliala 1999, 253–57). On the contrary, Maria Montessori (1870–1952) found nature materials of no pedagogic value (Tovey 2007, 42). Recently, educators have also shown great concern about the possible vagueness or slightness of people's relationship to nature and their ignorance about aspects of nature in general. For example, Stephen Kellert (2005) discusses the fragmented nature relationship of a modern child. There are clear changes in habitation and moving patterns, and safety

threats have changed as well. The parents do not transfer their own relationship with nature to their children (77). Different kinds of school projects associated with nature and environment (the so-called Forest School Movement) are an example of actions that arise from this concern.

Tovey (2007, 87) points out that the control of children's play environment or children's freedom to play, as well as playground planning, are profoundly politicized. For instance, Tovey compares the British and the Scandinavian childhood. The British child is physically controlled and warded off strange elements even in town planning for children, but, respectively, in Nordic countries, the child is seen as a capable, adventurous, and curious human being (93). Kellert, too, emphasizes the societal aspect of the child's relationship to the environment. The freedom of environmental movement of a child is very much dependent on the parents' social status. According to Kellert, referring to children as individuals who start exploring the neighborhood and gradually break away from parents' control and look for "their own place in the world" is a very middle-class way of seeing things (2005, 77).

## **CONCLUSION**

The joy of play is natural and common for all children, as are the social relations in the play environment, the emphasis on action, and the importance of outdoor play. Nevertheless, in this study, some differences between the two groups of children were also identified: building games were uncommon to the French children (only one girl used to build things). Nearby nature was not utilized as effectively as it was by the Finns. The French career life is international and mobile, which is seen in the children's drawings in the form of tourist attractions. The Finnish children differ from the French in the way they describe their attitudes toward environments: there is often a need for solitude and peace. Only the Finnish children portrayed maps and perspective changes simultaneously in a drawing. This could result from Finland's visual arts curriculum.

Twenty drawings made by French children and over fifty drawings made by Finnish children, complemented by written descriptions, are not sufficient data for a serious study of differences and similarities, or even for observations. Nevertheless, the material does imply differences. The different school cultures may lead to differences in drawing and writing traditions. As a broad generalization, it could be claimed that the French children concentrated on legible, neat handwriting, and the Finnish children on the contents of their writings. The French children drew their pictures in a very skilled manner, composing the picture area in a more defined way

than the Finns did. They also made sure they completed their pictures. Instead, many of the Finnish children just jotted down their drawings, without giving them the final touches. Differences in family backgrounds are seen as well. The mobile careers of the French parents do not allow children to become attached to environments, and this is clearly seen in the drawings. Even some stereotypes were confirmed by the drawings, such as the Finns having a close relationship to nature, as, for instance, the spot behind the home yard's fence. The greater freedom of moving about and the need for solitude in the drawings of the Finnish children was also observable. There is by no means any lack of verbally or physically shown emotions in the drawings, not even in those made by the boys. The Finnish girls are, along with the boys, active, and a difference between the sexes in freedom of environmental movement was not found. It is also profoundly difficult to distinguish girls' drawings from boys' drawings by the subject of the picture or by the written descriptions. Alternatively, it could be the result of the particular sample that the Finnish children's drawings appeared to have more variation than the French children's drawings.

Did the material then answer my question about the significance of the cultural context to the choice of play environment or to the child's relationship to an environment? The content analysis alone is an insufficient method of interpreting the context of the drawings (Rose 2007, 73). A socio-cultural view gives the interpretation diversity. The pictures in this study were drawn at school, where the curriculum and the actions of the teacher and the other children have significance. The credibility of the results of my study is possibly weakened by the fact that I look at the pictures as a representative of middle-class Finnish culture. Generalizations are not possible because of the small amount and the selected nature of the French material. To draw exact cultural comparisons is not possible.

The parents of the French children are educated and internationally mobile experts. The results, then, confirm the effect of the social and cultural context of the family to the freedom of environmental movement in children. According to my limited material, from a cultural point of view, the French seem to represent the middle-class view of childhood of central Europe and Britain, where control is stronger than in Finland. The Finns are closer to the brisk Scandinavian childhood of survival, the "Pippi Longstocking childhood," where Pippi leads an adventurous life, sometimes pitifully alone. Therefore, the results of the comparison concerning children's freedom of movement are identical to Kyttä's results (2003, 2008). The settings in other studies (e.g., Little, Sandseter, and Wyver 2012) did



not correspond to mine. Nevertheless, it seems that in many areas, especially urban, the physical and emotional needs of children to move about in the environment are left unanswered.

The culture, too, has effects on children's drawings and writings. According to the material, Finnish art education seems to emphasize the freedom of expression of an individual. The French children's work is more controlled, and their visual world is less expressive. Behind the differences, we can trace a more significant relationship to an environment in Finnish children than in the French, and, further, more personal ways of expressing the significance of a place. However, the lack of engagement with nature, reflected in the French children's drawings, convey the fact that a relationship to an environment grows slowly. According to the phenomenological approach in human geography, place is a mental construct, and it directs the human relationship to the world (Tunturi and Syrjämäa 2002). Place includes the social, cultural, and natural memories and mental images (Tuan 1977, 151–65; see also Nora 2001, 365). The French parents have not created this dialogical relationship to the small town in Finland. They do not have a memory of a place to pass on to their children.

Where social change seems to lead to the constraint of a child's freedom to move in and take advantage of his neighborhood, education has a chance to confront this tendency. Perceiving environment in diverse ways and by different senses and methods, as well as the experience and knowledge of an environment, help a child to become attached to his local community.

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# THE SÁMI NOAIDI GRAVE IN KUUSAMO AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NORTH-SOUTH ORIENTATION

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## ABSTRACT

The Sámi noaidi in Finland, often referred to as a shaman, has been studied primarily in a historical context and primarily within the framework of events that took place between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the priests in Finland, Sweden, and Norway, during the upheaval caused by colonialism, converted the Sámi to Christianity. Of this time period, a great deal has been written about the noaidi and his drum and the many traditional practices that had both a physical and spiritual dimension to them. However, there is little information about the items that decorated the noaidi's costume or the physical objects (e.g., amulets or charms in the forms of animals) that were used ritualistically as spiritual helpers, guides, and protectors of the noaidi when he undertook his out-of-body voyage from the physical world into the world of the spirits. The discovery of a grave in the Kuusamo municipality of northern Finland in 1970, and the archaeological investigation which followed, uncovered a number of grave artifacts amongst the noaidi's remains: a metal bird, an axe head, metal rings, a knife blade, a belt buckle, and a bone hammer, made from a reindeer antler, which was used for playing a magical drum. Another significant feature, which may provide a new understanding of Sámi burial customs, was the positioning of the body as it was found in its resting place. I will demonstrate the significance of the objects found beside the noaidi, analyzing

1 I wish to express my thanks to archaeologist Mika Sarkkinen at the Ostrobothnia Museum in Oulu, who provided me with important information as well as photographic material for the research. I thank filmmakers Markku Lehmuskallio and Anastasia Lapsui for assistance in writing this article and Oliver Belcher for the use of his photographs, as well as Oula Näkkäljärvi and Jussi Taipale. Gratitude is also expressed to the following people who helped with translation and direction of literature: Leena Rantamäula, Linda Granfors, Susanna Pääkkölä, Nuccio Mazzullo, Hannu Kotivuori, and Lars Ola Nilsson.

a number of possibilities as to why they were placed with him to accompany him on his journey to the spirit world.

**Keywords:** Sámi noaidi, north, positioning, star constellations, out-of-body journey, metal birds, grave artifacts, spiritual helpers, Siberian shamans

## INTRODUCTION

In 2011, I was given a copy of *Maan Muisti* (in English, ‘Earth Evocation’), a film produced and directed by Finnish filmmaker Markku Lehmuskallio and Nenets elder Anastasia Lapsui, who is from northern Siberia. The content of the documentary is based on themes regarding the evolution of the human species from the last Ice Age until the present time. In the section of the film that presents the Lutheran era from 1520 until the twentieth century, there was information about the discovery of a grave containing the remains of a skeleton of a Sámi noaidi and several grave artifacts. The noaidi in Sámi society is typically described as a healer and ritual specialist, often referred to as a shaman<sup>2</sup> or witch who specializes in working among both the living and the dead. As described by Niinimäki et al. (2010), these remains were uncovered in Kuusamo:

Lehtoniemi, Virrankylä, Kuusamo on July 3rd 1970. [Based on this information I found out that the discovery was reported] to police as a possible homicide victim. Later examination by the police led to the conclusion that this was a much earlier burial. [ . . . ] [The] skeletal remains were examined by professor Hirvonen, MD in 1976 [ . . . ] who found three separate perforations in the crania which he interpreted as possible bullet holes indicating a possible violent death. (Niinimäki et al. 2010, 97)

An additional examination of the bones at a later date suggested that “the previous interpretations of the skull perforations as bullet holes were not supported by [the new] analysis” (Niinimäki et al. 2010, 100). Hence, the circumstances surrounding the noaidi’s death were unclear. The pathological assessment of the remains “concluded that the individual was aged around 40 years old at the time of death” (Niinimäki et al. 2010, 98).

2 By and large, the term *shaman* is used by persons from outside Lapland when referring to the noaidi, who performed a similar role to the Native American Indian medicine man or curer.

Because of the rarity of such a grave find, I decided to make a further investigation. I traveled from Rovaniemi, the capital city of Lapland, Finland, to the Northern Ostrobothnia museum (Pohjois-Pohjanmaan museo in Finnish) in Oulu, on the west coast of Finland, where the artifacts and skeletal remains were exhibited. I have chosen not to use photographic evidence of the human remains because the focus of this article is on the items found beside the noaidi.

During my visit to the museum, I established contact with archaeologist Mika Sarkkinen, who took me to see the artifacts located at the noaidi's current resting place in a large glass exhibition case. It was difficult to photograph the ritual items because of the shape of the case and also limitations on the use of the camera. After a brief examination, I was able to establish that although the data that have been published in Finnish describe the resting place of the remains as in a grave, it became apparent that the resting place was not a typical grave as such: the body had not been covered over or buried in a trench, but left on the earth (see Kopisto 1971). The remaining bones of the skeleton had been discovered because they were protruding through the soil and were in close proximity to a summer cottage. Just prior to the discovery, a garden fire had been lit inside the remains of the skull without any initial recognition of the figure lying in the soil by those who owned the property. The following excerpt, with comparisons with other noaidi graves in Lapland, Finland, describes how the grave and the remains have been dated:

The dating of the Kuusamo, Lehtoniemi, grave has been done by the money found from the location. It consists of a silver coin equivalent to 2 äyri [which was the currency of the time] from the era of Juhana III. On the edge of the coin there is a hole; therefore, it may have been used as an amulet, and this assumption is strengthened by the theory that the coin was found close to the noaidi's neck. It is also possible that the coin had been hanging from the witch drum as an amulet, as well as the piece of bronze. At least three of the bronze rings (4, 8, and 9) should be seen as pieces of a witch drum. There are many of these found in Savukoski, Mukkala Lappish tomb, researched by Jorma Leppäaho in 1934. In one of these graves, there were coins from the era of Juhana III, the oldest coin being from the 1580s. Because the coin was worn out, exact dating was not possible. The other money from the Mukkala grave is from the seventeenth century. Kuusamo, Lehtoniemi, Lappish grave is apparently



from the late sixteenth century, after 1573, which is the year the money was made. (Translated from Finnish by Leena Rantamaula)<sup>3</sup>

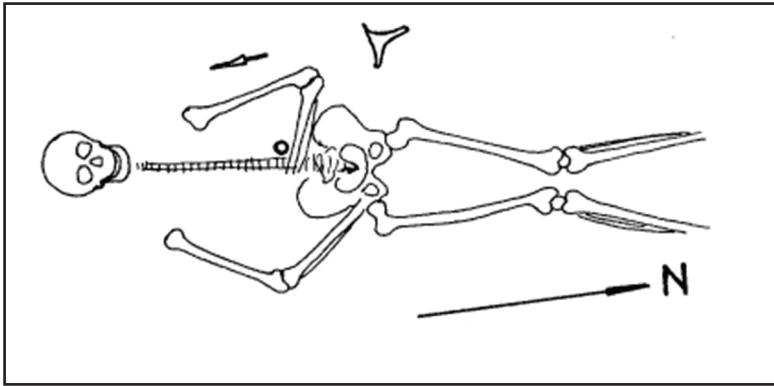


Figure 1. An illustration of the grave and orientation of the noaidi's remains at the time the archaeological investigation took place. The grave artifacts are also detailed, and the remains of the bone hammer, knife, and one divination ring are visible in close proximity to the skeleton. The positioning of the legs is towards the north. (Source: Kopisto 1971, 65.)

Both the innovation and content of this article is what has evolved from further observations and research into the mystery surrounding the discovery of the noaidi's skeletal remains and the significance of a metal bird, reindeer bone drum hammer, bronze pointer ring, axe head, coins, knife, and a belt buckle, which were all found in close proximity to the bones. The fact that the excavated reindeer bone hammer had been marked with a type of cross known from within the Orthodox Church in Russia was a further mystery, which provided an additional point of interest to help further the analysis. A symbol as such might signify close cultural links between the Skolt Sámi, who live on the Kola Peninsula in Russia, alongside the Kola Sámi, Kildin Sámi, Akkala Sámi, and Ter Sámi. The Skolt Sámi share cultural similarities

3 “Kuusamon Lehtoniemen haudalle antaa ajoituksen löydetty raha. Se on Juhana III:n aikainen 2 äyrin hopealantti. Sen laidassa on reikä, joten sitä on saatettu käyttää riipuksena, tähän viittaa myös sen löytyminen kaulan luota. On kuitenkin myös mahdollista, että se on riippunut noitarummussa helana samoin kuin löydetty pronssilevyn kappalekin. Pronssirenkaista ainakin kolme (4, 8 ja 9) on katsottava noitarummun arparenaikaiksi, jollaisia on monia Jorma Leppäahon vuonna 1934 tutkimassa Savukosken Mukkalan lappalaishaudaustalosta. Sieltä on yhdestä haudasta niin ikään Juhana III:n aikaisia rahoja, vanhin 1580-luvulta. Täsmällistä löytövuotta ei rahan kuluneisuuden vuoksi ole voitu määrittellä. Mukkalan kalmiston muiden hautojen rahat ovat 1600-luvun puolelta. Kuusamon Lehtoniemen lappalaishauta on ilmeisesti 1500-luvun lopulta, jälkeen vuoden 1573, mikä on haudasta löytyneen rahan löytövuosi.” (Kopisto 1971, 68)

with the Sámi who live in Finland, Sweden, and Norway, with regard to depictions of Christian themes or symbols on certain ritual items, for instance their painted noaidi drums. Adaptation of such symbols happened as a response to colonialism and the outlawing of Sámi pre-Christian religious practices. The following brief description comes from Sergejeva (2000):

[. . .] the Kola and Skolt Sámi people belong to the eastern-Sámi group living throughout the Kola Peninsula, Northern Finland and North-Eastern Norway. Their languages Skolt, Akkala, Kildin and Ter Sámi are closely related. These languages together with the Inari Sámi language constitute the eastern group of Sámi languages. Traditionally, the Kola and Skolt Sámi have lived under Russian rule. (Sergejeva 2000, 155)

Because of the large gaps in both Sámi and Finnish history and the fact the Sámi were scattered in many places throughout Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula, there is no certainty as to whether or not the Orthodox cross on the bone hammer is a type of ethnic marker. However, the cross does in this instance demonstrate the influence of, or adaptation to, Christianity from the time of dating. The presence of the cross may not necessarily be seen in a negative sense. A cross on a ritual item may, in this case, have been important as protection or as another source of power for the noaidi. The vocation of the ritual specialist also included out-of-body travel and work with powerful spirits which were summoned to assist with various tasks when required (see Laestadius 2002). However, these practices were sometimes fraught with complexity and danger, from hostile souls of other noaidi who were also traveling in the spiritual worlds with their helping spirits.

The metal bird discovered among the skeletal remains is unique and rare in Finland. This is because, typically, previously discovered animal figures, in the forms of amulets representing spiritual helpers, are traditionally made from reindeer bone and antler. These were usually attached to the rear side of the noaidi drums, as has been extensively discussed by Ernst Manker (1938). Uncovering what could be described as a type of spirit bird—as one of the noaidi's allies or helping spirits—as a physical item is even more interesting. Currently, in Finland, we lack similar artifacts that provide any kind of information about such objects and their role within the context of grave customs and death rites.

In association with both the bone hammer and metal and bone amulets, the Sámi noaidi drums were the most sought-after instruments by the priests of the Lutheran churches in Sweden, Norway, and Finland during the seventeenth and

eighteenth centuries. In different areas throughout Lapland, different types of drums, in terms of their frame and bowl, were made.

Frame and Bowl: The frame-drums *gievrie*, from the South Sámi area, were made in an oval shape. The frame was called *Gievriegisa*. The pine or spruce from which it was made should grow straight and regular. It should be a flexible material that one could heat and bend into a bow-shape, and either sew or rivet together. The handle and wooden cross-pieces gave the frame its proper form. Over the frame was laid the wet, defurred reindeer skin which was fastened over the frame while it dried. The leather was fixed to the frame with threads made from sinews. [. . .] In the northern area the pine and spruce were also used, but there it was the boles and knots of the roots that formed the body of the drum. *Goabdes* or *meavrresgárri* are the names for these bowl-drums. The body of the drum was hollowed out into a bowl leaving two linear gaps which made a handle. Sometimes they did not take much time to decorate the wood, but on other drums we find beautiful ornamentation that attests to great artistic skill and craftsmanship. Sun and Fields: It was not just in the shape of the drum but also in the pictures themselves that the southern and northern traditions were different. (Westman and Utsi 1999, 10)

However, some of the main features that characterized the pictorial content of the painted drum heads were the powers of the universe-nature which were personified as different spirits, who had a range of statuses and functions in Sámi society. Through the beating or striking of the drum with the bone hammer and through sacrificial practices and singing, the noaidi communicated with the spirits in order to determine their will in relation to everyday matters.

In various types of drum rituals and consultations, a triangular piece of reindeer bone pointer, referred to as *arpa*, was one ritual implement used during this process, as were brass and copper rings. The movement of the arpa across the surface of the drum was a way of following guidance from the spirits when the drum was struck, especially in matters relating to divination where hunting and the herding of reindeer were concerned.

According to Rolf Christoffersson (2010, 265), “the pointer was equipped with small ringing brass chains or leaves supplementing the sound of the drum head, here seen as the second voice.” It was in a trance state the noaidi undertook and

often performed dangerous out-of-body healing work such as the restoration of a lost or stolen soul or soul fragment (see Hultkrantz and Bäckman 1978), which was retrieved usually from a hostile spirit or relative of the sick or injured person, who resided in the world of the dead. This was a spirit that had stolen the soul from a victim. Other descriptions of drum use are also detailed below.

According to Rheen ([1671] 1983, 31), cited in Christoffersson (2010, 237) the drum was used as follows: (1) to determine how things are in strange and far-away places; (2) to determine fortune and misfortune, concerning health and illness; (3) to cure sicknesses; and (4) to perceive what the Gods required for sacrifice, and to which of their Gods they should offer the animals. (Based on a translation from Swedish to English by Linda Granfors)

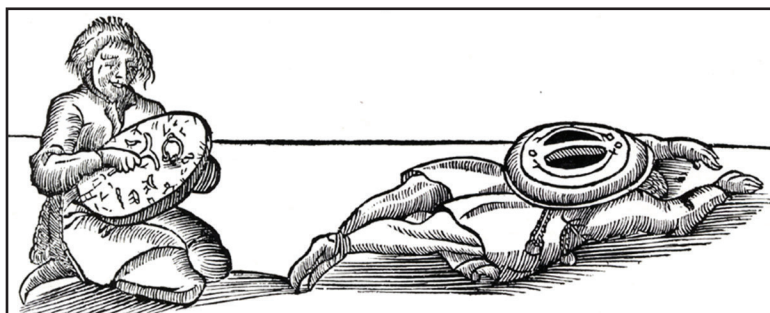


Figure 2. A Sámi noaidi beating his drum with a typical “Y”- or “T”-shaped hammer made from reindeer antler. The surface of the drum, which has painted pictures on the drum head, is made from reindeer skin. Also visible is a round divination ring that acted as a guide regarding spiritual direction from the spirits when seen moving across the surface of the drum. Beating the drum and singing a song of power was also a way of calling upon spiritual helpers who assisted the noaidi with his work. Once the direction has been confirmed, the noaidi then falls into a trance and begins his out-of-body journey into the spiritual worlds. (Schefferus 1673, 139; Illustration: Schefferus 1673, 139)

## **ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND THE APPROACH USED IN THIS STUDY**

Because this article addresses aspects of an ancient indigenous religion and of burial practices that are not undertaken anymore, this makes the task of interpretation regarding the possible relationship between the noaidi and the metal bird found with his remains difficult in a number of ways. This is mainly because Sámi history and religion have, like the religious practices of many other indigenous peoples, descended from an oral tradition where burial practices as such have not been recorded or documented because of the nature of customs and taboos within society. Also, documentation is often not in a written format but is presented as narratives

in ritual art forms such as rock paintings and drum iconography. Therefore, the challenge lies not only in which methodological framework to place the study, but in ensuring that the value of indigenous research is maintained and that mutual benefit and respect is gained between the researcher and the Sámi community in relation to the ritual items referred to and the methods used in the analysis. Therefore, the documentation and subsequent investigation in the article aims at “reporting back and sharing knowledge” (Smith 1999, 15) with and on behalf of the Sámi. Through this sharing, what is discussed makes a valuable contribution with reference to Sámi traditional knowledge, Sámi cultural context, ownership, and cultural history.

Another contribution is made by drawing on Sámi scholarly literature in such a way that the utilization of the quotes regarding the relationship between the noaidis of Lapland and spirit birds are not defined only from a Western perspective by priests who converted the Sámi to Christianity. Moreover, the diaries of Lars Levi Laestadius (2002),<sup>4</sup> whose mother was a Sámi, are an important source containing both aspects of indigenous culture and Western research methods, which were at the time colonialist. Because Laestadius had close contact with the indigenous Sámi in the nineteenth century, I consider his data as having value for this study. Moreover, Laestadius had a great influence on the Sámi through the way he combined Sámi mythology with Christian teachings. However, one basic problem with Laestadius’s material, deserving to be mentioned for methodological reasons, is that although some of the information about the use of spirit birds by the noaidis in Lapland was compiled by Laestadius in his diaries, much of it was extracted from Erich Johan Jessen’s (1762) material. The data were collected from priests and missionaries engaged in conversions of the Sámi in Norway. This does not make the contribution invalid; however, as Norwegian scholar of religion Håkan Rydving (2010) has stated concerning documentation of the Sámi and their customs and traditions by the missionaries, there are both methodological and structural issues which are important to understand, with both positive and negative connotations regarding the ways they were documented by outsiders:

There is a tendency to harmonise terms and names from different sources, disregarding geographical distribution. In addition, information from

4 Laestadius (1800–61) was recruited by the French to assist during La Recherche Expedition (1838–40) to northern Scandinavia because of his knowledge of the Sámi culture, as well as botany. Laestadius’s notes were written between 1838 and 1845, but they were not published until much later: in 1997 in Swedish, in 2000 in Finnish, and in 2002 in English. In this article, reference is made to the 2002 English version *Fragments in Lappish Mythology*, edited by Juha Pentikäinen and translated into English by Börje Vähämäki.

one area or perhaps one individual is sometimes generalised and made to apply to the entire culture, without any discussion of the principle of selection. However, regional differences in religious matters make it possible to talk about regional religions. (Rydving 2010, 57)

Another point of interest concerning the documentation of Sámi religion during the colonial era is that the informants to the priests were both Sámi and persons from outside the culture. In each case, it can be said that their sources have much value and importance today in the study of Sámi history (*ibid.*, 58).

In Laestadius's materials, there are both Swedish and Norwegian terms that may mean variations and might not necessarily be grammatically or contextually correct, and both documentation and clarity by members of the clergy have been recognized as problematic [see, e.g., Pulkkinen, Kulonen, and Seurujärvi-Kari (2005)]. One of the main complaints from Sámi historians regarding early research approaches and ethical issues is that the investigation into the culture has been conducted by outsiders who have been inaccurate in their findings; this is why a number of sources that include Sámi contributions are used as an attempt to balance the research.

A further reference source is Aage Solbakk's chapter titled "Sami Mythology and Folk Medicine" in John T. Solbakk's *Traditional Knowledge and Copyright* (2007). As a Sámi, Aage Solbakk provides an in-depth description of the noaidi's interaction with spirit birds; Solbakk uses many of the Sámi terms to describe the birds and the roles they play in relationship both to the noaidi and as a bridge between the worlds. Solbakk's contribution highlights important concepts that are specific to Sámi language and culture, and reflect Sámi traditional knowledge.

Because the subject matter addresses cultural history and the grouping of different phenomena in Sámi society, the methodological guidelines are applied to the study within a phenomenological framework-approach because there is a need to understand how the many different manifestations of religious phenomena have functioned in relation to shamanism. Such an approach helps with examining the behavior of the noaidi and his activities in relation to invocation and divination during the shamanistic séance and subsequent interaction with spirit birds. In this way, each description navigates the analysis toward some of the central features of Sámi nature religion and the meanings expressed from within the culture that are explicit to the Sámi in terms of identity, and to sacrificial practices, with regard to the Sámi cosmological picture and worldviews. The study of the bone hammer has equal value with regard to its function as a ritual instrument that accompanied the

drum. The cross helps to signify cultural change (Christian influence), which, when viewed with hindsight, is one of the adapted structures noted in Sámi society.

### **AIMS OF THE RESEARCH**

This article has four main aims. The first is an attempt to provide a broader understanding and further insight into whether or not there is any significance regarding the positioning of the noaidi's body in terms of sacred space and time, in particular the orientation of the legs towards the north, and the theories about this positioning in relation to the Sámi worldview with regard to life after death and burial customs. As a way of trying to establish the importance of the north-south positioning of the body in Sámi burial customs, comparisons are made with the remains from a noaidi's grave from the Savukoski Mukkala cemetery in Finland. A comparison of body orientations is essential for this type of research: comparisons help to establish how the Sámi people have been laid to rest, and what this could mean in terms of repatriation into the afterlife.

The second aim is to study the grave artifacts from the Kuusamo site, with special emphasis placed on the metal bird. My purpose is to unravel its significance and possible usage as one of the noaidi's helping spirits in Sámi religious practices, and therefore to assess both the central role and function these types of animals have been designated as cultural markers. In other words, does the bird offer a possible explanation of the noaidi's role preceding his death and his status in the afterlife? A wider examination concerning the discovery of the bird and its association with the noaidi is important within both the religious and cultural context regarding what has been written on these subjects from both inside and outside Sámi society. This is because much of the ethnographical data we have of metal birds used by persons who were skilled in magic comes mainly from neighboring Siberia (see, e.g., Pentikäinen 1998a; 1998b).

Third, this study also focuses on the bone hammer, which was used by the noaidi to beat his drum. The hammer is another important piece of ritual equipment, and the fact that there is a Russian Orthodox cross engraved on the vertical shaft of the handle makes the discovery unique. The presence of the hammer as a grave artifact indicates that the burial customs may have been in accordance with the belief that once the noaidi was in the afterlife, he took up his role and status there again to continue with his work. Its presence as an adopted symbol is, to me, an indication of how the noaidi probably belonged to one of the Sámi groups from

the Kola Peninsula, and, thereby, the presence of the cross may demonstrate early conversion or adaptation to the Orthodox religion of Russia.

Earlier work within archaeology (see Kopisto 1971) offers a short explanation regarding the relationship between the noaidi and ritual items excavated from the grave. To complement the findings in archaeology, this investigation also aims to examine any wider significance of what may have been a selective ritualistic positioning of the metal bird and antler bone hammer, either on or close to the body of the noaidi and how these findings might be explained in terms of grave customs. This is by contrast to earlier research for example by Manker (1938), who has shown that carved animals and animal parts such as bear claws and teeth, birds' feet, and reindeer bones are quite well-known amulets used in the old religion of the Sámi. Animal parts were often hanging from the drum or attached to the noaidi's costume as amulet type objects. They enabled the noaidi to establish correspondence with his spiritual allies in other worlds, and they provided additional sources of power. In Finland, other data produced through ethnographical research into the significance of birds as grave artifacts come from excavated material from the "Late Mesolithic, Neolithic, Early Metal Period and Bronze Age" (Mannermaa 2003, 3) periods. The material examines the significance of relationships between human beings and bird bones in prehistory "and the roles of birds in burial practices" (Mannermaa, Panteleyev, and Sablin 2008, 3).

The discovery of the metal bird and the bone hammer with the noaidi in his resting position has some resonance with earlier findings of cultural markers representing particular grave customs of an indigenous population. Both the bone hammer and metal bird are presented below because, in relation to the positioning of the body, these two items exemplify meaningful structures associated with religious experience and interaction with the spirit world. One more important point as to why the metal bird and antler bone hammer have been selected from among the other grave items for analysis is because metal rings, axe heads, knife blades, and belt buckles are generally well known from other Sámi grave excavations, for example from the Savukoski Mukkala site in Finland, and also from Sweden at Umbyns Lappish village (rings) and western Abelvattssundet and Kalmepakte, Sweden (axe heads) (see Manker 1961, 153–63).

The Kuusamo area was once a part of the former Kemi Lappmark region in Finland (see figure 3). It extended from Kuusamo in the south (a location close to what is now the Russian border), through to Inari, which was the furthest northern point of the Sámi area at "the beginning of the Modern Age" (Pulkkinen, Kulonen,



and Seurujärvi-Kari 2005, 187). The borders separated the Sámi and Finnish cultures and livelihoods from each other. “The Saami of Lapland practiced their own characteristic ways of subsistence (hunting, trapping, fishing and reindeer herding), while the Finnish and Swedish peasants to the south practiced agriculture (farming and cattle raising)” (ibid., 183).



Figure 3. A map of Scandinavia with the division of the northern parts of the Swedish Empire into the five Lappmarks. The map also shows the Lapland border: Lapinraja. On the left side is the Kemi Lappmark (Kemin Lapinmaa) region, which borders the Kola Peninsula on the Russian side (east; Venäjät) and the Tornio area to the northwest (Tornion Lapinmaa). The map shows the geographic location of the municipality of Kuusamo in northern Finland, where the grave was found. It also shows how the former Kemi Lappmark (Kemin Lapinmaa) area runs adjacent to the border area with Russia. The grid lines describe the settlement area in the 1600s and the 1700s. Map and text republished here after Vahtola (1982: 155) by courtesy of the Research Institute of Northern Finland, University of Oulu.

### **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NOAIDI'S RESTING PLACE AND POSITION**

As has been noted above by the reference from Kopisto (1971) and the illustration of the skeletal remains (figure 1), the orientation of the body (head toward south and legs toward north) might be evidence of a particular grave custom linked to

traditional Sámi burial practices. Broader significance of the reasons for such an orientation could indicate that the deceased person may have been laid to rest in this way for two reasons. The first theory concerns the possible influence of Christianity (evident on the reindeer bone hammer) and whether the noaidi was laid to rest secretly, thus avoiding a typical Christian burial in a cemetery. More importantly, this means that the person was allocated into the “right” community after his passing in order to take up his role in the afterlife in accordance with Sámi pre-Christian burial customs. The fact that the skeleton was discovered on an island located away from a Christian place of interment may also be indicative of this idea. Pulkkinen, Kulonen, and Seurujärvi-Kari’s (2005) description of Sámi death rites provides support for this interpretation:

Pre-historical graves indicate that originally the Saami buried their dead according to the general Arctic practice above the ground, usually in a crevice in a rock. If no such hole could be found, they might make a burial mound above the ground and flag it with stones. If a grave was dug, it was very shallow, no more than a few dozen centimeters deep, and it was covered over with a thin layer of turf. This process was almost the same as surface burial. (64)

One further point of attention is the solitary interment, which has parallels in Siberian culture, where the shaman was buried separately from other members of the community (Pentikäinen 1998b). However, according to what has been written about prehistoric Sámi burial customs by Pulkkinen, Kulonen, and Seurujärvi-Kari, it is also useful to understand the following explanation:

Generally, the methods of burial seem to have varied according to the place and the time of the year, so it would appear that the Saami had a fairly pragmatic attitude towards burial. No particular rule appears to have governed the direction in which the body was buried. During the Christian era, there was a period when it was the custom to bury dead people on islands if they died in the summer and only take their bodies to the graveyard when the snow had an icy crust over it. (2005, 64)

Other evidence of burial customs with reference to Sámi persons on islands comes from Sámi writer Johan Turi:

When a person dies up in the mountains in the late spring, when it is too late to reach a convenient churchyard, they place the body in a sled (unless there is wood about for a coffin) and place that on an island where wild animals can't eat it and away from trails taken by people. (Turi 2012, 80; translated by Thomas A. Dubois).

However, Turi does not mention any particular orientation of deceased persons.

One further point in relation to the interment of deceased persons is that “[d]uring the pre-Christian period, the Saami always buried their dead in or around the place where death had taken place. They had no burial grounds, which was a consequence both of their nomadic way of life and of the fear they had of the dead; this latter phenomenon is a typical feature of hunting cultures” (Pulkkinen, Kulonen, and Seurujärvi-Kari 2005, 64).

The second theory concerns the noaidi's entrance into the world of his ancestors and the significance of the positioning of his physical remains towards the north. It has to be noted that burial customs in relation to astral mythology and the night sky may also have some bearing with regard to the orientation of the body and the star constellation of Perseus and Cassiopeia, which is on the Milky Way and visible in the night sky. “Cassiopeia, Perseus, and the Waggoner, among others, belong to the Elk constellation, in Sámi called Sarvva” (Helander-Renvall 2005, 10). Many correspondences to mythic stories of this heavenly world are found painted on the drum heads in Sámi society as well as in literature sources (see, Pentikäinen 1998a; Manker 1938, 1950). These texts describe the noaidi's travels to this celestial realm, where myths were re-enacted as a way of healing, rites of transition, and retention of balance, the Cosmic Order between the human world and the cosmos. The constellations of Perseus and Cassiopeia are located above the mythical realms below the earth called Säiva, as well as the world of the dead—Jabma Aimo in the Sámi cyclical worldview, which differs from Christian mythology and concepts of the afterlife (which is in Heaven, above the earth).

Renewal and continuity of myths and ancient customs are usually done through the noaidi via sacrificial activities and rituals that are performed annually. Lars Levi Laestadius (2002) discussed these activities extensively in his manuscript. In this sense, the positioning of the noaidi's remains at death may have been essential in accordance with traditional and customary practices and narrative with regard to rites of transition. One further point of interest is as follows. The stellar constellation above the night skies and the abode of the dead below the earth—which appear

not as separate places but as realms linked together on the world pillar or tree and often separated by the membrane of water—are both found within the horizontal north-south orientation. Research by both Hultkrantz and Bäckman (1978) and Pentikäinen (1998a) makes reference to how souls of deceased noaidi in Sámi society continue to help the community even after death. The literature indicates how important stories of certain noaidis' lives have a role in ancestral and cultural memories that are transformed into oral narrative and mythical tales within the holistic worldview of the Sámi. The purpose of these stories is to help strengthen and maintain the identity of the community as well as individuals and families.

As further examples of how important grave customs and burial practices concerning orientation of the dead have been in Sámi society, presented below is information from archaeological excavations undertaken at a Sámi cemetery in Lapland, Finland. What makes the data interesting is that there are some parallels with regard to the grave goods and the way the noaidi had been laid to rest in the Kuusamo case. The following is a description, translated from the Finnish, by Jorma Leppäaho about an archaeological excavation in Lapland at the Savukoski, Mukkala Lappish tomb, which was excavated in July 1934 (Leppäaho 1937, 134):

According to the instructions, 8 graves were found towards north-west and west towards the end of the field, which are all, except one (No 4), close to each other. The place is 200m from the river; the soil quality is fine grained sand suitable for burial. The directions of the graves can be seen in picture 4. It is not likely that the directions had meaning in the burial. Grave number 5 is in the east-west direction according to the Christian tradition. Grave numbers 2, 4, 6, and 8 are pretty much in a south-north direction. This direction can thus mean something. [ . . . ] Grave number 5 is of a man. It is the grave of a witch. (Leppäaho 1937, 138, 140; translated from Finnish to English by Susanna Pääkkölä)<sup>5</sup>

From among these variations, it is important to take into consideration these points. Had the noaidi found in Kuusamo been from the Skolt-Kola Sámi area, the

5 “Hänen ohjeittensa mukaan löydettiinkin saran päästä länteen ja luoteeseen yhteensä 8 hautaa, jotka kaikki yhtä (n:o IV) lukuunottamatta olivat aivan lähekkäin. Matkaa paikalta on joen rantaan n. 200 m. Kalmiston maanlaatu oli hienoa, hautausmaaksi hyvin sopivaa hiekkaa. Hautain suunta selviää kuvasta 4. Ilmansuunnilla on siis hautauksissa ollut tuskin mitään suurta merkitystä. Hauta V on kristilliseen tapaan idästä länteen. Kutakuinkin etelä-pohjoissuunnassa ovat haudat II, IV, VI, ja VIII. Tällä suunnalla voi siis olla jotakin merkitystä. [...] Hauta V (mies). Noidan hauta.” (Leppäaho 1937, 138, 140)

assemblage and positioning of the body could have been as it was because the interment was done in adherence to traditional beliefs and practices. These were in accordance with cultural taboos that contained some difference with regard to the subsequent alignment of the body with the legs pointing toward the north. Information that supports this theory is endorsed in a study of the orientation of Sámi graves by Paine and Paine (1961), who state the following:

Of significance here is Simonsen's observation from the Skolt burial island that while earlier graves were orientated South-North the later graves (lying nearer the surface of the excavation) were orientated West-East. It is quite possible that even before the time of Christian influence the orientation of graves was in accord with religious or ideological reasons. (Paine and Paine 1961, 206)

The orientation of the body might be translated into an understanding as to how the soul of the deceased person would, on departure from the physical body, perhaps with the assistance of the spirit of the bird, be guided back toward the vertical axis of the world pillar that is orientated between north and south, thus allowing the soul to find its way back home. This might explain the significance of the metal bird as a representation of the noaidi's spirit helper, which was placed beside him as a guide. More evidence of the spiritual link to the animal kingdom and nature is provided by Itkonen (1948), who summarizes how totemism is an extensive phenomenon within Skolt Sámi families. Itkonen describes deep ancestral ties to animals, including birds:

The Skolt Sámi believed that each person had a guardian spirit, which is invisible and its name is *kád'dz* 'companion'. It is inherited from father to son and from mother to her daughters, and they are not allowed to transfer it to anyone else. The adults do not talk with children about these, otherwise the children will die, and only from twenty years of age is the child capable of facing this spirit. It looks like an animal. Fedotov family have a sheep, Letov a horse, Titov bear, Kalinin deer, Afanasev reindeer, Gerasimov hawk, Gayrilov burbot. It is possible to have some kind of insect as well. Every family might have its own elf when they go to the forest for hunting. Happy *kád'dz* are bear, reindeer, sheep. Fish

are regarded as peaceful spirits, but difficult ones are cat, dog, and wolf.

(Translated from Finnish by Susanna Pääkkölä)<sup>6</sup>

In contrast to what Pulkkinen, Kulonen, and Seurujärvi-Kari (2005) have said regarding no general direction for burials, the four Sámi graves in the Savukoski Mukkala cemetery are all in the same “north-south direction” (Leppäaho 1937, 138), as are the remains of the noaidi from the Kuusamo excavation. What seems mysterious is how the noaidi who has been laid to rest in the Savukoski Mukkala cemetery is pointing toward “west-east direction,” which as has been stated is in accordance “to the Christian tradition” (ibid.). Thereby, this indicates that the direction for the burial of the dead has been important, and that the positioning of the body of the noaidi from Kuusamo appears to be in tradition with the burial customs used in the Savukoski Mukkala cemetery for the other Sámi persons interred there. Evidence of these variations may suggest that the Sámi have had different burial practices, but these variations also indicate the determination or influence of the church to bury the noaidi in Christian ways, which, like many other customs and taboos, appears to be in opposition to Sámi cultural practices. One other question worth asking is whether or not the geographic location of a body of water, for example, a lake or river, may have played a role in the orientation of the dead. “It is a universal idea that water, especially flowing water, is a barrier, or at least an impediment, to the soul of a dead person” (Pulkkinen, Kulonen, and Seurujärvi-Kari 2005, 64).

Another issue that deserves a mention concerns the whereabouts of the noaidi’s drum, of which there were no traces at the burial site in Kuusamo. If the drum had been placed in the resting place with the other grave artifacts, it seems obvious that, because of its exposure to the elements, the wooden frame and skin from the reindeer would have decomposed over time. In short, the missing drum is something of a mystery, given the fact that the bone hammer and bronze indicator rings were placed alongside the noaidi at the time of his death, as both are ritual items made from more sustainable materials, which are effectively all linked to one another. The absence of the drum in this sense is unexplained, because it is considered as probably

6 “Koltat uskovat joka suvulla olevan näkymättömän seuralaishengen. Nimeltä kád’ dz ’kumppani’. Se periytyy isältä pojille, äidiltä varsinkin tyttärille; sitä ei saa muille luovuttaa. Lapsille siitä ei puhuta, muuten he kuolevat nuorina, vasta 20-vuotias on kelvollinen vastaanotamaan k.n. Se on eläimen näköinen, Fedotovilla lammas, Letovilla hevonen, Titovilla karhu, Kalininilla peura, Afanasevilla poro, Gerasimovilla haukka, Gavrilovilla made, voipa k:ksi kelvata hyönteinenkin. Suvun eri jäsenillä saattaa olla oma erikoishaltiansa, joka seuraa häntä esim, eräretkillä. Onnellisia k:ja ovat karhu, poro, lammas, rauhallisia kalat, mutta hankaloita kissa, koira ja susi.” (Itkonen 1948, 349)

the most important of these ritual artifacts and another item that was also needed in the afterlife. A possible explanation is suggested by Manker (1938), according to whom drums were passed on from mother and father to son and daughter. If this is the case, it would also provide an additional explanation as to why no traces of the drum were found. However, decomposition seems like the most obvious outcome.



Figure 4. Three bronze indicator rings, which are typical of those used during divination by the noaidi, were found close to the human remains. Traditionally, the rings are placed on the decorated drum skin, and when the drum is struck, the rings move in a certain position indicating the will of the spirits (see Manker 1938). Photo by Mika Sarkkinen. Copyright: Pohjois-Pohjanmaan Museo/The Northern Ostrobothnia Museum 2013.



Figure 5. The drum beater-hammer is typically used to beat the drum in order to enter a trance or undertake divination. The hammer was found at the left side the skeletal remains. As a result of decay, the decorative pattern, seen as dots that form the Orthodox cross, are only just visible from this angle. Photo by Mika Sarkkinen. Photograph and copyright: Pohjois-Pohjanmaan Museo/The Northern Ostrobothnia Museum 2013.

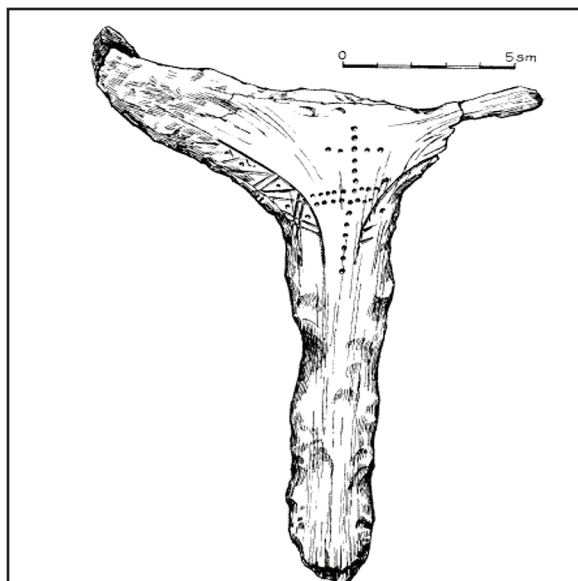


Figure 6. In this illustration taken from Aarne Kopisto's article, "Kuusamon lappalaishauta" (1971), the markings of a Russian Orthodox cross engraved onto the shaft are made visible on the remains of an upright "Y"- or "T"- shaped antler bone hammer. The beater was usually decorated with traditional patterns. Although the hammer is a rare and important item, there are approximately four more hammers made from reindeer bone that have been found in the following locations in northern Finland: "Haukipudas Sankoniemi, Inari Nukkumajoki, Kuolajärvi Kaakkurilampi, and Sodankylä Juikenttä" (Ranta 1998, 98).

During a fieldwork excursion to northern Finland's Lapland in 2004, Jussi Taipale, with whom I traveled to Inari, gave me a sketch of a scene from the after-life. The illustration was drawn by Sámi elder Oula Näkkäljärvi and depicted a Sámi noaidi riding a reindeer, portrayed on the skin of the noaidi drum. I believe that the illustration shows how deceased Sámi persons do not necessarily only travel back into the world of the ancestors within the earth (for example, the mythical world of Säiva, which is watched over by the Constellation of the Great Bear) but also into a reindeer or elk constellation in the sky. I argue that the north-south axis on the world pillar links Säiva with the heavens and the souls of deceased persons move around. In the sketch below (figure 7), the reindeer is being ridden by a large human-like figure that could either be a noaidi or perhaps Riihma-gállis, the great Stállu figure in Sámi myths. The reindeer is an animal that was a dominant feature both in the old hunting culture and during the nomadic era from between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, portraits of moose-elk in myths are



also extremely old, and many images of the animal are found on rock paintings and carvings throughout northern Fennoscandia.

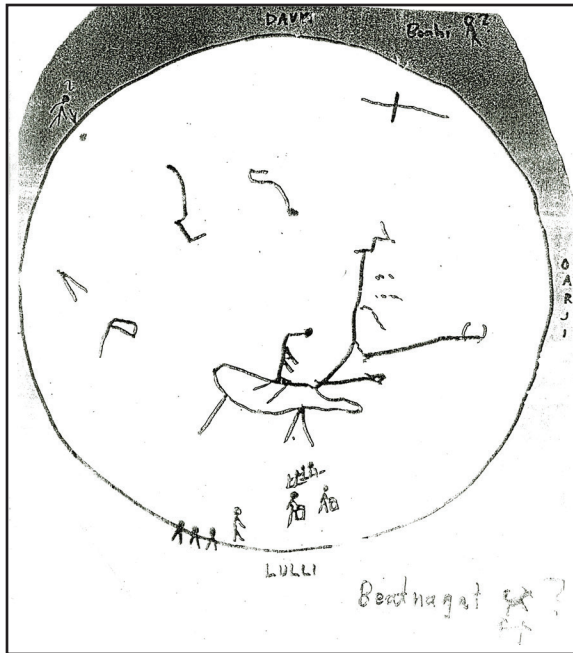


Figure 7. The sketch resembles a reindeer in the heavenly realm, which is consistent with the location of the reindeer constellation on the star map above the northern skies. By northern peoples, this is known as an elk constellation. In Sámi myths, one name given to these constellations is *Stuorra Sarvva*. One of the traditional stories associated with the drawing in relation to the noaidi in Sámi society is described by Sammallahti (2012, 27): “To the *Stuorra Sarvva* belongs also the *Riihma-gállis* (Capella or Auriga), who rides the *Stuorra Sarvva*. Johan Turi describes *Riihma-gállis* in his book *Muitalus Samiid Birra* as a righteous, just shaman and as the biggest *Stállu* of all, who had a wide distance between his eyes and also had a long beard. *Stuorra Sarvva* is surely quite an old star description/picture, in fact the *Sarvva* (elk?)-myths belong to various northern aboriginal populations’ old tales.” (Translated from northern Sámi by Nuccio Mazzullo)<sup>7</sup>

Based on the information about the role *Riihma-gállis* plays in the mythical discourse, it would not seem unreasonable that the *Stállu* is seen in this way through the illustration as a kind of protector watching over Sámi persons, in a similar way to how the noaidi had the same vocation as guardian, protector, and preserver of

7 “*Stuorra sarvva*ai gulla maidda*i* *Riihma-gallis* (Capelladahjege Auriga  $\alpha$ ) mii riide *Stuorra sarvva*in. Johan Turi govvida *Riihma-galla* girjjistis *Muitalus samiid birravuoiggalaš* noaidin ja buot stuoramus stallun man čalbme*gaska* lei bealleallan ja mas ledje guhkes skavžžat. *Stuorra sarvva* lea sihkkarit oalle boares nastegovva, dasgo sarvva-myhta gulla earage davvialbmogiid dološ maidnasiidda.” Sammallahti (2012, 27)

culture and traditions. In the illustration, some of these people with their earthly possessions, depicted at the bottom of the Sámi world picture, are travelling back home on a pathway, which also looks like a river, located below the celestial reindeer to meet their relatives in the afterlife.



Figure 8. A star map of the northern skies shows the heavenly realm of Cassiopeia and Perseus within the circumpolar region of the world (Tähtitieteellinen Yhdistys Ursa 1998, 23). Figures 7 and 8 indicate a possible motivation for the positioning of the body and artifacts in the resting place. The pictures emphasize a broader theory of life after death and the immortality of the noaidi's soul in the world of his ancestors. They also help to address ideas of why he was laid to rest with the reindeer bone hammer and the metal bird close by. Similar star maps can be found in Turi (1966).

It could be argued that what is encountered through the drawing by Näkkäljärvi, a Sámi elder, are two aspects of sacred narrative. The first relates to the assistance of the noaidi (Riihma-gállis, who has the magical skills) and how he is helping the culture. As noted above, this is one of the main roles the noaidi undertakes, and often one of the main motifs of noaidi figures. The second aspect reflects the following:

[. . .] the mythical tripartite structure of the universe [is] becoming manifest in the constellation maps, illustrations of a tree or pillar of life as well as the [status] of the shaman [figure Riihma-gállis] in the upper world [which helps form the structures of the cosmos]. [. . .] The drum [which is ridden by the noaidi] in shamanic mythologies is compared

to the elk, horse [in Siberia], [or] reindeer, reflecting the constellation map (Orion, Perseus, Polar Star myths) while the shaman is riding on the Milky Way in the neighborhood of the Polar Star and Great Bear. (Pentikäinen 2001, 24)

Although Pentikäinen's reference is concerned with Siberian shamanism, the themes of astral mythology are intricately linked with the shaman's vocation both in life as well as in the afterlife, in all Arctic civilizations. The fact that Näkkäljärvi's drawing shows a possible mythical figure, a noaidi riding a reindeer, also confirms this.

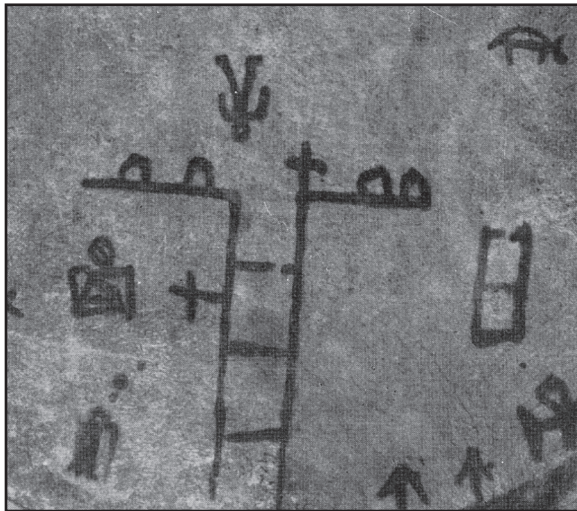


Figure 9. This is a rare painted illustration of a Sámi noaidi, who is flying-travelling towards the world of the dead below the earth. The illustration comes from the lower section of drum number 64, originally from Luleå, Sweden (Manker 1938, 786). As a point of interest, a cross is visible at the entrance, which has a ladder connected to it. The ladder can be interpreted as part of the world pillar, which runs from north to south. The Swedish Sámi drum was collected during the colonialism era and is documented to date from 1671 (Manker 1938, 785).

## **THE ROLE AND SYMBOLISM OF BIRDS IN SÁMI CULTURE**

A closer examination of the bird—made from pewter or lead—shows that its base is flat and rectangular in shape and has five holes, one at each corner and a fifth in the tail. The back of the bird shows visible evidence of a cross or crucifix that is recognizable. This may have been a symbol of protection and, when compared to the Orthodox cross on the hammer, illustrating a further possible Christian influence. The bird measures 11.2 centimeters in length and 4.2 centimeters in width

(Kopisto 1971, 67). The five holes located around the edges of the bird's base might suggest a decoration that may have been fastened to a flat surface, such as a belt or garment, perhaps over the noaidi's heart for protection, but after death it could have been placed alongside the noaidi's body as a burial or grave gift from relatives. An act as such would highlight a common custom with regard to Sámi burial practices, in this case suggesting the noaidi had a special relationship with birds. One further point is how the bird may have performed different functions and been used as a type of arpa placed on the drumhead for divination purposes.

Representations of burial traditions, as noted above, have varied considerably within different areas. According to ethnologist Phebe Fjellström, "burial gifts in the Russian and Finnish Saami areas were innumerable, which was not the case in northern and central Lapland on Swedish territory. [ . . . ] [A]ccording to Saami burial practices, a person retained certain everyday things for life on the other side so that he did not come there empty handed" (1985, 55–56). The discovery of the axe head, knife blade, belt buckle, and shamanic equipment (bird, hammer, and divinations rings) in the Kuusamo burial provides further confirmation of grave customs. One further point regarding cultural comparison and association is that in data from research undertaken in neighboring Siberia with regard to grave customs in western Russia, archaeological sources outline similar practices (see Mannermaa, Panteleyev, and Sablin 2008, 3). Mannermaa, Panteleyev, and Sablin assess and refer to items from numerous graves that are identified as birds carved from bone and antler placed in the graves with the deceased persons. There seem to be many reasons for these types of customs, including that "parts of animals were fastened to the death costumes as decoration symbols" (19).

The symbol of the bird in the Sámi tradition has many meanings. However, with regard to the bird as an animal whose special powers have, through ritual use, contributed to the formation of a sacred narrative (see below), it is possible to entertain one of the symbolic features characterizing the function of the bird as a type of bridge between the noaidi and the supernatural world in Sámi society. In other words, the bird has different functions with reference to shamanism because it is one of the animals utilized as an auxiliary spirit, an assistant in otherworldly journeys for a number of purposes (see Laestadius 2002, 111–15; Solbakk 2007, 25–28).

A further relevant point in the discussion about the north-south connection with regard to the orientation of the noaidi's body and his soul's journey in the afterlife in relation to his work can be found in Sámi pre-Christian society. One of the main features in the central framework of the cosmological construct of the universe

to which worship, sacrifice, and various other customs have focused centrally, is the world pillar or tree. In this sense the bird would be a helper for the journeys between the worlds where, according to Hultkrantz and Bäckman (1978, 13), the pillar provides “the channel of communication between the upper world, our world and—in some cases—the lower world.” Hultkrantz and Bäckman continue:

Offerings are made in front of and even to the sacred pole which is in some quarters addressed as if it were a representative of the Supreme Being. Moreover, the world-pole or world-tree alternates in shamanistic ideology with the world-river symbol, which in some cultures is identical with the river of death. (1978, 13)

Another important point regarding the noaidi’s ascent to the upper world is that it was undertaken by a magical flight, usually in the guise of a bird. So was the descent to the mythical lower world of Säiva, which took place through the water, for example, in the guise of a diver bird. Through a reflection of two such parallels, it is possible to encounter aspects of the sacred, where the bird plays a central role in forming the mythical narrative in each case.

According to Bäckman (1975, 116), the functions of the helping spirits, often in the guise of a bird, are as follows in Sámi shamanism: the bird shows the way, indicates the location of the prey, carries news and messages to the shaman, and helps to guard reindeer.

Other perspectives portraying the special relationship to birds by the noaidi are found where certain stories and myths are known to depict images of the noaidi in flight. It was understood that the noaidi possessed a free soul, which could detach itself from the physical body in order to carry out the tasks of healing, engaging with the deceased, soul recovery, and restoration work. One of the very early portraits depicting these kinds of shamanistic phenomena is encountered in rock paintings in Finland (regarding research at Juusjärvi, Kirkkonummi, see Lahelma 2005). The free soul, which had the power to defend itself in times of danger, could also be in the form of an eagle, owl, or hawk (Hultkrantz and Bäckman 1978, 18).

To further explore different theories surrounding the role and function of birds in Sámi society, as well as the significance of the positioning of the noaidi’s physical remains, a number of textual sources have been drawn upon. These data provide the necessary information concerning how birds fulfilled the purpose of ritual activities and as servants (see, e.g., Itkonen 1948; Laestadius 2002). A study of the textual material helps to illustrate how the positioning of a deceased person and

the assistance of birds by the noaidi are activities that translate into various forms of sacred narrative within both a religious and cultural context. The textual materials also help to illustrate how the feathered creatures have a function in both life and death scenarios.



Figure 10. Because of the size of its body and the characteristics of its morphology, the metal bird seems to produce the features of a swan or a bird that has a wide body. This artifact was found lying alongside the remains of the noaidi between the waist and chest area. The marking of what looks like a cross is visible on the back of the bird. This could be another indication of Christian influence with regard to a source of protection. In the background are also the remains of an axe head, a knife, a coin, and a buckle. These were also placed alongside the bird to assist the person in the afterlife. Photographer: Oliver Belcher, the Arctic Centre at the Pohjois-Pohjanmaan Museo, Oulu. Photograph courtesy Oliver Belcher and Pohjois-Pohjanmaan Museo/ The Northern Ostrobothnia Museum.

From the historical literature compiled by priests and missionaries who were involved in the conversion of the Sámi to Christianity, extensive descriptions of interactions between the noaidi of Lapland and birds and other types of spiritual assistants can be found. In his treatise on the Sámi during the drive to convert the inhabitants of Lapland to the Laestadian Christian religion, Pastor Lars Levi Laestadius states the following:

Every Lapp was to have in his *saiwo*, three creatures who would be present any time he called for them, the first, a bird, which was called

saiwo-lodde; the second a fish or a serpent which was called saiwo-guolle or guarms (No 45 in the drum figures), and third, a reindeer called saiwo-sarva (No 42 in the drum figures), all these animals were referred to with common name saiwo-vuoign (Jessen 1767, 24; Laestadius 2002, 111). [. . .] Saiwo was the world where the underground being had their dwelling. (2002, 109)

It can be argued that some of the most comprehensive descriptions of Sámi pre-Christian religion with regard to the Sámi noaidi were compiled by Laestadius, who, in combination with material produced by other priests from earlier times (e.g., Jessen 1767), brought together a wealth of valuable information about birds. Both scholars have documented vital information in relation to the use and interaction with birds. The work of Laestadius, in particular, has provided deeper insights and understanding of both the content and context of ritualistic behavior and structures that existed in Lapland culture. Within this culture, religious beliefs and practices were re-enacted, such as other-worldly journeys and sacrificial acts. These accounts have, in addition, proven to be beneficial for helping to clarify the role and function that birds undertook as servants of the noaidi. Drawing from Jessen (1767, 25), Laestadius writes:

In the noaide's imagination these animals appear to have been spiritual representatives of the animals, i.e., such which belong to inhabitants in Saiwo. Thanks to his close relationship with saiwo the noaide had received the right to use the underground animals as his private property. The birds (saiwo-loddeh) were variable in sizes, some like swallows, sparrows, grouses, eagles, swans, wood grouses, serpents and hawks. Some were speckled white and black, some had black backs, white wings and a grey abdomen; some were pink, others black grey and white. Their names are: Alpe, Brudnehark, Habik, Fietnaalegonum, Gierkits, Gisa, Molk, Gaasa, Varrehauka, Maaka Rippo, Suorek, Staure, Piawo, Jap, Lainöer, Paimatz. These served their masters by accompanying them when the joik (sang magic songs), showed them the way when they travelled and gave them hunting gear when they were going hunting. They brought them information from far-away regions, and helped them look after their reindeer and other possessions. When they were this kind, they were called saiwo-loddeh, of which some Lapps had many, others only few. (2002, 112)

Solbakk (2007) has also described what could be considered as the formulation of an oral narrative that is presented in a translated textual form reflecting the organizational structures for establishing communication with the spiritual realm, which draws upon the oral memory of the Sámi. The events are expressed in terms of how the noaidi has approached and experienced spirits in the shamanic séance, in this case involving the interaction with spirit birds. In this episode, reference is made regarding the noaidi making contact with helping spirits in the guise of a bird, prior to the out-of-body journey and trance experience. One could also say that an activity as such is an expression of culture, appearing as a very ancient cultic practice, also found depicted in rock paintings in Finland, as noted below.

Artistic historical sources such as rock paintings and drum symbolism emphasize that interactions with animals, shape-shifting, and metamorphosis have been at the very essence of Sámi society, and these observations are generally associated with shamanism, trance, and out-of-body travel. The description provided below by Solbakk is originally from the eighteenth century and comes through documentation from two Christian observers: Olsen (1715) and Leem (1767). One or possibly two women help in the described shamanic ritual. The original Norwegian has been translated by Solbakk.

This is how it went: First, he called his *noaideloddi* ‘noaidi bird’ and said to it: *Hehti dal gohccu du mátkái* (Necessity now birds you set out on the journey). In that way, he asked the noaidi bird to rush off and fetch the *noaidegázzi* ‘the noaidi’s helpers’. When they arrived, two assemblies were present: one visible and one invisible. The visible one was the noaidi himself and two women assistants, or a man and a young woman. [. . .] These women were called *Sárat* – “Shjarak” (from *sárrat*, which today means to make low rumbling sounds). The male helper was called *marrooavi* ‘Marro Oaaive.’ (Solbakk 2007, 25–26)

The ritual drama described above helps to animate both the constructs and richness of the old traditions as well as the importance Sámi language has for understanding ritual meanings that are translated into experience. In this example, there is a step-by-step account of how, with the assistance and teachings of the bird, the physical reality is transcended into sacred time and space. Solbakk’s description demonstrates how fundamentally important birds have been to the noaidi, in this case, in his work as a ritual specialist.



Understanding comes through the descriptions provided above and relates to a specific type of activity concerning the formulation of what is expressed as the very essence of inner narrative where a human person is in a kind of working partnership with the bird spirit. The general description of the interconnectivity between the two provides insight and also outlines how, through forming a relationship with spiritual beings, communication takes place within the complex structures that underlie the much broader meaning, thereby emphasizing the value birds have in Sámi society. This holistic, cyclical worldview, it may be said, differs significantly from the Christian one in terms of the continuity of the soul in the afterlife and re-birth into another state of existence. Furthermore, a type of activity as the one described previously that involves summoning spiritual helpers is a well-known phenomenon in shamanism worldwide, and interactions as such extend to many different indigenous cultures.

The experiences described above present a colorful but complex account of the interconnectedness of life, including animals, human subjects, and spirits. The positioning of the world pillar at the center of the Sámi cosmological picture illustrates the importance of sacrifice and how the numerous encounters with the beings who resided within these realms were depicted, for example, on the heads of noaidi drums, thus transcribing experience into symbolism and art.

Expressing these symbols has been one of the main ways of illustrating how important it is to maintain the balance between the physical and spiritual worlds, thereby sustaining Cosmic Order. Moreover, the Sámi noaidi, with the assistance of his helping spirit, would, in addition, have had to encounter and work with the ruling deities and spirits who governed the border areas between different layers of the cosmos, exemplifying, thereby, the necessity of the bird in each case as a bridge between different dimensions of reality.

To further underscore the historical role and function of birds in shamanistic rituals in Sámi culture, three more illustrations depicting birds are presented below.

Giving further consideration to both the importance and relevance of each individual artifact, its design and decoration as tools that feature in the relationship and work of the noaidi with different dimensions of life, it is possible to encompass a number of parallels that are richly combined into different art forms and experiences that express both the inner and outer worlds of a person who is a tradition bearer and interspecies communicator.

The traditional art work depicting the noaidi and that of the wider community has been influenced through contact with other dimensions of life from within

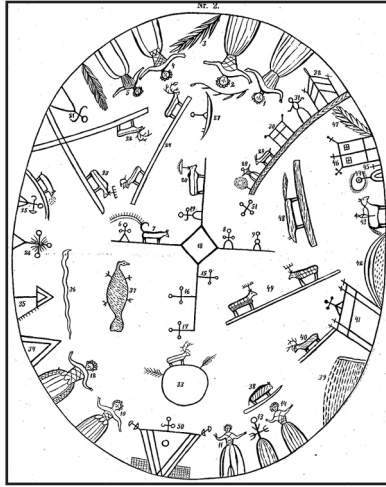


Figure 11. An old noaidi divination drum on which has been painted a magical bird associated with the mythic world of Saivo. The animal marked as number 37 on the bottom left section of the drum is “vuornes lodde” (Friis 1871, 32a), the Säiva shaman bird. The images of two other Säiva birds can also be found in Manker (1950), on drum numbers 3 and 59. Source: Friis, J. A. 1871.



Figure 12. Images from a magical séance painted on a flat stone terrace above Lake Juusjärvi, southern Finland. The content of the scene indicates an association with water, and the figures look as if they represent human beings as bird shape-shifters who are dancing in ecstatic trance. Evidence of the physical changes can be seen in the legs and shapes of the heads, which look like birds with beaks. The rock paintings are dated by archaeologist Antti Lahelma “to ca. 5000–1500 (calculated) BC” (Lahelma 2005, 29), a testament that birds have been at the center of shamanistic ritual behavior from a long-standing tradition. Photograph by Francis Joy.

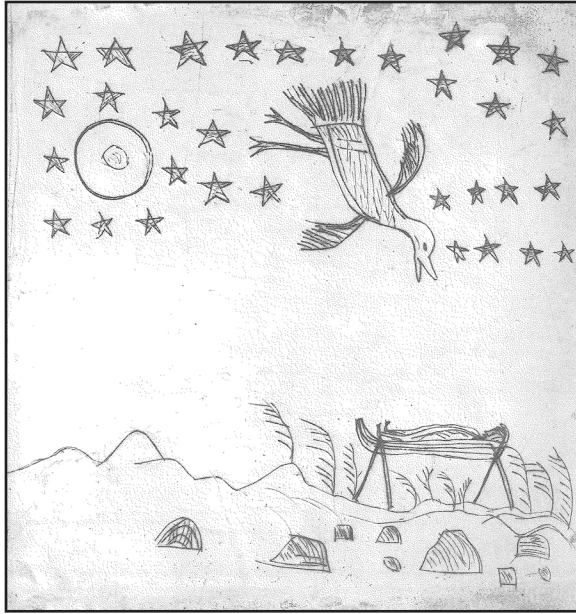


Figure 13. In Sámi society there are numerous artistic images that are characteristic of the spirit of the dead. Here, in a more recent work of art, death is portrayed in the form of a bird descending to earth from the sky above Lapland to collect the soul of the deceased person. This representation was done in copper by Sámi artist Guttorm Valkeapää, in 1933. Source: *Das Leben Der Lappen*, by Gustav Hagemann (1976, 115).

the realms of nature and the spiritual beings that dwell there (see Manker 1938; Schefferus 1673; Laestadius 2002, Solbakk 2007). Interspecies communication has brought a supranormal context to the art and ritual items that are part of the noaidi's ritual regalia. The northern skies and mythical realm of Säiva have played a central role in forming different perspectives on life. The metal bird alongside the noaidi's skeletal remains portrays his experience and culture, the involvement of animals, the close ties between the two species, and how people have lived with the understanding of death and the afterlife.

The north has strong associations with the afterlife for the Sámi and, in a wider sense, the indigenous peoples of all Circumpolar and Arctic cultures. The influence of the distinctive Arctic landscape as seen through the ritual year and four cardinal points are manifested in a multitude of different forms, for example, birds and journeys up into air. Winter brings with it death and destruction and the fight for survival for all species. The presence of the bird alongside the noaidi signifies its special place in Sámi society. The fact that he was laid to rest alone on an island shows how his knowledge and abilities may have distinguished him from other people.

Despite what Pulkkinen, Kulonen, and Seurujärvi-Kari (2005) have claimed, the water from the lake could also have been influential in the selection of his resting place.

Finally, from among the motifs painted on the remaining Sámi noaidi drums collected by priests and missionaries between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from the northern provinces of Lapland, these depict various illustrations of birds. Such drawings are presented in the works of Manker (1950), and they include references describing “noide lodde” (Säiva bird) that are found on eight drums (Manker 1950, 27).

### **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The fact the noaidi's remains were orientated in a north-south direction when his resting place was discovered has much value for study purposes, because this type of positioning corresponds with the cosmological vertical structure of the world pillar or tree in Sámi cosmology. The north-south direction is the main route or pathway between the upper celestial world, the physical world, and the mythical world of Säiva, beneath the surface of the earth.

It is my opinion that the symbolic placing of the noaidi's legs towards the north, as well the photographic evidence presented of the bone hammer, metal bird, and divination rings, may all be indicative of a kind of signature representing the person's journey toward the afterlife.

Because the interment has taken place in a shallow grave (which is also typical of prehistoric grave customs) and how the ritual items have been chosen, we can also see to some degree, how the mythical belief and concept of rebirth and associated practices have been upheld and adhered to by those persons who laid him to rest and placed his belongings beside him. Also, figure 7, which portrays a group of Sámi people with their belongings traveling “back home,” and the information regarding the four Sámi persons buried in the Savukoski, Mukkala cemetery in a south-north direction (Leppäaho 1937, 138) provide further evidence for the arguments made here. In other words, these correspondences and similarities do, in my opinion, clearly demonstrate comparable customs and practices concerning the afterlife.

Because the Kuusamo municipality is a former Sámi area, both the location and positioning of the body as well as the Orthodox cross engraved onto the noaidi's bone hammer present a convincing argument and explanation as to how these factors suggest that the remains found on the Palosaari island were those of a Sámi noaidi from somewhere on the Kola Peninsula. By contrast, bone hammers are typically

decorated with traditional Sámi patterns (see Manker 1938), of which the hammer from the Kuusamo grave also exhibits traces, in addition to the Orthodox cross.

The presence of the metal bird lying alongside the noaidi is a unique symbol in relation to the working practices of the Sámi shaman. The bird's importance brings new information not only concerning the value of the bird itself, but also its role and function as a cultural attribute. The discovery increases the information about these types of phenomena and, at the same time, provides a broader and deeper context as to how the structure of the noaidi's visionary journey and experiences help form an important bridge between life and death for the culture, as has been extensively portrayed through its art.

The symbol of the cross on both the hammer and back of the metal bird can be considered as rare and unique markings because, typically, the drums are more often than not the instruments bearing the influence of, and in some cases, adaptation to Christianity through symbols such as crosses and churches. Furthermore, the significance of the Orthodox cross on the hammer does not mean the noaidi had been converted to Christianity, but because the ritual items were found alongside the body and his resting place, it is possible to conclude that the person may not have undergone conversion to Christianity in this case, but utilized the symbols for his own purpose. Moreover, the nature of the burial suggests that the freedom still existed whereby Sámi persons may have held onto some level of autonomy over issues concerning death rites. Despite not knowing for certain whether or not the metal bird was placed beside him by relatives, the ritual items surrounding the body do exemplify the person's social status among his community and can be seen as being consistent with burial customs from generation to generation in relation to Sámi cosmology and the afterlife. The unique discovery of the grave goods demonstrates how there are not really any other shamanic regalia that have associations with the Sámi in Finland that portray something as rare as the decorated bone hammer and metal bird together. The analysis of these two artifacts does, therefore, increase our knowledge and understanding of further dimensions to Sámi culture and the craft of the religious specialist-noaidi and his relationship with birds.

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