ORAL TRADITION

Oral Tradition (http://journal.oraltradition.org) seeks to provide a comparative and interdisciplinary focus for studies in oral tradition and related fields by publishing research and scholarship on the creation, transmission, and interpretation of all forms of oral traditional expression. In addition to essays treating certifiably oral traditions, *OT* presents investigations of the relationships between oral and written traditions, as well as brief accounts of important fieldwork, and occasional transcriptions and translations of oral texts. In addition, issues will include the annual Albert Lord and Milman Parry Lecture on Oral Tradition. Submissions should follow the list-of-reference format (http://journal.oraltradition.org/files/misc/oral_tradition_formatting_guide.pdf) and may be sent via e-mail (journal@oraltradition.org); all quotations of primary materials must be made in the original language(s) with following English translations. If appropriate, please describe any supporting materials that could be used to illustrate the article, such as photographs, audio recordings, or video recordings. *Oral Tradition* publishes such materials online in an eCompanion designed to supplement the texts of articles. Most contributions will be reviewed by at least one specialist reader and one generalist reader before a final decision is reached.

Oral Tradition appears twice per year, in March and October. The current issue and all back issues from 1986 onward are available open-access and free-of-charge at http://journal.oraltradition.org.

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Editor's Column

      With this issue *Oral Tradition* offers a somewhat different vantage point on its subject matter: some two dozen essays introduce archives, physical and digital, that hold records of traditional verbal arts from around the world—brief summaries crafted by archivists and researchers directly involved in their creation, maintenance, or operation. To situate this perspective, a word about the genesis of this issue should suffice. Early in 2013, the fact became apparent to us that a searchable database of names, locations, and contents of repositories of the world's oral traditions was, as far as could be discerned, nowhere to be had. Though the staff consensus that undertaking to compile an exhaustive compendium of such archives was out of the question, the practical usefulness of a comprehensive rough guide seemed patent. In consequence, the International Society for the Study of Oral Tradition circulated a petition for assistance identifying relevant archives and repositories. A first round of responses netted particulars about many institutions and websites (your indispensable help locating additional archives is most welcome, see www.issot.org/archives or alert my colleague Darcy Holtgrave info@issot.org). *Oral Tradition*'s Associate Editor Lori Garner seized the opportunity and proposed an issue of the journal that would showcase archives and digital platforms. She devised a set of guidelines for archivists to consider in crafting an introduction to the sites: origins, contents, audience, protocols, a case study or illustration, and plans for future development. The essays assembled here embody the outcome of Lori's proposal. They describe an array of research tools for the study of oral traditions spanning a continuum from aspirational universality to specific regional, mono- and multilingual collections, some dedicated to epic, ballad, or narrative, others to children's play and thematic oral histories, along with broadly inclusive collections of ethnological descriptions. In lieu of the usual editorial remarks about each separate essay, then, I will point to a few of the common threads woven into this archival panoply.

      First, the turn to digitization is transforming what was formerly physically recondite primary source materials—manuscripts, printed matters, field notes, wax cylinders, aluminum disks, audio tape recordings, videos, and photos—into readily available web-based virtual records. This move has been accompanied by an ascendant practice of returning archival copies of the ethnographic record to their source, a particular social community. This methodological shift acknowledges the reciprocal relation between tradition bearers and academic researchers for whom the donor's linguistic and behavioral cultures constitute the primary study source; activating the reciprocity satisfies some measure of the ethical compact that binds individuals with shared experiences. The returned copy of a hereditary verbal tradition enables the original donator community to make a lapsed or enfeebled practice available to all of its constituents via a virtual archive, renewing it or furthering a fundamental cultural objective such as language maintenance and survival; witness, for example, the long-running "Breath of Life" series of conferences at the University of California, Berkeley. Several of the authors writing here note how audition of field recordings made by academic researchers lend credibility and prestige status to languages and cultures that may otherwise be considered marginal and insignificant. This, in turn, can inspire young people's pride in their own indigenous community's verbal cultural heritage. Thus, online platforms can advantageously harness technological power to

youthful enthusiasm and advance the renewal of a community's traditional verbal knowledge systems. Widely available and relatively inexpensive digital recording equipment permits communities to create and maintain their own endogenous digital archives of cultural knowledge and practices. Whether created "in-house" or by outside investigators, historical recordings afford fortunate individuals the extraordinary pleasure of hearing again, or for the first time, the voice of a loved one who sang, chanted, recited, verbally communicated an imperative of her identity, conjuring a sonic presence that thwarts perpetual silence.

Yet another common theme touches on the inevitable tension arising among competing interests and impulses, between voices advocating open access to all archival material on one hand, and counterpoint circumspection about unfettered access on the other. The ramifications of these ethical and intellectual questions have prompted curators to devise practical safeguards and protections that effectively shield culturally and/or personally sensitive materials from audiences for whom their audition or viewing would be inappropriate, while ensuring that non-controversial materials become available without unnecessary restriction.

As would be expected, many of the digital platforms have been built on the foundation of a physical archive. The digital version incorporates one or more so-called heritage collections held by its precursor site, a stock initially compiled by an anthropologist, ethnographer, folklorist, linguist, philologist or other like-minded fieldworker before the advent of contemporary communications technology. Their collective labors inventory historical samples of humanity's traditional verbal arts, conserving them for analysis and interpretation. Their preservation of the linguistic tissue that encodes the existential sentient being and binds it to a given social skeleton, provides a record of incalculable value for humanistic studies. Thus the virtual platform unseals a cache of human expression formerly sequestered in local storehouses, bringing it via the World Wide Web to a wide audience. Legacy collections compiled by pioneering scholars and master practitioners such as Elias Lönnrot, Jakob Hurt, Wilhelm Radloff, Matti Kuusi, Douglas Hyde, Joe Heaney, Calum MacLean, MacEdward Leach, J. M. Carpenter, Franz Boaz, Edward Sapir, Milman Parry, Dorothy Howard, Iona and Peter Opie, Dwight Reynolds, Samuel G. Armistead, and other twentieth-century recordings of endangered languages in Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, the Pacific Islands, and the Philippines, now share technological platforms and advantages with the contents of new "born-digital" archives. Different archives have achieved varying degrees of technological sophistication. One may present only electronic copies of physical documents while another may offer a fully searchable catalogue, a relational database or texts with HTML mark-up language that tags semantic metadata and allows sophisticated comparative analyses and adumbrate desiderata in the field of corpus linguistics such as the derivation of narrative ontological structures, their eventual cognitive mapping, and devising of computer programs that would generate novel narratives.

I pass over without remark other crucial matters that pertain to archives, historical perspectives, methodologies, technologies, and what could, finally, be termed authority. Keen insights and helpful guidance into contemporary archives may be gleaned from the two dozen essays presented herein. For further consideration of archives "as an intellectual problem and a

cultural artifact worthy of study" let me refer you to an edifying letter from Francis X. Blouin, Jr. published with the title "History and Memory: The Problem of the Archive," in *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 119.2: 296-98; 298.

This issue came to fruition through the combined efforts of staff of the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition: Lori and Scott Garner, Mark Jarvis, Hannah Lenon, Justin Arft, Elise Broaddus, Katy Chenoweth, Ruth Knezevich, and Chris Dobbs, as well as long-time staffers Rebecca Richardson Mouser and Elizabeth Janda, who now depart for new opportunities. We wish both Rebecca and Elizabeth success in all their future endeavors. It is my pleasant duty to recognize the outstanding debt *Oral Tradition* owes the many colleagues who unstintingly share their time, expertise, and advice with us by evaluating submissions. Their guidance vouchsafes the intellectual integrity and interdisciplinary bona fides established for *Oral Tradition* by its founding editor, John Miles Foley. With its publication, the Center for Studies in Oral Tradition aspires to contribute to the many significant discussions under way about the dense and tightly woven web of human activities that operate and intersect along the world's traditional verbal arts. The merits of John's pioneering scholarship were universally recognized and garnered steadfast support from the University of Missouri. The Center continues to receive encouragement and assistance from the College of Arts & Sciences, and Dean Michael O'Brien in particular is to be thanked for the confidence he places in the Center's mission. To all who support these efforts I express my sincere thanks, appreciation, and gratitude. Your contributions permit us to attain to the benchmarks that John established 28 years ago.

In closing, we invite you to share your research into the world's traditional verbal arts with us. Our review process consists of a refereed evaluation done by a specialist and a generalist reader, generally reported within a trimester of receipt. Published online and free of charge, *Oral Tradition* is consulted by more than 20,000 readers in 200 countries and territories. We look forward eagerly to learning from you about traditional verbal arts and about the archives that preserve their record.

John Zemke
Editor, *Oral Tradition*

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Orality and Technology, or the Bit and the Byte: The Work of the World Oral Literature Project

Mark Turin

Looking Back

In 2010, I invited John Miles Foley to be the keynote speaker at the World Oral Literature Project workshop at Cambridge University. Given John's formative role in shaping scholarship and publishing on oral traditions, as well as his deep commitment to exploring the affordances of new digital worlds, I could think of no scholar better qualified to speak to the theme of our annual meeting: "Archiving Orality and Connecting with Communities."

John's keynote address was a great success and connected strongly with the assembled participants. He focused on the core questions that had bedeviled scholarship in our field ever since Walter J. Ong pronounced that "thinking of oral tradition or a heritage of oral performance, genres and styles as 'oral literature' is rather like thinking of horses as automobiles without wheels" (1982:12). While Ruth Finnegan, who generously offered the keynote address at our first workshop in 2009, had prepared the ground by redeeming the term "oral literature" from the scholarly equivalent of the recycling bin,[1] John took us on a conceptual journey, beyond text, beyond Ong, and in many ways beyond oral tradition itself.

In his presentation, and in the important book (*Oral Tradition and the Internet: Pathways of the Mind*) that was subsequently published, John illustrated how our oldest and newest technologies of communication could be thought of as fundamentally homologous. Simply put, and in John's own compelling words, oral tradition and internet technology share the core dynamic of navigating through networks. In the process, they foster co-creative, participatory, contingent, and ever-emergent experiences. Fortunately, we were able to unite the medium with John's message, and recorded his keynote presentation.[2] Less than a year and a half later on May 3, 2012, we lost one of our best minds with John's passing.

Four presentations from the 2010 Cambridge workshop were subsequently published in Volume 27, Number 2, of *Oral Tradition*.[3] Volume 26, Number 2, of *Oral Tradition* was John's Festschrift, and the next issue, Volume 27, Number 1, was dedicated to his memory. This brief

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[1] See http://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/756900.

[2] See http://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/1092059.

[3] See http://journal.oraltradition.org/issues/27ii.

contribution on the aims, scope, and reach of the World Oral Literature Project, and how it connects orality with technology through its online archive, is offered in honor of John's remarkable legacy.[4]

Redeeming Oral Literature, Questioning Literacy, and Situating Technology

For societies in which traditions are conveyed more through speech than through writing, oral literature is often an important medium for the transmission of ideas, knowledge, and history. The term "oral literature," while contested, can be broadly read to include ritual texts, curative chants, epic poems, folk tales, creation stories, songs, myths, spells, legends, proverbs, riddles, tongue twisters, recitations, and historical narratives. This list is by no means exhaustive or intended to be definitive, but it serves rather to underscore the range of performative styles that can be accommodated within the category of oral literature (and, by association, within folklore and oral tradition). In many cases, oral and performative traditions are not translated when a community shifts to using a more dominant language, and oral literature in general remains one of the most poorly studied and least recognized forms of human creative expression.

Oral literatures are in decline for a number of complex and interrelated reasons. One principal driver behind the decline of oral culture is the ever greater focus on universal, basic literacy promoted by international organizations working in human development and education. Another causal factor is the high degree of endangerment of many of the world's remaining indigenous languages. Rather paradoxically, the family of organizations that make up the United Nations are involved in campaigns that address both processes: on the one hand, they promote mass literacy programs that have been shown to undermine and erode established traditions of oral transmission; on the other, they fund programs that nurture cultural diversity and support the mapping and documentation of endangered languages.

Over the last few years, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has departed from its "one size fits all" model of universal literacy with a "renewed vision" that no longer advocates a "single model."[5] However, we should recall that UNESCO was also the main engine behind the United Nations Literacy Decade (UNLD) that ended on December 31, 2012, a global initiative that bundled together goals for education and literacy with loftier aims such as eradicating poverty, reducing child mortality, curbing population growth, achieving gender equality, and ensuring sustainable development, peace, and democracy.[6] The slogan of the Literacy Decade—"Literacy as Freedom"—represents a widely-

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[5] See http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/education-building-blocks/literacy/mission/.

[6] See http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/education-building-blocks/literacy/un-literacy-decade/.

held Freirian belief that learning to read and write *necessarily* results in positive social transformation, situating literacy as the central panacea for all ills (Freire 2005 [1970]:48).

As Bartlett (2009) has shown in her recent work in Brazil, local communities and development actors often have quite distinct ideas of what literacy "does" and how it "works," and may even have mismatched expectations of the benefits and access that it will eventually bring. While the fundamental tenets of Paulo Freire's model of critical literacy appear to hold sway even 40 years after the publication of his landmark *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, some scholars and community members, such as Jorge Gómez Rendón, are imagining programs that would explicitly incorporate orality *into* literacy, rather than seeing orality as an obstacle to be overcome on the way to self improvement and textual emancipation. Such programs would offer (Rendón 2013:118-19):

> a new model of intercultural bilingual education that takes orality as a point of departure for the development of literacy and makes extensive use of available ICTs in order to provide students with socially relevant material and culturally contextualised learning.

In terms of cultural and linguistic diversity, however, UNESCO has also long championed the cause of minority speech forms. The most recent edition of its flagship *Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger* was released in early 2009[7] and boasts an innovative approach to data gathering and information access (cf. Moseley 2012). The *Atlas* claims that around a third of the 6,500 languages spoken around the globe today are in danger of disappearing forever. With each language lost, a wealth of ideas, knowledge, oral traditions, and history also vanish— all without a trace if the language has not been properly documented or has no established written form.

As with oral literature, so too then with language: the challenges and threats to endangered and marginalized cultures come in many forms. Some are implicit and unintended; others are decidedly more explicit. Well-conceived and important national education programs that advance literacy in the world's major languages may have the collateral effect of undermining local traditions and weakening regional languages. In the name of national unity, some governments still subdue local languages and cultural traditions as a way of exerting control over indigenous populations and strengthening the central state. Globalization and modernization have also exerted complex pressures on smaller communities and have eroded expressive diversity through assimilating cultural practices to more dominant ways of life. At the same time, however, processes of global interconnectedness (between goods, services, and people) can provide a hitherto unexpected level of access to tools and appropriate technologies. As I recently argued in an article for *YaleGlobal* online (2013):

> While the dispersal of speech communities across the globe has led to the demise of some languages, technology popularized by globalization is playing an equally important role in their revitalization. Through the internet and mobile communications, people are reconnecting with fellow speakers using digital tools to revive languages on the endangered list.

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[7] See http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/.

One of the factors that made the World Oral Literature Project possible in 2009, and contributed to its early success, is the degree to which speakers of endangered, poorly documented languages have started to embrace a wide range of new digital media. Many communities whose speech forms were previously exclusively oral have adopted the web—and not only as a virtual "store" for recordings of their endangered traditions, but as a federated, language-neutral platform for the transmission, communication, and revitalization of their oral traditions.

Take *FirstVoices*, for example, an online suite of web-based tools and services designed to support Aboriginal people engaged in language archiving, language teaching, and cultural revitalization projects.[8] Operated by the First Peoples' Heritage, Language and Culture Council in the Canadian province of British Columbia, the website (http://www.firstvoices.com) hosts 60 community language archives and is home to thousands of text entries in many Aboriginal writing systems, along with sound files, pictures, videos, games, and more recently even iPhone applications. In keeping with established community protocols and well-defined cultural norms, only some of these archival collections are publicly accessible, while others remain password-protected at the request of an individual language community. *FirstVoices* is a compelling example of an effective platform that has leveraged internet technology to enable oral traditions and cultural practices to survive—and even thrive—among increasingly mobile (if digitally connected) communities.

On a more personal level, I have watched videos of traditional wedding ceremonies and funerary rites being recorded on smartphones in London by migrants from Nepal and India. These digital video clips are quickly uploaded to YouTube, linked and "liked" on Facebook, through which they are discovered and then watched two hours later by relatives in remote Himalayan villages connected to the Internet through 3G on their solar- or hydro-powered smartphones. While this all sounds rather extraordinary and even fantastical, what makes it all the more interesting is that the process is remarkably mundane. I have watched as Skype and WeChat have replaced landlines, airmail letters, and even email to become the principal tools sustaining contact and building bridges between dispersed communities of minimally literate speakers who live and work across different time zones.

Nepal was the first country in South Asia to introduce 3G capability on mobile networks through its national cellular operator. This innovation has paid off, with mobile phone "penetration" in Nepal reaching 73% in 2013. Some industry analysts predict that by 2015, Nepal will have as many cell phone subscribers as it has citizens (Custer 2013). Building on the wide access base to hardware and mobile services, cell-based voice messaging systems have seen massive uptake among historically non-literate communities across the Himalayan region. Their success, I believe, derives directly from their minimal or low-text interface, their ease of use, their no-fee service, and—most important of all—their asynchronous nature. When communicating across time zones or from locations where WiFi access and power supplies are unstable, the ability to leave a voice or video message (or a story, a song, a prayer, or a ritual— all of which I have heard) that can be accessed later is particularly useful. And lest these

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[8] See http://www.firstvoices.com/en/about-info2.

technologies are dismissed as marginal concerns, used only by the historically disenfranchised, we should recall that WeChat had 272 million monthly active users in the third quarter of 2013 and is poised to overtake Facebook sometime in 2014 as the world's most widely used digital communication platform (Rapoza 2013; Millward 2013).

Over the last decade, scores of community-based language documentation projects have welcomed an array of digital platforms and tools into their documentation, preservation, and revitalization efforts. Many have prioritized field-based audio-visual recordings and interviews with elders (sometimes even with smartphones and tablets) who still have fluency in the language and knowledge of the oral traditions, while others are actively digitizing older records. A case in point is the Aboriginal Audio Digitization and Preservation Program at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. Offering matching funds for equipment and training, its *Toolkit for the Digitization of First Nations Knowledge*—charmingly entitled "Indigitization" (http://www.indigitization.ca/)—supports the conversion of audio materials on cassette to digital preservation formats, thereby promoting enhanced and appropriate access to these recordings for communities, and where possible, the broader public.

Partnerships or initiatives that bring scholars and resources at universities into conversation with communities are ever more important. Some of these collaborations are already challenging traditional understandings of cultural heritage and curation, particularly around issues of "digital return" or repatriation.[9] As I recently argued in an article co-written with two colleagues (Bell et al. 2013), the digital age has intensified and changed discussions of repatriation in ways that are sometimes unpredictable. One such shift is away from legal definitions and assumptions about repatriation to more inclusive notions of digital return and community stewardship. There are ever more stakeholders involved in the circulation of culture, often collaborating in innovative ways to manage, preserve, use, and re-use digitally returned materials in mutually beneficial and creative ways.

Intriguingly, community "archives" of cultural and linguistic content are increasingly designed as undertakings that exist primarily online, bypassing discussions of physical preservation, professional curation, and access (in some cases, to their peril). Such community-led projects are to be celebrated—even if some run out of steam or funding within a few years—as they are usually experimental and often saturated with multimedia connectivity. These online cultural interventions and explorations are made possible by rapidly emerging standards that include Unicode (for fonts), open-source self-publishing platforms (such as WordPress), and free software like HandBrake (an open-source video transcoder) or VLC (a cross-platform media player), along with ever cheaper hardware (cameras and computers) that brings down project costs dramatically. Until recently, few indigenous peoples had access to well-designed, free, and stable tools to assist them in the documentation of their own cultural knowledge, on their own terms, and in their own language. All of this underscores that the digital divide has taken quite a different shape and form to technological divides in an earlier, analogue era.

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[9] See the website of the Digital Return Research Network (http://digitalreturn.wsu.edu) for a discussion of these issues.

The World Oral Literature Project

While the archiving of audio and video recordings of oral literature through online platforms is a form of cultural documentation and preservation that has been welcomed by many indigenous communities around the world, we must also acknowledge that there is little agreement on how such collections should be responsibly managed, archived, and curated for the future. The World Oral Literature Project (http://www.oralliterature.org), inaugurated at the University of Cambridge in 2009 and co-located at Yale University since 2011, was established in part to address this question by helping to "collect, protect, and connect" endangered oral traditions and widen access to funding, training, and knowledge. The inception of the Project was made possible by the generous support of the Firebird Foundation for Anthropological Research, and over time additional resources were kindly contributed by the Charles E. Chadwyck-Healey Charitable Trust, Dr. Laura Appell-Warren and Dr. John Warren, the Leverhulme Trust, and the Onaway Trust.

The Project's Board Members were eager to facilitate partnerships between fieldworkers, museum professionals, performers of oral literature, and community representatives. All too often, funding for such work has focused on providing scholars already well established within the academy with the necessary resources to conduct fieldwork in remote locations, rather than building capacity among community members to do the work themselves. With this tendency in mind, the Project aimed instead to promote ethical partnerships between community members and academically trained linguists, anthropologists, and folklorists. Such a realignment had already changed thinking in some linguistic circles, thanks to the work of Ken Hale (and others), who advanced the "native-speaker linguist" model, so elegantly summarized by Michel DeGraff (2001:100):

> Our work as linguists must also involve our political commitment to social and economic justice
> in the communities we work in. This political commitment, whenever possible, must involve the
> training, hence "empowerment," of the native-speaker informant as bona fide native-speaker
> linguist.

In four years of active operations, the Project's fieldwork grant scheme has funded the collection of audio and video recordings from nine countries on four continents, with much of the funding going to in-country, community researchers whose travel costs are low and who are often best situated to commit themselves to such work. In addition, Project staff have digitized and archived older collections of oral literature as well as contemporary recordings that were "born digital" where the fieldwork was externally funded by other sources. At present, these collections represent a further twelve countries, amounting to over 400 hours of audio and video recordings of oral traditions now hosted for free on secure servers on the Project website. These resources are used by students and researchers of world history and culture in the classroom, by

the wider public, and more recently by writers and printmakers such as Nancy Campbell[10] and Melanie Challenger[11] as an inspiration for artistic projects.

The World Oral Literature Project's strong focus on cooperation and understanding ensures that source communities retain full copyright and intellectual property rights over recordings of their traditions. Depositors grant the Project a non-exclusive license to host the material, a permission that can be revoked or changed at any time. A non-negotiable premise of our work is that we neither pay for content nor charge users for access. The inclusion of extensive metadata, including contextual details relating to the specific performance of oral literature alongside its history and cultural significance, allows researchers and users from all disciplines to connect with and experience the performative power of the collection. We have made good use of increasingly sophisticated digital archiving techniques that permit the retrieval of granular metadata from specific recordings. Whether through a simple Google Maps interface or our searchable list of recordings, our website provides many ways into our online holdings, allowing us to connect our archive to a broad community of users and researchers.

Embodying Orality through Digital Archiving

The World Oral Literature Project online collections range from songs, chants, and speeches in Paiwan and from other minority language-speaking groups in Taiwan in the 1950s to African verbal arts recorded on digital devices in the twenty-first century. We are fortunate to have particularly strong collections from Asia, many of which offer powerful illustrations of how digitally archived collections can directly assist in the revitalization of community practices. Between 2009 and 2011, local artist and researcher, Dr. Madan Meena, worked together with Victoria Singh from the Kota Heritage Society to record a 20-hour ballad about the life and adventures of Tejaji, the Snake Deity, sung by the Mali community (an occupational caste who traditionally worked as gardeners) in Thikarda village, Bundi district, Hadoti, Rajasthan, India. Through a careful, complex, and collaborative documentation of Tejaji customs and traditions,[12] recordings were transcribed and translated from Hadoti into Hindi and English, and distributed as both a book and DVD in the region. The combination of the attention generated by the recordings and the publication of the book has renewed interest in the Tejaji oral tradition, with performers, apprentices, and community members now using the public archive as a benchmark and reference point.[13]

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[10] Campbell's artist's book entitled *How to Say "I Love You" in Greenlandic* is as much a romantic narrative about an endangered speech form as it is a lesson in linguistics. Hand-printed and beautifully composed, it sells for £450, with £50 from the sale of each copy donated to the World Oral Literature Project to support our fieldwork grants program. See further http://www.nancycampbell.co.uk/books/how-to-say-i-love-you-in-greenlandic-an-arctic-alphabet.

[11] Challenger's prose and poetry uses a series of songs from different regions and cultures (some drawn from World Oral Literature Project archives) as the point of departure for an extended discussion on the origins and contours of human cultural diversity.

[12] Dr. Madan Meena spoke about the challenges of the work at one of our annual workshops, a recording of which can be found at http://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/1092101.

[13] See the online collection at http://www.oralliterature.org/collections/mmeena001.html.

Similarly, a yearlong project initiated in 2009 (and led by Dr. Kevin Stuart, Dr. Gerald Roche, and Dr. Tshe dbang rdo rje) that aimed to train five local researchers to digitally document oral literature from five locations in the northeast Sino-Tibetan frontier has grown into a much larger and more sustainable cultural training program. Not only did the initial project result in a valuable collection of recordings of oral traditions,[14] but it also helped catalyze an ambitious online platform for sharing resources across the Tibetan plateau. The website http:// PlateauCulture.org now includes geocoded images, articles, place summaries, and bibliographic sources to illustrate various strands of culture, life, and history from the Himalayan region.[15] Contributors to the portal are mainly students, members of local media projects, or local and foreign teachers and scholars, and the program now boasts a successful participatory photography project and regularly publishes *Asian Highlands Perspectives*, an increasingly prominent journal that focuses on oral traditions. Many of the journal articles now incorporate recordings from our archive into their text, and Dr. Gerald Roche has continued to make excellent use of participatory methods—initially developed by Robert Chambers within the context of development studies—for the practice of cultural preservation.[16]

The majority of our contemporary collections are "born digital," meaning that traditions are recorded using digital devices in the field and transferred over the web (through file transfer protocols or cloud storage solutions) to the World Oral Literature Project from the fieldwork site. This method provides immediate back up and storage for the researcher, and results in faster archiving and dissemination of critically endangered customs. From our offices in Cambridge and New Haven, we upload these new collections to the Cambridge University Library digital repository,[17] DSpace—a managed environment with a commitment to forward migrating digital assets when formats change so that uploaded collections, along with large amounts of associated linguistic and geospatial metadata, are securely and safely archived. In addition, we host audio and video recordings on the University of Cambridge Streaming Media Service.[18] This platform allows for more immediate and simple streaming of audio-visual content in a variety of formats, making the materials accessible to all audiences with varying speeds of internet connection, including those connecting to the web from rural or remote regions on cell phones, tablets, or basic computers.

A benefit of direct online archiving for communities is that materials can be easily returned in accessible formats—whether on DVD, CD, or hard disk—to be used in education and cultural revitalization programs. Younger community members are increasingly finding that their introductions to oral traditions are being mediated through digital media that in turn can help to inspire interest in cultural heritage because it appears attractive and modern. Acting on the wishes of our Project partners and grantees—as tailored to the needs of each specific community

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[14] See the online collection at http://www.oralliterature.org/collections/gyulha001.html.

[15] See http://www.plateauculture.org.

[16] See the lecture at our workshop on this approach: http://sms.cam.ac.uk/media/756717.

[17] See https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk.

[18] See http://sms.cam.ac.uk/.

—we believe that this approach harnesses the power of technology to the enthusiasm of the young. In this way, online digital platforms can support communities in their efforts to revitalize their traditional knowledge systems and oral cultures.

Collaborative Learning: Workshops and Partnerships

Training workshops and conferences convened by the World Oral Literature Project provide an important opportunity for fieldworkers and community members to be exposed to emerging best practices in culture and language documentation, and to share their experiences with a wider group of academics and independent scholars. The Project has held three annual meetings to date,[19] the most recent of which was a workshop in 2012 entitled "Charting Vanishing Voices: A Collaborative Workshop to Map Endangered Cultures."[20] At the event, participants explored both the World Oral Literature Project's existing database of language endangerment levels and a range of new tools and technologies for collaborative work.[21]

Our first two workshops were recorded and archived online for free streaming and download.[22] Many of the presentations have been viewed over 1,500 times by users all over the globe with an interest in techniques of cultural documentation. Panels at our second workshop were focused around the theme of what happens when new publics consume, manipulate, and connect with field recordings and digital archival repositories of linguistic and cultural content, as their involvement raises important practical and ethical questions about access, ownership, and permanence. These issues are reflected in a current trend among funding agencies, including the World Oral Literature Project's own fieldwork grants program, that encourage fieldworkers to return copies of their material to source communities, as well as to deposit collections in institutional repositories.

Increasingly, as this short contribution has shown, the locus of dissemination and engagement has grown beyond that of researcher and research subject to include a diverse constituency of global users such as migrant workers, indigenous scholars, policymakers, and journalists, to name but a few. Participants at all of our workshops have explored key issues around the dissemination of oral literature, reflecting on the impact of greater digital connectivity in extending the dissemination of fieldworkers' research and collections beyond traditional audiences.

Openness, Access, and Connectivity

The free online dissemination of published materials is a key aspect of the World Oral Literature Project's pledge to wider access and greater connectivity, and we are firmly committed

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[19] For links to abstracts and videos from past conferences, please see http://www.oralliterature.org/research/workshops.html.

[20] See http://www.crassh.cam.ac.uk/events/1685/.

[21] See http://www.oralliterature.org/research/databaseterms.html.

[22] See http://sms.cam.ac.uk/collection/756550 and http://sms.cam.ac.uk/collection/1092005.

to a dissemination model that overcomes the constraints of traditional publishing. While alternative models of academic publishing that make use of online open-access platforms are well established in the sciences, aside from a few notable exceptions—*Oral Tradition* being one of the most prominent—the humanities and social sciences have been slower to adapt to the affordances of digital dissemination. The Project publishes an Occasional Paper series of case studies and theory relating to the documentation and archiving of endangered oral traditions.[23] Hosted as PDFs on our website and co-hosted through other platforms with partner organizations, these papers can be downloaded for free or printed on demand from anywhere with internet access. To date, we have published six occasional papers and have found this to be an effective model for making material immediately available. Many of our titles have been downloaded over 2,000 times since they were hosted, and some have been translated into other languages and reprinted in books and journals across the globe.

For larger and longer manuscripts, we have launched an unexpectedly successful partnership with the Cambridge-based Open Book Publishers to create affordable paperback, hardback, HTML, and PDF versions of new titles and out-of-print classics in oral literature, bypassing the problems inherent in conventional academic publishing (such as remaindered copies through overprinting, high unit cost, and poor global availability). The innovative approach adopted by Open Book Publishers makes the dissemination of such unique literary traditions that incorporate original field recordings possible for the first time. This method of digital publishing has the distinct benefit of wider global access to scholarly content and rich online supplementary material. Authors are not restricted to the page, but can incorporate a wealth of audio, video, and photographic material to support their texts. Open Book Publishers have a commitment to open access that dovetails with our Project's mandate to widen the dissemination of knowledge, ideas, and access to cultural traditions. Connecting with a broader audience—one that was historically disenfranchised by the exclusivity of print and the restrictive distribution networks that favored Western readers—further facilitates the protection and reinvigoration of cultural knowledge.

The first release in our World Oral Literature Series with Open Book—a new edition of Ruth Finnegan's 1970 classic *Oral Literature in Africa*—received considerable media attention in September 2012.[24] Project staff worked closely with the author to generate interest online, and together we raised sufficient funds through the crowd-funding website Unglue.It to make the book available for free in PDF and ebook formats for all users.[25] Through our partnership, we were able to realize Ruth Finnegan's dream that her work be available at no cost to all citizens and scholars in Africa. Since the republication of her *Oral Literature in Africa* with Open Book, Finnegan has embraced on-demand digital publishing and has become a prominent advocate for open-access scholarship in general.[26]

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[23] See http://www.oralliterature.org/research/occpapers.html.

[24] See http://www.openbookpublishers.com/product/97/.

[25] See https://unglue.it/work/81724/.

[26]   See http://www.independent.co.uk/student/news/open-access-taking-academic-publishing-out-of-its-ivory-tower-2335862.html.

2013 saw the publication of four more books in the World Oral Literature Series: *Storytelling in Northern Zambia: Theory, Method, Practice and Other Necessary Fictions* by Robert Cancel,[27] a revised edition of Lee Haring's *How to Read a Folktale: The* Ibonia *Epic from Madagascar*,[28] *Xiipúktan (First of All): Three Views of the Origins of the Quechan People* by George Bryant (with linguistic work by Amy Miller),[29] and an edited volume by our project staff entitled *Oral Literature in the Digital Age* that grew out of the formative discussions at one of our annual workshops.[30] More books are in production and are expected in 2014, and each publication is fully searchable, readable, and in most instances freely downloadable from the publisher's website. All of the manuscripts make extensive use of online digital content through stable handles and URLs that are embedded in the online book and link straight out to our rich audio and video collections.

Looking Forward

Public support for communities struggling to protect their endangered oral traditions and languages is an important factor in maintaining political engagement with cultural diversity, and media coverage extends the activities of the World Oral Literature Project to wider public domains. Our presence in print, online, and on air has helped generate visibility for the cause of protecting endangered traditions and a greater familiarity with the collaborative methods that we advocate.[31] In turn, we believe that this exposure can help to foster a sustained interest in approaches to documenting oral traditions that are respectful, non-extractive, and aimed at cultural sustainability.

By participating in community events and working with artists and authors who have been inspired by recordings of oral traditions, we are extending knowledge of other cultures beyond the confines of ivory towers and the silos of the academy. Working from the assumption that a deeper understanding of cultural diversity can enhance empathy for others and in turn discourage prejudice and stereotyping, our extensive outreach programs encourage interaction with materials created by indigenous communities themselves.

The three verbs *collect*, *protect*, and *connect* encapsulate our aims.[32] Collection is the gathering and documentation of oral literature in the field, not in an acquisitive manner, but in a way that is responsible, collaborative, and predicated on trust. Protection is its archiving and curation—doing the best we can to ensure that these unique cultural materials are maintained,

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[27] See http://www.openbookpublishers.com/product/137/.

[28] See http://www.openbookpublishers.com/product/109/.

[29] See http://www.openbookpublishers.com/product/141/.

[30] Turin et al. 2013. See http://www.openbookpublishers.com/product/186/.

[31] Learn more about our public outreach by listening to some of our interviews and webcasts available at http://www.oralliterature.org/info/news.html.

[32] These verbs are drawn from the mission of the New Zealand Film Archive (http://www.filmarchive.org.nz/).

migrated, and refreshed as new technologies become available and older technologies become obsolete. The connection is made when collections are returned to source communities and when they reach a wider public in print and online.

Reflecting on the theme of this special issue of *Oral Tradition*—archives, databases, and special collections—this short contribution has focused on the part of our work that "connects." Quite simply, the World Oral Literature Project exists thanks to the technical underpinnings made possible through widely available and cost-effective information technology and the philosophical imperative to see information and knowledge shared. To find out more about the project, please visit http://www.oralliterature.org/.

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Noting the Tunes of Seventeenth-Century Broadside Ballads: The English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA)

Patricia Fumerton and Eric Nebeker

The English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA), http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu, hosted at the University of California-Santa Barbara, was founded in 2003 to render pre-1700 English broadside ballads fully accessible as texts, art, songs, and cultural records. EBBA focuses especially on the broadside ballads of the seventeenth century because that period was the "heyday" of the genre.[1] In their heyday, ballads were printed on one side of large sheets of paper (hence "broad"-side) mostly in swirling, decorative, black-letter (or what we today call "Gothic") typeface, embellished with many woodcuts and other ornamentation, and labeled with a tune title printed just below the song title. These alluring multimedia artifacts addressed multifarious topics—often from more than one perspective—to catch the interest of a wide audience.[2]

But such ballads were also the cheapest form of printed materials in the period—costing on average just a penny at the beginning of the seventeenth century and dropping to half a penny by its end—so as to ensure their affordability to all but the indigent. As cheap entertainment, they were then rather ephemeral items, printed quickly on poor quality sheets that would often be folded and carried about by their purchasers or pasted up on a wall as a poor man's decoration. Such cheap, transferable wares would frequently be re-used as disposable "waste" paper to reinforce book bindings or as kindling, toilet paper, and so forth. Any broadsides that were pasted up would soon be painted or plastered over. Because of their transience, comparably few of the millions of copies printed have survived, and those that still remain are dispersed across the United Kingdom and the United States, carefully guarded by the libraries and museums that hold them.

Most websites, even the admirable Bodleian Library's ballad database (http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk), represent only a small sampling of the total number of extant seventeenth-century broadside ballads—estimated by EBBA to be roughly 10,000-11,000 items. EBBA's goal, however, is to make accessible all holdings of these early broadside ballads through a single site, where they are extensively catalogued and accessible by both simple and advanced search functions. Furthermore, unlike any other site that includes printed ballads, we offer high-quality color photography and different viewings of the originals: as album sheet

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[1] By "heyday," we mean the period during which the key features of the broadside ballad listed above (text, art, song, culture) were most accentuated.

[2] See further http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/heyday-of-the-broadside-ballad.

facsimiles (the form in which ballads were often collected—trimmed and cut apart before being pasted onto album paper), as ballad sheet facsimiles (closer to how they would have looked when they came off the press, which sometimes requires the EBBA team to reassemble the cut-apart pieces), as facsimile transcriptions (with the often difficult-to-read original typeface replaced by easy-to-read modern Times Roman, while retaining as closely as possible the formatting and ornamentation of the original), as TEI/XML text (with the metadata and words of the ballad marked up by transferable digital code), and as MARC records (for library use). Finally, again like no other website, EBBA provides recordings of all extant tunes for the ballads.[3]

As of this writing, EBBA has fully digitized 6,000 pre-1700 English broadside ballads. It has been difficult at times to decide whether or not to include items in our archive. Among our many deciding factors are: does the one-page poem recall the features of other more clearly recognizable ballads (often self-titled as "ballad") and—very importantly despite the existence of broadside ballads as multimedia artifacts—is the poem meant to be sung? Though EBBA is devoted to archiving the printed, that is, published, ballad, and thus what the great folklorist Francis James Child, in an 1872 letter to Professor Sven Gruntvig, derogatively called "veritable dung-hills" (Hustvedt 1930:254, in reference to the Pepys and Roxburghe printed ballad collections), we at EBBA, like contemporaries of the seventeenth century, highly value printed ballads as songs. And just as Child in fact consulted and included texts from broadside ballads in his famous edition of "traditional" and purely "oral" ballads—as Mary Ellen Brown has shown (2010:65, 67)—so we at EBBA embrace the oral tradition as an integral and inter-medial part of what constitutes the printed broadside ballad.

A team of singers at EBBA is led by an ethnomusicologist trained in researching tunes, who consults foremost Claude M. Simpson's highly reputed *The Broadside Ballad and Its Music*.[4] Simpson (1966:xv) estimates that "Some two thousand tune names are associated with broadsides, and from what we know of the way in which tunes acquired multiple titles, it seems fair to assume that about a thousand different airs are implied." The actual survival numbers?: "Of these," Simpson continues, "over four hundred have survived" (xv).

How to actually sing the tune once it is discovered by the ethnomusicologist is without question a challenge. Consensus among the EBBA music team was that, with few exceptions, the ballads should be sung a capella. As James Carr explains,[5]

> Our primary purpose is to help people connect the ballad with the tune, and a solo voice gives an unadorned version of the melody, clearly illustrating the connection between words and music. While instrumental accompaniment was appropriate in the seventeenth century in many contexts, particularly in the theatrical ballads and jigs of the period, the ballad tradition is a singer's tradition, and we wanted to highlight the art of unaccompanied balladry. By keeping our presentations simple and unadorned we seek to make the ballads as intelligible as possible.

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[3] For a description of all the site's offerings see http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/features.

[4] See further http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/recording-the-ballads and http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/ballad-music-sources.

[5] http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/page/recording-the-ballads

The addition of the recorded tunes to ballad texts and images is valuable for both scholar and student as well as the general public who simply enjoy listening to ballads being sung. But it further enhances EBBA as an invaluable research tool for anyone studying the music of late sixteenth- through eighteenth-century England. Currently, those wanting to hear ballad texts and tunes together have to find the ballad and its tune in separate sources, and then put the two together themselves. For most music scholars this is not a particularly difficult process, but it is laborious and time-consuming. Our ethnomusicologist estimates that it takes about two and one-half hours to find the correct tune for a ballad, learn it, and record it. By providing on a single site both text and tune, whenever extant, EBBA saves thousands of hours of research time for others and provides instant accessibility for use in research and the classroom.

Perhaps the greatest benefit for musicologists and ethnomusicologists, however, is EBBA's usefulness as a teaching tool. EBBA provides teachers with a site to which they can send their students for accurate tunes that are dependable and consistent in quality, and it allows those listening to the song to change quickly over to the "facsimile transcription" if any words or phrases are unclear. By connecting the ballads with their tunes, EBBA also encourages more students and scholars to use this extremely important archive as a resource for the greater understanding of the music and culture of the time. This educational aspect is especially heightened as the real-time tunes lengthen the experience of the ballad—an average ballad song lasts eight to twelve minutes, unlike today's typical song of three to four minutes. The song slows down time and invites the audience to inhabit the experience of the ballad in a way neither the text nor the art alone can. Without the ballad tune, the ballad experience is literally diminished.

EBBA's practice of recording as many ballads as possible often reveals intriguing disjunctions between the tunes as we know them through historical records and their oral expression. Indeed our singers frequently encounter ballads that uneasily join a melody to their words. Sometimes such difficulties are the result of an uneasy fit between melodic rhythm and poetic rhythm, perhaps an unsurprising consequence of many balladeers with varying writing abilities fitting many different ballads to a single tune. On occasion the stanza length doesn't match the melody length. "Corydon and Cloris Or, The Wanton Sheepherdess" (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30444/recording), for example, gives direction for singing the ballad to "a pleasant Play-house new Tune: Or, Amorett and Phillis." The tune standardly titled "Amoret and Phyllis" provides a melody that would take nine lines rather than the eight lines of this ballad's stanza. This case may not be very problematic; EBBA's singers simply repeated the last line of the ballad to fit the melody. However, because ballads are generally strophic—that is, they apply the same melody to different lyrics for each stanza—differences in melody and stanza length can create formal discontinuities between the ballads' printed and oral manifestations. In the case of "An excellent new Ditty: OR, Which proveth that women the best Warriers be, For they made the Devill from earth for to flee," the melody needs to be extended over two stanzas (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30071/recording).[6] In reading this ballad, the stanzas form conceptual units that drive the narrative forward. The ballad begins with a stanza setting the stage for its story:

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[6] This recording also serves as an example of the awkward fit between text and melody.

Old Beelzebub merry
disposed to be,
To earth hee did hurry,
some pastime to see;
A Landlord he proved,
and Leases would let,
To all them that loved
a long life to get.

The devil speaks in the next stanza, making his offer of eternal life to all "long tailes and curtailes." From here, the ballad mostly details those who come to take advantage of Beelzebub's offer, devoting a stanza to each group until the "poore women" who "cry fish and Oysters" show up and make such a ruckus that the devil flees in fear of his life. The stanzas, then, plod evenly along toward the conclusion of the ballad. By extending across stanzas, however, the melody pairs up the stanzas. Sometimes such pairing works well, as in the opening stanzas when we are introduced to "Old Beelzebub" and then hear him speak his offer. Other times, though, the melody can seem like a misplaced semicolon joining two unrelated independent clauses. The melody's pairing of the first and second stanzas of the ballad's second part appears arbitrary, for instance. In the context of a ballad in which everyone mentioned is ridiculed and ethically challenged, shoemakers and tailors do not have a special relationship to usurers. Thus the long melody creates what one might call a repeated "twinning" experience for listeners, as it prompts them continually to consider possible relationships between paired stanzas.

In other cases, the discrepancies between the tune and the text can suggest a tune's complicated history and the ambiguity of the evidence on which we must rely to recover these melodies. For example, the same tune name may be given for ballads with different stanza lengths, as is the case with ballads to the tune of "Cook Lorrel." As we traditionally know this tune, "Cook Lorrel" is a short melody, the equivalent of four tetrameter lines of poetry. The metrical scheme of "The Plow-mans Prophesie" fits this version of the tune very well (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/21959/recording). But several other ballads to "Cook Lorrel" do not. "Bill of Fare" (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30021/album) and "The Ingenious Braggadocia" (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30695/album) both have eight-line stanzas. "A Strange Banquet"—a ballad that Ben Jonson wrote for his masque *The Gypsies Metamorphos'd*, and which may have provided the melody with its most recognizable name, "Cook Laurel"—is four lines with a fifth line providing a refrain. Perhaps the refrain is meant to be repeated and thus to round out the stanzas to eight lines as do some of the other ballads to this tune, but Jonson's original ballad did not have the refrain, and so it is difficult to be sure. (Indeed, the short melody is well suited to the form of Jonson's ballad in which each stanza tells of another dish at the Devil's cannibalistic supper.) The variations in stanza lengths, when the tune is re-used in other ballads, may well suggest alternative versions of the tune "Cook Laurel" that have been lost to us and should remind us that "standard tunes"[7] were not as standardized as

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[7] This term follows from Simpson's notion, adopted by EBBA, that many variations of tunes and tune titles should be subsumed under one tune/title of which they are variants.

we scholars might like.

Finally, while a single melody might dress up several different ballad texts, the inverse could also often be true. Whether named or not, several different melodies might fit a single ballad. "Corydon and Cloris Or, The Wanton Sheepherdess," mentioned above, for example, could also be easily sung to two other melodies: "Chloris, Full of Harmless Thoughts" and "Hey, Boys, Up Go We." "A Bill of Fare" and "Ingenious Braggadocia," also mentioned above, furthermore, can be sung just as well, perhaps even better, to "Packington's Pound." To complicate the issue, popular songs such as "Packington's Pound" and "Greensleeves" could themselves circulate in various forms, and, as we have seen, even the names of the tunes could change from ballad to ballad—all adding to the complex relationship between printed and sung ballads.[8]

In sum, EBBA provides an oral dimension sorely missing in the other venues by which people can access broadside ballads, and at the same time exposes what may seem to the contemporary world as chaotic or whimsical musical practices. EBBA thus provides a multitude of new ways to think about orality and song in relation to the printed broadside ballad of seventeenth-century England. Experienced in their heyday as multimedia artifacts, including text and art, broadside ballads were also in many telling ways premierly valued as song.

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[8] To see some of the various names of "Greensleeves," visit our Advanced Search page (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/search_combined/), scroll down to the "Standardized Tune Title" drop-down menu, and select Greensleeves from the list. From the results page—all for the tune "Greensleeves"—you can also listen to "A merry new Ballad, both pleasant and sweete, In praise of the Black-Smith" and "A new Yorkshyre Song, Intituled: Yorke, Yorke, for my monie" to hear different versions of the "Greensleeves" tune.

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On the Principles of a Digital Text Corpus:
New Opportunities in Working on Heroic Epics of the Shors

Dmitri A. Funk

Introduction

The Corpus of Folklore Texts in the Languages of Indigenous Peoples of Siberia (http://corpora.iea.ras.ru) is a collection of folklore texts in lesser used, mostly endangered, Siberian languages and was initiated in 2011 through support from the Department of Northern and Siberian Studies at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS).[1] The main idea was to create a corpus capable of storing both an original version and an orthographically standardized version of any text. Another task was to build a system able to perform some related analytical procedures. At the same time we were aiming at making a significant part of the unknown materials available for researchers and others able to read in the native Siberian languages.

This essay will use the Shor corpus as its main example, though the Teleut, Evenki, or Nenets corpora might easily have been chosen instead. The reasoning behind this choice is the fact that the whole project arose out of my long-term study of the Shor epics. Additionally, the Shor (like the Teleut) materials belong for the most part to me, and I am the primary individual who has been working with them within the frame of this project. It is my hope that this single example will help readers better understand what our Corpus is able to do and how it has been organized.

The Shors and Their Epics

The Shors are one of Siberia's smaller populations: 12,888 according to the 2010 Russian census.[2] This ethnic group lives mainly in the south of Western Siberia. Until the early twentieth century they provided a perfect example for illustrating the cultural way of life of taiga hunters, gatherers, and fishermen; they now primarily occupy towns in the southern part of the Kemerovo region, where we currently find about 73% of the entire Shor population. In the last 24 years not only have the Shors dwindled in number, but the percentage of those who command the Shor language has fallen as well. Only a small percentage of the Shor—around 5 to 10% (officially 22%)—are still able to speak Shor as their mother tongue, making it an extremely endangered Turkic language.[3]

This ethnic group is especially well known thanks to its rich heroic epic tradition, examples of which have been recorded over the last 150 years by Wilhelm Radloff, Alexander V. Adrianov, Nadezhda P. Dyrenkova, Georgij F. Babushkin, Alexander I. Smerdov, Olga I. Blagoveshchenskaya, and Andrei I. Čudoyakov, as well as by other scholars, enthusiasts, and even some story-tellers.[4] Like epic tales of many other Turkic-speaking groups of Siberia—and as is also the case for Mongolian heroic epic tales—Shor epics most often involve either one or both of two themes: one where the hero embarks upon a quest for a wife and another where the hero struggles with foreign invaders. But these two main themes can be and still are realized in hundreds of variations or motif-series, using the whole richness of an epic tradition.[5]

Fig. 1. Main territories now occupied by the Shors (originally published in Funk and Tomilov 2006:247).

I point especially at heroic epics because they are of special value in studying the language;[6] indeed it is through the language of the heroic epics—and this fact has been long ascertained by linguists—that the Shor language achieved its "higher," one could say "literary," form. It is in the heroic epics that we discover the richness both of the lexical makeup of the language and of its grammatical structure, with every form from the simplest syntax to the most complex being featured within these works.

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[2] Basic data about the Shors is taken from Funk and Tomilov 2006.

[3] Russian linguists relate the Shor language to the Khakass subgroup of the Uygur-Oguz group within the Eastern-Hun branch of the Turkic languages (Baskakov 1981:20), although one can also consider both the Mras and Kondoma dialects of the Shor to be equally close to Khakass and Teleut respectively, that is, to languages that belong to different groups of the Turkic languages.

[4] For further details see Funk 2005:204-51 and 2010-13.

[5] See Čudoyakov 1995; Arbačakova 2001; Funk 2005.

[6] See, for instance, Funk 1999, 2003, 2006; Esipova and Arbačakova 2006.

Principles of the Corpus

There are five main principles on which the Corpus is based:

1. To increase the number of epic texts available for researchers. There are at least 265 texts of the Shor epics stored in different archives and/or private collections. From these rich materials there were but 26 epic texts published in the original (Shor) language between 1861 and 2010, and only 17 of them were full-length. Most earlier publications by Radloff (1866) and Dyrenkova (1940) are very difficult to access, especially for the Shors in their places of residence and in some cases even for researchers.

On the other hand, the Shor part of the Corpus is the largest one.[7] It now comprises 183,580 orthographic words in 41 texts and is supplemented by an oral sub-corpus of approximately 30,000 words, currently accessible in audio form only.[8]
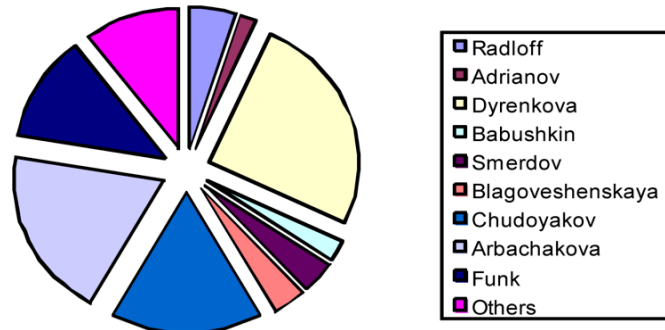
Fig. 2. Proportions of the numbers of the Shor epic texts recorded by scholars between 1861-2006.
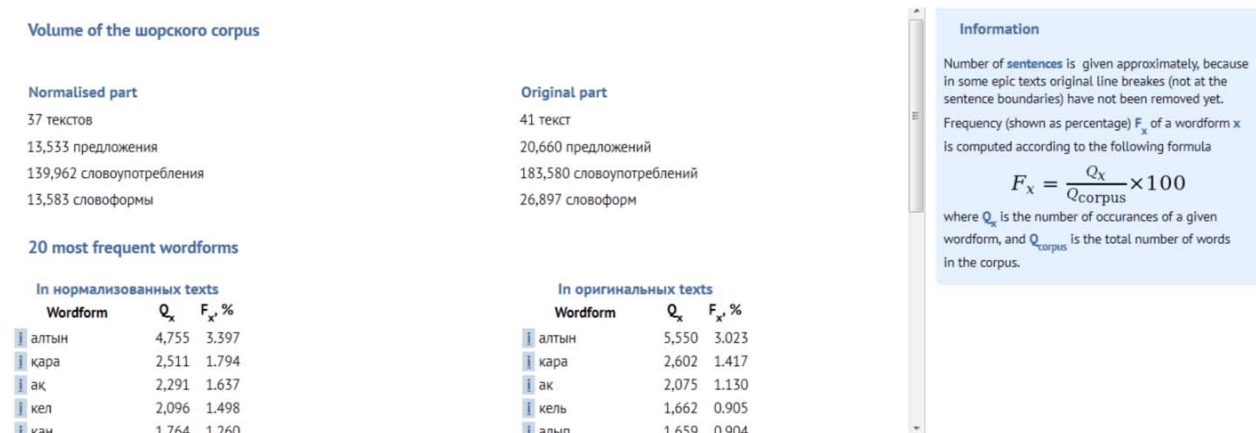
Fig. 3. Volume of the Shor Corpus (with a list of the 20 most frequent word-forms) from http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/statistics.php.

Out of the 38 texts that represent the Shor heroic epics there are 27 that are unique to this corpus: they were originally part of my own personal collection and (excepting six texts that appeared recently as part of Funk 2010-13) had not been previously published in any form. There is no other freely accessible corpus in Shor or in any other Siberian Turkic language of comparable volume.

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[7] All figures here and below reflect the state of the Corpus on October 5, 2013.

[8] The English version of the website is far from being excellent, so here and below there are some obvious gaps and inexact translations in the images.

2. To reflect the very complicated dialectal system of Siberian languages. Our texts represent both dialects of the Shor language. Strictly speaking there are three sub-dialects, including the literary dialect, and in the very near future there will be at least five. Since the Shor still maintain many sub-dialects (not all of which have been well described scientifically) and the literary form is understudied with its many significantly varying "norms," the Corpus will not only help safeguard these sub-dialects and study them, but also contribute to the literary form of the language.
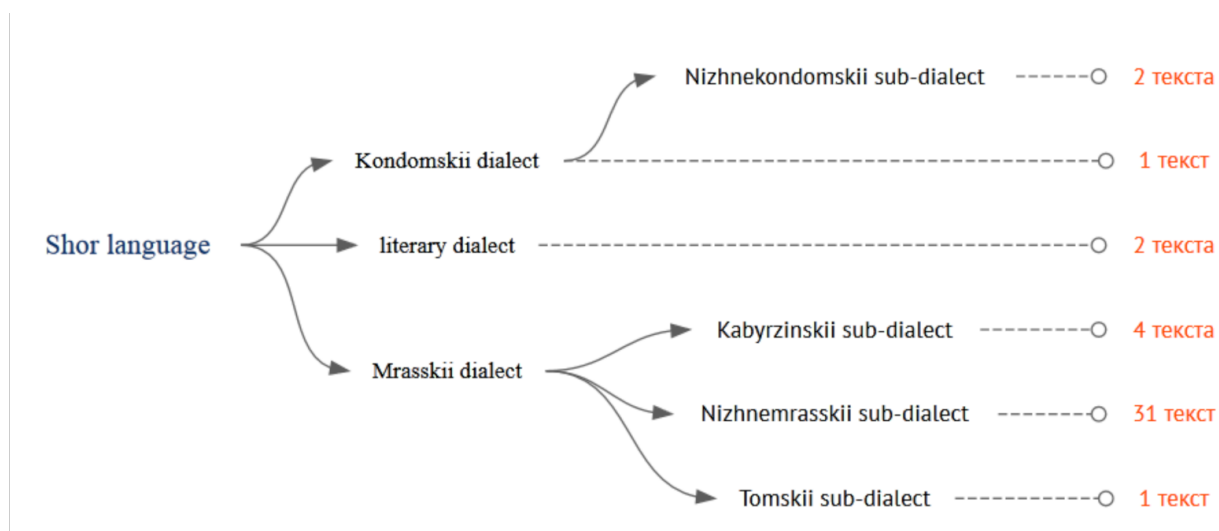
Fig. 4. The structure of the Shor Corpus from http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/structure.php.

3. To include texts that would give researchers the possibility to analyze the language of folklore on the micro-level. The goal here, then, is to be able to perform analyses on the individual epic idiolects of each singer and—if possible—to do so through a large number of texts. The largest part of the Shor epic texts included within the Corpus derives from the repertoire of the prominent Shor storyteller Vladimir Tannagashev, who left us a large heritage in written form. Tannagashev was born on December 10, 1932, into the family of a hunter. For various reasons, he could not complete general education school studies and began to work early —as he would throughout nearly his entire life—at a coal mine. In the 1940s he started his attempts at narrating epic stories; when he was between 35 and 40, he began to perform them in the guttural singing style. Considering the breadth of his repertoire, Tannagashev may well be considered a singular figure. At 70 he told me that during his younger years he had remembered 122 epics. "Now, having gotten old," he said, he "forgot it all" and could perform only some 70.

We worked constantly with this storyteller from 2001 until the end of 2006; apart from making many records of live performances, I also persuaded Tannagashev to write down his repertoire. As a result, there are 32 epic texts, ranging from 20 to 150 pages each, that were recorded by Vladimir Tannagashev at my request. On the whole, in my estimate, there have been about 40 total recordings, of which 36 are available to me. 25 of these texts have been included in their entirety within the Corpus: 20 texts are Tannagashev's own written versions, and five represent his live performances. If we continue working on the Tannagashev

Fig. 5. Vladimir Tannagashev in his apartment (in the kitchen) in the town of Myski, Kemerovo region, 2003. Photo by D. Funk.

materials, there is a good chance that we will be able to increase the number of his texts to 70-75 since not only did I work with him, but at least one other researcher (L. N. Arbačakova) did as well.

Normalised title	Dialectology	Performer	Year
✓ Ай қараттыг Қара-Қан	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Ақ-Пилек	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Алтын-Салғын	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2004
✓ Алып-Кускун	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2000
✓ Ачазы кулатпа туңмазы кулат	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2005
✓ Карағы чок Сас-Караба чодазы чок Чол-Кара	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Кара-Қан	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	1999
✓ Кара-Қан	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2002
✓ Кара-Қан	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Кӧк-Торчук	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	1999
✓ Күннӱ кӧрчең Күн-Кӧӧк	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	1999
✓ Кускун қараттыг Алып-Кускун	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2004
✓ Кырык кулаш сынныг кара сараттыг Алып-Карачын	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Кырык кулаш сынныг кара сараттыг Кан-Мерген	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Кырык кулаш сынныг кара сараттыг Кара-Молат	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Кырык эмчектиг Кыдай-Арыг	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2003
✓ Кырык эмчектиг Кыдай-Арыг	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2003
✓ Он алыптың ымайынаң чайалған Қан-Кичей	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Сыбазын-Оолақ	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Сывет-Оолақ	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Талашқа чӧрген Алтын-Торғу	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Улуг-кичиг ақ сарат	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Чабыс-Чапан	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2000
✓ Чарық түктӱг ақ қалтар аттыг Алтын-Қоста	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2006
✓ Чылан-Тоочый	Mrasskii » Nizhnemrasskii	В.Е. Таннагашев	2003

Fig. 6. List of epic texts from the Tannagashev's repertoire in the Shor Corpus from http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/texts.php?performed_by=17.

Another unique figure on the cultural scene of Mountain Shoriya—and even more broadly in Southern Siberia—during the Soviet era was the Shor storyteller and poet Stepan S. Torbokov. Torbokov was born into the family of a hunter on December 24, 1900, in the Tagdagal *ulus* (Shor settlement) now known as the town Osinniki. He graduated from a parish school at age 12 and was determined to continue his education. However, he did not gain acceptance to the Biisk Catechist College. Instead, in 1927-28 local Soviet authorities sent him to enroll in a month-long course for the preparation of illiteracy eradication specialists in the town of Myski. Having completed it, Torbokov started working at an adult education school, and in 1930, after a short period of training at the Krasnoyarsk Pedagogy School, he became a schoolteacher. Nevertheless, Torbokov continued learning, and he graduated from the Tomsk Institute of Pedagogy in 1943. He retired in 1956 and devoted himself wholly to the mission of recording Shor epics until the end of his life in 1980.

Fig. 7. Taken by an anonymous photographer on June 15, 1969. The picture is accompanied by Torbokov's note in Russian: "(I am) reciting (the epos) *Ak-Salgyn* ["White Wind"] by accompanying on the kay-komus." Stored in the Folklore Archive of the State Literature Museum (No. 419.12. Sheet 1 and originally published in Funk 2010-13).

It was during his youth that Torbokov began to perform epic stories about bogatyrs for his co-villagers. By Torbokov's own estimate, he knew and performed over 40 epics. Already in the 1930s, Torbokov had attempted to write down stories from his repertoire, though the earliest preserved text available today is dated 1941. He further wrote down a couple of stories at the very end of the 1940s, but his main work recording the epics occurred during his retirement in the 1950s and later. The heritage of this outstanding storyteller ended up in various archives, and the work on recovering it is still continuing. In total, the four state archives—in Moscow, Novokuznetsk, Gorno-Altaysk, and Abakan—have preserved for us 40 of these heroic epics. Although every Torbokov text adheres to the bilingual principle—that is, each page of the Shor text is followed by a page of word-for-word Russian translation—unfortunately both the originals and the translations display a rather salient lack of care and also contain numerous stylistic and grammatical errors. In many ways, it is this issue of quality that accounts for the fact that none of these texts has yet been published in an unabridged form. But recently two of his texts have been prepared and one has even been included in its entirety within the Corpus.

It takes a great deal of time and much effort, but in the very near future (depending on time and financial support) I plan to include within the Corpus at least 30 additional epic texts, making them available for the first time. The largest portion will obviously be from Tannagashev's repertoire, but eight of these texts will represent the epic idiolect of another famous story-teller, Maria Tokmagasheva (1908-1995), with whom I worked in the first half of 1980s.

4. To make all the variant texts available for analysis. We are all aware of the so called "human factor;" we all for various reasons make mistakes. In order to mitigate errors we decided to place in the Corpus all forms of any single text. If one is unsatisfied with a standardized (normalized) version of a given text, one may have a look at an original version of it, for instance, in parallel with the standardized one. And if there are doubts that the original text has

A short excerpt of the epos *Chylan-Toochii*, Vladimir Tannagashev, 2003. http://journal.oraltradition.org/issues/28ii/funk#myGallery-picture(14)

Fig. 8. An original version of the epos *Ak-Pilek* given in parallel with the standardized (normalized) one, from http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/describe_text.php?id=19.
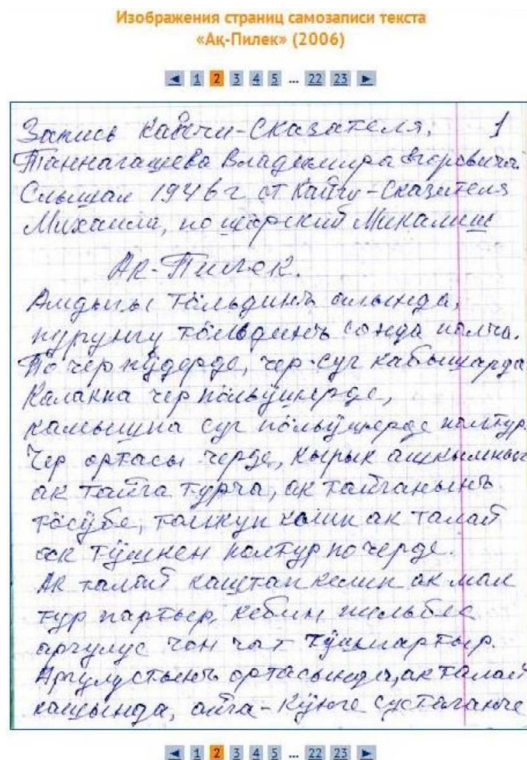

Fig. 9. A scanned page from Tannagashev's self-recording of the epos *Ak-Pilek*. See also http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/pages.php?id_text=19&page=2#image.

been read correctly, one has a chance to look at any page of the original manuscript or to listen to it (in cases where there is an audio record available). An example of such an audio-record can be found at http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/describe_text.php?id=28, where a short excerpt (25 minutes from a 2.5-hour recording) of the epos *Chylan-Toochii* recorded by me from Vladimir Tannagashev in 2003 is available, accompanied by a transcription completed by L. N. Arbačakova and myself in 2011.

The Corpus is an open resource with very soft terms of use. One may freely use short excerpts (normally, one to three sentences in length) from the texts of the Corpora as examples or illustrations, provided he/she gives due credit to the *Linguistic Corpora at IEA RAS* project and to the author and/or performer of the text used. If users want to reproduce longer fragments or whole texts in any form, contact should be established with the project leader or the person in charge of a specific corpus in order to negotiate the possibility and conditions of such usage.

5. To make all texts in the Corpus searchable. In other words, the Corpus is not just a store and we are not just collecting texts in an electronic form, but we are making them available for research. For instance, we can choose texts collected in the Low-Mras region from Tannagashev's repertoire and recorded by him personally on paper. The result is a list of 21 epic tales. After that we can use the option "to compare. . ." and by clicking on this button we come to a page with four different options, where we can then create in one click a list of (standardized or original) word-forms a) common to all selected texts, b) present in the first but absent from other selected texts, c) present in at least one of the selected texts (thereby creating a dictionary of a given idiolect), and d) unique to the first selected text, that is, absent from every other text in the corpus. As soon as we get a list of all the word-forms we were seeking, we can save them as a file and work on the list later, whenever we want. We can therefore easily

- look up specific word-forms and their contexts;
- find word-forms directly preceding or succeeding the chosen one or find co-occurrences of given word-forms within a certain distance of each other within sentence;
- collect statistical data on the frequency of any word-form, comparing lists of word-forms from any number of texts in the same language;
- compare sentences from any two texts in order to identify recurring expressions of nearly any length. (One does not need to know all the possible expressions or *formulas* before finding them; the level of closeness can be set between 1 (=100%) and 0.2 (=20%) according to the researcher's preference.)

Fig. 10. A list of word-forms from the epos *Ak-Pilek* with examples, from http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/wordforms.php.
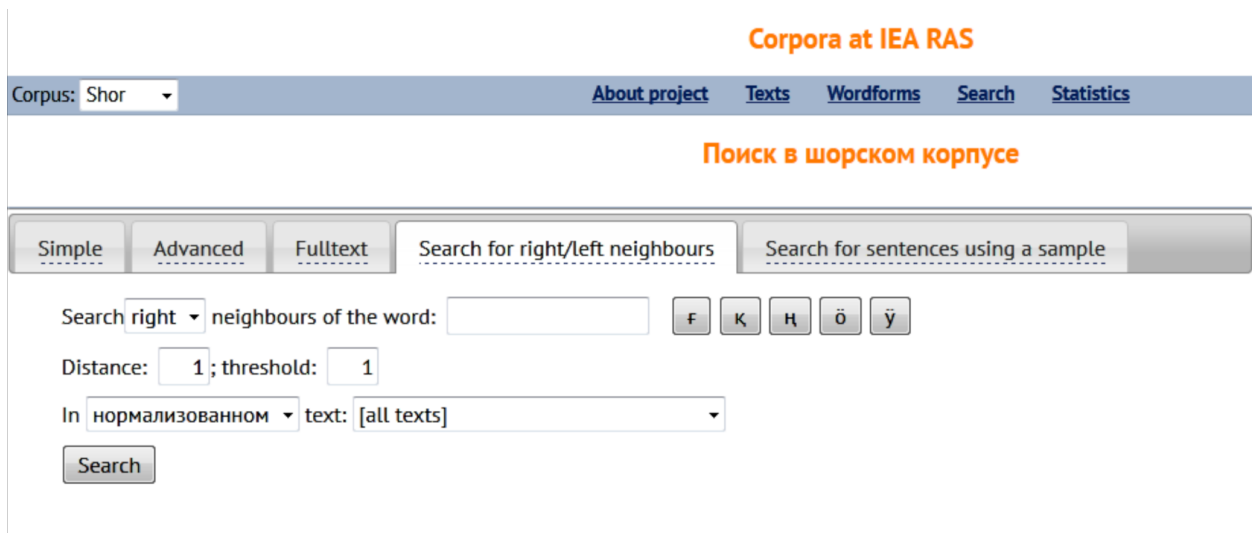
Fig. 11. Search options, from http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/search.php.

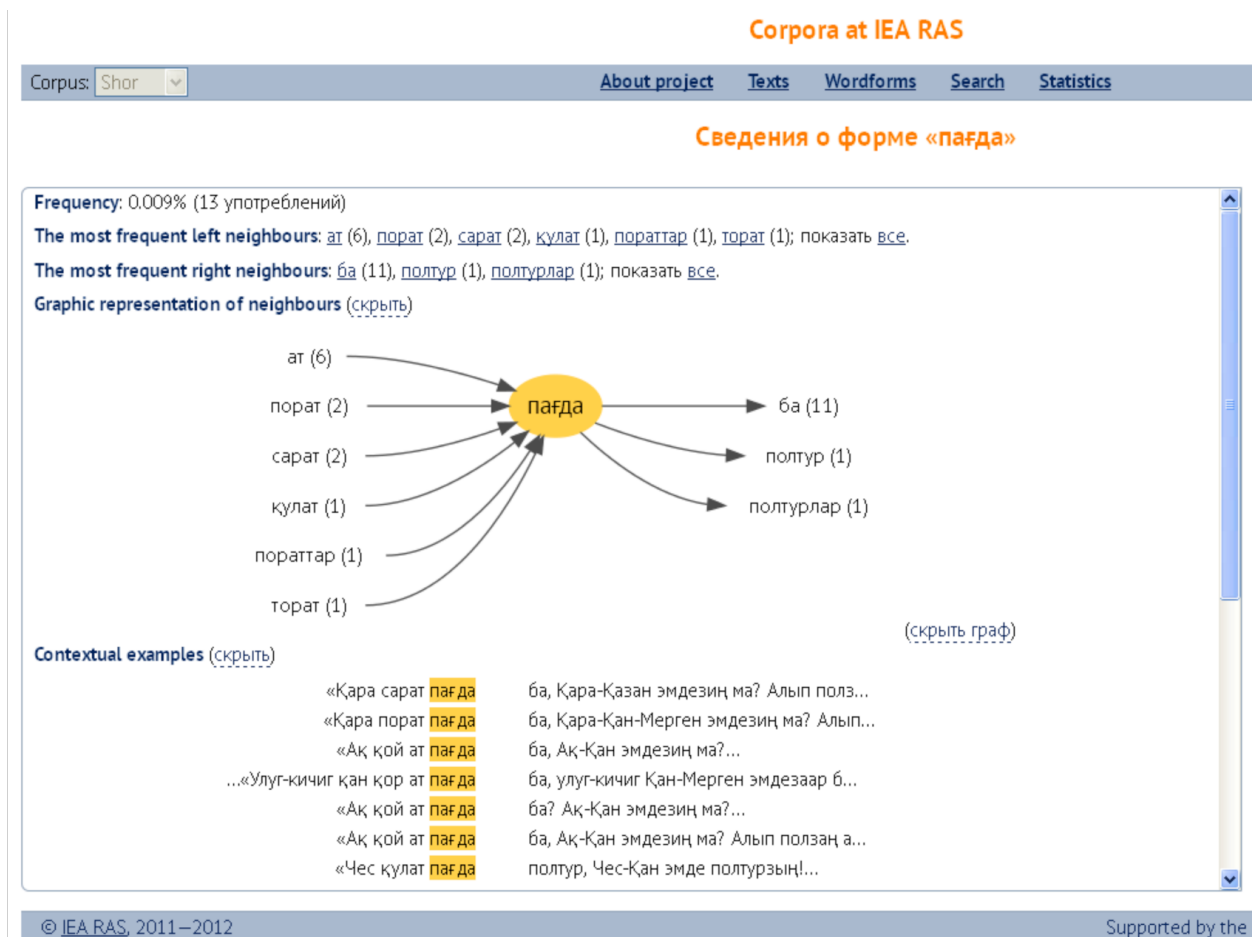
Fig. 12. Information about the word-form *pagda* ("on a leash") (with graphic representation and contextual examples), from http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/describe_word.php?lang_code=cjs&wf_kind=normalised&word= %D0%BF%D0%B0%D2%93%D0%B4%D0%B0.

Fig. 13. Recurring expressions in the eposes *Ak-Pilek* and *Altyn-Torgu* (with the level of similarity of 0.900 and higher), from http://corpora.iea.ras.ru/corpora/compare_texts.php.

The standards we initially set for the Corpus can and must be improved. We began the project with the aim of presenting only folklore texts from three ethnic groups (the Shors, the Teleuts, and the Evenki). But now, thanks to the constantly growing interest of our colleagues, we have expanded the Corpus's borders: it already contains a good number of Nenets texts and some Bashkir texts. What is more, we have changed the main goal of the Corpus to include samples of professional literature, newspapers, and religious as well as other types of texts.

It is hard to predict what the future holds in store for our Corpus. But even now it is quite obvious that the Corpus—realized initially as a simple database—offers a unique possibility to analyze folklore texts in many different ways, making it of especial value for linguists, folklorists, and cultural anthropologists alike.

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National Research Tomsk State University

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Funk 2010-13   _____, ed. and trans. *Shorskij geroicheskij epos* (*Heroic Epics of the Shors*). 4 vols. Moscow: Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Russian Academy of Sciences and Kemerovo: Primula.

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The Working Papers of Iona and Peter Opie

Julia C. Bishop

The names of Iona (1923-) and Peter Opie (1918-1982) will be familiar to many students of oral tradition. This husband-and-wife team of English folklorists are best known for their work on children's folklore (Figure 1), although their scholarship also covered adult traditions of custom, belief, and folktales.[1] Their joint endeavours, continued by Iona after Peter's premature death, resulted in numerous publications, including a series of landmark books on children's oral culture covering nursery rhymes and songs (1951), as well as school-aged children's language, custom, and belief (1959); outdoor games (1969); musical play (1985); and outdoor games with playthings (1997). Iona Opie also published a selection of the notes she made during weekly observations of playtimes on her local school playground in Hampshire (1993). Accessibly written and thoroughly researched, these books have become classics in the field and are widely read by scholars, teachers, students, and the general public.

The Opies undertook extensive fieldwork—including surveys, tape-recorded interviews, and observation —as well as literary and historical research to inform their books concerning the folklore of school-aged children. They also corresponded with a host of individuals, including teachers, children, members of the public, fellow researchers, journalists, broadcasters, and publishers. The materials they amassed form an archival collection that is now distributed among the Bodleian Libraries (University of Oxford), the

Fig. 1. Iona and Peter Opie skipping (photo from http://www.opieproject.group.shef.ac.uk).

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[1] See, for example, Opie and Opie 1974; Opie and Tatem 1989.

Folklore Society Archives (London), and the British Library (London). The British Library holds the sound recordings made by Iona Opie (now known as "The Opie Collection of Children's Games and Songs"), mainly documenting children's singing games (Jopson et al. 2014). The "Opie Working Papers" are held by Special Collections at the Bodleian Libraries. These are housed in 247 boxes and cover most of the children's language, games, and play material as well as other aspects of their research and personal lives:

- children's papers and correspondence between the Opies and teachers (boxes 1-38)
- publications materials (boxes 39-69)
- correspondence with colleagues/contributors (boxes 70-85)
- personal letters/diaries/private albums (boxes 86-150)[2]
- loose-leaf files (boxes 151-247)

The Folklore Society Archives holds a further 24 boxes of the Opies' papers, consisting of:

- research materials on weatherlore, and superstitions (boxes T150-154/1)
- research materials on calendar customs (boxes T154/2-154/3)
- research materials on calendar customs, beliefs, children's games; index of counting out rhymes; personal papers; and Folklore Society correspondence (boxes T210-211, T217-T231)

The present article considers the papers at the Bodleian Libraries, specifically the Opies' primary and secondary data relating to children's verbal art and play. A finding aid for the Opie Working Papers was compiled in 2011,[3] and the material itself is available for consultation on-site in Oxford. A project entitled "Childhoods and Play: An Archive" has recently been set up to seek funding for the full cataloging and digitization of the Opie papers and, subject to the necessary permission, to make them freely available online for academic, educational, and community purposes. The project has been granted British Academy Research Project status (2012-17) and is a collaboration between the University of Sheffield, the University of London Institute of Education, the Bodleian Libraries, the British Library, and the Folklore Society.[4]

Creation and Content of the Collection

Full-length biographies of Iona and Peter Opie have yet to be written, but there are several briefer accounts that indicate their lives and their research were closely, and perhaps inevitably, intertwined (Opie 1988, 1989; Avery 2004; Marsh and Bishop 2014). They met

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[2] Peter Opie's diaries are embargoed until the death of the individuals that feature in them.

[3] This aid was compiled by Laura Jopson and is available at http://www.opieproject.group.shef.ac.uk/PDFs/Bodleian%20Opie%20Working%20Papers%20Finding%20Aid.pdf.

[4] Further information is available on the project website (see http://www.opieproject.group.shef.ac.uk/).

through their mutual interest in books, and later married. Their interest in folklore was piqued around 1944 when they were expecting their first child, James. Encountering a ladybird during a country walk and recalling the "Ladybird, ladybird, fly away home" rhyme, they were "left wondering about this rhyme we had known from childhood and had never questioned until now. What did it mean? Where did it come from? Who wrote it?" (Opie 1988:208). Their search for answers introduced them to earlier sources of folklore and dialect, and began what Iona Opie later characterized as "a treasure hunt which was to last forty years" (1988:208).

The Opies' work on nursery rhymes drew primarily on print sources.[5] When it came to children's peer traditions, however, rather than adult-to-child ones, they turned to ethnographic research methods in order to gain as comprehensive a picture as possible of contemporary play, language, customs, and beliefs of school-aged children in Britain. This research was done first and foremost through surveys and correspondence, and began in 1951 when they wrote to the *Sunday Times* asking for assistance in documenting children's folklore. They received 151 responses, and from this beginning they came to establish a nationwide network of correspondents, many of whom were teachers (Opie 2001:x). Through them, the Opies distributed a series of surveys designed to elicit written descriptions from children about their everyday practices (Opie 1989:60):

> Our innovation was to collect children's folklore directly from children, in their own words and on a national scale, either by direct communication or through informal questionnaires that suggested topics and invited opinions rather than requiring answers of "Yes" or "No" or lists, or descriptions of named games (which might not be known under that name locally).

In the guidance notes to these questionnaires, the Opies stress their interest not only in the oral lore itself but also in its transmission, distribution, age, origins, and "implications" for individual children themselves. They urge adults to get the children to write down the information themselves and to avoid "correcting" the children's responses. For instance, Series 1 of the Opie Working Papers comprises the questionnaires (Figure 2) and responses (Figure 3), together with the accompanying correspondence between the teacher and the Opies, bundled according to location and school. Iona Opie later estimated that they were in touch with 20,000 children overall (2001:xi) and there are roughly 200 schools represented in the collection.[6] The Opies aimed to get information from "the children who were most in possession of the lore—that is, the age range between 7 and 11, with the emphasis on the 8- and 9-year olds" (Opie 2001:x), but it would appear from the papers that slightly older children were sometimes involved as well.

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[5] See, for example, their *Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes* (1951). The Opies built up an extensive collection of printed books and ephemera of literature written for, or by, children. This collection is now known as the "Opie Collection of Children's Literature" following its acquisition by the Bodleian Libraries in 1988 (see http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bodley/finding-resources/special/catalogues/opie_collection_of_childrens_literature).

[5] See Marsh and Bishop 2014 for a more detailed description of the Opies' surveys.

Fig. 2. Extract from "The Oral Lore of Schoolchildren II" questionnaire (box 11). Reproduced with permission from the author.

Meticulous in their approach, the Opies sometimes sent follow-up questions back to the teacher to clarify and supplement the first set of responses, and there are also cases in which the Opies wrote to specific children requesting further information. The results run into the thousands of pages, containing descriptions of myriad linguistic items, customary practices, and beliefs, as well as verbal, musical, imaginative, and physical games from the 1950s to the 1980s. The material is by no means confined to "traditional games" in a narrow sense, as it includes crazes and impromptu games, "favorite" games, descriptions of commercial toys and play equipment, and popular culture and contemporary media, such as comics and television. In addition, there are often comments by the children, which provide a fascinating insight into their views of the games and role of play in their lives, and sometimes drawings as well (Figure 4).

In preparation for writing their books, the Opies would excerpt information relating to a particular game, practice, or linguistic item from the children's responses and add it to sheets devoted to that topic within a loose-leaf file. The files also contain further information on the same topic, including related texts and forms from others' collections, clippings from

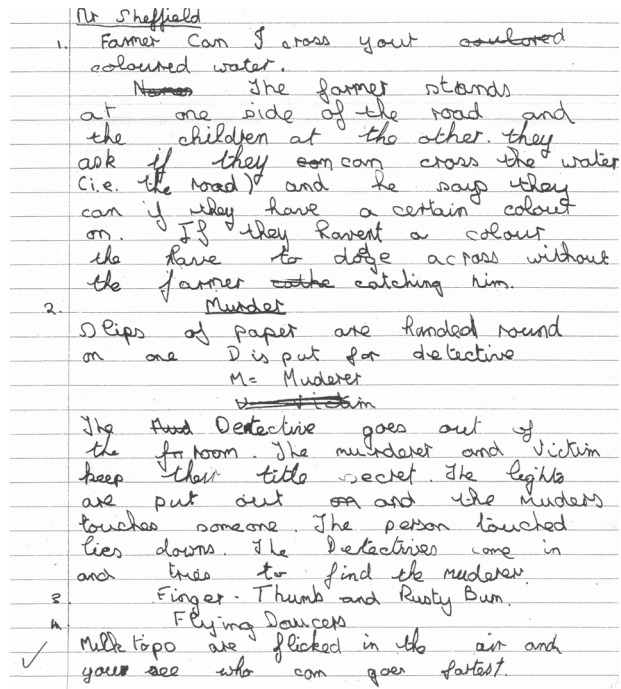Fig. 3. Extract from a response to the Opies' second questionnaire, boy aged 12-13, Ecclesfield Grammar School, 1954 (box 7). Reproduced with permission from the author.
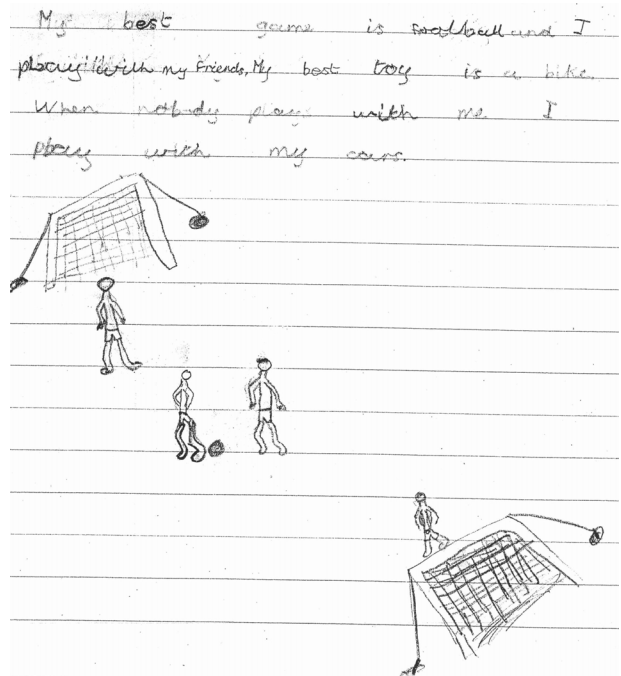

Fig. 4. Extract from an essay on "My Favourite Game," boy aged 8, St. Winefride's School, Manor Park, London (1962), Opie Working Papers, Special Collections, Bodleian Libraries (box 30). Reproduced with permission from the author.

newspapers or magazines, advertisements for playthings, notes written by the Opies, music transcriptions and quotations from the children recorded on tape by Iona Opie, and bibliography. There are approximately 220 files relating to the Opies' research on the lore, language, play, and games of schoolchildren, and these make up a large portion of Series 4 of the collection. They are organized by the type of play represented, such as skipping games, singing games, gambling, and pitching, but some are thematic, such as "adult interference" (box 216).

Interest of the Collection

The collection forms an essential complement, and supplement, to the Opies' published oeuvre. The books represent a distillation of the Opies' primary and secondary data. They provide a synchronic snapshot (relating to the period *circa* 1950-80) of genres, texts, and game types; an indication of their history and distribution; and observations on continuity and change in their internal characteristics and popularity. Although replete with examples, they contain only a sample of the numerous descriptions, variant texts, and individual testimonies produced for the surveys and fieldwork. There was not sufficient space for a detailed picture of the regional distribution and variation of every text and game form, and sometimes—as in the case of hula hoops and football, for example—games were not included despite there being copious notes on both in the Opie loose-leaf files. We also know that attitudes of the time meant that some bawdy items could not be published (Boyes 1995).

Sometimes, too, items were received, or became more significant, after the publication of the book to which they related. An example of this phenomenon is the clapping game "Eeny Meeny Dessameeny," which has been documented with increasing frequency in the UK in the last two decades (Bishop 2010; Roud 2010:315-17). The following is a transcription of the game as filmed in a Sheffield primary school playground in 2009:[7]

> Eeny meeny dessameeny (*3-way clap[8]*)
> You are the one for me
> Education collaboration
> I like you. (*Pointing to partner on "you"*)
> Down town baby (*3-way clap*)
> Down to the roller coaster
> Sweet sweet cherry
> No place to go. (*Shaking index finger from side to side*)

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[7] This film was made at Monteney Primary School, Sheffield, by Julia C. Bishop on July 16, 2009, of a performance by two girls, aged 8-9, in the playground. It was recorded as part of the "Children's Playground Games and Songs in the New Media Age" project, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (UK), 2009-11 (see http://projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/playgroundgames/). The reference number of this specific film is MPJB2009-07-16v00056. The data from the project is being deposited with the British Library (shelfmark C1614) where it will be accessible for research and other uses, subject to the necessary permissions.

[8] The 3-way clap comprises the Down-Up clap (D/U), Clap Partner's hands (C/P), and Clap Own hands (C/O), repeated as necessary. These abbreviations are adopted from Marsh 2008:342.

Caught you with my boyfriend (*3-way clap*)

Naughty naughty (*Shaking index finger forward and back as if scolding*)

Didn't do the dishes (*3-way clap*)

Lazy lazy (*Tilting head to alternate sides with palm-together hands held to tilting side*)

Jumped out the window (*3-way clap*)

Flippin' crazy. (*Circling index fingers pointing towards ears in "cuckoo" gesture*)

Eeny meeny dessameeny (*3-way clap*)

You are the one for me

Education collaboration

I like you. (*Pointing to partner on "you"*)

And you (*Pointing to self on "you"*)

And you (*Pointing to partner on "you"*)

But not you. (*Pointing to partner and shaking head for "not you"*)

There are no British variants of this game in *The Singing Game* (1985), but the Opies note that clapping games generally are becoming increasingly widespread, and they include the following, taken from the *New York Herald Tribune*, August 2, 1964, as an American example (1985:446):

Eeny, meeny, gypsaleeny,

Oh, oh, animal-eeny,

Achapacha, libavacha,

I love you.

As one would expect, the Opie Working Papers at the Bodleian Library contain the relevant press cutting (box 238), an article by Ann Geracimos entitled "Just Look and Listen." The text accompanies a photograph of handclapping by two black performers, a man and a woman, and is prefaced "Handclapping rhymes—'pattycakes versions'—often mixed with dance steps or descriptive motions. Verses, like related rope-skipping rhymes, seldom make sense."

The Opies' audio collection contains further information on the game, namely, a recording made in March 1975 by Iona Opie from girls aged 8-9 at the American School in

Fig. 5. Transcription of the clapping game "Eeny Meeny Dessameeny" as filmed at Monteney Primary School, Sheffield in 2009. Recording and transcription by the author.

London. It is the earliest known documentation of "Eeny Meeny Dessameeny" in Britain. The loose-leaf files in the Opie Papers contain Iona's transcription of the words:

> Eeny meeny desta meeny
> Ooh ba, babaleenie,
> Atchy katchy liver atchy,
> I love you.
> Hey, boy,
> Watcha name?
> Jim-mie.
> Watcha got?
> Hot dogs.
> Gimme some.
> Jump out the window.
> Ladies and gentlemen,
> Children too,
> This little girl
> Got something to do.
> Turn around
> Touch the ground
> The sun goes up
> And then goes down.
> Eeny meeny desta meeny
> Ooh ba, babaleenie
> Atchy katchy liver atchy
> I love you.

Iona has also noted: "Horizontal-style clapping [that is, the 3-way clap], except when doing actions at 'Turn around,' 'Touch the ground,' 'The sun goes up,' when the arm is raised, and 'The sun goes down,' when it is lowered . . . Learnt at the school" (box 238). As has been demonstrated (Bishop 2010), this text bears a distinct resemblance to part of the song "Glad to Be Here," released in 1957 by Lee Andrews and the Hearts, a doo-wop group from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The group's indebtedness to the game, and influence on it, have previously been discussed by Gaunt who was probably unaware of the Opies' recording (2006:90-91).

The Opie Papers also contain a cutting from the *Times Educational Supplement* of January 13, 1984, reporting the popularity of "Eeny Meeny Dessameeny" among girls aged 9-10 in North London primary schools, with an annotation in Iona Opie's hand, "now naturalised in North London." Presumably too late for inclusion in *The Singing Game* (1985), this example shows that the Opies continued to collect information even after they had published on particular games, and that their collection contains pertinent information relating to genres and texts that were emergent, as well as established, among children at the time.

The Opies' archival collection further contains information relating to games that lay beyond the scope of their books, such as play within the home, including with toys, cards, and

commercial games. Indeed, there are many insights into contemporary childhoods more generally in the children's accounts of their play and language. Adults' attitudes towards children and childhood are well-documented in the collection as well, partly through the many press cuttings that the Opies assiduously clipped out and filed. Beginning their work in the same period as that in which television entered the home, they were told repeatedly that "the young had lost the power of entertaining themselves; that the cinema, the wireless, and television had become the focus of their attention; and that we had started our investigation fifty years too late" (1959:v). Much of the evidence they amassed suggested otherwise, however, as they themselves pointed out.

The passage of time has lent the collection additional value as a source of longitudinal data with the potential for reuse within a number of academic disciplines such as folklore studies, anthropology, history, childhood studies, sociology, cultural studies, child psychology, play theory, language, literature, and ethnomusicology. In their first book, the Opies observe (1959:ix) that "this book contains information which would not ordinarily have been written down for another fifty years, for it is made up of what will be the childhood recollections of the older generation after A.D. 2000." This observation applies equally to their archival collection, which provides a richly detailed resource for a more informed discussion of continuity and change in children's cultural practices. A recent study (2012) by Marsh and Bishop, for example, involved tracing some of the young contributors to the Opie collection, now adults aged roughly 40-70, and gathering their recollections (and those of some of their peers in the same geographical location) of play.[9] When the Opies' archival data and the interview data were compared with data from a recent ethnographic study of play in the same locations, the results indicated a complex array of continuities and changes in the forms, performance, transmission, and creation/re-creation, as well as the social, cultural, and environmental contexts, of children's play. These findings are developed further in a book by the same authors (2014) in which they argue that key continuities are found in the functions, framings, and forms of play, and that some of the more substantial changes, some of which were emergent at the time of the Opies' research, are discernible in relation to the contexts, texts, practices, and processes of play. The latter include the use of intertextual referencing to signal cultural allegiances and to demonstrate knowledge of popular culture and technical prowess, as found in the influence of reality television on children's pretend play, the complex multi-layering of texts, and the rapidity with which they are "remixed."

Another aspect of the collection's interest is the light it sheds on the Opies' methods. Working outside the university context and without research funding of any kind, they developed and sustained a network of hundreds of correspondents. Iona Opie later wrote (2001:xi) that "these valiant teachers [and others] became personal friends, although we met few of them face to face," and indeed many of the letters span a number of years and contain personal details relating to the correspondents and their families. The Opies also managed large quantities of data at a time when photocopiers were just becoming widespread and home computing had yet to develop. The way in which parts of the children's accounts have been copied or clipped out for inclusion in the loose-leaf files, and the many marginalia and annotations, provide clues to the

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[9] This study was funded by a British Academy research grant.

way these pioneering folklorists of childhood worked, and how they came to think of, select, and write up their data.

Conclusion

The whole of the Opies' archival collection can be seen as an essential complement to their publications, adding new and more detailed information for the study of transmission and variation of particular items of children's folklore. From the standpoint of the present, it represents an extensive and highly detailed time capsule of information relating to children's oral culture and play in Britain in the mid-to-late twentieth century, offering many opportunities for the study of continuity and change in childhood experience more generally. As Iona Opie later reflected (2001:xiii):

> the most compelling reason for recording children's lore, for me, was to leave a picture, for future generations, of how the children of today amuse themselves in their own free time. This certainly was in my mind when, from January 1970 to November 1983, I made a weekly visit to the playground of Liss Junior School, Hampshire, observing the social scene and the interactions between the children, listening to their opinions of each other, describing what they were doing and writing down their jokes and stories. I wished there had been a similar account of life in a British playground during the 1870s. Quite apart from the sensation of being there, I would so much have liked to compare the past with the present.

As of yet, however, the collection has only been in the public domain since the 1990s, and it has remained relatively inconspicuous compared to the stature of the Opies' published work. It is to be hoped that funding to catalog and digitize the Opies' papers will be gained in order to open up access to them and eventually allow the distributed parts of the Opie archive to be reunited virtually for research and general interest, including uses from theoretical and disciplinary perspectives other than those for which it was originally created.

At the present time, many of those who as children contributed to the collection are still living, and many of the schools involved are still in existence. There is thus the possibility of follow-up research into the identities of contributors and their communities—in terms of social class and ethnicity, for example—which are not generally documented in the collection. Such information would in turn add value to the collection. Equally, the availability of the full range of the Opies' material would stimulate further research into childhoods past and present, and underline the agency of children in the production of knowledge concerning childhood culture and experiences, of which the Opies' research is a significant early example.

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The Matti Kuusi International Database of Proverbs

Outi Lauhakangas

Introduction

The Matti Kuusi International Type System of Proverbs database consists of three core elements:

1. A special library of proverb collections in the folklore archives of the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki
2. A database of international proverb types and literature references on the Internet
3. A thematic and structural classification of international proverbs

The concept of proverb type alternates between a concrete proverb title and a cluster of proverbs embodying the same idea; the type system gathers together similar proverb titles from different nations under an international—or even global—type encapsulating that common idea (Lauhakangas 2001).[1]

The Background and Aims of the Relational Database of Proverbs

The original owner of the library of proverb collections, the compiler and author of the card-index with tens of thousands of literature references, and the architect of the international type system of proverbs was Matti Kuusi (1914-1998). Kuusi was Professor of Finnish and Comparative Folk Poetry Studies (today called folkloristics) at the University of Helsinki from 1959 to 1977. One of his areas of expertise was paremiology, the research of proverbs. This especially floating genre of folklore led him to establish contacts with scholars around the world. One of the most esteemed paremiologists ever, Professor Archer Taylor (1890-1973) from California, urged him to found the journal *Proverbium* and act as its first editor-in-chief. Kuusi's pioneering and active paremiological period at the head of the journal lasted from 1965 to 1974, during which time a strong net of paremiologists developed as he invited proverb scholars to contribute to this forum. The journal continues today under the same name as a yearbook of international proverb scholarship edited by Professor Wolfgang Mieder. New contacts brought in

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[1] For further information on issues related to the type system, see Kuusi 1972, 1994 [1954], 1994 [1969].

proverb collections from every part of the world, and Kuusi was also eventually able to acquire many other significant European collections with the assistance of his personal antiquarian. Kuusi wrote (1988:107), "Many antiquarians and publishers found out the address of the Folklore Department of Helsinki University, and I rarely ignored a missing collection."

These collections were the basis of Kuusi's systematic index of international proverb types. Starting from comparisons of Finnish proverb texts with Nordic and European equivalents, he broadened his search to all possible language areas and to comparisons between proverbs beyond those found in Finnish. Kuusi would continue with his type system of proverbs well into his retirement, with his daughter starting to transfer the proverb index of literature references into a relational database in 1990. At the same time they developed Kuusi's classification of international proverb types. This database was made for the purpose of folkloristic and linguistic research. The aim was not and is not to collect all possible proverb texts from every possible language area into one large pool, but to study structures of proverb texts and the main themes of proverbial thinking.

Searching for Global Similarities and National Specificities

In order to move the Matti Kuusi database of proverbs to the Internet for international use, the authors had to study the generality of proverb types. The language and cultural areas that together form the global brand are: African (sub-Saharan), Islamic, European, Orient (old Eastern cultural area), Pacific. American cultures are not viewed as separate from European influence. If a proverb type is common to most of these language areas, it is considered a global type. The meaning and use of a specific proverb can vary according to culture.

Alongside the original index of Finnish proverb titles, the titles of the international proverb types had to be translated into English if original English equivalents were not available. The result was that the number of proverb titles decreased from 8,287 Finnish entries to 1,808 English entries. Still, the classification remained the same as in the original Finnish type system, and the reduction did not cause any empty subgroups. The tempting possibility to find any proverb you are interested in cannot yet be fulfilled for those who are unable to use the Finnish part of the database; however, in the near future the shortage of international representativeness will be overcome by means of collaboration among proverbs scholars and enthusiasts from around the world via social media.

A Database for Cultural Researchers, Translators, and Proverb Enthusiasts

Both the proverb library and Kuusi's exceptionally systematic checking over every multilingual, bilingual, and national proverb collection guarantee that the Matti Kuusi International Database of Proverb Types is an excellent tool to use for basic questions about the themes and structures of proverb-lore. For translators and researchers of culture and cultural history, this database is a good guide and a starting point for further exploration; for journalists

and other interested individuals the database can act as an implement for understanding nuances of their interviewees' language use and for studying their own proverb repertoires.

In 2008 Nina Lampinen made a comparative study involving Spanish proverbs and their counterparts in the Finnish translation of the first part of Miguel de Cervantes' *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. A translator will not easily locate a proverb's equivalents in another language if she or he uses only word-for-word translations. But Lampinen gives an example of how she was able to use Kuusi's type system to deepen her interpretation of the novel's proverb *Donde una puerta se cierra, otra se abre*, literally "Where one door is shut, another opens," via the Finnish and English equivalents—*Kun yksi ovi suljetaan, avaa Jumala toisen* and *When one door closes, another opens*, respectively. The Matti Kuusi category is T3c "Trusting in the future, preparing for the future, dreaming, optimism or pessimism," and Lampinen describes the situation as follows (Lampinen 2008:367):

> This proverb has a paremiographical and literal correspondence in all three languages and therefore can be found easily by a word search. Also, its category can be found quickly by browsing the main M. Kuusi categories, as its key idea is "hope" which is related to time.

Instructions for the Proverb Database on the Internet

For open access to the international proverb material on the Internet, some facilities of the original relational database had to be left out. For instance, word search is as of yet quite simple.[2] The database may be accessed directly at http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/fin/cerpfin.html or via the "online materials" link located on the Finnish Literature Society's information service page (http://www.finlit.fi/english/info/informationservice.htm). Instructions

Fig. 1. Browsing the Matti Kuusi International Database of Proverbs. (Screenshot captured from http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/intmenu/index.html.)

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[2] In order to make complicated comparisons and analysis of proverb data it is recommended that one contact Outi Lauhakangas, the editor of the database.

for use of the database and explanations of its employed abbreviations are available on the "Introduction" page linked from the site's homepage. Additional options are to "search proverb database" (for use in simple word searches), "search proverb collections of the [Matti Kuusi] database by language," and "Matti Kuusi database browsing." This last option is relevant if one is interested in studying the classification structure and locating specific themes. For example, issues such as "attitudes towards change," "law and justice," and "experience/practice in relation to learning" all provide subject subheadings that can be browsed and selected in order to find related proverb variants. As demonstrated in Figure 1, browsing to the M9 category of "Experience/practice: learning" leads to the M9e subgroup entitled "Learning from mistakes and accidents," which in turn leads one to proverb types such as "Once bitten, twice shy" or "He who makes no mistakes makes nothing."

Figures 2-4 illustrate the possibilities for simple word searches of the proverb database. If one searches for the term "one-eyed," the result is the English proverb type "In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is a king." The accompanying code can

Fig. 2. Search results for "one-eyed" in the Matti Kuusi International Database of Proverbs. (Partial screenshot captured from http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/search.asp?q=one-eyed.

Fig. 3. Illustration of the classification structure surrounding the English proverb type "In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is a king." (Screenshot captured from http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/classrespond.asp?whichtopic=E1e.)

Fig. 4. Literature references for "In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is a king." (Screenshot captured from http://lauhakan.home.cern.ch/lauhakan/bookrespond.asp?whichcode=E1e&whichnb=26&whichproverb=In_the_kingdom_of_the_blind_the_one-eyed_man_is_a_king.)

then be selected to discover further information on the proverb type, and in this case clicking "E1e, 26" leads to the pages shown in Figure 3, which provides the main division ("E: Sense of proportion") and subclasses ("E1: Relativity of ranking / the essential unity of differing things,"

further specified as "E1e: The value of x increases through lack of y") to which this particular proverb type belongs. On the other hand, one may also select the underlined text of the proverb type itself, leading to a page of literature references (as seen in Figure 4) for the proverb type as its variants appear in different languages.

Future Plans for Improvement of the Database

Because our experience has shown that people are more inclined to use simple word searches than they are to search by classification designations through the browsing of the type system and its general themes, it is clear that multilingual accessibility to the database will need to be improved in the future. The natural approach is to search by a familiar proverb or by its fragment, and users tend to seek an expression they have just heard or read in order to have a quick answer concerning its interpretation or simply to determine if it is actually a proverb. Further interpretation of the proverb through comparison with other proverbs in the same class and with other types of advanced knowledge is easier to embrace when one has a concrete point of reference, thus making multilingual accessibility a necessity. Another obvious challenge for improvement of the database is the lack of contextual data. Nonetheless, the classification designations serve as guidance for understanding the most common situations where these proverbs are used. Finally, a very large qualitative leap would be to connect to Kuusi's original database to supplementary national proverbial databases brought into alignment with Kuusi's classification tool.

Finnish Literature Society

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The SKVR Database of Ancient Poems of the Finnish People in Kalevala Meter and the Semantic Kalevala

Lauri Harvilahti

Introduction: The Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society

The Folklore Archives are the central holdings for oral tradition research in Finland. The actual collection of folklore began in Finland in the first half of the nineteenth century with poems and charms in the Kalevala meter. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the press also participated by publishing appeals to collectors, and these calls were invariably met with great enthusiasm. Towards the end of the nineteenth century a network of collectors was established, guidelines for collection were prepared, and folklore collection was encouraged in general. At the turn of the century, the Kalevala-meter poems and charms were joined by collections of folktales, in the 1930s legends were added, and gradually all fields of agrarian folklore, proverbs and riddles, the belief tradition, and laments were included. In 1900 the archive of the Finnish Literature Society still had only approximately 200,000 items of folklore, and today the archive holds approximately four million folklore items. In 1937 the Society's folklore collections were consolidated into a research institution known as the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society.[1] Various organizations and educational establishments also responded and took an active interest in folklore collecting.

The Folklore Archives seek to collect oral tradition, personal narratives, and memory lore in a number of different ways. Nowadays this work is primarily focused on organizing collection campaigns and fieldwork across the country. The archives also actively maintain their own respondent network.[2] Around 30,000 people have been involved in collecting this material. Geographically the collection work focuses primarily on the cultural area of Finland and Karelia (http://www.finlit.fi/english/kra/). The collections encompass oral tradition, folk music, ethnological descriptions, and oral history/memory lore.

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[1] See Harvilahti 2003 and 2012.

[2] See Vento 1998.

The SKVR Corpus of Kalevala-Metric Poetry (http://dbgw.finlit.fi/skvr/)

The poems in the Kalevala-meter were collected largely thanks to the initiative of the Finnish Literature Society (established already in 1831). There are now altogether some two million lines of Kalevala-metric poetry in the archives of the Finnish Literature Society, collected primarily in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. The typical poetic devices of Kalevala-metric poetry are as follows: the use of alliteration and assonance, the verse structure of eight syllables, the trochaic meter, and the rules of syntactic parallelism. Naturally the performers were not aware of the finer distinctions, but they did observe the basic register of Kalevala poetry: together these primary features formed a poetic culture observing a fairly uniform poetic system. This system was shared by Finnish, Karelian, and Estonian performers of oral poetry in Kalevala meter.

The Society's first secretary, Elias Lönnrot, compiled the Finnish national epic *Kalevala* on the basis of such collected poetry. The first edition of the *Kalevala* appeared in 1835, and the second and greatly enlarged edition in 1849 (see further Harvilahti 2008). An edition of documented poetic texts, *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* (SKVR), was later produced in 34 volumes in 1908-48 and 1997. This edition presents approximately 89,000 poetic texts requiring almost 27,000 pages. The Finnish Literature Society began digitalizing SKVR in 1998. The conversion of the texts into digital format by scanning and OCR (Optical Character Recognition) was assigned to an Estonian team, as Estonia already had experience with such work. All printed volumes were digitized with character-by-character equivalence to SKVR, appearing as an early major open-access corpus in XML format.[3] The greatest advantage of digital text is naturally that it permits efficient, comprehensive searches of an entire corpus for which a database is required. XML also permits the easy transfer of data to many different applications. In its present form, the corpus has a rather basic user interface allowing searches of the texts by keywords (largely according to grammatical inflection and the sometimes inconsistent orthographic forms used in transcribing performed texts), and by such metadata as collectors, geographical names, and dates. Currently, the database does not fully support multidisciplinary applications, exists only in Finnish, and is somewhat tedious to use. In the very near future a standard thematic index will be added to the corpus. Every poem will be anchored to this index, thereby greatly increasing the search possibilities for use within linguistic and poetic analyses.

The new database that will be realized in the near future shall:

- Contain the above-mentioned standard thematic index
- Enhance the capability for making searches
- Enable the use of a number of parameters that have not been included in the present version

Furthermore, the indexes may also be attached to narrative instances (or macro-propositions) as metadata. In this way an index might be produced that contains lists of objects that share

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[3] See Saarinen 2001.

common attributes of semantic metadata, as has already been done in the so-called Semantic Kalevala project.

The Database of Estonian Oral Poetry (http://www.folklore.ee/regilaul/avaleht/**)**

　　The development process of the SKVR corpus has given rise to lively international cooperation. One of the fruits of this collaboration is the corpus of old Estonian Kalevala-metric poetry, *Eesti Regilaulude Andmebaas* ("Estonian Runic Songs Database"), launched in 2010. This Estonian database can thus work together with its Finnish counterpart to form a very handy tool for making comparisons between the Kalevala traditions of Finland and Estonia. They are both relatively easy to use, provided that the user knows the languages, including the dialects and the poetic register. One of the central long-term aims is to build an interface that will allow searches across both Estonian and Finnish digital corpora of Kalevala-metric poetry.

The Semantic Kalevala and the SKVR

　　The Semantic Kalevala has been created by the Semantic Computing Research Group of the Helsinki University of Technology (Aalto University) and the University of Helsinki as part of the larger semantic web portal called Culture Sampo (http://www.kulttuurisampo.fi). The work was part of the national web ontology project FinnONTO, initiated and headed by professor Eero Hyvönen. The general goal of this large project was to combine the benefits and synergy of Web 2.0 and semantic web technologies, and to demonstrate the results in various semantic web portals and applications. The semantic web forms a service that enables the creation of a content-based metadata level for making searches. In this way, the semantic web complements and improves the capabilities of conventional use of the web.

　　The first phase was an annotation of the *Kalevala* (http://www.seco.tkk.fi/applications/kulttuurisampo/kalevala/). During the annotation process the epic was divided into three levels of narrative hierarchy: events, scenes, and episodes. Each event belongs to a scene, whereas scenes belong to episodes that are subplots within the epic narrative itself. By browsing these different levels, the user can follow the plot of the epic. In addition, the Semantic Kalevala includes descriptions of the epic's main characters and places, as well as concise summaries (or macro-propositions) of the scenes. These additions help a generalist user to understand the archaic expression of the Kalevala-metric poetry and to follow the elaborate narration of the epic, compiled in its literary form by Elias Lönnrot.

　　In the very near future the Semantic Kalevala will be published as a SPARQL endpoint service in the Linked Open Data publishing platform of the Linked Data Finland project. This project is a successor to the FinnONTO project. The SPARQL endpoint is provided for querying and managing data, and it constitutes the basis for application development. The first version is available at http://www.ldf.fi/dataset/folklore/index.html.

　　The next phase of this process would be to annotate both editions of the *Kalevala* produced by Elias Lönnrot (1835, 1849) and part of the SKVR corpus more accurately according to the principles of the primary features of Kalevala-metric poetry. In other words, there exists a

Fig. 1. A visualization of the narrative structure of one of the poems of the *Kalevala* in the Culture Sampo. The cantos (poems) of the *Kalevala* are listed on the left, the text of the beginning of the fortieth canto is in the middle, and the plot structure of the episodes of that canto on the right, in this case the origin of the *kantele* (a musical instrument) made of fish bones. Image reproduced (with permissions) from http://www.kulttuurisampo.fi/kulsa/ kalevala.shtml?itemUri=http%3A%2F%2Fkulttuurisampo.fi%2Fannotaatio %23Instance_ID1220963995343&fromplot=true&selectedScene=http%3A%2F%2Fkulttuurisampo.fi %2Fannotaatio%23Instance_ID1221041435134#221-226.

need to develop an annotation scheme that can take into account the shared common attributes of semantic metadata of the Kalevala-metric poetry. One aim of combining the semantic web methodology and the textual analysis of the poetic language is to trace the editorial selections of Elias Lönnrot. A long-term goal is to produce a *Critical eEdition of the Kalevala* by carefully analyzing the *Kalevala* and the Finnic traditional oral versions of the Kalevala-metric poetry that Lönnrot most probably had at his disposal.

The Origin of Kantele/Kannel, a Brief Case Study

The *kantele*, or *kannel*, is the most widespread ethnic instrument among the Finnic peoples. A number of scholars believe that the mythological epic poem on the *Origin of the Kantele* belongs to the oldest stratum of Finnic mythological epics, and according to Anna-Leena Siikala (2012:365-66, 449-51), this poem is part of the common Balto-Finnic mythological heritage that can be traced to earlier "mythological dialects." Using the terminology of Lauri

Honko, the Finnish and Estonian epics form a kind of ecosystem of milieu-morphological adaptation.[4] According to John Miles Foley the traditional registers function in oral texts as storage containers for idiomatic means of communication.[5] The Balto-Finnic mythology is a multilayer tradition and its mythological registers contain elements of an old Eurasian worldview and subsequent development of models of cultural thinking (Siikala 2012:475).

In the poems collected from northern areas of Finnish and Russian Karelia the *kantele* made of fish bones is prevalent; this version is known among the Finnic ethnic groups around St. Petersburg as well. In southern parts of the Gulf of Finland among the so-called Ingrian Finns the most common version of the poem is the *kantele* made of horns from either an elk or ram. In Estonian material there are some surprisingly archaic versions of the *kantele* poems that refer to the common mythological epic poems of the Finnic ethnic groups.

The *kantele* of the poems has also been made of a number of other materials. Among the materials that have been mentioned as being used for the lid and the bottom of the instrument are trees—birch, spruce, oak, and maple—and also steel. In Estonia the song has mostly been preserved in a more lyric-epic form, whereas in Finland the song is clearly a mythological epic. There are hundreds of parallels in the two databases. In order to avoid lengthy comparisons, I will demonstrate the use of the Finnish and Estonian databases (http://dbgw.finlit.fi/skvr/ and http://www.folklore.ee/regilaul/avaleht/) by taking as an example poems that contain one particular formula—*The kantele/kannel got finished*—in both traditions.

Fig. 2. A screenshot from the SKVR database: a search of poems containing the formula *The kantele got finished*. (The list of poems appears on the left, and the text of our example is on the right.)

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[4] See Honko 1998:101-02 *et passim*.

[5] See, for instance, Foley 1995:49 *et passim*, 2002.

First, we have an instance of the *Origin of the Kantele* poem, collected in 1882 from the Eastern part of Karelia (Ladoga Karelia)—nowadays belonging to the Russian Federation—by K. Killinen from the singer Ontrei Vanninen (SKVR VII1, 547A: verses 1-13, 17-29):[6]

Teki Kauko kanteloista,	Kauko shaped a kantele
Viron seppä vinkeloista,	Estonia's smith a curved thing
Eikä puusta, eikä luusta,	Neither of wood nor of bone
Sapsosta sinisen hirven,	But of a blue elk's shoulder
Poropeuran polviluista.	A reindeer's knee-bones
Mistäs kansi kanteleesen?	Whence the kantele's lid?
Lohen purstosta punaisen.	Made from a red salmon's tail
Mist' on naklat kanteleesen?	And whence the kantele's pegs?
Hauin suuren hampahista.	From the teeth of a great pike
Mistäs, sanon, kielet kanteleesen?	And whence, I say, the kantele's strings?
Hiuksista on Hiien eukon,	the hair of a demon's dame
Harjasta u'en hevosen.	From the mane of a stud-horse
Saipa kannel valmihiksi:	**The kannel got finished**
. . .	. . .
Ei ilo ilolle tunnu,	Joy had not the feel of joy—
Etsittihin soittajia,	There was a search for singers—
Oli vanha Väinämöinen;	It was old Väinämöinen
Teki tiellä terveyen,	Gave a greeting on the road,
Torokalla toprouuen	Said good morning on the lane:
"Annas Kauko kanneltasi,	"Give, Kauko, your kantele,
Viron seppä vingeltäsi	Estonia's smith your curved thing
Sormille poian sokean,	into the blind boys fingers,
Käsille vähänäköisen."	To the dim-sighted one's hands."

In Estonian parallels of the *Origin of the Kantele/Kannel* several poems contain almost identical episodes. Sometimes even the formulas are almost the same, in some cases word-for-word equivalent verses can be found. There is no lack of similar examples. A detailed analysis of the digital corpora would bring more evidence of a long-term, close relationship between the Estonian and Finnish oral poetry. This relationship is remarkable since there is, after all, an essential difference between Estonian and Finnish, although the languages belong to the same Balto-Finnic group. I cite a representative chapter telling about making the parts of the *kannel*. The poem was collected from Pärnu, in southwestern Estonia, relatively far from Finland (Eesti regilaulude andmebaas H II 43, 903/4 (18): verses 4-17):[7]

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[6] The English translation here is adapted from that of Keith Bosley found in the edition by Kuusi (1995:71).

[7] The English translation is my own.

Fig. 3. A search for the formula *The Kannel got finished* from the Estonian Runic Songs Database. The list of results appears on the left, and the chosen example is on the right.

Kellest teen ma kannelit?	From what will I make the kannel?
Vihterista, vahterista.	From a twig, from a maple.
Kellest teen ma kandle põhja?	What the bottom of the kannel?
Õunapuusta õigeesta.	From an upright apple tree.
Kellest teen ma kandle kaane?	What the lid of the kannel?
Sarapuusta sirgeesta.	From a straight walnut tree.
Kellest teen ma kandle vitsad?	What the hoops of the kannel?
Need teen lõhe lõua luusta.	Those from the jaw-bones of salmon.
Kellest teen ma kandle kaela?	What the neck of the kannel?
Selle teen põdra põlve luusta.	From the kneebone of a deer.
Kellest teen ma kandle pulgad?	What the pegs of the kannel?
Need teen havi hammastesta.	Those from teeth of a pike.
Kellest teen ma kandle keeled?	What the strings of the kannel?
Juukseesta sirgeesta.	From a straight hair.
Sai see kannel valmissa	**The kannel got finished**
Otsisin ma mängijada. . . .	I looked for a player. . . .

It is really interesting to find so many straight formulas (Lord 1960:30, 35, 46) in the Finnish and Estonian examples. In some cases there is a difference between the mythical content of the Finnish poems and the lyric-epic tone of the Estonian parallel. For instance, the strings of the instrument are made in the Estonian poem simply from straight hair, but in Karelia from hair

of a demon's dame. However, in both instances the word-for-word equivalent statement-type formula *The kantele/kannel got finished* concludes the episode of preparing the parts of the instrument.

Oral poetry forms a culture-bound model of communication, a large semantic network suited to the expression of different meanings. Oral performers and compilers of epics alike draw on their store of formulas within the confines of the traditional rules and their personal competence. The study of the register of Estonian and Finnish epics serves as a laboratory for testing culture-bounded models of communication in the shared heritage of the Kalevala-metric system. The real problem is that at the moment the Finnish and Estonian databases do not have translations for generalists and the sites are usable primarily by specialists with good command of not only the language, but also the poetic register.

One way to combine the modern web technology and the traditional folkloristic methods would be to use international motif-indexes, in which the basic idea underlying folk products regarded as belonging together (epics, folktales, legends, and so forth) is expressed concisely: a verbal definition is supplemented by letter/number codes for each type. The origin of mythical music instruments is an internationally known narrative motif. In the Motif-Index of Folk-Literature of Stith Thompson it figures as: A1461.2 Origin of Lyre (1955:232; see also D1441.1.3.2 Magic musical instrument calls animals together [1956:231]). The advantage of the type-indexes is (in principle) their universality: numerical codes are independent of language. In practice, numerous codes are needed simultaneously for classifying the majority of folklore variants, and new types to which no existing code applies could always be added. The potential of the digital corpora, the semantic web technologies, and web-based type-indexes might enable the creation of a challenging model for research on oral poetry.

Summary

At the moment the open-access databases of Estonian and Finnish oral poetry (http://dbgw.finlit.fi/skvr/ and http://www.folklore.ee/regilaul/avaleht/) are primarily usable for specialists who are familiar with the languages involved. There is no English search possibility for the Finnish SKVR corpus or its Estonian equivalent, and it is very difficult to navigate the pages as a non-specialist. I would suggest that in the future at least the existing Estonian and Finnish databases of Kalevala-metric folk poetry could be linked using, for example, the approach of semantic web ontology. This approach could open the sites for generalists as well and would be made possible by using the potential of the metadata schemes that are machine-readable—and language independent. The new type of platform could be applicable for a fully multidisciplinary range of studies in linguistics, folkloristics, literary studies, history, and various interdisciplinary textual studies. The development and application of the common scheme could be undertaken in conjunction with comparative textual research on oral traditions in order to test and develop the scheme's relevance and applicability for diverse types of research priorities. There is a need for a versatile www-infrastructure that would provide a platform for epic corpora (and broader corpora of oral traditions) with an ergonomic user-interface allowing searches within an epic or cultural epic tradition, and across the epic and poetic traditions of multiple

cultures according to a diverse range of criteria. Citing a discussion between Eero Hyvönen and myself: based on such repositories as the Semantic Kalevala and data services, distributed possibly in different organizations in different countries, the idea of linked epics and oral tradition could be put forward in a new way. The result could be a step toward a broader understanding of shared features exhibiting diverse contextual meanings in epic traditions elsewhere in Eurasia.

The Finnish Literature Society, Helsinki

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The Heritage of Australian Children's Play and Oral Tradition

Kate Darian-Smith

The oral traditions of children are rich and varied, and encompass the songs, chants, rhymes, stories, riddles, insults, and lore of the playground. In Australia, though the collection of children's folklore dates from the nineteenth century, it was not until the 1950s that this field of inquiry attracted serious scholarly attention. Since then, there has been an increasingly vigorous interest in the collection and electronic recording of Australian children's verbal and performative play culture by academics, folklorists, and major collecting institutions (Davey 2011; Factor 2011; Darian-Smith 2012). Between 2007 and 2011, the *Childhood, Tradition and Change* research project conducted the largest nation-wide study of children's games and playground culture to date, resulting in a substantial archive of visual, oral, and written data. A significant amount of this research data is available on an open-access website (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/index.html), where it has much to offer with respect to scholarly and community interest in exploring the dynamic heritage of Australian children's play.

The *Childhood, Tradition and Change* project was funded by the Australian Research Council and led by a team of academic researchers in collaboration with two internationally acclaimed public repositories of Australian children's folklore.[1] The National Library of Australia's Oral History and Folklore Collection (http://www.nla.gov.au/fishtrout/aus_children.html) has an extensive collection of oral recordings—undertaken mainly with adults—documenting the chants, rhymes, and games of childhood, and providing information about play stretching back to the early twentieth century. The Australian Children's Folklore Collection at Museum Victoria (http://museumvictoria.com.au/discoverycentre/infosheets/australian-childrens-folklore-collection/) has over 10,000 documents, recordings, and artifacts relating to children's play and oral traditions, and its significance has been recognized through its listing on the UNESCO Australian Memory of the World Register.

The visual, textual, and aural documentation, as well as some 3D objects gathered from across Australia for the *Childhood, Tradition and Change* research project have been deposited in the separate collections of the National Library of Australia and Museum Victoria, where they supplement existing holdings on children's culture. This material includes descriptions of nearly

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[1] Australian Research Council, Linkage Project LP0669282: "Childhood, Tradition and Change: A National Study of the Historical and Contemporary Significance and Practices of Australian Children's Playlore." The research team comprised Kate Darian-Smith (University of Melbourne), William Logan (Deakin University), Graham Seal (Curtin University), and Research Associates June Factor and Gwenda Davey, along with Project Officer Nikki Henningham.

400 different games and play activities, classified into 38 different categories; oral interviews with school principals, teachers, parents, and children; video and sound recordings of children describing and engaging in play; spatial play-maps of school playgrounds; and other relevant documentation. Bona fide researchers may apply to either institution for access to this data, which is for the most part in digital format. However, compliance with privacy legislation that protects the rights of children beyond the life of the project means that each application must be considered with reference to access conditions set by the parents or guardians of children who participated in the research (Darian-Smith and Henningham 2012).

Much of the raw data from the *Childhood, Tradition and Change* project was entered into a relational comprehensive database for further analysis by the research team but cannot be made available within the public domain. Nevertheless, it was always intended that the study would generate open-access resources for other scholars of play and the wider community. To address the necessary restraints set by the ethical and legal conditions under which the research was conducted, technology developed by the eScholarship Research Centre at the University of Melbourne was utilized to construct a de-identified and simplified relational database of selected textual and visual materials on play that is open to the public.[2] This public database can be accessed via the *Childhood, Tradition and Change* website's homepage that welcomes viewers to the site and lists categories of play for immediate exploration by users. Tabs titled "About," "Games and Play," "Gallery," and "Resources" provide detailed textual and visual information on the background and final report of the research (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/objects/project-pubs/FinalReport.pdf), access to searchable data on individual games, and a guide to further resources in the international field of playlore.

Background: The Historical and Contemporary Documentation of Play

One of the aims of the *Childhood, Tradition and Change* project was to trace the evolution of children's play in order to evaluate the adaptability of children's traditional games and verbal play in different historical and social moments. Thus the project's research design and analysis built upon several prior research investigations of play in school playgrounds. The first of these was by American folklorist Dorothy Howard, who visited Australia in the mid-1950s to study children's contemporary and historical play customs. Howard's large research archive is now held in the Australian Children's Folklore Collection at Museum Victoria. Her publications on topics from "ball bouncing customs and rhymes" to such games as marbles, hopscotch, or string games have been recently collected, interpreted, and re-issued in a single volume (Darian-Smith and Factor 2005).

Other historical research on children's folklore that framed the *Childhood, Tradition and Change* project included the path-breaking collections of children's games and rhymes by Ian

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[2] The technology used to support the database is a modified version of the Online Heritage Resource Management (OHRM) system. The OHRM is a contextual information framework mapping system that integrates information from a wide range of sources—archival and published material, photographs, audio, and video. The system maps and manages highly complex networks of entities and relationships, presenting them as static and dynamic HTML pages, typically in the form of online encyclopedias or registers.

Turner, Wendy Lowenstein, and June Factor (Turner 1969; Turner et al. 1978) and Factor's historical account of children's playlore (1988). These publications emerged from a revived interest in the oral traditions of Australian culture, and by the 1980s were influenced by the emerging practices of oral history and its capacity to record previously marginalized experiences, including those of children.
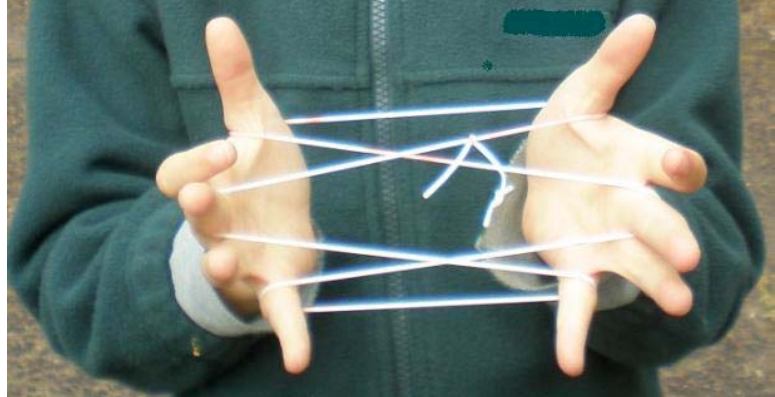
Fig. 1. Some children still learn the skills attached to the traditional string games. Image reproduced (with permission) from http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/objects/D00000036.htm.

Educationalists also became interested in children's play culture from the 1970s. Peter Lindsay and Denise Palmer (1981) observed nearly 5,000 children in Brisbane primary schools and documented 255 different playground games for a study of physical well-being. In Melbourne, Heather Russell (1986) examined the influences of immigration and cultural diversity on play activities and schoolyard friendships in an inner-city multicultural school. Gwenda Davey's research (1996) on children's games in a country town in Victoria was part of a larger study of rural life.

The *Childhood, Tradition and Change* website has summaries of these and other previous studies under the "Resources" and "About" tabs. An extensive bibliography of related publications about the history and practice of play internationally is located under the "Games and Play" tab. In addition, publication by the research team based on aspects of the project's research findings, as well as a final report (Darian-Smith and Henningham 2011) are also available on the website under the "Resources" tab.

The research for *Childhood, Tradition and Change* involved the close observation and documentation of children's play during lunch and recess breaks at 19 Australian primary schools whose pupils were aged 5-12 years. These schools were selective case studies, rather than comprising a statistically representative sample, and included a diversity of children's play experiences. Several schools were selected because they had been involved in the previous studies by Howard, Lindsay and Palmer, Russell, and Davey, thus allowing for longitudinal analysis of children's play in specific school locations across several decades to the present. While the research team has surveyed the provision of playground space and its use by children across time at some school sites, there is considerable potential for more in-depth investigations of such historical comparisons drawing upon the project's data.

Overall, all of the primary schools that were visited comprised a range of educational contexts, with a geographical reach into all Australian states and territories. They included schools with single-sex and co-educational student cohorts, and non-government (private) and government (public) institutions. The majority were located in cities, but there were some in country towns and one small rural school with a single classroom. The selected schools incorporated a range of socio-economic locations, including schools in economically

"disadvantaged" areas and one school with a high population of children who were new migrants to Australia.

The documentation of play was undertaken by a team of eight experienced fieldworkers, who were sent in pairs to each school for periods of one to two weeks where their task was to observe children's activities at lunchtimes and recess breaks. The fieldwork, as a whole, was spread across the year so as to capture seasonal variations and their influence upon games and other forms of play. The conduct of researchers at the schools required clearance by university Human Research Ethics Committees and approval by the government education departments, the Catholic education office, and individual schools in each Australian state or territory. This process was lengthy, often taking up to a year.

One of the implications of a regulatory framework for research with children was that fieldworkers could not record interviews, capture video, or take photographs without the written consent of parents (and in one state, of the children)—although they could observe and take written notes of children's activities in the playground. Children who were identified by the fieldworkers to be playing in interesting and creative ways, and who had parental consent, were then interviewed in a semi-structured format and also filmed while talking about their play and demonstrating various games and verbal lore.

Fig. 2. A game called "The Greatest" that involves a lot of physical challenges. Image reproduced (with permission) from http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/objects/D00000038.htm.

Once the data was collected, the fieldworkers completed their notes, labeled photographs, and submitted sound and video recordings for processing and entry into the database by the research team. The fieldwork archive at each school included maps of the playground and detailed descriptions of activities and games: when and how these occurred, who participated, and where the play took place. The project's findings indicated that children's playground activities were shaped by climatic and seasonal factors—from the monsoonal summer rain in tropical northern Australia to the relative cold of a Tasmanian winter. In addition, there was an extraordinary range of playground attributes, from expanses of natural bushland to schools with little more than an asphalt quadrangle.

School philosophies about play were also important in how play was acknowledged and experienced by both children and teachers. In some schools, children were encouraged to climb trees and use tools to build cubby houses, while

at other institutions an array of rules restricted these very same activities. In all these physical and educational environments, however, children generally played games of their own choosing. The research concluded that despite the different circumstances and rules governing each school playground, there were a great many similarities in the play activities of children across the nation.

Exploring the Public Database

The homepage on the *Childhood, Tradition and Change* website lists 18 different browsable categories of play, with an indication of the number of sub-categories within each noted in parentheses. The categories are as follows:

- Ball Games (34)
- Card or Board Games (4)
- Chasing Games (27)
- Clapping Games (24)
- Collecting Games (4)
- Construction Play (9)
- Elimination Games (10)
- Equipment Play (10)
- Games Using Computer Technology (2)
- Hiding Games (5)
- Imaginative Play (60)
- Language Play (29)
- Miscellaneous Activities (61)
- Miscellaneous Physical Play (103)
- Play on Equipment (2)
- Play with Toys (7)
- Teacher Organised Activities (1)
- Wet Weather Play (3)

Access to the profile of each participating school is also available from the site (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/gamesandplay.html). The 19 schools are assigned an identifying number, and the database provides a school profile that includes location by state, the fieldwork dates, the size of the student body, whether the school was a government or independent institution, and so on. This profile includes a description of the playground, the variables shaping play activities such as school rules or inclement weather, and a qualitative overview of the response from staff and students to the fieldworkers.

There is a search option for the database, although the material can also be explored through browsing either by category of play activity or by school. Selecting from the list of schools will take the user to the school profile and a list of the games played by children at the school. Selecting from the list of play activities will take the user to information on these. There

is considerable nuance within each play category; for instance, within the Chasing Game category (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/browse_chasinggames.htm) there are 34 different variants described.

By browsing the lists of schools and the play recorded at each location, it is possible to gain a sense of which games are ubiquitous, which regional variants were recorded, and the gender and age of the participating children in particular games. For instance, upon selecting School 01 the user might be interested in a clapping game called "My Boyfriend Gave Me an Apple" (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000096b.htm). Selecting that link will lead to information about six different variations of this clapping rhyme, played at six different schools across Australia. Notably, the New South Wales version is the only one that refers to a recognizable local landmark, the Sydney Harbour Bridge.

Fig. 3. Playing a clapping game "Miss Moo." Image reproduced (with permission) from http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/objects/D00000027.htm.

Not surprisingly, the Imaginative Play category has many sub-categories, because by definition the likelihood of consistent activities across location was considerably less than with more formal games with prescribed rules such as chasey (tag) or handball. Nevertheless, versions of play involving "Mummies and Daddies" (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000216b.htm) were observed at five schools, including at School 04, an all-boys independent school. Games of varying levels of complexity based on characters drawn from popular culture, such as Indiana Jones (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000360b.htm), Harry Potter (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000365b.htm), and Doctor Who (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000384b.htm), were very popular. Such imaginative play was often augmented with objects, as in a case where children used Lego figures in a role-play game (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000158b.htm).

The public database also documents imaginative responses from children to the natural world. Boys "made pizza" from rocks and plants (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000358b.htm); girls made sushi rolls out of leaves and flowers (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000326b.htm). For children of Sudanese background at a school in an inner urban setting, natural elements were incorporated into the "Sim" chanting game (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000202b.htm), performed in Sudanese language using small flowers on a bluestone wall. A similar game was played by Sudanese children at a non-metropolitan school over 1,000 kilometers away, only in this instance their tools were rocks, not flowers (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000226b.htm).

Researchers were interested to note that game types observed in previous studies, such as skipping, elastics, and, of course, chasey and its running and "tagging" variations, were still played and still popular (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000276b.htm). However, some games witnessed by Howard in the 1950s, including marbles and knucklebones (jacks), were no

longer played widely and in some instances were only taken up when introduced to children by teachers.

Over the last two decades, a new category of play activities has emerged as schools increasingly employ information technology in their pedagogical practices and a growing proportion of students have access to computers outside school, particularly in the home. In a minority of schools visited, students in the upper primary years had individual laptops or tablet devices, although this is not commonplace in Australian primary schools. Some schools

Fig. 4. A Fairy Couch. Image reproduced (with permission) from http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/objects/D00000007.htm.

provided students access to computers during lunchtime, though this was usually a "wet-weather" activity. The category of Games Using Computer Technology (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/browse_gamesusingcomputertechnology.htm) demonstrates the evolution and adaptability of play. The pervasiveness of computers in everyday life was also observed in imaginative play. For instance, a group of girls playing on the monkey bars drew upon the language of cyberspace when they hung upside down and created "chat rooms" to communicate with each other (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000056b.htm).
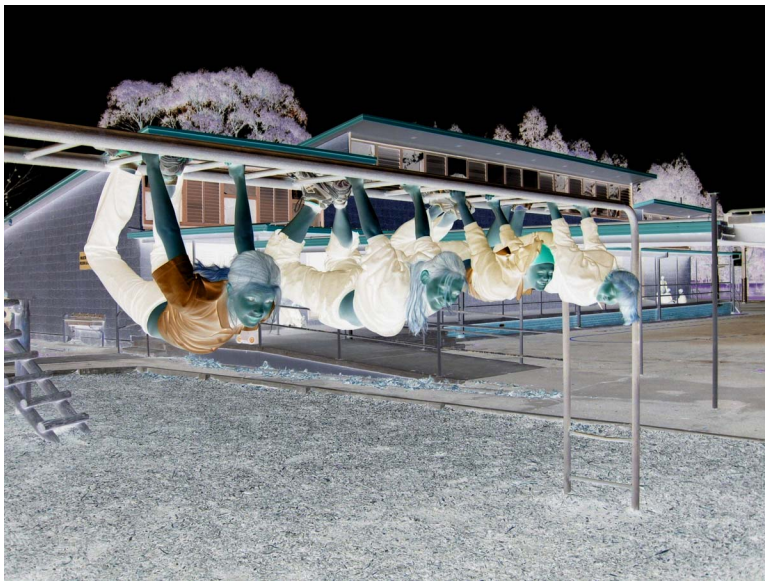
Fig. 5. Playing Baby's Cradle on the monkey bars. Image reproduced (with permission) from http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/objects/D00000003.htm.

The data also recorded "forbidden games" that were played and described by the children. Most schools prohibit children from climbing trees, but children still manage to find ways of doing so (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000311b.htm). Additionally, the study revealed discrepancies between children and teachers in their knowledge of school rules. At one school, children were convinced that handstands were forbidden, but the teachers were less sure this was the case (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000119b.htm).

However, a browse of the database highlights that at the majority of schools the official attitude toward play is both informed and relaxed. Deeper analysis undertaken by the research

team indicated that most teachers were aware of the importance of experiential learning. School 17, for example, a non-government co-educational institution in a middle-class urban area, is explicit about the centrality of play and children's creativity to the way all teaching is structured (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000017b.htm). This approach is very different from that taken by School 08, a government school in an economically disadvantaged urban-fringe suburb, where play is used to build student self-esteem and socialization and to enforce the school's strategies for discipline (http://ctac.esrc.unimelb.edu.au/biogs/E000373b.htm). The distinct historical and socio-economic profiles and the differing educational philosophies of these two schools provide an explanation for their contrasting practices. However, despite localized differences, children at all schools were encouraged to explore and experiment in play activities, and to use the interactions and lore of the playground to find their own meaning and to develop an independent voice. On the whole, principals and teachers achieved a balance between providing a safe environment and creating a situation where children could build resilience and be encouraged to respond positively to social and physical challenges.

In conclusion, the *Childhood, Tradition and Change* public database is an important archive for examining children's culture and play within Australia, as well as in an international comparative context. As the analytical work and publications undertaken by the research team have demonstrated, much has been learned from this fieldwork-based study about play in Australia. This knowledge includes enhanced understandings of the use of language and the importance of popular culture in influencing play activities; the role factors such as gender and age may have in determining play preferences; the nature of social networks of the playground; the significance of the physical, educational, and cultural environment of each school in shaping its playlore; and the evolving traditions, adaptations, and inventions in children's games across time (Darian-Smith and Henningham 2011; Darian-Smith 2012). However, there is more to discover, and the public database has been designed to enable other researchers to explore multiple lines of inquiry drawing on the documented material. With increasing scholarly interest in children's cultures, the *Childhood, Traditional and Change* website thus offers both a resource and a springboard for further research into the complexities and evolving heritage of contemporary children's playlore.

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Ukrainian Folklore Audio

Natalie Kononenko

The Internet provides scholars with an ever-expanding variety of ways to interact with the public. Crowdsourcing, or putting one's research tasks online and asking for help from volunteers, is perhaps one of the most rewarding things an academic can do. The assistance one gets is not only free labor, but it is also reassurance that others are interested in the things that we find fascinating. Crowdsourcing, as I learned from the Ukraine Folklore Audio project, also provides researchers with valuable information about the public. When I first developed the idea for this project, my goal was to have prospective users help me select which of the many types of folklore materials that I had recorded during my fieldwork in Ukraine should be processed for non-academic consumption. By choosing to transcribe and translate one type of audio file as opposed to another, the volunteers would reveal their interests while simultaneously doing some of the work needed for the publication of the texts. As my team and I worked with our contributors, we discovered that our site could also be used to glean information about the dynamics of heritage and ethnicity. Our volunteers came largely from the Ukrainian Diaspora, so we were crowdsourcing the audio files to a limited demographic rather than the public at large. We discovered that we could "experiment" with this group by adding select content to our site and watching volunteer reactions. Some of our results confirmed findings in other heritage situations while others were specific to Ukrainian culture and influenced by Ukraine's political history. The understanding of the Diaspora that we gained through work on this site could not have been possible through other means.

Ukrainian Folklore Audio (http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/folkaudio/)is a site where the public can listen to songs, stories, and beliefs recorded in Ukraine and among the Ukrainian Diaspora of Kazakhstan. Volunteers who wish to transcribe the recordings or translate them can "check out" the item that interests them and work on it. All completed transcriptions and translations are available for public use. Thus, when an item has been completely processed, the user can listen to a recording, see it written out in Ukrainian, and also view the parallel English translation. Anyone can use the site passively but, to avoid frivolous posts, we have required people submitting transcriptions and translations to register. Because of the registration requirement, we consider our site a modification of crowdsourcing and call what we do "groupsourcing." The registration requirement also helps with quality control. Submissions made by a volunteer are visible only to that volunteer and to the person monitoring the site (usually me) and are posted for general viewing only after they have been checked for accuracy.

Ukrainian Folklore Audio is an outgrowth of Ukrainian Folklore Sound Recordings (http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/UkraineAudio/). This is a research site developed with the help of Eric Zhang, a programmer then working at the Arts Resource Centre of the University of Alberta; Svitlana Kukharenko, a graduate student at the time; and Peter Holloway, a volunteer. The impetus behind the Ukrainian Folklore Sound Recordings site was my desire to easily find the information that I was seeking in the vast volume of recordings I had accumulated during my fieldwork. Like all folklorists, I faced the problem of dealing with a large volume of data, over 200 hours of sound in my case. Transcription of sound recordings—the standard way of processing field data—if done digitally, does produce files that can be searched. The problem with transcription is that it is an enormously time-consuming process and, once a sound file is converted into text, the expressive qualities of speech such as intonation, inflection, and volume are lost. Our solution was to index the sound files. We noted the time in a recording when a particular topic was being discussed. There were a limited number of topics since I was working on family rituals dealing with birth, marriage, and death. With the help of Zhang, we developed a program that linked each identified topic to the point in each sound file where the particular topic arose. Thus, if one clicks on a topic such as songs connected with weddings, the program will show a list of all sound recordings in which that topic is discussed. The researcher can then select a recording, click on it, and listen from the point where the discussion of the desired topic begins.

Figure 1 shows a screen capture of the opening page of the original site. In the lower portion are the major topics in both Ukrainian and English. These topics are in approximate chronological order. "The Wedding" has been marked with a red arrow. If "The Wedding" is clicked, the next web page shows the major sub-categories of "The Wedding." Each of these sub-categories, if clicked, leads to subsequent pages. As an example, we show in Figure 2 the

Fig. 1. Our original searchable audio website: http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/UkraineAudio/.

весілля
The Wedding

загальна інформація   General information
молодята   The bridal couple
прикмети/повір'я   Omens and beliefs
обрядові предмети/дії   Ritual objects/ritual acts
обрядові страви   Ritual foods
обрядові пісні   Ritual songs ←
обрядове вбрання   Ritual clothing
обрядові ролі   Ritual roles
шишки   Shyshky (breads)
наратив   Narratives

весілля->обрядові пісні
The Wedding->Ritual songs

перед весіллям   Before the wedding
під час весілля   During the wedding ←
після весілля   After the wedding
посад   Ritual seating of the bridal pair

весілля->обрядові пісні->під час весілля
The Wedding->Ritual songs->During the wedding

про пісні   About songs
сучасна весільна музика   Contemporary wedding music
вінчання/цивільна реєстрація   Civil wedding/registration
мати випроводжає дочку   Mother bids the daughter farewell
поїзд до хати молодої   Wedding train to the house of bride
поїзд до хати молодого   Wedding train to the house of groom
посад   Ritual seating of the bridal pair
переспів причетів   Singing of the clergy ←
нашивають хустку молодій   Putting the kerchief on the bride
сороміцькі пісні   Shameful (off-color) songs
чесна/нечесна молода   Pure and impure bride

весілля->обрядові пісні->під час весілля->переспів причетів
The Wedding->Ritual songs->During the wedding->Singing of the clergy

Audio file List

denhy98a.mp3--1 hits   Sound Recording
dobron7vioob7.mp3--1 hits   Sound Recording
domantovo98a.mp3--2 hits   Sound Recording
hrechkivka2.mp3--1 hits   Sound Recording
iabluniv98.mp3--1 hits   Sound Recording
iabluniv98h.mp3--1 hits   Sound Recording
iavorivka2000b.mp3--1 hits   Sound Recording ←
iavorivka2005l.mp3--1 hits   Sound Recording
kopachiv982.mp3--1 hits   Sound Recording
korelivka0819.mp3 - 1 hits   Sound Recording

Fig. 2. An example of a search through "Wedding" subtopics.

sequential pages from a search of: The Wedding->Ritual songs->During the wedding->Singing of the clergy. The final screen capture in Figure 2 shows a partial list of recordings (named by village and year) where this topic was described in an interview. If one recording (iavorivka2000b) is clicked, the user sees the screen shown in Figure 3. This page gives detailed information on the interview and the arrow indicates that the topic in question was discussed between 06.35 and 15.28 minutes in the recording. Once the recording is downloaded, it will automatically play from the time indicated by the red arrow near the bottom of the page.

весілля->обрядові пісні->під час весілля->переспів причетів
The Wedding->Ritual songs->During the wedding->Singing of the clergy
Audio File:./Audios/iavorivka2000b.mp3

On this page is a description of the complete interview. The time when various topics were discussed is shown. The topic you searched for can be heard by CLICKING the TIME on the sound player which is AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE. You can hear other segments of the interview by moving the arrow in the sound player so that the desired counter number shows and CLICKING the play button.

```
Tape/disc #/name: Iavorivka2000b
Interviewer: Dr. Natalie Kononenko, Halyna Kapas'
Project Title: Rites of Passage/Central Ukraine
Date: June 2-3, 2000
Medium: CD (digitized copy, originally recorded on cassette)
Overall interview time: 45.26
Place/village name: selo Iavorivka, Drabivs'kyi raion, Cherkas'ka oblast'
Interviewee (last name, first name):
From 00.00 through 34.32:
Latysh, Polina (Paraskeva) Iakivna, DOB 1927 (nee Basans'ka)
Latysh, Vasyl' Ivanovych, DOB 1934 (Halyna Kapas's parents)
Nadiia, DOB 1954 (Halyna's sister)
Latysh, Kateryna Pylypivna, DOB 1941
Basans'ka, Nina Oleksandrivna, DOB 1940
From 34.33 through 45.26:
Koval', Mykhailo Dmytrovych  (from selo Velykyi Khutir)

TIME (min:sec) SUBJECT
00.00-02.02 весілля-обрядові пісні-перед весіллям-дівич-вечір
02.03-04.14 весілля-обрядові предмети/дії-перед весіллям-дівич-вечір-про дівич-вечір
03.17-03.52 весілля-обрядові страви-перед весіллям-дівич-вечір
04.14-05.26 Весілля-обрядові предмети/дії-під час весілля-викуповують молоду
06.35-15.28 весілля-обрядові пісні-під час весілля-переспів причетів ←
07.14-08.26 Весілля-обрядові предмети/дії-під час весілля-продають придане
08.26-09.25 Весілля-обрядові предмети/дії-перед весіллям-поїзд до хати молодого
16.00-18.28 Весілля-обрядові пісні-під час весілля-мати випроводжає дочку
18.32-19.13 Весілля-обрядові предмети/дії-перед весіллям-поїзд до хати молодої
19.21-26.32 Пісні-про пісні
26.40-34.22 Домовик/нечиста сила/відьма
34.34-45.26 Наратив-Про сільське життя (М. Коваль)
```

PAUSED   0:00:00.000   00:06:35 ←

Fig. 3. An example of the background information to a sound file.

This website was a major breakthrough. It has enhanced my research tremendously because, in addition to taking me to all of the recordings where I can listen to information on topics such as wedding songs, it also allows me to listen to the context of my topic, should I chose to do so. Thus, I can move the cursor to a point before the time when the song in question begins and hear the conversation leading up to the singing, or I can listen to the part of the recording that follows the song and learn what was said after the song was finished.

While Ukrainian Folklore Sound Recordings is a boon to researchers, it is a research site, too big and cumbersome for use by the general public. The data found on this site are minimally processed, a situation that is beneficial for researchers because of the wealth of information included, but a hindrance to non-academic users. To make the material I collected in Ukraine accessible to the non-specialist, it needed to be trimmed down to select items, transcribed, and translated. But we were faced with two problems. One was again the problem of transcription and its time demands, a problem that would be compounded by adding translations. The other problem was selection. We could guess which items out of the vast amount of data I had collected would appeal to our target audience—not an ideal approach. Crowdsourcing presented itself as a good solution. The general public would help us with the time-consuming tasks of transcription and translation, and we would track the items chosen for processing to see which sorts of texts were of greatest interest to our contributors.

Crowdsourcing has been a very successful approach to engaging the public in research. The Sloan Digital Sky Survey used a crowdsourcing site called Galaxy Zoo (http://www.galaxyzoo.org/) and, within nine months, had 100,000 volunteers. Among them, the volunteers viewed and classified over one million galaxies, and each galaxy was viewed an average of 38 times (Clery 2011). Almost 200 volunteers contributed translations to *Suda* On Line (http://www.stoa.org/sol/), a project related to the tenth-century Byzantine encyclopedia. Our project was different from many other crowdsourcing efforts in that we were dealing with a heritage community. Emotions are a crucial part of heritage and our most interesting findings have to do with the role that heritage played in our project.

We built Ukrainian Folklore Audio in order to make it as user-friendly as possible. The interface, designed by Karl Anvik and graduate student Megan Sellmer, is simple in order to encourage contribution by users with all levels of familiarity with online work. For content, we decided to "cut out" discrete stories, songs, and accounts of magical beliefs and to give the texts only; information about the performer and the time and place of recording was not included. This decision to exclude performer information was based on the need for simplicity and on the desire to make the site as "familiar" as possible to potential non-academic contributors by following the "texts only" practice of print collections aimed at this demographic. Our hope was eventually to include pictures of and information about performers on the site if user interest and funding for technical support permitted. In the meantime we assumed that those people who did ask for performer information could be directed to the research site.

The "cutting" of sound clips was done by then graduate student Maryna Chernyavska. Deciding which types of texts to present was our most difficult task and was a cause for much debate. Three criteria determined our choices. One again involved print media precedents. Publications aimed at non-academic readers are typically collections of folktales or folk songs. This led us to decide on including stories and songs on our site. The second criterion was past

reaction both to the research site and to the presentation of data from my recordings. For instance, non-academic users searched the research site specifically for songs. For presentation to non-academic audiences, I do public outreach activities where I tell English versions of the tales told in Ukrainian on the research site. The story sessions are very popular. Audience members often asked for information on Ukrainian magic and these inquires led us to include short accounts of practices such as protecting the home from being struck by lightning. The third criterion was ease of transcription and translation. Songs, we thought, would be more difficult to transcribe and translate than prose and consequently a less popular choice among volunteers. This assumption led to the decision to offer two prose categories on the site and only one verse category.

Figure 4 shows the opening page of the Ukrainian Folklore Audio website. Anyone can listen to one of the 199 audio files and, if they have been processed, they can see the transcriptions and translations. Figure 5 shows some of the songs. If the first song is "viewed," the screen shown in Figure 6 appears. If the visitor has registered as a volunteer, the screen in Figure 7 is visible. This screen again allows the files to be heard and viewed, and if particular items are not "locked," they can be "signed out" for the volunteer to work on transcribing or translating.

When Ukrainian Folklore Audio went online in 2011, I sent announcements to various newsgroups, both general Slavic and specifically Ukrainian. The announcements were greeted with enthusiasm, especially by members of the Ukrainian groups. Unfortunately, this enthusiasm did not translate into a plenitude of volunteers. Many people used the site passively and recommended it to others, but did not contribute. We sought to discover the reasons for lack of participation and
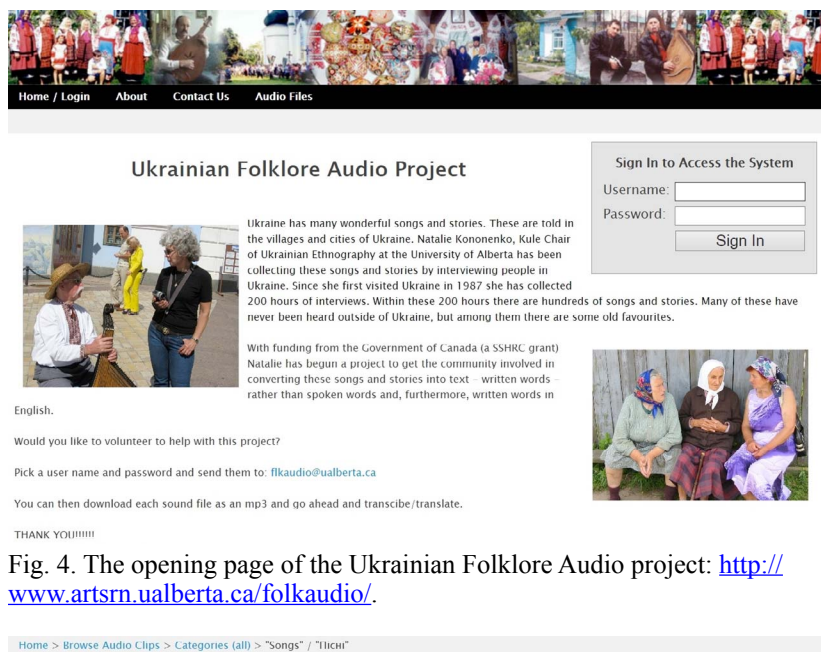
Fig. 4. The opening page of the Ukrainian Folklore Audio project: http://www.artsrn.ualberta.ca/folkaudio/.

Fig. 5. An example of a page showing already processed files and files available for processing.

Fig. 6: An example of "published" transcriptions and translations.

Fig. 7. An example of the page that a registered visitor sees.

considered offering incentives. As pointed out by Hars and Ou (2000), there are various ways of encouraging people to contribute to online work, the most common being "gamifying" the site and turning the tasks into a contest. We decided against this approach because members of the Ukrainian Diaspora are quite insistent that all things Ukrainian must be treated seriously. We feared that introducing leaderboards and other elements of play would "trivialize" the project and offend cultural sensibilities. As we observed work on the site and interacted with newsgroups and individuals, it became clear that our problem was not so much incentives as disincentives. One issue was language. Many members of the Ukrainian Diaspora feel insecure about their language knowledge, and potential contributors feared criticism for posting transcriptions that were not in correct Ukrainian, a fact that several correspondents admitted to me in confidence.

For many heritage groups language is a mark of identity. For Ukrainians, this is doubly so. Ukrainians who emigrated to Canada were under pressure to switch to English and, since the first wave of emigration came in the late 1800s, that pressure was quite brutal, with children being beaten in school for speaking Ukrainian and forced to adopt English names. Attacks on the Ukrainian language were very much a part of life in Ukraine as well, both when this country was part of the Russian Empire and subsequently when it became part of the Soviet Union. Thus, being able to speak Ukrainian was a mark of resistance and highly valued by anyone with nationalist feelings. The people who were interested in things Ukrainian—the potential contributors to our site—were the ones who prized language retention. They also valued a pure Ukrainian, one not contaminated by forced Russification or full of Anglicisms. Unfortunately, the hyper-correct Ukrainian that was considered politically correct was not something that most

people could master. Paradoxically, language instruction in the schools—for which Ukrainian organizations in Canada fought long and hard—worked against language retention. By revealing the differences between grammatically correct Ukrainian and the language spoken in the home, formal instruction discouraged language use. An identical phenomenon was observed by Rocky Sexton (2000) in French Louisiana, where formal language instruction by teachers brought from France discouraged language use by revealing the differences between the French spoken in France—a version considered more prestigious and correct—and the language used by French speakers in Louisiana. What this situation produced in our case was potential contributors who wanted to retain the language but felt their own Ukrainian was not up to the ideal that they sought to promote. We anticipated this problem and made it clear that no transcription or translation would be made public until it was first checked by a native speaker. We also offered the option of anonymity to people who wanted to participate in the project but feared criticism.

Another language issue had a different emotional resonance. Ukrainians started coming to Canada toward the end of the nineteenth century, but the Soviet Socialist Revolution closed the borders of Ukraine and Ukrainians in Canada had only limited contact with their homeland. During the seventy years that the Soviet Union existed, the Ukrainian spoken in Canada and the language spoken in Ukraine itself developed independently and grew apart. This linguistic evolution made modern Ukrainian, the language in my sound recordings, somewhat difficult for Ukrainian Canadians to understand. The Diaspora interpretation of the differences between their Ukrainian and that spoken in their homeland was that the latter must be wrong. Members of the Diaspora felt that they had preserved the pure form of the language while the spoken language in Ukraine had been corrupted by forced Russification. Our supposition that people would be eager for material from the country they had been unable to access for so long was thus thwarted by the Diaspora's feeling that the language and culture of Ukraine had been corrupted by Soviet rule and was not genuinely Ukrainian. The language of the sound files was "wrong" and people were reluctant to work with it.

The type of text chosen for transcription and translation was unexpected. For the first year or so of the site's existence, songs and only songs were transcribed and translated. In fact, we added more songs to meet demand. Examination of the preference for songs quickly explained this phenomenon. As Halpern and Barlett (2011) have noted, a song stays in the mind as something called an "earworm"—sometimes against a person's will. Thus, songs are better remembered than ordinary speech and may often retain older linguistic forms, in this case making them more familiar to Ukrainian Canadians. Music surrounds the listener and elicits a strong emotional response, thus making it better suited to the nostalgia and other sentiments that are part of heritage. Any perceived irregularities—whether in syntax, in word choice, or in pronunciation—are less apparent in music where they can be explained as distortions made to fit verse structure, thus obviating the language issues discussed above. People also gravitated toward songs because they were familiar, something that the contributors had heard before. We expected that people living in the West, Diaspora Ukrainians included, would be attracted to the new. This is not the case when it comes to heritage, and we repeatedly encountered the concept of "preservation of the old" in all of our heritage work.

The crowd- or groupsourcing approach allowed us to test the observations above. The fact that potential contributors did not work with prose texts led us to hypothesize that they were

deterred by language. Many of the attractive features of songs are also found in at least one other category on our site: folktales.[1] Like songs, folktales are associated with heritage and are well-known to the Diaspora through print media. But while the songs on our site have words similar to those in published collections, the tales do not. The oral style of songs is retained in print in order to keep the rhythm and the rhyme. This is not true of tales where colloquial language is rendered in grammatically correct Ukrainian for publication. The tales on our sound files are, of course, oral and are told in a colloquial language that differs from the literary standard. Furthermore, the tales are in the language spoken in contemporary Ukraine, not the language of the Diaspora, leading potential contributors to suspect Russification. If the language issue were removed, we proposed, the tales would become as attractive as we had originally assumed. To test this theory, we transcribed some of the texts ourselves. Graduate student Myroslava Uniat wrote out the tales, giving the words as they were spoken in the sound file and also providing in parentheses the literary standard version of any dialectal or colloquial words. Sure enough, once the tales were transcribed, a volunteer from North America began translating them. The fact that the colloquial language of the prose texts hindered transcription was also confirmed by another event. A volunteer who had done a number of the tale translations submitted a translation of one of the magical belief texts. She did not transcribe the text, perhaps deterred by the colloquial speech and worried that her Ukrainian was not up to the task of supplying both the spoken and the grammatically correct forms, but she did understand the sound file and was able to render it in English.

To test if familiarity with a song determined its attractiveness to volunteers, we posted a set of songs recorded from Ukrainians living in Kazakhstan. Our premise was that these songs would be less familiar and therefore less attractive. These songs have been transcribed by a person living in Ukraine, not by a member of the Ukrainian Diaspora. This result does indicate that our hypothesis was correct. Ukrainians in Ukraine live in greater geographical proximity to ex-patriots living in Kazakhstan; also, the citizens of both countries share a Communist past. Their expressive cultures are therefore more likely to be similar and the songs of one group are more like those of the other. To date, no Diaspora Ukrainians have worked with the Kazakhstan songs, either as transcribers or as translators.

The aforementioned observations were presented at conferences, and the feedback we received, combined with observations of other crowdsourcing websites, suggested that frequent, if not constant, interaction with volunteers stimulates contributions. This feedback prompted posting news about the site to various newsgroups. Every few months an update on new contributions is sent to social media These updates partially replace things like leaderboards and other incentives by providing public recognition of contributors' work. Every posting brings in a few new contributors and stimulates increased activity among those already working on the site.

As for the future of the site, we plan a dual approach. As we see what material appeals to the public, we will post more of it, thus doing what we had originally intended and giving the non-academic users the type of items that they want. We also plan to continue to experiment. We originally posted only short items on the supposition that short texts would attract volunteers. Now that several volunteers have told us that they work on the site for relaxation, we will try

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[1] Two examples of Ukrainian folktales in English translation are Bloch 1964 and Zhelenova 1986.

posting longer, more complex, and thus potentially more appealing texts. Public reaction to long folktales should be interesting. Long tales are particularly engaging because of their complex plots and their artistry. They envelop the listener with enchantment much as songs do with music. Will people find these tales attractive enough to work on despite their length? Only time will tell.

In sum, Ukrainian Folklore Audio is a crowdsourcing site that permits the researcher and the general public to have a dialogue without words. Instead of asking our public questions directly, we post materials on our site. User reactions to the materials that we post, namely their choices of which materials to transcribe or translate, is perhaps a truer response to our queries than any direct question. The posting of materials and the availability of choice gives us a better sense of Diaspora language issues. Because language retention (or its lack) carries such emotional weight, users reveal through their behavior positions that they would probably not admit to if asked directly. Similarly, heritage issues are loaded with emotion, and approaching them through a folklore website that allows user choice gives us information about attitudes toward heritage that we would not have been able to get through direct questioning.

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Curation of Oral Tradition from Legacy Recordings:
An Australian Example

Nick Thieberger

Introduction

Hundreds of hours of ethnographic field recordings and their associated oral tradition were destined to be lost until the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC, http://paradisec.org.au) was established in 2003 to digitize and curate this legacy made by Australian academic researchers since the 1960s (Barwick and Thieberger 2006; Thieberger and Barwick 2012).[1] These recordings in the languages of the region around Australia (broadly speaking, an area that includes Indonesia, Papua New Guinea [PNG], and the Pacific Islands) have high cultural value and are often the only records in these languages. Many languages in this region are spoken by few people and are in danger of being lost because of the pressure from neighboring languages or metropolitan languages such as Indonesian, Tok Pisin, English, or French, and so the records made a generation or more ago become all the more valuable. However, despite their unique heritage value, these recordings were not eligible to be preserved or curated by any existing Australian collecting institution.

A group of linguists and musicologists planned PARADISEC and sought advice from relevant agencies (in particular from the National Library of Australia and the National Film and Sound Archive). This advice was particularly valuable in allowing us to determine appropriate metadata standards (we use Dublin Core and Open Archives Initiative metadata terms as a subset of our catalog's metadata) and to understand the more hands-on requirements of cleaning and repairing moldy or damaged analog tapes. We then applied for and received infrastructure funding from the Australian Research Council. With a grant that was to last for just one year, we had to build a successful archive prototype that could then attract further funds.

Over the decade during which it has been running, PARADISEC has digitized several thousand hours of analog recordings in three ingestion units based at each of the participating universities: the University of Sydney, the University of Melbourne, and the Australian National University. We have also broadened our scope to include any relevant material that needs preservation, regardless of the geographic area it represents or the state of endangerment of the

languages involved. In 2011 we initiated an online survey[2] to locate further endangered analog collections and to work with their custodians in order to find funds to digitize and curate them before they are lost.

What Is in the Collection?

The contents of the various collections range from hundreds of recordings on a particular language made in the course of extensive fieldwork all the way through to isolated, short examples recorded opportunistically in a language. The records themselves range from narratives through to sung, chanted, and spoken performances as well as instrumental music. The collections from the 1960s and 1970s typically represent the work of deceased or retired scholars, so there is usually limited contextual information to include in the catalog. Occasionally there are handwritten transcripts of these recordings that we have included as scanned TIF or PDF files. These legacy collections include: Professor Stephen Wurm's several hundred tapes, with 120 Solomon Islands tapes and transcripts/fieldnotes from the 1970s (some of which have been used in later research by Åshild Næss [2006]); the ethnographer Roderic Lacey's collection of 118 tapes from the early 1970s used as the basis for his work on "Oral Traditions as History: An Exploration of Oral Sources among the Enga of the New Guinea Highlands"; James Weiner's collection of some 100 cassettes in the Foi language of Highlands PNG, the basis for his work on poetics in the language; Arthur Capell's 114 tapes from the Pacific and PNG from the 1950s (and 30 archive boxes of fieldnotes of which we have placed 14,000 page images online[3]); Bert Voorhoeve's 180 tapes from West Papua (mainly in Asmat) from the late 1960s; and Tom Dutton's 295 PNG tapes from the 1970s. Currently in our accession queue is a collection of recordings made by the anthropologist Ted Schwartz during his fieldwork with Margaret Mead on Manus island in the 1950s.

PARADISEC is making information available in an ethically appropriate way, and we have established working relationships with agencies in our region such as the Vanuatu Cultural Centre, the Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, the University of French Polynesia, and the University of New Caledonia, among others. In 2013 we applied for funds with the Solomon Islands Museum to digitize hundreds of tapes they hold in Honiara. We have started a crowdfunding campaign to try to raise the funds necessary to do this work[4] and to locate more endangered collections of analog recordings.

Since building the necessary online tools for entering cataloging information for this kind of material, we have had a number of born-digital collections deposited. It is particularly interesting for scholars to be able now to deposit their records directly from the field or soon after their return from fieldwork. In this way they have a safe copy of their primary records and are able to cite those records with the persistent identification provided by an archive. Archiving

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[2] http://www.paradisec.org.au/PDSCSurvey.html

[3] http://paradisec.org.au/fieldnotes/AC2.htm

[4] http://paradisec.org.au/sponsorship.htm

before the analysis makes the research grounded and replicable, and it turns on its head the more traditional approach of archiving primary recordings only at the end of one's research career.

The value of making the collection as discoverable as possible was made clear when we had a request from Diana Looser, then a Ph.D. candidate in Theatre at Cornell University in the United States who was writing a dissertation on Oceanic theater and drama. She needed access to a play that was listed in our catalog but existed nowhere else that she could find: in his collection, the linguist Tom Dutton had included a tape of playwright Albert Toro's *Sugarcane Days* recorded from ABC radio Port Moresby.[5] Looser transcribed the tapes and prepared the only extant version of the script that she then redeposited in the collection, a sample of which has been reproduced below:

[RECORDING TD1-PO2179-A 00:00–25:45]
THE SUGAR CANE DAYS, EPISODE I: THE MASSACRE

[Theme music up and under.]

ANNOUNCER: The National Broadcasting Commission presents *The Sugar Cane Days* by Albert Toro. This is Episode One, "The Massacre." *The Sugar Cane Days* is set in the period known throughout the Pacific as the "blackbirding days" or the "kanaka trade." That was the period when the cruel practice of forced labor was a near relation to slavery, but handsomely disguised under the polite name, "labor trade." The period is between 1863 and 1907, when the human being market was at its height. This story is based on facts that have almost become legends. Molen, a victim of those days, died in 1976. Here is Molen's story.

MOLEN *[remembering]*: I am a very old man now, you see. I have lived a long life, and it will soon be time for me to die. From those who returned after the end of our contract in the plantation, I am the last man alive. Mally Bulla was everyone's favorite plantation; it is this story I want to tell you, and later, when you are a father of many children, you can tell it to them; and their children will tell their children's children. You are a lucky man today. I hear and see cars, trucks, and ships driven by engines *[…]*

[Theme music fades; cross-fade into sound of waves on the shore, and roosters crowing, chickens clucking.]

This re-use of research material in new ways can only be achieved if that material is stored in accessible locations with licenses for use in place and with a catalog that provides sufficient information to allow it to be located.

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[5] Registered users can hear the first of the audio files of this performance at http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/TD1/items/P02179/essences/1019890.

Technical Features

We began by installing a Quadriga analog-to-digital workstation and developing a system architecture that included data storage and backup, naming conventions, a metadata schema, a workflow for identifying eligible recordings (assessing their physical state and contents), deposit and access conditions, and a catalog. This catalog presents a set of metadata elements to the user with drop-down menus to enforce standard forms, in particular for terms that are exposed to external harvesting tools to allow remote searching of the catalog. These terms include country names (ISO 3166-1), language names (ISO-639-3), and datatypes, among other elements.

The online catalog has been redeveloped over time in response to users' comments. It currently exports a feed that is harvested by the Open Archives Initiative, the Open Language Archives Community, and the Australian National Data Service, all of which helps make items in the collection more discoverable. Each item in the collection has its own deposit conditions, but some 5,000 items (out of 8,100) can be seen or listened to online by registered users—those who have agreed to the conditions of use and registered their email addresses. The remaining items require some kind of permission from the depositor, but we are working with depositors to reduce the number of items in that category.

The structured metadata required by our catalog makes the depositor provide rather basic information that may not previously have been compiled, including for each item a title, date of creation, language spoken, and country in which it was recorded. Further information includes: the role of participants, the language name as it is known locally (which may vary from the standard form), the type of information (lexicon, song, narrative, and so on), geographic location (given by a bounding box on a map), and a free text description of the item that can be as rich as the depositor wants. All of this information can be improved on by subsequent users who use the collection in their own research projects (as we saw above with the item from Tom Dutton's collection).

Transcription

A media recording with a transcript is more useful than a recording on its own, and a transcript that is time-aligned to the media it transcribes is more useful again, providing the possibility for linking units of text (that is, utterances or words) directly to the position that they occur in the media. Current field methods include the use of tools like Elan[6] for creating such transcripts, but emerging methods for automated alignment of a transcript and media (for instance, WebMAUS[7]) promise to speed up this otherwise time-consuming process and can, as a first step, identify segments in the recording according to acoustic characteristics. Many legacy items in the collection have little metadata and no transcripts and would benefit from having a simple description of their content as a first step toward creating more detailed descriptions. In this way it may be possible automatically to identify different speakers, varying performance

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[6] http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/.

[7] http://phonetik.uni-muenchen.de/BASWebServices/.

types, and spoken tape identification at the beginning of the recording, all in order to improve the description of their contents.

Some collections, on the other hand, are heavily annotated and will allow re-use and reanalysis in future research projects, and can also be presented in online services representing languages of the world. There is a range of over 700 languages represented in the collection with a variety of styles, including songs, narratives, and elicitation. Given this rich source of material, there are great possibilities for re-use of the collections (subject, of course, to deposit conditions). It will be possible, for example, to establish crowdsourcing annotation of legacy material, either at the level of simply identifying parts of a recording or, where suitably skilled transcribers are available, to provide transcripts. We are also developing methods for delivery of the catalog and files via mobile devices.

Citing Primary Research Records

An example of the research use that a citable collection such as PARADISEC offers is the work done by Åshild Næss (2006) on the nature of the Reefs-Santa Cruz (RSC) (Solomon Islands) languages. Professor Stephen Wurm (mentioned earlier) had a considerable number of recordings from these languages in his house and office when he died. Næss was based in Norway and unable to get copies of the recordings, most of which were uncataloged and known to her only by oblique references in Wurm's work. As she notes (2006:159),

> Although Wurm published a number of papers on RSC, the actual data cited in these publications
> is limited to word lists and a few handfuls of frequently repeated example sentences. This makes it
> difficult to determine to what extent the structural claims, in particular, are actually supported by
> the data. Being able to evaluate and analyse Wurm's primary data will be of invaluable help in the
> effort to resolve the question of the origins of the Reefs-Santa Cruz languages.

Such recordings are invaluable to researchers, and we present them as playable objects in our collection for users to access. Furthermore, to make it easier to present interlinked text and media corpora, we have built an online system called EOPAS[8] that takes the media outputs of linguistic fieldwork together with texts[9] that are time-aligned to the source media and presents them online. EOPAS provides information about a text that satisfies several different needs at the same time. It gives the casual web user information about a text, showing grammatical and morphological complexity, but also allowing that complexity to be hidden via a toggle switch if desired. It allows a corpus of any number of texts in a language to be presented and searched, with a keyword-in-context view of any given word or morpheme—all resolving via a mouseclick to the context of the morpheme.

In my own research on the language of South Efate (Vanuatu) I have recently (Thieberger forthcoming) written on the relationship between two islands (Efate and Erromango) for which

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[8] http://www.eopas.org.

[9] Actually *interlinear text*, that is, text with translations at the level of words or even smaller units.

there is linguistic evidence suggestive of contact. In the oral accounts that I had recorded on Efate I found a number of references to Erromango, so I was able to include both the text of the stories and a link to a playable version of them in the article. The archival form of this media is available for serious researchers, but a more casual observer can read the text and hear the media via the EOPAS version. In the story titled "Angels and Erromango"[10] a group of young Efate women used to fly to Erromango to wash in a particular river. A local man watched them there and hid the wings of one of the women, forcing her to stay and become his wife. She stayed and bore two children who then find her wings, and she is able to fly back to Efate. Another example is the story titled "Asaraf"[11] that is concerned with the theme of the closeness of the two islands before the giant Asaraf walked between them with the sea not reaching even to his knees, moving the islands apart and then making the sea rise. Ultimately, we hope to build access to the archival form of the media with an EOPAS-style front end. These stories were also published in a volume that can be downloaded from an open-access repository[12] or printed via Amazon's CreateSpace.[13]

Training

We are particularly interested in providing advice and training for researchers so that their records (be they recordings, photographs, transcripts, or more analytical work such as corpora, dictionaries, or grammars) will be archivable and reusable by others in the future, and we therefore emphasize the importance of linguistic data management (Thieberger and Berez 2012) and the principles established by Bird and Simons (2003) for the portability of research material. It is obvious from this training that the more a researcher knows about methods for creating good archival forms of their data and adopts those methods, the easier it is to accession that material into an archive. Another consequence is that their own research materials are also easier for them to access themselves over time.

PARADISEC has a blog (http://paradisec.org.au/blog) that often provides examples of new methods or summaries of projects using innovative approaches. We also helped to establish the Resource Network for Linguistic Diversity[14] that has a mailing list and FAQ page on relevant topics aimed at supporting many aspects of language documentation and language revitalization.

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[10] http://www.eopas.org/transcripts/128

[11] http://www.eopas.org/transcripts/69

[12] http://repository.unimelb.edu.au/10187/9734

[13] The process is discussed in this blog item: http://www.paradisec.org.au/blog/2013/05/print-on-demand-again.

[14] http://rnld.org

Recognition

We have now created some nine terabytes of curated records that without our work would otherwise be only uncataloged analog material, and as a result we have been recognized in various ways. PARADISEC was cited as an exemplary system for audiovisual archiving using digital mass storage systems by the International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives[15] and was also included as an exemplary case study in the Australian Government's *Strategic Roadmap for Australian Research Infrastructure.*[16] In 2008 we won the Victorian eResearch Strategic Initiative (VeRSI) eResearch Prize (HASS category). In the words of the judges:[17]

> PARADISEC is an outstanding application of ICT tools in the humanities and social sciences domain that harnesses the work of scholars to store and preserve endangered language and music materials from the Asia-Pacific region and creates an online resource to make these available.

We are rated at five stars (the maximum rating) in the Open Language Archives Community[18] for the quality of our metadata. In 2012 our collection was awarded a European Data Seal of Approval,[19] and in 2013 PARADISEC's collection was inscribed in the UNESCO Australian Memory of the World programme.

Conclusion

Archiving of research outputs is central to language documentation and to the preservation of recorded oral tradition. Researchers have to ensure that speakers are able to locate records made with them or with their ancestors, and properly constructed repositories can provide that function. From a research perspective, the provision of properly curated scholarly material provides the basis for further research and for validation of the research that motivated the collection of the material in the first place. PARADISEC aims to be as responsive as possible (given our shoestring budget) to the individual needs of researchers, in particular those located in isolated and far-away communities who will be the main beneficiaries of the digitized set of material we have produced since we started work.

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[15] Bradley 2004:51.

[16] http://www.nectar.org.au/sites/default/files/Strategic_Roadmap_Aug_2008.pdf

[17] This quotation is from our (unpublished) letter of award of the prize from the Victorian eResearch Strategic Initiative (http://www.versi.edu.au/).

[18] http://www.language-archives.org/metrics/paradisec.org.au

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The Digital Archiving of Endangered Language Oral Traditions: *Kaipuleohone* at the University of Hawaiʻi and *C'ek'aedi Hwnax* in Alaska

Andrea L. Berez

Introduction

In this essay I compare and contrast two small-scale language archives and discuss their relevance for oral tradition research.[1] The first of these is *Kaipuleohone*, the University of Hawaiʻi Digital Ethnographic Archive (KUHDEA).[2] KUHDEA is administered by the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UHM) and curated by the UHM library in an institutional DSpace repository under the purview of the UHM library. The second archive presented here is called *C'ek'aedi Hwnax*[3] (C'H), which serves the Ahtna Alaska Native community in and around the Copper River region of south central Alaska. C'H is fully administered by the Ahtna community itself via a non-profit organization known as the Ahtna Heritage Foundation (AHF).

These two archives have a number of features in common. They could both be called "niche" archives, in that they are both rather small in size, have a well-defined collection scope, and focus on recordings of languages—especially endangered languages—as used within many different genres. Additionally, they are both primarily digital archives, providing for the digitization of older analog materials while also accepting new, born-digital audio and video. They both strive to follow current best-practice recommendations for digital audio formats, storage, and metadata collection. They are both participating members of the Open Language

[2] *Kaipuleohone* means "gourd of sweet words" in Hawaiian. We are grateful to Laiana Wong for suggesting this name for the archive. Information about KUHDEA can be found at http://www.ling.hawaii.edu/langdoc/archive.html, and access to the archive materials is found at http://www.kaipuleohone.org.

[3] *C'ek'aedi Hwnax* is Ahtna for (roughly) "legacy house." The name was suggested by Ahtna Elders Jeannie Maxim, Markle Pete, and Virginia Pete, and was confirmed by Chief Ben Neely and Secondchief Fred Ewan in 2010.

Archives Community (OLAC)[4] and they both share metadata publicly via the OLAC search engine.[5] Finally, they were both conceived out of the growing interest over the last two decades in endangered language documentation and preservation, on the one hand,[6] and the increased use of digital infrastructure to serve the needs of social science and the humanities, including linguistics, on the other.[7]

KUHDEA and C'H are also quite different in a number of ways. C'H has a physical facility that is meant to be a gathering place where the Ahtna community can meet to share cultural activities and knowledge; the digital archive is just one part of the larger function of C'H and the AHF. KUHDEA, on the other hand, exists primarily as a virtual entity, with users accessing recordings and interacting with the director online, often from overseas locations. The intended audience for the two archives is different as well: KUHDEA primarily serves an academic audience, while the main audience for C'H is the Ahtna community, though both archives are welcoming to users from academia, the speaker community, and the general public. In addition, the two archives differ in their policies for allowing access to materials: while both archives allow the depositor to stipulate how freely available materials are, KUHDEA allows fairly liberal access online to open materials, while C'H users are intended to visit the physical facility to listen to recordings, and copies are distributed on a much more restricted basis.

History and Purpose

KUHDEA was founded in 2008 as a response to two needs: first, the growing interest in new technologies to assist humanities researchers in discovering and accessing extant research, and second, a need to provide long-term care for language documentation materials collected by researchers at UHM.[8] The first depositors to KUHDEA were long-time UHM linguistics professors and field linguists with a history of fieldwork in the Pacific, including Robert Blust,[9] Derek Bickerton,[10] and Al Schütz.[11] The Department of Linguistics has a five-decade reputation for field-based language work in the Pacific and Asia, and over the last half-century UHM scholars had throughout their careers collected analog recordings on reel-to-reel and cassette. Prior to the digital revolution there was no inexpensive, local, and readily available facility for

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[4] http://www.language-archives.org/

[5] http://search.language-archives.org/index.html

[6] See, for example, Hale et al. 1992; Himmelmann 1998; Gippert et al. 2006.

[7] See, for instance, Boynton et al. 2006, 2010, as well as Electronic Metastructure for Endangered Languages Data (E-MELD).

[8] See Albarillo and Thieberger 2009 for a full description of the founding of KUHDEA.

[9] The Blust Collection can be accessed at http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/7735.

[10] The Bickerton Collection can be accessed at http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/4272.

[11] Other departments at UHM that have deposited materials in KUHDEA include Music, Anthropology, and the Charlene Sato Center for Pidgin, Creole, and Dialect Studies.

digitizing and storing the raw data upon which decades of published language descriptions and linguistic analyses had been based. Thus the founding director, Nick Thieberger, prioritized the digitization of these deteriorating materials and purchased for the archive a suite of digitization equipment including an analog-to-digital converter, a dual cassette deck, a turntable, DAT and minidisk players, a restored reel-to-reel player, monitoring headphones, and a desktop computer with audio-editing software. Thieberger is also a project manager at the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (http://paradisec.org.au) in Australia, upon which KUHDEA's digitization workflow, collection and access protocols, and metadata collection procedures are modeled.

Analog materials are digitized at the highest recommended standard for audio digitization (WAV format at 96kHz/24 bit) and stored in a dedicated collection on ScholarSpace,[12] the DSpace repository[13] of the University of Hawai'i Hamilton Library. The dedicated collection allows KUHDEA to collect custom metadata based on the recommendations of OLAC, and it provides an export to a static repository file for harvesting by the OLAC metadata harvester for publication on the web.

In the past few years KUHDEA has actively sought deposits from other researchers and projects associated with UH (for instance, the Hawaiian Sign Language documentation project [Lambrecht et al. 2013]), as well as from students in the graduate program in Language Documentation and Conservation in the Department of Linguistics. In fact, the careful preparation of archival materials from fieldwork and the regular deposit of those materials has become an integral part of the graduate curriculum.

While KUHDEA grew out of a need for an archive to serve a primarily academic community, C'H was built in response to community-based concerns over the protection and sense of ownership of an endangered heritage language. Since the early 1970s, the archiving of recorded and printed materials in and about Alaska's 20 indigenous languages has been primarily the responsibility of the Alaska Native Language Center and, later, the Alaska Native Language Archive (ANLA) at the University of Alaska Fairbanks.[14] However, after a series of village meetings, it became clear that local control of and access to Ahtna language materials was a high priority for members of the Ahtna community.

In 2009 the Ahtna Heritage Foundation stepped forward to assume responsibility for creating a local digital archive to digitize, store, and disseminate Ahtna language recordings. As AHF is a non-profit subsidiary of Ahtna, Incorporated, and is tasked with supporting and promoting Ahtna culture, language, and education, building and maintaining a local digital language archive is clearly in its purview.[15]

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[12] http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/

[13] http://www.dspace.org/

[14] See Berez et al. 2012 for a summary of the history of language archiving in Alaska, as well as a full description of the development of C'H.

[15] Ahtna, Inc., is the Alaska Native Regional Corporation serving the Ahtna region, established in 1971 under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act by the United States Congress. See http://www.ahtna-inc.com/ and http://ahtnaheritagefoundation.com/.

AHF applied for, and received, some US \$149,746 in grant monies from the Institute for Museum and Library Services, which offers programs for libraries run by federally recognized Native American Tribes.[16] The first step in the building of C'H was to bring together collections of Ahtna recordings from around the country and archive them according to current best practice standards. Tapes were collected from a wide range of sources. The ANLA recording collection of traditional and personal narratives, ecological knowledge, word lists, and research on Ahtna grammar was acquired. Also acquired were collections of recordings from various government and local projects (such as land use interviews in advance of building an Air Force radar facility and historical site interviews conducted under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act) and a wealth of tapes in the personal collection of Ahtna individuals (such as potlatch recordings, and so forth).

Once the collections were amassed, AHF purchased digitization equipment based on the suite used at KUHDEA, hired a small staff, and brought in a trainer—incidentally a then-student employee of KUHDEA at the University of Hawai'i—to instruct the staff in digitization procedures, metadata collection, and safe on- and off-site file back up. The catalog is currently a FileMaker Pro relational database that exports its metadata to the OLAC harvester, and files are redundantly backed up both on-site and on servers at the University of Alaska Fairbanks.

Contents and Audience

KUHDEA aims to serve a wide audience ranging from academics to language community members to the general public, although since it is a university-based archive, most of its users are probably academic researchers, including the depositors themselves who wish to access their own collections online. At the time of writing, KUHDEA contains 615 items in 11 collections spanning a geographic region that includes Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, southeast Asia, and China.

The exclusively linguistic content of KUHDEA is of interest to specialists and generalists in oral tradition.[17] Most of the items within KUHDEA are in indigenous languages of Asia and the Pacific, including Marshallese (Marshal Islands), Enga and Kuman (Papua New Guinea), Baba Malay (Singapore), Waima'a (Timor-Leste), Nyarong Minyag (China), and Thao (Taiwan), among others. The items themselves are personal and traditional narratives, conversation, poetry, oratory, and other genres of spontaneous language use. In addition, a great deal of metalinguistic knowledge such as lexical and grammatical information—of interest particularly to descriptive and theoretical linguists—is also recorded in KUHDEA.

Being curated by ScholarSpace has provided some interesting challenges for access. It is generally accepted among endangered language archives that endangered and minority language recordings can be considered to be more sensitive than other types of research data (see, for

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[16] http://www.imls.gov/applicants/institution.aspx

[17] However, since the first and only collection of Old Hawai'i Sign documentation is held in KUHDEA, it is perhaps better to say the archive is of interest to specialists in culturally-specific traditions of language use within many genres from many communities.

example, Conathan 2011; Nathan 2011). A recording may contain information that is secret or sacred, it may contain slanderous remarks, or it may contain personal information that is difficult to anonymize. Many dedicated endangered language repositories provide different levels of access to different users (such as the Endangered Language Archive at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, PARADISEC, and the Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America at the University of Texas), and a user may have to "prove" her affiliation with a tribe or status as a *bona fide* researcher before being allowed access to a recording. Digital libraries, on the other hand, are moving toward providing fully open access, especially for scientific data, and Hamilton Library at UHM has been among the first American university libraries to adopt an open-access policy.[18] This interest in completely open access could potentially pose a problem for a small language archive with special sensitivity needs but without funding to build its own digital infrastructure for custom access.

Fortunately, the administration at ScholarSpace has been extremely supportive of KUHDEA's efforts to make some collections closed to the general public, according to the wishes of the depositor. Currently, users must request access to closed collections from the director via email, who then contacts the depositor. In the future KUHDEA hopes to build in an automated system for handling graded access, but currently DSpace support is not robust. Fortunately, most collections that are not those of current and recent graduate students in the Department of Linguistics allow open online access to the public.

As for C'H, the Ahtna archive of course targets materials specifically relating to the Ahtna community. While a good deal of this material is in the Ahtna language, C'H is not exclusively a language archive, and it contains many English-language items of a historical and anthropological nature. Contributions from linguist Jim Kari, anthropologist Frederica de Laguna, and myself are probably the most linguistically-oriented items in the collection. As the focus of these is Ahtna-language narrative and metalinguistic knowledge, these are the items that are most of interest to oral tradition specialists. However, a great deal of other information (business meetings and interviews, for example) is held in C'H that is of interest to historians, ethnographers, geographers, and anthropologists, as well as to members of the Ahtna community and other Alaska Native or Native American communities.

Audience access is handled differently at C'H from how it is handled at KUHDEA. The majority of items in C'H are potentially sensitive legacy items, most recorded in the past without a clear documentation of informed consent. Access to these items is handled on a case-by-case basis with regard for the sensitivity of the information contained in the recordings: for some of these items, the C'H staff must contact the families of the speakers on the recordings to establish access rights, a process that can sometimes be troublesome (see Berez et al. 2012 for examples of such difficulties). In addition, potential users must currently visit the C'H facility in Alaska in person to listen to recordings, and they must also declare their affiliation as (a) members of the Ahtna community, (b) *bona fide* researchers with an established relationship to AHF, or (c) members of the general public. At the time of writing, no recordings may be removed from the premises, though the C'H staff is currently working to ease these hardships on potential users while at the same time protecting sensitive materials. Possible solutions include the building of

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[18] http://library.manoa.hawaii.edu/about/scholcom/oaatuhm.html

workstations in other locations within the Ahtna region to make recordings more accessible in other villages, as well as the establishment of a formal research agreement between AHF and any outside researcher wishing to work in the Ahtna region (Czaykowska-Higgins 2009; Cheecham and Wilhelm 2013). Similar problems face other indigenous language archives with a great deal of legacy material, and progress is necessarily slow.

Value for Oral Tradition Research

Currently, KUHDEA's highest value for oral tradition research is to its student depositors. The Department of Linguistics runs one of only a handful of graduate programs worldwide with a concentration in Language Documentation and Conservation (LD&C). Core courses in the LD&C program advocate the use of digital technologies to create long lasting records of language, and learning how to archive one's materials is a key component of the curriculum. Students are encouraged to deposit materials early in their careers rather than later.

At some point during their time in graduate school, most LD&C students will conduct several months of field-based research, which includes recording, transcribing, and translating oral language. These students usually go on to write descriptive or theoretical theses and dissertations, with examples of linguistic phenomena coming directly from field data they collect themselves. The students are encouraged to deposit recordings and transcriptions in KUHDEA either remotely during fieldwork or immediately upon their return to Honolulu, well before graduation or before the data is thoroughly analyzed. Not only does KUHDEA serve as a backup for the precious data upon which student research is based, but it also allows students to cite examples back to raw data via permanent handles. This ability ostensibly allows readers to check theoretical or structural claims, increasing falsifiability and improving the quality of scholarship in linguistics (see, for example, Himmelmann 2012). Students can of course elect to keep data in the archive private until some predetermined time, for example five years after publication of the dissertation.

C'H serves a rather different kind of research into oral history. Most of the users of C'H are members of the Ahtna community, interested in learning or reinforcing their knowledge of traditional Ahtna language and culture. As an example of how C'H can mobilize their collection to serve the local community, in August 2013 C'H held a weeklong "Breath of Life" workshop. Breath of Life workshops started in 1992 at the University of California, Berkeley, as a way to assist Native Americans with accessing linguistic materials about their languages that are held in archives at the university (see Hinton 2011). Other Breath of Life workshops have since followed (including a national Breath of Life at the National Anthropological Archives in Washington, DC, in 2013) and the model is usually the same: learners team up with linguist-mentors to learn to access published and unpublished materials in the archives.

At the Ahtna Breath of Life, eight learners joined five linguists and four Ahtna Elders to explore the digital collection, learn Ahtna grammar basics (parts of speech, nominal possession, person/number paradigms, and verb structure), and discuss related topics like self-motivation and language identity. Perhaps the most valuable skill gained by the participants was how to use the densely informational Ahtna dictionary (Kari 1990).

Oral literature materials in the archive played a central role in some of the final projects. As an example, one student who is an adult learner of Ahtna wanted to practice developing her transcription skills; that is, she wanted to learn to listen to a recording of spoken Ahtna and be able to at least write down what was being said, so that she could then take the transcription to an Ahtna-speaking elder for help with translating the passage into English. She selected from the archive a recording of a Raven Story told by the late Mildred Buck, a woman who recited the story slowly and clearly, and was known for her skills in Ahtna language teaching. The student, who is familiar with Ahtna orthography (although not an expert) learned to play the recording repeatedly in a piece of linguistic software called TranscriberAG[19] in order to write down what she heard the best she could. After several days and after checking her transcription with linguists and elders, she ended up with a reasonably accurate transcription. Not only could she then work on translating the recording, but she now has much more confidence in her ability to transcribe more of the untranscribed recordings in the archive. A second Breath of Life workshop took place in late 2013.

Summary

KUHDEA and C'H represent two smaller language archives that serve audiences interested in preserving and mobilizing digital records of oral tradition, albeit in two very different realms. While the former is based in a university and serves a mostly academic audience, and the latter is administered by an Alaska Native community primarily to provide access to the Ahtna people, both work within current best practice standards for endangered language digitization, preservation, and access.

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The Sirat Bani Hilal Digital Archive

Dwight F. Reynolds

The primary purpose of the *Sirat Bani Hilal Digital Archive* (http://www.siratbanihilal.ucsb.edu) is to preserve and make accessible online, to both scholars and the general public, materials related to the Arabic oral epic tradition of *Sirat Bani Hilal* (the epic of the Bani Hilal Bedouin tribe). The archive was created with the assistance of a yearlong "Digital Innovation" grant from the American Council of Learned Societies (2008-09) and is now a permanent collection in the holdings of the Davidson Research Library at the University of California, Santa Barbara. The core of the archive is a body of audio recordings, photographs, and field notes from research conducted by Dwight F. Reynolds (Professor, Arabic Language and Literature, UCSB) in Egypt in 1982-83, 1986-87, 1988, 1993, and 1995.[1]

The archive features a historical introduction to the Bani Hilal oral epic tradition, a collection of audio recordings of live performances of the epic, Arabic-language transcriptions of those performances, English translations of the texts, a photo gallery featuring images of both the epic singers and the village of al-Bakatush in Northern Egypt where the recordings were made, a bibliography of printed sources, a listing of online resources relevant to the oral epic, selections from Reynolds' original field notes, and a special section termed "Virtual Performances." This last section is devoted to half-hour segments of epic performances where the listener/viewer can listen to the original audio recording while reading onscreen a synchronized Arabic transcription and English translation of the text that appears verse by verse and includes all of the comments and reactions of the audience members. This format allows the listener/viewer to experience an epic performance in real time—thereby getting a feel for the pace of the story as it unfolds line by line—and also allows one to hear and understand the audience's reactions and the poet's responses so that the interactive nature of epic performances in this tradition is encountered first-hand.

The archive is designed to be of use to scholars and students of epic poetry and oral tradition, as well as those interested in Egypt and the broader Arab world. Perhaps more significant than providing materials for Westerners, however, is the fact that this site now offers Egyptians and Arabic speakers around the world direct access to recordings and texts from a tradition that is rapidly disappearing but still significant as an element of Egyptian and Arab identity. The poets featured on this site are now deceased, so it is particularly satisfying to think

that their children, grandchildren, friends, and neighbors are still able to listen to and appreciate the artistry of these remarkable men who spent their childhoods learning the epic from their fathers and grandfathers in the early- to mid-twentieth century.

The audio recordings featured in the archive were originally recorded on chromium (IV) oxide cassette tapes using a Sony Walkman Professional WM-D6C with both unidirectional and stereo microphones. Each recording has been re-edited before being uploaded to the archive in order to eliminate major auditory disturbances, ameliorate sound quality as much as possible, and equalize volume throughout. The use of cassette tapes and batteries (since there was no reliable source of electricity in the village in the 1980s) means that there are breaks every 30 minutes. The audio recordings are still organized and numbered according to their original archive (that is, tape) number, and every break is indicated in the Arabic transcriptions and English translations. Though the poets were often aware of the break and would repeat a verse so that there was no break in the flow of the text, occasionally a verse or two was lost. In such cases, the lacuna has been marked, and in some places footnotes that summarize the lost material have been provided.

All features of the website can be commented on by visitors, and suggestions regarding revisions or corrections of the Arabic and English texts are particularly appreciated. Improvements and changes in both the transcriptions and translations are meant to be an ongoing process so that the resulting texts are at least partially the result of "crowd-sourcing."

Copies of all primary material that appears in the archive (that is, the digitalized audio recordings, texts, photos, and so forth) are housed in the permanent collection of the Davidson Research Library at UCSB under an agreement that provides a commitment to migrate these materials forward to new technologies as necessary in the future. The current website was originally designed in 2008—already a generation or two ago in technical terms—and was created using Drupal, an open-source content management platform. All materials in the digital archive are available for downloading and use at no charge and are copyrighted under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial 2.5 License (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/2.5/). Detailed information about use, copyright, and the proper form of citations and acknowledgements is provided on the site via the "Copyrights & Permissions" link. At this time only a partial Arabic version of the site is available by clicking the block marked "Arabic" in the upper right-hand corner of the main webpage.

Historical Background to *Sirat Bani Hilal*

This lengthy narrative tradition has its roots in events that took place in the tenth to twelfth centuries, accounts of which have been preserved in oral tradition in both poetry and prose in many different regions of the Arab world. The Bani Hilal Bedouin tribe originally lived in the Najd region of the Arabian Peninsula, but in the tenth century—for reasons that are not entirely clear today—the tribe embarked on a great "Westward Journey" that led them across Egypt and Libya to the part of North Africa that now encompasses modern Tunisia and Algeria. They conquered this area and ruled it for one century, but were then defeated by armies of the Moroccan Almohad dynasty in the twelfth century in two cataclysmic battles. After these defeats,

the Bani Hilal tribe fragmented and disappeared from history as a coherent social unit. Small numbers of survivors, however, dispersed in various directions across the Sahara, so that even today there are groups claiming descent from the Bani Hilal in various locations in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Sudan, Chad, and Mauretania.[2]

These survivors apparently carried with them the tales and poems of their tribe, because the story of the Bani Hilal eventually became known throughout the Arab world. In the fourteenth century, the great social philosopher and historian Ibn Khaldun wrote down selections of these stories and verses that he heard from Bedouin Arabs outside the walls of the city of Tunis. In the eighteenth century, an anonymous North African scribe transcribed several thousand pages of the versified tale of the Bani Hilal from an unknown storyteller-poet; these manuscripts are now part of the collection of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. In the nineteenth century numerous western travelers and ethnographers reported witnessing performances in different regions of the Arab world, sometimes writing out summaries or short passages of what they heard. At the same time, cheap "yellow book" (so called in Arabic because of the cheap yellow paper used) or "chapbook" versions of stories from the Bani Hilal epic began to be printed in Cairo; these versions, however, were much shorter than the oral versions of the same tales and were couched in a somewhat stilted form of classical Arabic that was not the linguistic register used by epic singers in their public performances. Finally, with the advent of cassette recordings in the 1970s, versions of the epic began to circulate on inexpensive tapes, and a popular radio show in Egypt began to broadcast recordings of the Bani Hilal epic, bringing what had by then become a primarily rural tradition to new urban audiences.

Although tales of the Bani Hilal are recounted in many regions of the Arab world in prose (at times punctuated with short passages of verse), in the past century or so the only musical versified performance tradition of this oral epic tradition has been found in Egypt. Within Egypt, there are two distinct regional traditions: in Southern Egypt the epic is sung in a multi-rhymed quatrain (*murabba'*) form, while in the North it is sung in a mono-end-rhymed "ode" (*qaṣīda*) form. Most of the recordings featured in the archive were made in the village of al-Bakatush in the Nile Delta of northern Egypt. These singers were all from professional, hereditary families of epic singers in which every male was trained from about age five to fifteen in the art of performing the Bani Hilal epic in verse while accompanying themselves on the Egyptian two-string "spike fiddle" (*rabāb*). The preserved performances are primarily from small evening gatherings in private homes with audiences of between a half dozen to two dozen men sitting in the same room as the poet and an unknown number of women seated in the next room listening through a partially opened door or curtain. With the expansion of the public school system in the 1960s during the presidency of Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir (= Nasser), however, the tradition began a precipitous decline. Boys who were in school learning to read and write could not also be at home undergoing the lengthy and time-consuming process of learning to sing the epic, and the epic, in any case, had lost much of its popularity in face of the spread of radios and television. The poets represented here were almost all proud of the fact that their sons were learning to read and write and would not be carrying on the tradition of singing the epic. This sentiment was in

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[2] For a more detailed account of the history of the Bani Hilal tribe and a comparison with how the epic treats these events, see Reynolds 2010.

part because the occupation of professional epic singing is marked in this region as belonging to "Gypsies" (though not Roma "gypsies" as in Europe) and is not a respected livelihood, whereas the now-literate sons could move into a variety of professions that were of much higher social status. Many of the recordings that form the core of the collection of this digital archive are the only recordings ever made from these particular epic singers, most of whom were already in their sixties and seventies at the time of those performances.

Specific Qualities of this Collection of Interest to Researchers

The *Sirat Bani Hilal Digital Archive* houses materials that will be of obvious interest to scholars of oral epic traditions and to scholars of Egypt and the Arab world. It also constitutes a significant corpus of Egyptian colloquial Arabic materials that should be useful for scholars of linguistics, though, as I have argued elsewhere, the register used in the epic is not that of day-to-day conversation, but rather a form of "artistic colloquial."[3] Two other aspects of this collection may be of particular interest to scholars of performance studies. First, the initial four hours of performance have been transcribed and translated with all of the audience's reactions and comments so that one can—from either the written or audio versions—fully understand and analyze the interactive nature of the epic performance. Second, in order to provide a detailed account of the social aspects of each of the 72 performances, selections from Reynolds' original field notes are posted in a separate section of the archive. By correlating the date of a specific recording or text with that same date in the field notes, scholars will therefore be able to read a description of the performance written almost immediately afterward, as well as initial reactions to various social aspects of the event, including what happened during the tea breaks and pauses, during which (at the request of the poet and audience members) the tape recorder was normally turned off. For the general public, the archive offers English translations of several episodes (eventually translations of all episodes will be posted) from this masterpiece of Arabic oral tradition, a work easily comparable in complexity to the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid*, the King Arthur cycles, the *Niebelungenlied*, and other works of a similar nature.

The bibliography at the end of this article lists published materials relating directly to the content of this digital archive, but the archive itself includes an extensive bibliography (http://www.siratbanihilal.ucsb.edu/bibliography-0) covering the work of other scholars and other regional performance traditions of the Bani Hilal epic. In addition, a guide to online resources (http://www.siratbanihilal.ucsb.edu/resources) includes links to other collections, videos, recordings, and related materials.

A Brief Case Study

One of the most interesting aspects of the *Sirat Bani Hilal* tradition is the role played by audience responses and the resulting interaction between listeners and the performing poet. An

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[3] For a more detailed discussion of the linguistic register of the epic, see Reynolds 1995a.

evening performance typically consists primarily of epic singing, but there are several smaller genres that are performed as well. A *madīḥ*, or praise poem to the Prophet Muhammad, usually opens the evening's event; this poem immediately involves the audience members directly in the performance, for there are traditional religious phrases that are said by all present at, for example, the mention of the Prophet: *ṣallā Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam* ("May God bless and preserve him!"). A number of other religious phrases ("God is Great! God is One! May God be pleased with him! There is no god but God!") are also intoned in response to mentions of the names of other prophets and in response to specific cues in the performances, such as "Assert the Oneness of God!" Very often, at the conclusion of the praise poem, the singer will insert a short *mawwāl*, a lyric poem that typically deals with the vicissitudes of Fate and is marked by puns and word-play at the end of each verse. The entire tenor of the event suddenly shifts during the singing of these brief poems because the audience withholds all response until the end so that they can pay careful attention to the embedded word-play. In addition, if the singer has a nice voice or is able to add ornate melismatic musical phrases, this is his opportunity to do so. Only at the conclusion of the *mawwāl* will audience members voice their approval with phrases such as "Allah! Allah!" or "*Yā 'aynī*!" ("Oh my eye!" = "that was beautiful").

A third type of interaction and response from the audience is found during the singing of the epic itself. Here there is typically a steady rhythm of occasional phrases called out to indicate that the audience is still paying attention and is engaged with the story. These responses include exclamations of surprise, phrases cheering on the heroes, remarks expressing disapproval of certain actions by characters within the story, requests that God preserve those present from the horrors described in the tale, and even a certain amount of foreshadowing when audience members anticipate what is about to happen and shout out who is about to arrive or who a particular character is just as their disguise is being removed, and so forth. When audiences fall completely silent during performances of the epic, it is usually an indication that a particular scene is going on too long (a battle scene, for example); this silence can therefore motivate a poet to summarize this section of the story quickly and move on to the next scene or, at times, to continue with the scene but change the tone by inserting humorous lines or even remarks aimed at specific members of the audience, weaving the present into the past.

A sample of this interactive element of epic performance can be had by watching the archive's "Virtual Performance" segments and/or by reading the English translation of the first four hours of the epic as sung by Shaykh Taha Abu Zayd, in which nearly all of the audience's comments have been included. Even from the written text it is easy to sense the growing anticipation of certain climactic moments because the pace of the audience's interjections picks up until the poet is scarcely able to sing more than a few words at a time without someone calling out a remark. In the space of the five verses from verse 100 to verse 104 in the "Birth of Abu Zayd—Part One," for example, there are eight comments shouted out by audience members, the poet responds to one of those comments with a comment of his own, and one member takes out several cigarettes and places them before the poet (an action also noted in the text). In this very well-known scene, the appearance of a large, fierce, black bird presages the birth of the hero Abu Zayd, who is born black because his mother wishes for a son on this bird-omen, and who later grows up to be the greatest hero of the Bani Hilal tribe. The audience knows the story and understands that this is a critical moment in the epic tale: Abu Zayd will be born black and his

mother, Khadra, will therefore be accused of adultery and expelled from the tribe, setting in motion one of the main story lines of the epic.

This type of audience-performance interaction is found in nearly all performances of Sirat Bani Hilal as sung by the poets of al-Bakatush. This particular passage is found in Shaykh Taha Abu Zayd's rendition of "Episode One: The Birth of Abu Zayd (Part 1)," beginning on page 11 (http://www.siratbanihilal.ucsb.edu/episode-one-birth-abu-zayd-part-1).

Suddenly a dark bird from the distance came to them,   100

[Laughter—Voice: This is Abu Zayd!]

A dark bird . . .
                              [Voice: Yes!]

. . . frightful to behold!

[Voice: Heavens!]

He beat his wings at the other birds,
    And each one he struck did not [live to] smell his supper!

Said Khadra, . . .
                              [Voice: Yes!]

. . . "O how beautiful you are, O bird, and how beautiful your darkness!

[Voice: Allah!]

Like the palm-date when it ripens to perfection.

O Lord, O All-Merciful, O One, O Everlasting,

[Voice: May God be generous to you!]
[Shaykh Taha: May God reward you!]

Glory be to God, Veiled in His Heaven!

[Audience member places cigarettes in front of the Poet]

[Shaykh Taha: May you always have plenty! May you always have plenty, we wish you!]

Grant unto me a son, like unto this bird,
    And may each one he strikes with his sword not [live to] smell his supper!"

[Voice: My heavens!]
[Voice shouting: That's Abu Zayd!]

Future Plans

The main work at the moment is to continue the editing and uploading of the Arabic texts and English translations. This is a painstaking task that involves comparing the newly typed texts with the hand-written original drafts with the audio-recordings. Although every effort is being made to standardize the translation of the recurring words and phrases so that the formulaic nature of the epic language is clear even from the translations, this has not always been possible. As described above, the Arabic and English texts are constantly being revised in light of comments and suggestions made by readers and scholars. Eventually, the entire website platform will need to be reevaluated in terms of new advances in technology, but that, we hope, is still a number of years in the future.

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Medieval Storytelling and Analogous Oral Traditions Today: Two Digital Databases

Evelyn Birge Vitz and Marilyn Lawrence

We are pleased to present two open-access digital databases of video clips from performances of medieval narratives and analogous living oral storytelling traditions: *Performing Medieval Narrative Today: A Video Showcase* (http://www.nyu.edu/pmnt, [*PMNT*]) and *Arthurian Legend in Performance* (https://vimeo.com/ArthurPerform, [*ALP*]).

While in the process of editing, along with our colleague Nancy Freeman Regalado, a book entitled *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Vitz et al. 2005), we came up against a challenge: to most people, including many academics, it was simply inconceivable that the narrative literature of the medieval past had been performed. The underlying thinking, at least among scholars in modern literature departments, was that such works survive as books, and that books are to be read—silently. People were of course aware of references to performance within medieval texts, but these references did not seem believable or, more precisely, such performances were not imaginable. Most people had never seen narrative works from the Middle Ages performed and had trouble understanding how they could be performed. Their primary experience with live storytelling was typically the type of bookish entertainment provided for children in public libraries and independent bookshops. Storytelling in the West has been largely infantilized in the past century, making it difficult for many people to understand how adults of any level of sophistication might in the past have enjoyed watching and listening to the performance of narrative—in other words, storytelling.

To help people conceptualize ways in which narratives might have been performed in the Middle Ages, and to experiment with various new ways medieval narratives might be performed for audiences today, we began work on our website *Performing Medieval Narrative Today: A Video Showcase*. We created the pilot version of *PMNT* with a team from the Digital Studio of New York University Libraries, with Jennifer Vinopal as Project Manager.[1] Launched in 2004, the website was hacked in 2011. When forced to shut down *PMNT*, we migrated the contents and rebuilt the site with the generous support of Vinopal and the team at NYU's Digital Studio. Benefiting from technological advancements, the new *PMNT*, launched in 2012 at http://www.nyu.edu/pmnt, allows for broader and easier searching of its contents, and, unlike our original site, can be accessed from smartphones and other mobile devices.

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[1] See further Lawrence and Vinopal 2005.

Fig. 1. The home page of *Performing Medieval Narrative Today: A Video Showcas*e (http://www.nyu.edu/pmnt).

PMNT currently offers over 225 video clips of performed scenes selected from medieval narratives, as well as relevant general resource tools, including a bibliography, videography, and tips for using the site in teaching.[2] The website includes the work of a wide range of authors from the Early and High Middle Ages, but also, when relevant, from antiquity, the Renaissance, and the modern era. Many genres (allegories, ballads, epics, fables, fabliaux, hagiographies, *lais*, romances, satires, songs, and tales) are represented, pulling from a wealth of myths, legends, and stories (Anglo-Saxon, Arthurian, Biblical, Buddhist, Celtic, Christian, Classical, Germanic,

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[2] On using the *PMNT* and *ALP* digital databases in teaching at middle school, high school, undergraduate, and graduate levels, see the special journal issue (Vitz and Lawrence 2012c) of *The Once and Future Classroom: Resources for Teaching the Middle Ages in Grades K-12* that The Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages dedicated to both *PMNT* and *ALP* websites, including our introductory article (Vitz and Lawrence 2012b).

Islamic, Jewish) as well as popular tales (of Charlemagne and Roland, Renart the Fox, Robin Hood, Tristan, and others).[3]

Oral and written traditions tend not to be discrete or autonomous—tradition is often a two-way street—and the majority of medieval "oral" works we possess today are indeed preserved in writing. Our website therefore does not focus exclusively on works from oral tradition. We emphasize medieval works that invited—and still invite—performance approaches other than silent reading. Performances represented on the site range from simple, solo storytelling to more theatrical staging by ensembles. Clips might include singing, puppets, props, sets, costumes, dance, or instrumental music—or just a single performer reciting a scene from a story. Users can view performances in a number of languages: Egyptian Arabic, Medieval Latin, Old French, Middle High German, Hebrew, Italian (Renaissance and Modern), Renaissance Croatian, Karakalpak, Norn, and Turkish, as well as English (Old, Middle, and Modern, plus Lowland Scots).

We have been fortunate to involve in the project a number of international professional performers of narrative working today, including Benjamin Bagby, Katarina Livljanic, Paolo Panaro, and Linda Mare Zaerr. In addition, many clips come from the work of students in Vitz's undergraduate course Acting Medieval Literature, which she has taught at New York University yearly for over a decade.[4] This course, in which students perform from all works on the syllabus, attracts students from various drama studios in NYU's Tisch School of the Arts, as well as students in NYU's College of Arts and Science. The work of such talented young performers brightens and broadens the offerings on the website, representing the creativity of a new generation of storytellers.

PMNT also contains rare and valuable footage of ancient and medieval material still being performed today by professional performers who have inherited centuries of living oral traditions. The clips, contributed from scholars around the world, provide evidence of the continuation today of storytelling traditions analogous to those of the medieval period. We include such clips on the website in order to shed light on how narratives might been performed in the Middle Ages, although they may be of interest to scholars of oral traditions for other reasons as well. We hope to be able to locate other such valuable clips, and we welcome suggestions and contributions.

One such clip (http://mednar.org/2012/06/17/edige-scene-from-turkic-epic/) shows Jumabay Bazarov (1927-2006), a *jyrau* (professional performer of oral epic) in Karakalpakistan, Uzbekistan, performing part of the Turkic *Edige*, a medieval heroic epic about the Golden Horde.[5] Filmed in 1993 by *PMNT* Advisory Board member Karl Reichl, the clip provides a concrete example of how a type of traditional epic was in the past, and still is today, performed in one part of the world. Here the *jyrau* sings and tells his story in Karakalpak, a Turkic language, accompanying himself on an archaic fiddle called the *kobyz*. Full of fanciful elements, yet with

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[3] For more details on the contents and navigation of *PMNT* and *ALP*, see Vitz and Lawrence 2012a.

[4] See further Vitz 2005.

[5] See further Reichl 2000, 2007. For information on oral tradition in regard to medieval literature more generally, see Reichl 2012.

some basis in fourteenth-century historical reality, *Edige* was a popular story known to have circulated for centuries in several versions. In the clip the *jyrau* recounts how the wife of the khan of the Golden Horde warns her husband to kill Edige before he can seize the throne. For the clip—as for all clips on the site—*PMNT* gives basic, fundamental information, including a brief description of the scene performed, the narrative and its genre, the performer, and—if the work has been recorded in writing—the edition. Where applicable, a translation of the narrative is also provided.

The Performance | The Work

Performance Descriptors:
Instruments; Performers, Solo; Song
Instruments:
Chordophones
Performer Category:
Professional Performer
Performer(s) / Ensemble(s):
Bazarov, Jumabay
Language(s) of Performance:
Karakalpak
Setting:
Public Performance Setting
Geographical Location:
Uzbekistan

Work Title:
Edige
Author:
Anonymous
Genre:
Epic
Subject:
Other
Period:

Language:
Karakalpak

▶ 00:00   🔊 📍   HD Off ▲   ⤢

Viewing our videos requires the free Adobe Flash player.
(No need for Flash on mobile devices.)

About the scene and clip:
The performer, called a jyrau, sings and tells a scene from the epic *Edige*, accompanying himself on the kobyz, an archaic fiddle. In this scene, the khan of the Golden Horde is warned by his wife to kill Edige before he can seize the khan's throne.

We include this remarkable clip of a contemporary performance of epic as part of our exploration of analogous traditions: it sheds light on how medieval epics may have been performed.

About the work:
Edige is a medieval heroic epic about the Golden Horde, composed in Karakalpak, a Turkic language. It sings of Edige—his magical birth (his mother was a river fairy), his struggles at the court of the khan, his marriage to the daughter of Tamerlane (Sätemir), his battles, and his death. This epic has some basis in 14th-century historical reality despite its many fanciful features. Numerous versions of the epic are known to have existed.

About the genre:
The epic is an ancient genre and is found in almost every culture. It is a long heroic narrative which tells of war and great deeds. Epics are generally composed in verse, and sung from memory or improvised in performance by professional performers with instrumental accompaniment. These narratives are created from traditional elements, commonly without recourse to writing, by poets whose names are often unknown to us. Among the famous traditional epics are the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, attributed to Homer; the Anglo-Saxon *Beowulf*; and the Old French *Song of Roland*. Many known poets adopt epic forms and themes for their literary verse (such as Virgil in his *Aeneid*).

About the edition/translation:
Edige: A Karakalpak Oral Epic as Performed by Jumabay Bazarov, ed. and trans. Karl Reichl, Helsinki, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, FF Communications 293, 2007.

About the performer/ensemble:
Jumabay Bazarov (1927-2006) was a jyrau—a professional performer of oral epic—in Karakalpakistan in Uzbekistan. For further information on this performer, see Karl Reichl, *Singing the Past: Turkic and Medieval Heroic Poetry*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2000, pp. 37-9.

About the production:
This video was filmed in Uzbekistan in September 1993 by Karl Reichl of the Advisory Board of this website. We are grateful to him for making this video available to us.

Fig. 2. The *jyrau* Jumabay Bazarov performs the Turkic *Edige* in Karakalpakistan, Uzbekistan (http://mednar.org/2012/06/17/edige-scene-from-turkic-epic/).

Another example of living oral storytelling on the website is the performance of an epic from the Egyptian Hilali tribe about the hero Abu Zayd, who rescues the royal family of Iraq from oppressors (http://mednar.org/2012/06/13/hilali-epic-awadallah-sings-of-abu-zayd/).

Fig. 3. Awadallah Abd aj-Jalil Ali performs the Egyptian Hilali epic *Abu Zayd* in Aswan, Egypt (http://mednar.org/ 2012/06/13/hilali-epic-awadallah-sings-of-abu-zayd/).

Recorded in 1983 by ethnographer Susan Slyomovics, the clip shows Awadallah Abd aj-Jalil Ali, a professional performer in Aswan, Egypt, singing the epic while accompanying himself on a drum, emphasizing wordplay and punning over character impersonation in his performance.[6] Interacting frequently with his largely-male audience, Awadallah starts his performance in the town square and then moves his audience into his own house. *Abu Zayd* originated in the eighth

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[6] The video accompanies Slyomovics 1987.

and ninth centuries, when the Bani Hilal tribe of Bedouin Arabs moved out of the Arabian Peninsula to settle eventually in Egypt, and grew and developed into a vast epic that is still performed in cafes and marketplaces by professional storytellers such as Awadallah.

Also of potential interest to scholars of oral storytelling traditions are performances of the anonymous Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf* (which may date from as early as the seventh century) by Paris-based American vocalist and medievalist Benjamin Bagby, a member of the Advisory Board of *PMNT* and director of the medieval music ensemble Sequentia, which he founded in 1977 with the late Barbara Thornton. Performing in Old English, Bagby bases his performance

Fig. 4. Benjamin Bagby performs the Anglo-Saxon epic *Beowulf* in Helsingborg, Sweden (http://mednar.org/2012/06/15/beowulf-beowulf-fights-grendel/).

choices on our understanding of medieval musical practice and theory. Bagby exploits multiple facets of voice (singing, speaking, heightened speech, unusual sounds) and accompanies himself on a six-stringed harp (with strings of equal length, often called a lyre today) tuned in the mode of the epic to produce a collection of modal gestures that he uses at various moments and in various ways to help convey his story (to denote passage of time, introduce new characters, change scenes, and so on).[7] Through the work of performers such as Bagby, medieval oral storytelling traditions that at some point perished are now resurrected for today's audiences in new performances in a traditional vein, informed by our understanding of medieval performance practices.

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[7] See further Bagby 2005.

Fig. 5. Benjamin Bagby performs the Anglo-Saxon epic Beowulf in New York (http://mednar.org/2012/02/13/beowulf/).

The website does not distinguish between re-created and living performances, except to the extent that there is a distinction between student and professional performers (the latter being somewhat more apt to represent living traditions in the narrow sense of the term). This lack of distinction results from our primary goal: to present all of these narratives as still alive—as still inviting performance. Our approach also reflects the perspective that even living traditions have unquestionably evolved over time and have not remained fixed or fossilized in their performance styles.

Arthurian Legend in Performance, launched in 2011 at https://vimeo.com/ArthurPerform, was born of the same desire to make performances of medieval narratives accessible to the public, but it has a purpose slightly different from that of *PMNT*. Whereas *PMNT* seeks to build a broad collection of varied subject matter, *ALP* concentrates exclusively on Arthurian legend, which is widely taught and studied in secondary schools, college courses, and graduate programs. *ALP* serves as a focused resource specifically for teachers and students of Arthurian material. Moreover, the continued development of *ALP* involves our active creation and production of new performances, whenever possible in the work's original language and, where appropriate, with suitable musical accompaniment. Thus, our work on *ALP* involves the larger project of recruiting talented performers capable of performing medieval narratives in original medieval languages and producing those performances in high-quality video.[8] The Vimeo format

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[8] The *ALP* project is made possible in part thanks to funding from TEAMS: The Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages.

of *ALP* emphasizes video over text; *ALP* therefore includes less metadata than *PMNT*. *ALP* limits textual information to a concise, basic minimum, thus foregrounding the videos themselves.

Fig. 6. The homepage of the website *Arthurian Legend in Performance* (https://vimeo.com/ArthurPerform).

ALP offers performances of scenes from a range of Arthurian works found on many course syllabi, whether primarily Arthurian or featuring Arthurian passages or characters, including Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, *Culhwch and Olwen*, Chrétien de Troyes's *Perceval*, Marie de France's *Lai de Lanval*, Canto V of Dante's *Inferno*, Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *The Weddynge of Sir Gawen and Dame Ragnell*, and Malory's *Morte Darthur*. *ALP* also presents to the public lesser known Arthurian works in Byzantine Greek, Medieval Welsh, and Hebrew. Clips such as that from the *Welsh Triads*, performed by Celticist Matthieu Boyd, can be of particular interest to scholars of oral traditions.

Fig. 7. Matthieu Boyd performs the *Welsh Triads* in New York (http://vimeo.com/45391853).

Boyd's performance (http://vimeo.com/45391853)—executed partly in Medieval Welsh and partly in Modern English in order to enable the audience to experience the original language while also maintaining comprehensibility—highlights the powerfully mnemonic construction of the *Welsh Triads* (for example, everything worth remembering is set into a list of three items, and the lists exist in multiple versions). The fundamental oral features of the *Welsh Triads* and of other medieval stories captured in clips in *ALP* resemble those of many works flowing from oral traditions around the world.

We continue to expand the offerings of *PMNT* and *ALP*, and we welcome suggestions for additions to the collections as well as ideas for collaboration with scholars, performers, teachers, and directors of other digital archival sites. We seek out living oral traditions relevant to medieval storytelling, nurture new performances of medieval material in a traditional manner, and also foster fresh approaches to the performance of traditional medieval narratives. By capturing such performances digitally and offering the clips on our two open-access websites, we aim to share examples of medieval storytelling that are still alive and to promote the creation of

performances of medieval narrative by a new generation of storytellers. Knowing that centuries-old storytelling traditions hold an intimate and powerful place in the heart of communities around the world, we use digital technology to offer access to such performances to a broad, global public in the international village square of the Internet.

New York University

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Estonian Folklore Archives

Risto Järv

The Estonian Folklore Archives was established as the central folklore archives of Estonia in 1927.[1] The original collections of the archives were built upon manuscript reports and accounts of Estonian folklore, consisting of over 115,000 pages of material contributed primarily by the noted Estonian folklore collector Jakob Hurt (1939-1907) and his more than 1,400 informants in the late nineteenth century. Today the Estonian Folklore Archives holds nearly 1.5 million manuscript pages as well as a collection of photographs, videos, and audio recordings.

After the death of Jakob Hurt in 1906, the tomes of manuscripts collected and systematized by him were transferred to the repository of the Finnish Literature Society (*Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura*) in Finland. One reason for the move was the lack of appropriate preservation conditions for such valuable material in Estonia; another was the Finnish folklore researcher Kaarle Krohn's long-term interest in the materials. Following this transfer, a large-scale copying of Hurt's collections was initiated in Finland (see further Järvinen 2008:57-58). Negotiations about the return of the collections were started in 1924 with an aim of establishing folklore archives in Estonia. Folklorist Oskar Loorits (1900-1961) was largely the brain behind the idea, and he was assigned the task of managing the retransfer of the collections. The central archives were to be established on the example of the Finnish Literature Society in Finland and were directly inspired by the establishment of the Latvian Folklore Archives in 1924 as the first of its kind in the Baltic region. Following lengthy discussions about which institution would control the central archives, the collections were successfully retransferred to Estonia in 1927. The archives started operations at the beginning of September, but on September 24, 1927, at the first meeting of the governing committee, the Estonian Folklore Archives was officially established as an independent institution under the Estonian National Museum.

The archives were housed in 1927 at a former residence on Aia (now Vanemuise) Street in Tartu. The Archival Library of the Estonian National Museum, which had been established in 1909 and originally intended as an Estonian national library, was also brought there at that time. Two years later in 1929 the Estonian Cultural History Archives was founded in the same building.

The main objective of the newly-founded archives was to bring previously existing folklore collections together into one place in order to facilitate research, to organize extensive fieldwork throughout Estonia, and to begin broad research on the folklore collected. Institution-initiated collecting of folklore in Estonia was started in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, resulting in a total of over 8,000 pages housed in the collection of the Learned Estonian Society and in the folklore collection of the Estländische Literärische Gesellschaft literary union, both located in Tallinn. These collections were incorporated into the Estonian Folklore Archives, as were many others (for instance, Hurt's collection and the Estonian Students' Society's Collection), including the voluminous collection of the folklorist Matthias Johann Eisen (1857-1934) from the University of Tartu.

Archival Work

The archives' primary purpose has always been to make the manuscript materials as easily available to researchers as possible. Thus, on the initiative of Oskar Loorits, who was at that time head of the archives, an appropriate system of registers and card files was developed to enable researchers to find and gain access to every single folklore piece in the handwritten volumes. In order to preserve the volumes for the sake of better analysis, copies of folklore texts were typed and organized in folders, and shorter texts were copied and organized into thematic card files. Folklore material was also copied from the collections of other institutions, where it was sometimes found among other material (for example, language corpora).

Ever since the founding of the archives, special emphasis has been placed on the idea that the archives' workers must be involved not only in facilitating access to the materials but also in researching the material from one perspective or another. Oskar Loorits focused on Livonian folklore and particularly on Livonian religion, Herbert Tampere explored folk songs and tunes, and Rudolf Põldmäe studied folk dance. Paul Ariste investigated the folklore of other ethnic groups in Estonia, Erna Normann studied riddles and legends, and Professor Walter Anderson from the University of Tartu explored children's songs.

To ensure the growth of new collections, folkloric field expeditions were carried out in the 1930s within regions where little folklore material had previously been collected. In addition to the work of the archives' employees, special stipend support also led to an increase in the collections but, just as when Jakob Hurt organized such folklore collection, the majority of contributions were still sent in by voluntary correspondents. For this specific reason several larger campaigns for collecting folklore were organized: for collecting bugbears (1932/1933), folk games (1934/1935), and local legends (1938/1939) (see Hiemäe 1996:245-47). From the very beginning considerable attention was paid to written lore—the collection of song books, memory albums, "oracles" (notebooks containing prophecies), and so forth was undertaken. Next to the collections of Estonian material, the folklore collections of other ethnic groups, especially minorities in Estonia (Russian, German, Swedish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Jewish, and so on), were established.

After the Russian occupation in 1940, the Folklore Archives, Cultural History Archives, and Archival Library were segregated from the Estonian National Museum, and the State

Literary Museum was established as an independent institution. The Estonian Folklore Archives was derogated as the Department of Folklore of the State Literary Museum. Wide activity as a main folklore archive continued despite the folklore collections in the archives being checked and censored, as also happened elsewhere in Estonia's memory institutions at this time (see, for example, Kulasalu 2013). Separate fieldwork collections were established at the Department of Literature and Folklore at the University of Tartu and the Tallinn Institute of Language and Literature of the Estonian Academy of Sciences. Later, after Estonian re-independence and institutional reorganization of the Estonian Folklore Archives, these collections were incorporated into the Estonian Folklore Archives as well. Thus, by the year 2000, all of the larger folklore collections formerly held by different institutions had been concentrated within the Folklore Archives.

While its name suggests it might act primarily as a museum, the Estonian Literary Museum is mainly a research institution—its exposition is very limited and the institution's main objective is to provide researchers with access to the archival material and to prepare archive-based academic and source publications. The advantage of this system is that the Folklore Archives has the research competence for this type of work, which is highly useful for analyzing or interpreting different folklore genres or phenomena—thus reducing the danger of having usable databases without the capability to analyze the material. As a scientific collection, the archived material is primarily intended for researchers and (degree) students in the field of folklore studies—in Tartu these include, in addition to the researchers of the Estonian Folklore Archives, folklorists from the Department of Folkloristics at the Estonian Literary Museum and employees and students of the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore at the University of Tartu.

The archives' employees offer assistance and consultations to ethnologists, cultural anthropologists, and researchers of other disciplines in Estonia and elsewhere in the world. In addition to such researchers, the target user group of the archives could consist more generally of everyone interested in Estonian folklore: folk musicians in search of traditional song material for musical arrangements, people interested in local history and wanting to expand historical information about a locality by collecting oral history, guides needing further information for entertaining tourists, and so on.

Archival Collections

The archival material in the Estonian Folklore Archives is distributed among the following collections:

The **manuscript collection** consists (as of November 2013) of 1,480,462 pages of material on bound and partly unbound sheets. According to the original principle of incorporating different collections into the central archives, the original collection's name is preserved and never renamed—for example, the code "E" in an archival reference indicates Matthias Johann Eisen's manuscript collection; "H" refers to Jakob Hurt's manuscript collection. Since 2000, the manuscript collection has also included digital manuscripts.

The **collection of sound recordings** contains both folk music and non-musical folklore (10,310 units, 182,000 pieces of music). The earliest material consists of recordings on wax cylinders (575 units, 2,151 pieces of music). A significant part of the earlier material is on shellac discs, recorded from 1936 to 1938 at the state broadcasting company (131 discs, including 746 pieces of music; see Tamm 2002). The largest portion of the audio-recorded material is the collection of audio tapes and cassettes. The most recent material has been recorded on a series of data carriers: DATs and MiniDiscs since 1995, and memory cards beginning in 2000.

The **photograph collection** contains photos of collectors, performers, scenes depicting folklore collecting in general, and images related to various folkloric material. The earliest units are glass and photographic negatives. Although there were photos in the archives from the beginning, with new ones being added regularly, the systematization of the photo collection did not commence until 1936, by which time the collection held 585 photographs. Today the collection consists of images on various data carriers including black-and-white as well as color photographs, photographic prints (positives), diapositives, and digital photographs. Altogether, the series includes 17,747 black-and-white photographs and 7,822 color photographs. The digital series contained 16,842 photographs in 2013 and is, of course, the fastest growing type of photograph in the archives.

The **film and video collection** (1,377 items) contains audiovisual material from the traditions of the Estonians and other nationalities on various data carriers: film strips since 1959, videotapes from the 1980s, and more recent digital material on MiniDVs and memory cards. Particularly for the digitization of audio- and video-recordings of folkloric material, an independent audio-visual studio was created at the Folklore Archive in the Estonian Literary Museum. In the future, this studio will likely serve the needs of the entire Estonian Literary Museum and will be responsible for the digitization of the audio- and video-recorded material of the Estonian Cultural Historical Archives as well.

In addition to the four existing sub-archives, an experimental **multimedia collection** was established in 2008. This collection holds digital materials that do not fit within any of the traditional collections—for instance, combinations of sound and images, and so on; the collection also contains HTML resources, PowerPoint presentations, emails, and the like. The archiving of files has often proved problematic because their original formats usually do not favor long-term preservation and their conversion into the preservation format can cause some of the material's function or contents to be lost. The multimedia collection was created because there was no suitable repository for such materials; presently, the acquired materials have been registered but not completely archived. An attempt is being made to determine the appropriate archiving solutions and preservation formats for these materials, and then their archiving in the newly completed file repository can be carried out.

The availability of the means to conserve digital material has also introduced specific problems; for example, some collecting campaigns may result in the acquisition of a disproportionally large amount of a certain type of material, possibly causing diminished research interest in this type of material. In 2011, the countrywide campaign *Teatetants* ("Relay Dance") was held in Estonia to collect traditions of folk dance groups. In response to the appeal, 189 memory sticks, containing more than 3,000 pages of text and 13,600 photos—in addition to audio and video files—were sent to the archives. This unprecedented large corpus consisting of

an array of different media files was so unusual in the history of the Folklore Archives that after preliminary description, more radical steps had to be taken. Due to the limited human resources and storage conditions, only a quarter of the huge number of photos have been previewed; photos depicting recurring motifs have been grouped and the lists of captions compiled. It was decided that the rest of the material will be left unprocessed; for the time being it is currently waiting to be archived.

Databases

Since 1997, more than 20 folklore databases of different folklore genres primarily based on the Estonian Folklore Archives' collections have been compiled and listed on the webpage of the Estonian Literary Museum at http://www.folklore.ee/ebaas/. The advent of the digital age in the 1990s at the Estonian Literary Museum was the time of great discoveries. The selection of the material and the solutions applied were slightly varied, depending on the specific needs of each working group with respect to organizing their data and archiving their research objectives. This variation is the reason why there were a number of genre-specific databases in the early period. An additional reason for the divergence of the material was the initially small number of files.

Many of the databases have been compiled by folklorists of the Department of Folkloristics at the Literary Museum—for example, those dedicated to web jokes and ethnobotany. There are also portals based on databases, such as the portal of South-Estonian Folklore (see Kõiva and Vesik 2004). At the present moment, the material of only one folklore database—Estonian Droodles (http://folklore.ee/Droodles/)—is fully translated into English. But for international users, many of the databases also have an interface in English.

The workers and research groups of the Estonian Folklore Archives is responsible for three databases: the database of runic songs (http://www.folklore.ee/regilaul), the database of place-lore (http://galerii.kirmus.ee/koobas), and the database of folktales (with a web-version that will become accessible within the year 2014).

Runic song may be considered the most archaic and unique form of Estonian folklore. This database was constructed on the example of the Old Poems of the Finnish People database of the Finnish Literary Society and follows the same structure. The aim of the compilers was to create a relatively simple search for the most readily available information; the search can be carried out, for example, by county and parish, by the collector, and so forth. Presently the database contains over 75,000 texts, which constitute more than half of all runic song texts collected in Estonia. In the course of preparatory work, all runic song texts recorded up until the year 1966 (approximately 128,000 texts) have been digitized and made available through the internal server of the Estonian Literary Museum.

In terms of genre-based databases, I personally have been most directly involved in the compilation of the database of Estonian folk tales. Among the folk tales collected in Estonia and stored in the archives, tales of magic (more than 6,000) form the largest group, followed by animal tales (3,000). Together with other subcategories, the database currently includes 10,000 fairy tales, and work toward uploading the tales from manuscript files and toward

systematization of the material continues. An overview of the typology of Estonian folk tales is available at the homepage of the folk tale project (http://www.folklore.ee/muinasjutt). In addition to the tale texts and archival metadata, it provides data on the performer and the narrator's gender. The database has proved useful, for example, in identifying the relations among the genders of tellers, collectors, and protagonists associated with tales of magic (see Järv 2005). In the late nineteenth century, the recordings of tales of magic were collected primarily from men; those collected after the 1920s were collected mostly from women. Estonian tales of magic also exhibit the tendency noted by many other researchers that men told above all masculine tales, whereas the tales told by women do not show remarkable correspondence between the narrator's gender and that of the protagonist.

Kivike

Perhaps the most extensive project related to the collections was the digitization in 2011-12 of Jakob Hurt's folklore collection. The project involved the assessment and description of the condition of the bound volumes; the formulation of worksheets; restoration of the volumes; and the revising of the scanned files, which were then supplied with archival references and stored in *Kivike*, the new file repository and archival infosystem of the Estonian Literary Museum. *Kivike* (available at http://kivike.kirmus.ee) is an acronym of the phrase *Kirjandusmuuuseumi Virtuaalne Kelder* ("the virtual cellar of the Literary Museum"). This monumental project—involving the two archives and the Archival Library of the Estonian Literary Museum in order to digitize the total of 240,000 pages of material—and the funding it received provided an opportunity to create a repository for the safe storage of the acquired digital files (which previously had been stored on computers) and a system for accessing the material. The file repository *Kivike* stores two types of information: first, digitizations of the existing archive materials, manuscripts, and photographs (in the future it will also include audio- and video-recordings) as well as the digital material sent to the archives, and second, metadata about the materials, including data about the materials that have not yet been stored in the repository as files.

The *Kivike* repository also entails a field entitled "textualization," which allows the system to display a pure text or its different versions (for example, texts edited to different degrees) decoded either from a manuscript or a recording. A traditional categorization of collections according to the type of media (manuscript, sound, film, or photographic collection) might render a search across different types of material rather complicated, especially if the cross-references between different collections happen to be inadequately described or are unlinked in registers/files. Fortunately this is not the case in the *Kivike* repository; its structural system was carefully developed with an aim toward maintaining coherence across collections, thus making it possible to link materials of different types for the purpose of drawing parallels.

It is characteristic of earlier material that the entirety of the collected information is represented solely by a manuscript (and a collector's fieldwork notes), while more recent material includes additional information in the form of a sound recording complete with a collector's written notes or accompanying photographs. While genre-based systematization of

data is often practical for the study of a specific genre, it may result in a loss of contextually significant information about what a collector has recorded or what an informant said or singer sang before or after the piece was collected. As a consequence, a researcher may find it difficult to encompass fully all the possible semantic fields of the actual material. Thus we hope that the full corpus, in bringing together all these different genre-specific databases in the single *Kivike* repository, will offer us new and spectacular opportunities for future research.

In September 2013 the collecting module *Kratt* (http://kratt.folklore.ee; "*kratt*" in Estonian is a mythological creature, a demonic treasure hauler) was created. The module is linked to the *Kivike* repository system to facilitate the collecting of information and the insertion of new material into the archival system. Collection module users can fill out online collection questionnaires as well as add photos and other image files, videos, and sound material—all with the aim of making usage of the archives as comfortable for modern users as possible. Receiving materials through the collection module has made archivization in the information system faster than ever: an accurate archive reference of the material is automatically created, based on the type of information added in the information system and, if needed, an archivist who acquires the material can modify or update metadata.

Alternative solutions are constantly sought for the databases. In 2013 the e-publication *1001 Children's Games Since 1935* (available at http://folklore.ee/ukauka/arhiiv/1001) was compiled with the use of free Omeka software (http://omeka.org/), which has been designed specially for memory institutions to be used in online publication of various types of collections. Omeka enables users to modify structured data into a website quite easily, and to add introductions or other required information to the material. The website also functions as a database of games. In 2014 a monumental publication on the Estonian folk calendar will be completed on the same platform.

Scientific Work and Text Collections

While the primary role of the archives, a physical repository of material, may now be diminishing in importance, as many databases are already available online, the Estonian Folklore Archives still holds a huge number of other collections and have maintained their central position largely because of specialized research. Just as in the beginning, there is still an endeavor to cover by and large all the subjects and genres of the materials in the archives through the efforts of researchers or archivists competent within each field—from classical runic song to the contemporary games tradition. The research results of the archive's workers are published mainly as articles and monographs, but academic source publications are also produced. In 1935 the publication of the series Proceedings of the Estonian Folklore Archives (*Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiivi Toimetused*) was started. The publication was discontinued under the Soviet regime but was restored anew in 2000. Finally, the Archives is also responsible for preparing and publishing the collections of runic songs (such as *Vana Kannel* ["Old Harp"]) by parishes of Estonia and academic anthologies of folk tales in the edited series *Monumenta Estoniae antiquae*s.

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A Jukebox Full of Stories

William Schneider

Introduction to Project Jukebox

Many of us who are older grew up eating at diners that featured a music-playing machine called a "jukebox."[1] The jukebox contained stacks of vinyl records and a mechanical arm that would activate the record you chose to play. Push a button on the front to make your choice and then stand back and marvel at the way the arm moved to select and play your choice. Imagine now how this same technology might work with an archive of Oral History recordings. Next, imagine adding photographs, maps, videos, and text to accompany each recording. Then, consider the Internet and almost instantaneous search, find, and play abilities for hundreds of hours of recordings and associated materials. This is how Project Jukebox functions today. But the story behind Project Jukebox is not just about technology and what it allows us to do; it also involves a search for ways to preserve as much as possible of the experience of the actual oral events (that is, what you would have experienced by being present when the stories were told). We hope, therefore, that by detailing the history of Project Jukebox we can engender a larger discussion of the opportunities and limitations of technology. To this end, we begin with a description of the Project Jukebox collections and then describe how the program evolved as we sought ways to encourage comparative analysis of topics and themes, as well as ways to preserve how narrators construct and deliver narrative.

Today Project Jukebox (http://jukebox.uaf.edu/site7) is an online program of the Oral History Program at the Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks. It contains over 40 oral history collections featuring Alaskan topics. Each collection is organized around a general theme. For example, the theme could be people from a specific geographical area, such as a national park; it could be the history of an organization, such as the Mental Health Trust; it could be a current issue, such as climate change or dangerous ice conditions. Our choice of a thematic approach is different from some Oral History projects whose focus is more on outstanding or noteworthy individuals and their particular contributions to history and culture. This is not to say that the people we interview are less important; rather, it is to emphasize that they are chosen first for how their accounts contribute to an understanding of history and culture. The thematic

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[1] Special thanks to my long-term colleague Karen Brewster, whose hard work has helped to build Project Jukebox. Thank you also to Leslie McCartney, the Curator of Oral History at the Rasmuson Library, for her careful review of an earlier draft of this paper. I alone accept all responsibilities for any inaccuracies that it may contain.

approach allows us to build a comparative base of observations on a place, subject, or event. At the interview level, the hope is that listeners will connect with the narrator as he or she offers an account; at the program level we hope they will experience the variety of perspectives on any given topic. The approach aims to give depth and variety of expression to the topics discussed.

There is a major difference between the standard history textbook and an interactive online collection of oral narratives as found in Project Jukebox, which is built on personal expressions and opinions as opposed to an analyzed and packaged message. Project Jukebox provides listeners/viewers with windows into how narrators construct and communicate meaning, how they relate what they have learned, what they experienced, how they justify past actions, and how they see their place in the events of history and life in Alaska.

In all of our projects, we can point to the value of the perspectives that narrators shared in the recordings, perspectives that would probably be lost in time as memories fade and tangible signs of the past degrade into the earth. This is certainly the case with some of the projects focused upon national park areas. For instance, the recordings from Yukon Charley Rivers National Preserve (http://jukebox.uaf.edu/YUCH) contain interviews and photos of the 1970s river people who are no longer living in the area. These were mostly young people who came to the area to live off the land. They made their living with few amenities and took pride in their subsistence skills. That piece of history, along with these individuals' lifestyle, culture, and goal of living as self-sustained a way of life as possible would be all but lost to us without the documentation done for this project. Project Jukebox gave us a platform to represent and reproduce in one place the narratives and images of that era.

Several of the Jukebox projects provide a baseline of information on environmental issues in Alaska. There are two jukeboxes on climate change (http://jukebox.uaf.edu/climatechange, http://jukebox.uaf.edu/stakeholders) and one on dangerous ice conditions on the Tanana River (http://jukebox.uaf.edu/dangerous). In the Stakeholders Climate Change Jukebox, interviewees talked about dried-up lakes, increased forest fires, melting permafrost, and unpredictable weather patterns that impacted their safe access to subsistence activities. While many of these conditions have been noted at a statewide and even national level, what is special about the local observations is that they are linked to a specific regional impact and the narrators' personal experiences dealing with the condition as they pursue necessary activities such as hunting, trapping, and woodcutting. It is not hard to imagine adding a new set of interviews to the site in ten years and then again at the 20-year mark in order to provide a comparative basis for discussion of these issues.

Projects such as the Mental Health Trust Project (http://jukebox.uaf.edu/mentalhealth) give personal perspectives and relay experiences with major events in the Alaska's history. This project documented the history of the state's treatment of mental illness. Interviewees painted vivid pictures of what it was like before statehood and the establishment of the Alaska Mental Health Enabling Act that brought many more services to citizens in need. The Project Jukebox site provides a touchstone for appreciating the growth of services and a chilling reminder of an earlier time when mental health was less well understood and the standard of care far less. For instance, John Malone, a former state trooper, described his experiences in the Aleutians in the early years when there was very limited if any support for the mentally ill before passage of the Act (http://jukebox.uaf.edu/site7/interviews/358, section 3):

And I think it was on my second—my second trip to the Aleutians, and it used to take about ten days to two weeks to do the Aleutians. I was in Sand Point. And I think it was [the] Wakefield superintendent, the one who was running Wakefield Cannery at the time, wanted me to check out these two gentlemen who had arrived on the airplane and were living under an overturned boat on the shore. And so I did.

And they had been our very recent—recent, well, inmates, clients, patients from Morningside [a mental health facility in Oregon] that had been returned to the state. And the state had returned them to their last known address. . . .

So they were there by themselves. But the most unusual thing about them, I thought, at the time was that they both were carrying the same letters, written the same way, saying that—I called them the "Dear Mommy, Dear Daddy" letters, here I am—explaining who they were, where they had been, and . . . if they complied with the medications, they were going to be just well young men.

John Malone went on to champion the cause of mental health services. His story, in his own words, is a personal reminder of how an early experience in a remote part of Alaska influenced his commitment to work for services to address those in need.

History and Philosophy of Project Jukebox

In the past, interviews destined for public archives were often processed into the card catalog system and placed on the shelf where they waited for someone to discover them through a search of title or subject. Most recordings sat for years without use, but even when a particular tape had been located, the search for specific information contained within the tape itself was often laborious. Any comparative perspective required many hours, days, or even weeks of listening for information. Many scholars preferred the transcript; it was easier to work with than the recording. For some, the recordings were merely a source of illustration, color, or "texture," but little more—a sentiment maintained in part because recordings were so hard to access, but also because these scholars were after irrefutable facts rather than the opinions and range of personal experiences that color and texture our recollections as we attempt to make sense of the past.

The Project Jukebox team was fortunate to diverge from this rigid tradition, and we can trace the roots of our development, and eventually Project Jukebox itself, to an increasing appreciation for the contributions of folklorists and their concern for preserving the variety of ways in which narrative is constructed and performed in order to convey meaning. Our early exposure to the work of folklorists occurred during a period when we were producing life histories based on oral interviews and were sensitized to the difficulties of preserving a sense of the narrator's voice in the written text (Dundes 1964). These works became part of a publication series (through the University of Alaska Press) called "Oral Biographies" to emphasize our desire to preserve a sense of the subject's voice in written form. Barre Toelken, an occasional visitor to Alaska, was a major influence on our work. He opened our eyes to the multiple ways in

which stories are told, as well as their power and influence in our lives (Toelken 1996, 2003). Our interest in narrative analysis grew as we explored the tension between historical truth and personal meaning (Ives 1988; Santino 1991; Portelli 1997, 2003). Such scholarship influenced our work in life history research and made for fertile ground as we applied its lessons to Project Jukebox's development. The overarching challenge has been to find ways to make the online recording an experience that gives the listener/viewer the best understanding of the original sharing that took place when the recording was made. Project Jukebox allowed us a platform for presenting a range of perspectives on issues and events that illustrate how individuals recall the past and how considerations of context and audience play a part in what gets shared.

Project Jukebox was born in 1987 on a Thanksgiving Day camping trip when Felix Vogt suggested that he wanted to investigate digitization of audio recordings for his master's project at the University of Alaska Fairbanks (UAF). We were particularly excited because we thought it might be a way to cut down on some of our labor costs, a pressing need since UAF was at that time going through a budget crisis and the Oral History Program was threatened with deep cuts and possible elimination. This was before the Internet, but we thought this effort might lead to an automated system for patrons to access and play recordings from stationary platforms in the library. The originals would never have to leave their safe and ordered place on the university library shelf, and no one would have to file and refile recordings.

Pioneering work on the initial grant was done by Dan Grahek, an information technology (IT) specialist and probably one of the first IT people to work on an Oral History project. Dan explained how a computer could access and play audio integrated with contextual material, such as photographs, maps, and texts. The linking of multimedia with the oral recordings was a huge leap for Oral History because it allowed us to give listeners/viewers background and supporting information that would enhance their visioning of the oral narrative; however, it was also viewed with suspicion by some in the library field who argued that oral recordings, like other archival records, should stand alone, with contextualization left to the listener. These detractors viewed our early attempts more as exhibits than as a collective repository of archival resources, and they argued that any interpretation detracted from the future user's experience with the recording. We argued just the opposite: an interview without context and background lacked key information for assessing content. We continued adding video clips and references to as many resources as we could in order to enhance the richness of the user's experience. Our argument then and now is that oral narrative is voiced and heard between people, and meaning is based on establishing a shared experience that allows the listener to imagine what the narrator is saying. The supporting material bolsters the potential for a base of shared experience. For instance, one of our programs featured climbing on Mt. McKinley in Denali National Park (http://jukebox.uaf.edu/denali). Climbers who wish to ascend the North Face must find a non-motorized way to get their supplies up on the mountain where they will begin the climb. The most enduring method has been to use dog teams to carry and stash supplies for the climbers. In several interviews to help listeners imagine what they were describing, we documented the routes and the conditions and illustrated the interviews with maps and photographs, often from the collections of the people we interviewed.

Right from the start, we wanted to make Project Jukebox an archival source for full audio rather than excerpts. It was our feeling that people accessing the record would want the whole

recording, not a preselected portion. We thought at the time that to do anything less was a disservice to the person providing the interview and was an abrogation of the library's role of preserving the recording and making the recordings publicly available. Today there are over 40 programs on Project Jukebox, and many of the programs have 20 or more recordings.

We also wanted users to listen to the interview as opposed to just reading a transcript. This was one of the reasons why we did not include transcripts in our early Jukeboxes. (There were also time and cost considerations.) We later added transcripts to our newer programs in response to the Americans with Disabilities Act, but in all of our Jukebox programs we use keyword outlines to help users get to specific parts of an interview. This practice was not only necessary from the standpoint of technology and playback limitations, but it also allowed listeners to search with ease for a topic and compare observations of two or more narrators on the subject. We saw the comparative record as a vital source for scholarship—not as a way to determine the "true story," but as a window into different perspectives on what happened and as a source for analyzing how speakers used narrative to describe what they had experienced. For instance, in the Stakeholders Climate Change Jukebox, when we asked Fred Thomas about climate change, he first voiced skepticism about warming trends, thought for a moment, and then pointed to the fact that the government was not fighting the forest fires as it used to years ago. He felt that this lack of firefighting was leading to destruction of the forest cover and thus contributing to erosion of the permafrost and draining of the lakes. To illustrate his point, he told the story of cutting moss to chink his house when he was a small boy (http://www.jukebox.uaf.edu/stakeholders/interviews, Fred Thomas, Fire Impact on Lakes):

> I remember when I was a kid, in August, September, me and the old man go below the house and cut wood, you see. And if I walked, [there's] moss among the trees. You do like that [lift the moss up a bit] and there's ice there, right underneath the moss, you see. Well, there's no more timber.
>
> Everything is burnt down. All the covering, and of course, your permafrost is way—you know, is hardly any, it just keep thawing out.
>
> So, after awhile . . . around the edges of the lake, you have no more banks. Chalkyitsik [Village] years ago, all the Black River, they trapped rats [muskrats] and they shot rats, too, in the spring of the year, and around Chalkyitsik, everybody used to get four or five hundred rats apiece, you know. Now, I don't think there's that many . . . and that, years ago, was the . . . main fur back then, you know.

We retell his account here to demonstrate how Thomas understood the causes of permafrost melting and draining of the lakes and how he explained these developments to us by describing his boyhood experiences. It is noteworthy that he does not claim, as many others have, that there are more forest fires now. In this way his interview forces us to pause with regard to a generally accepted assumption (that there are now more forest fires) as we make room in our thinking for the way by which he makes sense of changes in the land and the animals upon which his livelihood depends. As was the case with many of our other interviews on climate change, the informant relates the impact he sees to a subsistence activity, in this case fur trapping.

Thomas' account of changes is easily accessible thanks to modern search capabilities. If it had been given even a few years earlier, it might have been buried on a stand-alone station or on a library shelf, making comparison of his account with others far more difficult and therefore limiting our ability to understand both what people think happened and the variety of ways in which they explain cause and effect. The Internet gave us opportunities to expand access to the site and to provide greater search capability. We eagerly made the move. Our subsequent conversion to HTML format made it possible to link our various projects together through a single homepage and make them available on the Internet. Thanks to Google and other search engines that crawl the Internet, our programs were now searchable in multiple ways and could be articulated with the library's online catalog. For instance, one could search for a single topic across all the Jukeboxes, find recordings in the library catalog, and then access them through Project Jukebox. We were fortunate to get National Science Foundation support that allowed us to review the implications of web access with interviewees and community members before going live. Often the contacts were with the next of kin since many narrators had died. We found that people appreciated our efforts to review web access with them, as the process helped bring about the realization that their interview or that of a relative was important and being taken care of rather than lost in the deep recesses of the archives. It also allowed us to continue personal relationships with those individuals who had originally shared their stories with us. We had maintained that an interview is a form of personal sharing and that accordingly there is an agreement that the interview will be preserved and available under the conditions agreed upon at the time of the recording. We welcomed the opportunity to reconnect and explain internet access.

A great opportunity for Project Jukebox came at the 2007 International Oral History Association Conference in Sydney, Australia, where we met Dr. Robert Jansen of Turtlelane Studios and saw examples of how he was representing Oral History using Testimony Software. He demonstrated simultaneous synchronized access to video, transcripts, a table of contents, and photographs on a single screen. When one clicks a topic in the table of contents, the relevant section of video plays, the transcript scrolls along under the video player, and photos relevant to discussed topics or keywords change alongside as the person speaks. This simultaneous access was revolutionary to us and fit our goals of always wanting to provide more context and further historical connections for our interviews. The implication for Oral History is that one has multiple ways to experience the narrative all at once; there is a continual reminder of the interview setting that reinforces the narrative with supporting graphics keyed to the video/audio. While we are no longer using Testimony Software because of our library's IT limitations, we have attempted to continue some of the features in updated programs using Drupal 7 software. We have learned that technology offers opportunities, but there are always constraints and costs that need to be balanced with the desired outcome.

In all of this work our focus has been on the people who told their stories and kept the oral traditions alive in their retelling. Staying true to the narrators and their intent is an ultimate goal of Project Jukebox, but equally important is the need to be mindful of the listeners/viewers so as to facilitate an online experience where they can envision what was said and what it was like to be with the narrator when the story was told. Our message remains that technology merely provides the public venue to help preserve and present meaning; we must work to ensure that the programs being employed reflect for the public the meaning that was shared in the interviews

themselves. In retrospect and despite the difficulties and costs, we feel fortunate that technology has given us new ways to preserve and access a rich oral heritage.

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The James Madison Carpenter Collection of Traditional Song and Drama

Julia C. Bishop, David Atkinson, and Robert Young Walser

"Dr Carpenter from the Harvard College in America"

> Well, this Dr Carpenter came to my house one night, late, aboot twelve o'clock, an' I knew, whenever I went to the door, that he was somebody! So he introduced himself an' said he was Dr Carpenter from the Harvard College in America. . . . He came collectin' a lot o' this stuff.
>
> (Henderson 1981-82:417)

James Madison Carpenter (1888-1983) was until recently a relatively unknown figure in the history of Anglo-American folksong and British folk play scholarship (Jabbour 1998; Bishop 1998). Born and bred in Mississippi, he was university-educated and worked as a minister and teacher prior to entering Harvard in 1920 to do a Ph.D. in English. Under the supervision of George Lyman Kittredge, he wrote a thesis on "Forecastle Songs and Chanties," based on fieldwork with retired seamen in the United States and in ports that he visited in the summer of 1928 on a Dexter

Fig. 1. James Madison Carpenter, *circa* 1938. (The James Madison Carpenter Collection, Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, AFC 1972/001 PH099.) Reproduced with permission.

Fig. 2. James Madison Carpenter in his Austin roadster, *circa* 1929. (The James Madison Carpenter Collection, Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, AFC 1972/001 PH101.) Reproduced with permission.

scholarship around England, Scotland, and Ireland. After gaining his doctorate in 1929, and encouraged by Kittredge, Carpenter returned to Britain in order to continue fieldwork. Armed with a portable typewriter and a Dictaphone cylinder machine, he bought a car and struck off northwards up the east coast (Figure 2).[1]

Discovering the relative ease with which he could locate performers, Carpenter recorded folk music of all kinds, later including folk ("mummers'") plays[2] and other genres. Such was his success that his one-year sojourn turned into six and involved, by his own account, 40,000 miles of traveling. At a time when hardly any folksong collectors were active in Britain and the general view was that the business of collecting was more or less accomplished (see, for example, Howes 1932), Carpenter gathered some 3,000 songs, including ballads of the Francis James Child canon, bothy ballads (Northeast Scottish farmworkers' songs), shanties, and carols, as well as children's singing games, fiddle tunes, and folk plays. He recorded performers from whom collectors such as Cecil Sharp and Gavin Greig had noted items 30 years previously, such as Sam Bennett (Figure 3), and also a large number of other performers never before recorded. These latter included Bell Duncan (Figure 4), an 82-year-old Aberdeenshire woman who had some 300 songs in her repertoire. Carpenter claimed that she had "one of the most marvelous [*sic*] rote memories of all history" and regarded her as "the greatest ballad singer of all time" (Bishop 1998, 2004).

Fig. 3. Sam Bennett, Ilmington Morris fiddler, Warwickshire, *circa* 1933. (The James Madison Carpenter Collection, Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, AFC 1972/001 PH036.) Reproduced with permission.
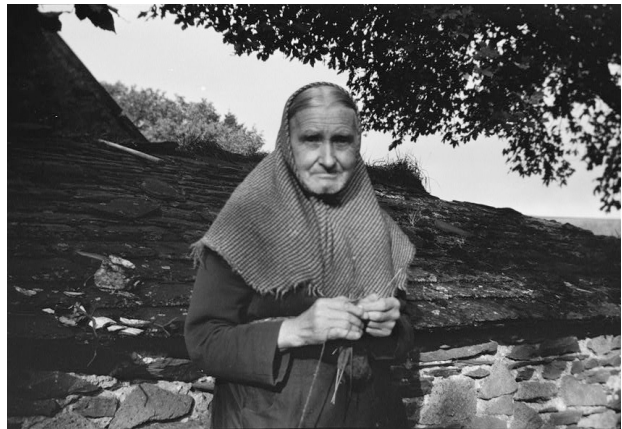
Fig. 4. Bell Duncan of Lambhill, Aberdeenshire, knitting outside her home, *circa* 1930. (The James Madison Carpenter Collection, Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, AFC 1972/001 PH095.) Reproduced with permission.

Returning to the United States in 1935, Carpenter gave occasional lectures and went on to take up a series of teaching posts in universities and colleges. Initially he continued to work on editing and transcribing parts of his collection for publication, a goal he never realized. He

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[1] For Carpenter's account of this trip in a later tape-recorded interview, see http://www.abdn.ac.uk/elphinstone/carpenter/biography/audio/.

[2] The folk ("mummers'") play is a traditional, seasonal drama that is widely known in England and also in parts of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. It was performed at feast times such as Christmas or Easter by groups of working men seeking a contribution of food or money to enhance their enjoyment of the festival. For more information, see Cass et al. 2000.

eventually retired to Mississippi and in 1972 at the age of 83 sold the collection to the Library of Congress (American Folklife Center 1996).

The Carpenter Collection

The Carpenter collection thus contains materials documenting British and American traditional song and drama. It also contains a smaller amount of instrumental folk music, traditional dance, children's folklore, custom, folktale, and dialect. The bulk dates from his six-year sojourn in Britain, but there are also items from New York, New England, North Carolina, and Mississippi, some of the American items having been collected from relatives or via his students. Carpenter developed a method of documenting contributors using a Dictaphone cylinder machine on which he made recordings of the songs as sung, but usually just one or two stanzas' worth, in order to capture the melody. He would then take down the complete text as dictated—two lines at a time—by the contributor, sometimes then making handwritten emendations to the dictated text in order to correct it and supplement it on the basis of contributor consultation (Bishop 1998).

The papers contain text transcriptions of the folkloric items (Figure 5), music notations of some of the songs (Figure 6), and descriptions of customs and children's games. Calculating the number of folkloric items in the collection is complicated by the fact that, because of Carpenter's collecting methods and then the subsequent transcription and editing of his materials, many exist in a number of iterations. In approximate terms, the collection contains the texts and tunes of 700 Child ballads, 700 sea shanties, 1,500 other songs, 270 mummers' plays, and 50 instrumental tunes, collected from roughly 800 contributors.

The physical collection comprises some 13,500 pages of papers, 179 cylinders (representing
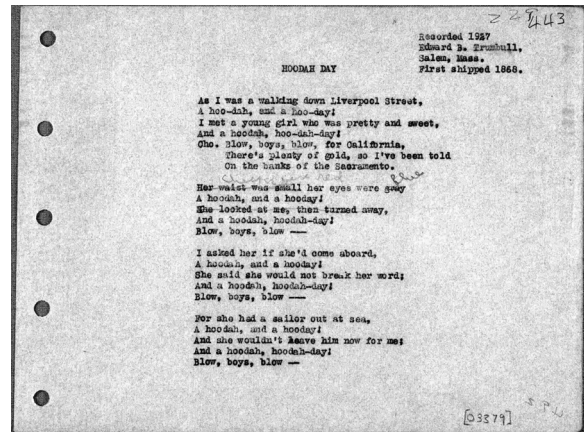
Fig. 5. Text transcription of "Hoodah Day," as sung by Captain Edward B. Trumbull, Salem, Massachusetts. (The James Madison Carpenter Collection, Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, AFC 1972/001/MS p. 03379.) Reproduced with permission.
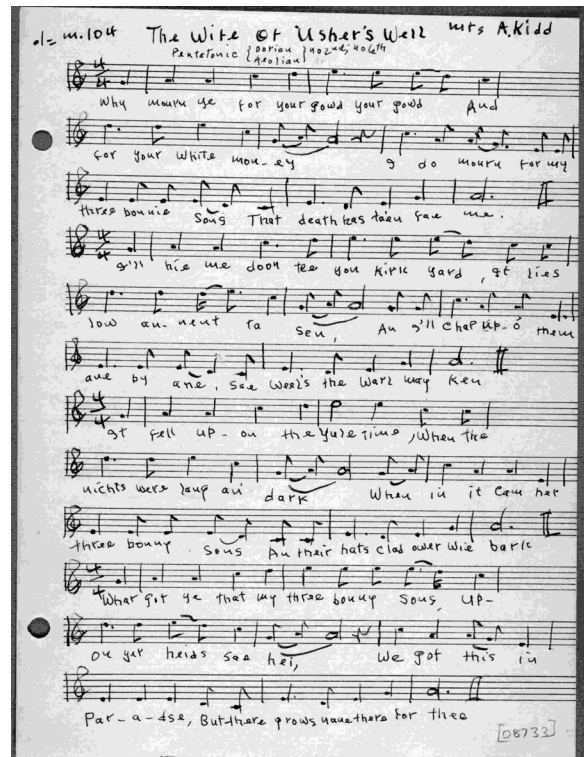
Fig. 6. Music transcription of "The Wife of Usher's Well" (Child 79), as sung by Mrs. Annie Kidd, Glen Ythan, Rothienorman, Aberdeenshire. (The James Madison Carpenter Collection, Archive of Folk Culture, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, AFC 1972/001/MS p. 08733.) Reproduced with permission.

35 continuous hours of examples), 220 12-inch lacquer discs (Carpenter's own copies of the cylinders), 563 photographs, and 40 drawings. Following its deposit in 1972, most of the papers in the collection were microfilmed by the Library of Congress and a list of their contents made. The discs were also copied onto analog audiotape. The sheer scale of the collection and its unstructured state, however, made it difficult to navigate and search without a catalog and indexes. It was also hard to reference with precision as neither the physical pages nor the microfilm frames were numbered. Nonetheless, a number of scholars at this time drew attention to the collection's existence, contents, and potential (for instance, Palmer 1989; Cawte 1979-80).

In 2002 the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress obtained funding to digitize the papers—and later the remaining materials—of the Carpenter collection. At the same time, a team of scholars based in the United Kingdom and the United States,[3] with specialisms in the genres represented in the collection, obtained United Kingdom funding to catalog the collection. Working in close cooperation with Folklife Center staff, the Carpenter Collection Project team prepared and published online an item-level, searchable catalog in Encoded Archival Description.[4] The intention is that the image and sound files will eventually be linked to this metadata and mounted online for free public access, subject to the relevant permissions. At present the collection is accessible at the Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress, and via the microfilms. A scattering of items from it have been published (see, for example, Palmer 1986; Hayward 1992; Roud and Bishop 2012) and recorded in new performances (Walser 2010).

Interest of the Collection

The value of the Carpenter collection can be gauged from several different viewpoints. In the British context, it is one of the most extensive and diverse collections ever made. It is also the first to use sound-recording consistently and the first to be gathered by an academically trained collector. It was made in the interwar period when there was a lull in folksong collecting, and as such it fills the gap between the collections made at the turn of the twentieth century (such as those of Sharp, and Greig and Duncan) and those made in the mid-twentieth century (such as those of Alan Lomax, Hamish Henderson, and Peter Kennedy). In a few cases, Carpenter's singers also contributed to these earlier or later collections, with Carpenter providing early sound-recordings for them and also in some instances evidence of further repertoire; in other cases, he documented the repertoires of prolific singers who might otherwise have remained unknown to collectors.

One kind of material found most plentifully in the collection is the Child ballad. The collection contains some rare and unique examples, such as "The Wife of Usher's Well" (Child 79) and "The White Fisher" (Child 264),[5] as well as distinctive variants of better-known ballads,

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[3] For further details of the members of the team and the various stages of the project, see the Carpenter Collection Project website: http://www.abdn.ac.uk/elphinstone/carpenter/.

[4] The James Madison Carpenter Collection Online Catalogue is available at http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/carpenter.

[5] See Bishop 2003.

such as "The Twa Sisters" (Child 10) and "The Bonny Earl of Murray" (Child 181).[6] Carpenter insisted on the documentation of both words and melody, and in a few cases the collection contains the first or the earliest extant melody for a particular ballad, such as "The Wylie Wife of the Hie Toun Hie" (Child 290). It also greatly amplifies the ballad tune record overall, although none of the tunes appears in Bronson's compendium of extant ballad tunes and previously unpublished texts, *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads* (1959-72), despite the fact that the collection is listed among Bronson's sources. This is because, as Bronson's headnotes suggest, Carpenter was still planning to publish these tunes himself at this point (Bronson 1959-72:IV, 71).

Sea shanties are also extensively documented in the Carpenter collection. These work songs had previously been documented by others from the first half of the nineteenth century, first in travelers' narratives and then by antiquarians and folklorists. The period in which Carpenter carried out his fieldwork allowed him to document them from the last generation of British and American (including African American) seamen to work in the era of commercial square-rigged sail. His work resulted in the largest early collection of sound-recordings to document shanties from sailors who had used them at sea. They thus offer unique evidence of performance details, such as melodic, rhythmic, or textual variation from stanza to stanza in this highly fluid genre, while also illuminating the relationship between the songs and the work with which they were associated.

Carpenter also made sound-recordings of well-known English fiddle players such as Sam Bennett and John Robbins when they were in their prime, allowing the study of transmission and variation (Bradtke 2008, 2012). The British mummers' plays in the collection are some of the earliest taken down from actual performers rather than upper-class observers; noted from performers recalling the tradition prior to the First World War, they help to throw light on the status of dubious or "improved" texts collected by others (Cass 2012). They also contain contextual information detailing accompanying songs, costumes, names of other performers, and where and when the play was first learned or performed (Roud and Smith 1998:496).

The collection thus has the potential to contribute to social and cultural history, popular culture, and local history in a number of contexts. Furthermore, it has significant comparative value, for it adds to and sometimes overlaps with other folklore collections, providing opportunities to augment our understandings of the history and geographical spread of various traditional song types and folk play sub-genres, as well as their concomitant variation. This value is particularly pertinent in the present context when a panoply of historical resources and retrieval tools is becoming available through digitization and the Internet, opening up new vistas for comparative research more generally.[7]

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[6] On "The Twa Sisters," see Atkinson 1996; on "The Bonny Earl of Murray," see Olson 1997.

[7] See, for example, "The Full English" (http://www.vwml.org/search/search-full-english) and "Tobar an Dulchais"/"Kist o Riches" (http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/).

Examples from Current Work on a Critical Edition of the Carpenter Collection

The Carpenter Collection Project team has been preparing a critical edition of the Carpenter collection since 2004.[8] This edition will take the form of a multi-volume published work, arranged by genre and sub-genre, involving an innovative and symbiotic relationship with the online presentation of the raw materials of the collection that have been digitized by the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress. The aim of the edition is to enhance access to the collection for scholarship and performance, and to promote its use by bringing together related items in the genres represented in the collection and presenting them in an authoritative manner. Carpenter's own plans for publication will thus finally be realized and the contribution of all performers represented in the collection publicly acknowledged.

Ballads

Preparation of the edition has involved locating Carpenter's collectanea within the broader context of oral literature and literature. Work on the headnotes, filling in the histories of the ballads, and making use of modern resources plays into an interest elsewhere among the research community in the relationship between oral and printed ballads and songs. We now know that up to 90 percent of English and Scottish folk songs were in print at some stage in their existence, mostly in the form of cheap broadsides and chapbooks (Thomson 1974:274; Wehse 1975). Carpenter went out of his way to emphasize that his contributors had not seen ballads in print, implying that his collection was an entirely oral corpus. In fact, he makes notes to that effect so often that they have aroused suspicion. Paradoxically, though, among the items in the collection is a chapbook, *The Battle of Harlaw; to which are added, Willie's Drowned in Gamrie; and Bogie-side* (Fintray, printed for the booksellers, 1849-85?). Prior to this find, it had not been noted that "The Battle of Harlaw" (Child 163) had circulated in cheap print. Indeed, it has sometimes been claimed—or at least implied—that the ballad had been in oral circulation since the time of the battle (in 1411) notwithstanding the lack of any evidence to that effect.

Hatton of Fintray is a village outside of Aberdeen, and the Scottish Book Trade Index lists John Cumming as a grocer, draper, and printer there in the period 1849-85, and he was later succeeded by his son William. A search in library catalogs shows other items with a Fintray imprint, including songsters with titles such as *The Bennachie Budget*, *The Railway Rhymer*, and *The Buchan Sangster*. Individual ballads and songs identified from a cursory consultation of online catalogs include "The Duke of Gordon's Three Daughters" (Child 237), "Gill Morrice" (Child 83), "The Blaeberry Courtship" (Roud 1888), "Sir James the Rose" (Child 213), "Andrew Lammie" (Child 233), "Tullochgorum" (Roud 5658), and others, all frequently collected in the Aberdeenshire area (including by Carpenter).

None of this proves that Carpenter's contributors did not learn their ballads orally, but it does demonstrate that these songs need to be understood as part of a rich oral/print culture and not as evidence of an unadulterated oral folk tradition. There has in recent years been a growing

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recognition of the place of print in vernacular culture throughout both England and Scotland, but there is still much research to be carried out in this area (Cowan and Paterson 2007; Atkinson and Roud 2014). How widely did broadside and chapbook publications circulate? What sort of range of songs did they offer to the populace? Who bought them, when, where, and why? What did they do with them once purchased? These are just some of the questions that this field of cheap print poses in relation to what are frequently thought of as "folk" or "orally transmitted" ballads and songs.

Many of the same items appear, too, in larger—and therefore presumably more expensive —songsters and anthologies, some dating back to the eighteenth century. These publications are not all of a piece, and some might have been aimed at a "bourgeois" readership, although little is currently known about their readership. Even so, Carpenter collected "The Child of Elle" from his stellar ballad singer, Bell Duncan, in a text that certainly derives ultimately from Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), and "Jock of Hazeldean" (Child 293), also from Bell Duncan, in a text written by Walter Scott and first published in Alexander Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology* (1816). The latter is a beautiful production with engraved musical settings, although the poem was subsequently printed widely (Bishop 2004). It is unlikely that Bell Duncan learned these ballads from publications of this kind, but it is nonetheless likely that at some stage somebody did.

And what of the melodies? The bulk of songsters and chapbooks carry no music notation, and it is thought unlikely that—except perhaps in the bourgeois parlor, with piano accompaniment—even the musically literate would have acquired ballad and folksong tunes directly from printed notation. If this supposition is correct, it provides powerful evidence for the continuity of an oral tradition—at least as far back as the bulk of the folksong tunes can be traced (perhaps to the late eighteenth century)—concurrent with the printing of the words to songs. The Carpenter collection, especially in view of its geographical concentration, offers potentially important evidence for research along these lines.

Dreg Songs

Just over 50 years ago, song collector Francis Collinson set out to find a lost musical tradition, the dreg songs of the Firth of Forth, Scotland. For hundreds of years the Firth had been home to a thriving oyster fishery that had given rise to a unique worksong tradition. "Dreg songs" were sung by oystermen as they rowed or sailed over the oyster beds towing dredges. The songs were improvised to fit the wind, tide, and work. The oyster stocks declined, however, and the fishery ended around 1900, 60 years before Collinson set to work. He found only traces of the song and was told that "John Donaldson (late) of Cockenzie was said . . . to have recorded the Dreg song in the 1930s for an American folksong collector not identified" (Collinson 1961:13). That collector was James Madison Carpenter who spent time collecting in Cockenzie, Port Seton, Musselburgh, and Newhaven—places with deep connections to the oyster fishing and the dreg song. Altogether, Carpenter collected dreg songs from about a dozen singers, making a cylinder recording of one performance of the rowing song that lasts for nearly five minutes.

Further research into this unique singing tradition, stimulated by Carpenter's data, led to a unique event in June 2012 in which the songs were sung on their home waters for the first time

in a century (Calder 2012). Recordings and notes from the Carpenter collection were used by contemporary members of Scottish coastal rowing clubs, facilitated by Bob Walser of the Carpenter project team, to re-create the songs in their boats on the Firth (Walser 2012). This transatlantic collaboration involved archives, scholars, rowing clubs, and the community of Portobello, with the resulting event celebrating tradition, cooperation, scholarship, and Scotland all while also being covered in the Scottish media.[9]

Conclusion

The Carpenter collection thus has the capacity to enrich contemporary comparative scholarship and contribute new insights into longstanding research questions. It also has the potential to inform local and family history, and to act as a resource for the co-production of research and performance. The aim of the edition, which is currently nearing completion, is to draw attention to these possibilities and provide a firm foundation on which to build them.

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Cnuasach Bhéaloideas Éireann:
The National Folklore Collection, University College Dublin

Ríonach uí Ógáin

Ireland is renowned for its storytelling, folklore, and vernacular traditions. *Cnuasach Bhéaloideas Éireann*: The National Folklore Collection, University College Dublin (http://www.ucd.ie/folklore/en) is Ireland's primary repository for such materials of traditional vernacular culture. The Collection is a public archive, currently accessible for the most part in person; certain elements, however, are available online, and the intention is to make significant portions of the Collection available on the Internet in the near future.[1]

This current essay is divided into three main sections. It begins by placing the Collection in its cultural, historical, and contemporary contexts. It then addresses the Collection itself and the material it has to offer in terms of folkloristics and other aspects of social and cultural research. The final section offers an example from the archive in the form of a single sheet of music transcription and its collecting that underlies the importance and urgency of ongoing ethnographic fieldwork as well as its potential.

Cultural and Historical Context

In the nineteenth century, as a reaction against the industrial age and also in connection with the advancement of nationalism, attention was given to antiquarianism and what might be called popular culture. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, storytelling and folk tradition in Ireland began to be recognized as relatively untapped aspects of cultural expression. Some work had previously been undertaken in the compilation of Anglo-Irish tales and novels, and many of these writers belonged to what was at the time the English-speaking minority. People then began to turn to Irish-language material. The American collector, scholar, and linguist, Jeremiah Curtin, was one of the first to collect in Irish-speaking districts of Ireland. He visited Ireland on three occasions and published a number of books. His first book was *Myths and Folk-lore of Ireland*, published in 1890. Although Curtin collected from Irish speakers, he did so through English and then published in English. Dubhghlas de hÍde (Douglas Hyde) was the first President of the Republic of Ireland and professor of modern Irish at University College Dublin, and he was the first to collect and publish stories in Irish. His passion for collecting tales and lore

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[1] See, for instance, http://www.duchas.ie, http://digital.ucd.ie/, and http://www.bealbeo.ie.

came from his love of Irish. In addition to the cultural and language revivals, there was also a broader political revival, with people collecting and using vernacular material for a number of reasons. Collecting tales was viewed as having particular merit, and the notion of a romantic, idealized past was often seen as reflected in the material itself—a view that would eventually underpin an attitude to Irish culture, language, and folklore more generally. While this work of collecting, publishing, and promoting was taking place through Irish, parallel work was taking place in the Anglo-Irish community—W. B. Yeats, Lady Augusta Gregory, and George Millington Synge are among the names most closely associated with these efforts. By the early twentieth century a particular emphasis was being placed on tales, legends, and beliefs. In addition, scholars began to come from abroad to study Irish language and literature.

Traditional Material Found in the National Folklore Collection

The person largely responsible for the establishment of *Coimisiún Béaloideasa Éireann* (the Irish Folklore Commission) in 1935 was Séamus Ó Duilearga (James Hamilton Delargy), who was Professor of Irish Folklore at University College Dublin (UCD), Honorary Director of the Commission, and editor of *Béaloideas*: *The Journal of the Folklore of Ireland Society* for a number of years. Ó Duilearga was an assistant to Dubhghlas de hÍde at UCD. Before the Commission was established there were two preliminary organizations devoted to Irish folklore: *An Cumann le Béaloideas Éireann* (the Folklore of Ireland Society) founded in 1926 and *Institiúid Bhéaloideas Éireann* (the Irish Folklore Institute) founded in 1930.

The Collection is successor to the Irish Folklore Commission, which was established for the purposes of collecting, safeguarding, and disseminating the oral traditions of Ireland (Briody 2007). The Commission was established by the government of Ireland under the auspices of the Department of Education, and it appointed a number of full-time and part-time collectors of folklore throughout Ireland. The establishment of the Commission was influenced by similar developments in Scandinavia and other areas; for instance, a number of individuals such as the Swedish folklorist Carl von Sydow played influential roles in the establishment, formation, and development of the Commission, and later the Collection. Seán Ó Suilleabháin, archivist with the Commission, also spent several months in Sweden where he adapted the Swedish system to Irish tradition; his publication of *A Handbook of Irish Folklore* was a cornerstone in providing guidance for fieldworkers and in establishing a cataloging system (Ó Súilleabháin 1942). The chief subject areas this handbook encompasses are: Settlement and Dwelling, Livelihood and Household Support, Communications and Trade, The Community, Human Life, Nature, Folk Medicine, Time, Principles and Rules of Popular Belief and Practice, Mythological Tradition, Historical Tradition, Religious Tradition, Popular Oral Literature, and Sports and Pastimes. This handbook now dictates the structure and cataloging process in the archive.

The emphasis of ethnographic fieldwork in the early days of the Commission was on the *Gaeltachtaí*, or Irish-speaking districts of Ireland, and on the storytelling traditions. Full-time collectors were provided with sound-recording equipment for use in the field. In keeping with technological progress, sound-recordings were made on ediphone cylinders, on acetate discs, and in the latter years of the Commission with tape-recorders. The Commission paid particular

attention to the collecting of music and song. Collectors, who lived and worked in various places in Ireland, transcribed their fieldwork into notebooks, which they then posted, along with the sound-recordings, to the Head Office in Dublin. Collectors were encouraged to take photographs of the storytellers, their houses, and aspects of vernacular tradition and architecture. Caoimhín Ó Danachair (Kevin Danaher) was an ethnologist with the Commission and played a pioneering role in the establishment of the photographic and sound archives.

During the lifetime of the Commission, a number of innovative schemes took place. These included the Schools' Scheme (1937-38), in which the Department of Education, the Schools' Inspectors, Primary School teachers, and the pupils in the senior classes took part (Ó Catháin 1999). The pupils, aged for the most part between eleven and fourteen years of age, collected information from their parents, grandparents, relatives, and neighbors and wrote a weekly essay on subjects such as "My Home District," "A Local Song," or "Famous People." The results of the scheme amount to some 500,000 handwritten pages by pupils and, in some instances, teachers who made a significant contribution to the Schools' Manuscripts Collection.

In many ways, the approach to collecting and even the traditions to be recorded reached beyond the physical island of Ireland. For instance, the influence of Celtic languages in general as making up the folklore corpus was evident from the outset. Séamus Ó Duilearga was committed to recording Scottish oral tradition, and with the appointment of Calum Mac Gilleathain (Calum Maclean), the Commission's brief was extended to Scotland. Mac Gilleathain began his fieldwork in Scotland in 1946. As a result of a visit by An Taoiseach Éamon de Valera to the Isle of Man in 1947, the Commission also made sound recordings of the last native speakers of Manx, with Caoimhín Ó Danachair traveling to the Isle of Man in April 1948 and recording a number of hours of material from eight speakers. In addition, the Commission established a wide network of voluntary collectors and contributors following the creation of the questionnaire system (Ní Fhloinn 2001). The questionnaire system allowed for immediate documentation of a particular aspect of tradition throughout Ireland and a number of significant publications drew on the results of questionnaire replies.

The National Folklore Collection

The Irish Folklore Commission was disbanded in 1970 and its staff and holdings transferred to University College Dublin. A major role of the National Folklore Collection (NFC) is to preserve and disseminate those holdings and to augment the Collection by means of fieldwork, donations, and purchases. Fieldwork is the core process by which tradition is documented for inclusion in the NFC, and in turn a greater awareness of the Collection itself helps to promote pride in Ireland's oral and material cultural heritage. Progression towards full, online accessibility will therefore ensure the Collection's greatest impact and potential as it contributes new value to the cultural life of Ireland at home and abroad.

The National Folklore Collection is a unique repository in terms of research potential: it offers the world of scholarship access to this national and international resource for study and research. An important part of the Collection's mission is to promote new insights into, as well as a greater appreciation and deeper understanding of, Irish cultural heritage as found in the

Collection. This folklore archive is the manifestation of documented tradition and represents the voices of over 100,000 contributors.

The NFC's moving images and sound archive includes over 10,000 hours of audio material and 1,000 hours of film and video. These particular aspects of the Collection highlight the fact that the history of sound and film recording forms part of the documentation of tradition. The audio archive of the National Folklore Collection houses some 1,100 wax-cylinder recordings of folk narratives, folk song, and folk music. Approximately one-third of the wax cylinders in the NFC were recorded by full-time collectors of the Irish Folklore Commission. The earliest of these contain recordings dating as far back as 1897 to the first national Feis Ceoil competitions, which were held in Dublin and Belfast. The sound archive also contains rare Irish-language recordings made by eminent collectors such as Luke Donnellan (1878-1952) in south Armagh, Lorcán Ó Muireadhaigh (1883-1941) in Omeath, County Louth, and Piaras de Hindeberg (1912-1982) in County Waterford. This unique collection of wax cylinders spans almost 60 years of folklore recording up to the mid-twentieth century. Following a successful application to the Heritage Council of Ireland and other bodies in recent years, a selection of them was published online at http://www.bealbeo.ie/.

Detailed transcripts of interviews conducted by folklore collectors from the 1930s to the present are bound in volumes and stored in the Manuscript Archive of the NFC. A series of finding aids provide detailed references to relevant proper names and to subject matter. Most of the material in the Collection has been assembled by full-time collectors of the Irish Folklore Commission and its successors, and collecting activity is ongoing. A large proportion of the material taken down by full-time collectors consists of transcripts of field recordings in both Irish and English, made initially on wax-cylinder recording machines. Other information collected by means of the questionnaire system includes descriptions of seasonal customs, beliefs, practices, and historical tradition, as well as information regarding Ireland's material and social culture. The specialist library contains books, periodicals, and offprints on Irish and comparative folklore, ethnology, and related fields.

As part of a UCD initiative towards creating a digital repository, access to material in the following subject areas from the National Folklore Collection is available online at http://digital.ucd.ie/: the Urban Folklore Project, containing sound recordings and images from around Dublin recorded in 1979-80; the Schools' Manuscripts Collection, with its substantial selection from County Galway and representative samples from other parts of Ireland; a selection of general photographs relating to oral tradition; the 1945 questionnaire replies related to the Irish Famine (1845-52); examples of traditional music; the questionnaire on Tinkers (Travelers); the questionnaire on Emigration to America; and a selection of children's games.

In December 2013 the scanned images of manuscript pages and a searchable database were made available (http://www.duchas.ie) for the Schools' Manuscripts Collection for four counties—Dublin, Mayo, Donegal, and Waterford. The project is being funded by UCD and the Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht and is a joint venture with FIONTAR Dublin City University. It is anticipated that this site will be augmented in the next few years and that the entire Schools' Manuscripts Collection will eventually be accessible in this way. These are the initial steps to making the Collection digitally available in a way that offers researchers and members of the public global access to original sources. Similarly, *Béaloideas: The Journal of*

the Folklore of Ireland Society is available online through JSTOR, and issues contain material from the National Folklore Collection in addition to analytical, folkloristic articles.

Further information on the Collection and guidelines as to its use are available at http://www.ucd.ie/irishfolklore/en/. The Collection is open to the public Tuesday-Friday 2:30-5:30 pm; the Reading Room and Sound Archive are the primary means for physical public access to original material. The scope and breadth of the enquiries handled by the Archive on a day-to-day basis are extensive. Queries are received from the media, academic staff, and postgraduate researchers, as well as from those involved with local and community projects, all while research is being undertaken in the Archive for numerous purposes, including environmental impact statements, postgraduate study, personal interest, publications, local newspapers, radio and television broadcasts, drama and theater information, and museum exhibitions. In addition to working with in-person visitors, the Collection's staff also deals with queries by email, post, and phone.

Excerpt from the National Folklore Collection

A selected example from the archive can act as a case study to represent the wealth of material, the research potential, and the significance of the Collection as a whole. Full-time collectors were early on required to keep a diary in which they documented their day-to-day work as ethnographic field collectors. The following item presents a translation from Irish of the first two diary entries by field collector Séamus Ennis, who worked as full-time collector of music and song with the Irish Folklore Commission 1942-47:[2]

> Thursday, July 2, 1942
> I left Dublin at 2.30 P.M. and reached Ballinasloe at 11.30 P.M. where I slept.[3]
>
> Friday, July 3, 1942
> I left Ballinasloe at one o'clock in the afternoon. I went to Oranmore, where I spoke to an old man. He sang "Is í Nóirín Mo Mhian" ["Nóirín Is My Desire"] for me. His rendering of the air was so bad that I was unable to recognize a single note, but I deciphered one verse that I had not heard previously:
> I slept in Castlebar,
> At the edge of your bed and you did not hear me.
> I stretched out my arm to kiss your mouth,

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[2] The extract is contained in National Folklore Collection 1295:1-2. For an account of the collector and for the complete edited and translated diary, see uí Ógáin 2009.

[3] Ennis appears to have undertaken this journey by bicycle, as he described it in a letter to Seán O Súilleabháin (July 8, 1942): "I set off with speed and raced through Kilbeggan around seven o'clock. I had tea there and had a rest. I set off again and arrived in Ballinasloe at 11.30 P.M."

You were not there and all I had was the blanket and myself.[4]

That was all he had that was of interest to me. I continued to Galway and stayed at Micheál Ó hOisín's house in Salthill. He plays the fiddle and pipes. I spent the night playing the whistle with him (that I had with me), the fiddle, and the pipes. He is one of the Ó hOisín family from Tuam (*Amhráin Mhuighe Seóla*) and he knows wonderful music. *Amhráin Chlainne Gaedheal* arrived from Dublin this afternoon.

Fieldwork is the lifeblood of a tradition archive. The above diary extract, originally written in Irish, may be regarded as representative of the daily documentation of their work by full-time collectors with the Irish Folklore Commission, where diaries now have a great deal to offer in terms of the study of oral tradition today. In current folkloristic analysis, the context of ethnographic fieldwork has assumed a central role, as it often offers crucial insights into matters of collector-informant contact and relationship, as well as matters of performance and style. The extract indicates Ennis' custom of comparing versions he had collected to those found in publications. The final line alludes to *Amhráin Chlainne Gaedheal*, a book of songs in Irish published in Dublin in 1905, edited and annotated by Micheál and Tomás Ó Máille (Ó Máille and Ó Máille 1905). A fresh examination of collectors' attitudes to literacy and to published material is facilitated by publication of such diaries and similar primary source material. In instructions to folklore collectors, Seán Ó Súilleabháin advised them to be wary of published material. Regarding the collection of oral literature, he wrote as follows (1942:555): "Be very cautious in dealing with a storyteller who can read. Make sure before you write down a tale that he has not learned it directly from a book, newspaper, or manuscript. All tales recorded should be genuine popular tradition so far as the recorder can determine."

An examination of such earlier field diaries underlines the fact that journals are core to ethnographic fieldwork today, but they also contribute to the larger picture of the emergence of a unique tradition archive and of the approaches to collecting traditional music and song employed in Ireland in the 1940s. Additionally, a tradition archive should not be viewed as a "completed" repository. It is constantly being augmented as tradition itself changes and develops. Although the core elements of human life remain the same, with each generation they are viewed, practiced, and passed on in a different fashion. This aspect of documentation of
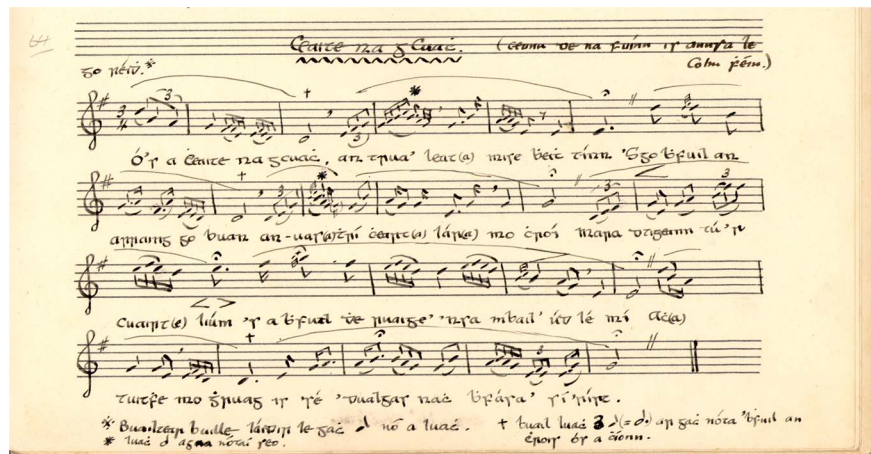
Fig. 1. Transcription of "Ceaite na gCuach" from fieldwork by Séamus Ennis from Colm Ó Caodháin, Glinsce, Carna, County Galway, Ireland in the 1940s.

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[4] In a letter to Seán Ó Súilleabháin (July 8, 1942), Ennis said he met an old man in Oranmore who sang a song in exchange for a pint. He also said that the old man did not have a note in his head. Ennis describes this encounter and sings a verse of the song in Ennis 1988.

material is arguably not represented in guidebooks for field collectors. Many aspects of tradition and traditional practice such as the observation of calendar custom and rites of passage, as described by collectors in their diaries, might well serve as a basis for comparative studies in the future.

Finally, we may note that without the ready availability of sound-recording equipment, Séamus Ennis wrote the staff notation of airs and tunes, as well as the accompanying words in relation to songs, while he worked alongside musicians and singers. In some instances, he later corrected and rewrote field notes, as was the case in the transcription found in Figure 1. Séamus Ennis worked with the Irish Folklore Commission before the word "ethnomusicology" had been created to describe a distinct discipline. Ethnomusicology, and the work of Séamus Ennis, fall within the general realm of subject areas that involve what might be described as fluid original source material based on ethnographic fieldwork. Earlier archival materials merit revisiting and re-examination in this light. When such earlier material as is found in the NFC is placed in a contemporary folkloristic framework, it will allow for fresh, in-depth analysis of ethnographic fieldwork both in Ireland and beyond.

University College Dublin

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The Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews Digital Library

Bruce Rosenstock and Belén Bistué

The Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews Digital Library contains over 200 digitized reel-to-reel audiotapes that record the fieldwork of two of America's foremost Romance medievalists, Samuel Armistead (University of California, Davis) and Joseph Silverman (University of California, Santa Cruz), who gathered ballads and other folk literature in the Hispanic tradition as preserved by Sephardic Jews. Their fieldwork extended over several decades in the latter half of the twentieth century and spanned three continents and many dozens of informants. The audio recordings can be heard in their entirety or they can be searched for specific ballads across a number of different tapes. The transcriptions of the ballads and other folk material can also be searched for words and phrases. The digital library is now permanently hosted by the University of Illinois library and can be accessed at http://sephardi folklit.illinois.edu.
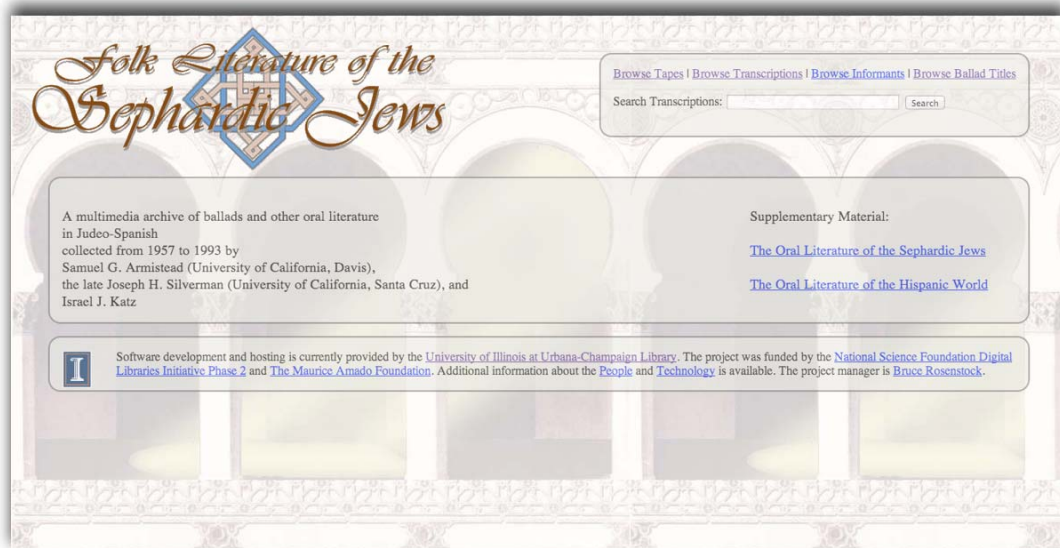
Fig. 1. Homepage for The Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews Digital Library at http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/.

Part One: Background and Goals of the Digital Library (Bruce Rosenstock)

It is with a heavy heart that I compose these lines about my friend, Sam Armistead. Samuel Gordon Armistead passed away at the age of 85 on August 7, 2013. He had retired only

two years earlier from the University of California, Davis, where he taught in the Department of Spanish for 28 years. Those who knew him understand that "retirement" was perhaps the only word in his immense repertoire of languages that held no allure for him.

I was a Lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of California, Davis in the fall of 1998 when I attended a public lecture delivered by Sam. He described the fieldwork that he and the late Joseph Silverman (his former colleague at UCLA) had conducted for over two decades in the United States, Europe, North Africa, and Israel among the descendants of the Jews who had been expelled from Spain in 1492. These Jews, who called themselves Sephardim (from "Sepharad," their name for the Iberian peninsula), preserved a tradition of oral Hispanic folk literature that, even at the time of the expulsion, had already a centuries-long history, at least in some of its genres. Sam approached this material as a medievalist, seeking to trace the complicated lineage of often fragmentary, orally transmitted Hispanic ballads to their Carolingian and, in some cases, Germanic oral epic ancestry. His scholarly interest in Sephardic (and other Hispanic) folk literature quickly came to include far more than the ballad fragments of the pan-European epic tradition. As Armistead explains (2003:154):

> The Hispanic oral tradition comprises not only the "classic" genres of folk literature: narrative poetry (ballads, *corridos*), lyric poetry, orally improvised poetry (*décimas*, *puntos*, *bertsoak*), children's rhymes, riddles, proverbs, folktales, and folk theater, but also local legends, memorates, jokes, folk prayers and incantations (*ensalmos*), cumulative songs, counting-out rhymes, curses and blessings, folk comparisons, calls to animals, tongue-twisters, formulaic phrases, baby talk, thieves' jargon, microtoponymy, folk beliefs, and, indeed, language itself, in all its diversity, as a constantly changing and consistently creative manifestation of folk culture.

The epic that Sam's work uncovered was, one might say without too much exaggeration, the epic of the human experience itself. Listening to Sam describe his fieldwork, I imagined that I sat in the presence of the Shekhinah, the indwelling of the divine Person in the world according to Kabbalistic theosophy, a figure whom Sam invoked at the start of the talk, perhaps not entirely in jest, as the power watching over him until he completed all the projected volumes of his *Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews*.[1] I had, in fact, come to the talk precisely because I was interested in the development of the Lurianic Kabbalah that arose in large part as a response to the trauma of the Jewish expulsion from Spain. I had no idea that a collector of shards of song might be an agent of *tikkun olam*. Little did I know.

In that public lecture, Sam explained how the Judeo-Spanish tradition of folk literature had largely ceased to be a living tradition, just as the Judeo-Spanish language itself was under threat of extinction. He said that the voices of his Sephardic informants were preserved on reel-to-reel tapes and, he hoped, they would be a resource for scholars in the future. I approached Sam after his talk and asked him if he would be willing to work with me on a project to digitize the tapes and make them available (on what we then called the World Wide Web), for not only

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[1] See the References section at the end of this essay for a listing of the individual volumes (*FLSJ* I-VIII), six of which have been published and two of which (VII-VIII) are currently in preparation, the latter posthumously.

future scholars to hear and study but also for laypeople who wished to explore this extraordinary cultural treasure. Sam did not hesitate to agree and, despite his busy work and research schedule, he met with me to plan our grant proposal to the National Science Foundation for digital library projects (the Digital Library Initiative Phase 2 grant cycle). After getting support from the University Library, I ventured into the then uncharted territory of using XML (the Extended Markup Language) to create a multimedia library with the possibility of annotating audio and textual files through "link libraries" and an associated "ontology" of concepts that could be used by registered scholars to tag the massive amount of data that would be included in the proposed digital library. These ambitious goals for experimenting with the new XML-based "semantic web" might have themselves persuaded the NSF to support the digitization project, but, as I later learned from well-placed sources, everyone was simply astounded by the richness of the material and the need to preserve it for posterity. I received a call from the NSF in the spring of 1998 informing me that Sam and I had been awarded a three-year grant of nearly $500,000 to digitize, transcribe, and place on the web for searching and annotating the audiotapes that would become the Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews Multimedia Digital Library.

My move from theory to practice in the creation of a digital library was rather labor-intensive, trained as I was as a classical philologist and lacking a background in computer programming or even the most minimal training in library science. I knew, however, that the material would be ill-served if its encoding was not as information-rich as possible and if its transcription did not conform to the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) standards that had already been established for digital texts. I therefore made certain that the audio files were digitized both as WAV files and also as the more compressed MP3 files. I also developed a computer program to process the transcriptions into standard TEI XML files. The transcriptions themselves began as simple text files and went through up to three levels of review (involving Spanish-speaking undergraduates who produced an initial version as well as graduate students in the Spanish Department who corrected and annotated the texts) before their final version was accepted by Sam's longtime editorial assistant, Karen Olson. Near the end of our grant, a new technology was made available that permitted the linking of transcriptions to specific segments of the full audio file: the RealAudio server and client that could stream digital audio by means of a web-based platform using information in a special XML file encoded in the Synchronized Multimedia Integration Language (SMIL) format. Until the introduction of SMIL technology I had no idea how to permit individuals to listen to the audio file while reading the transcription. Sam's Shekhinah smiled upon us, I suppose.

After completing the software architecture for web delivery of the digitized and transcribed files, the University of California, Davis librarians informed me that it was beyond their abilities or resources to provide a permanent platform for the website. They generously offered to preserve all the files, but they could not make them available online. For the next seven years I kept the website alive on my office computer at home. Needless to say, this was not the best way to provide the world with access to this material. In 2010, after I had resettled at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, I met with librarians there who immediately agreed to take over the digital library and provide a permanent platform for it.

The homepage of the site (http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/) offers links in the upper right-hand corner to various portals of entry into the digital library. The "Browse Tapes" link

takes visitors to a list of the digitized reel-to-reel tapes that make up the backbone of the archive. The "Details" link to the left of each tape name opens a page where metadata about the tape are provided, and an embedded audio player allows visitors to listen to the entire tape. The "Browse Transcriptions" link on the upper right of the homepage allows visitors to see the segments on the audiotapes arranged according to the ballad name represented by each segment. The "Details" link to the left of each segment opens a window where metadata about the whole tape and the segment are provided, with an embedded audio player to play the segment. The transcription itself is provided with several levels of formatting. Searches for words and phrases are also possible across the entire archive. A visitor who wishes to find all transcriptions of a particular ballad can use the browser's "Find" function when the page of all transcriptions is open (http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/BrowseTranscriptions/). The homepage of the library also offers two introductions to the material, both written by Professor Armistead: "The Oral Literature of the Sephardic Jews" and "The Oral Literature of the Hispanic World."

Fig. 2. All transcriptions as listed in the database's "browse" function at http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/

Fig. 3. Sample transcription of a ballad, associated metadata, and audio player link (http://sephardifolklit. illinois.edu/FLSJ/transcriptiondetails/1230).

Part Two: Use and Significance of the Digital Library (Belén Bistué)

One of the main values of the Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews Digital Library is the possibility it offers for better understanding the oral dimension of the *Romancero*. Access to different performances of the same ballad recorded at different times and places can help us conceptualize how processes such as variation and fusion work. In addition to a comparison of the different final products that result from these processes (which is what written editions offer), this multimedia collection allows us to *witness* moments of improvisation in the use of vocabulary, formulae, and metrical patterns. We can listen, for instance, to the subtle change of rhythm that sometimes accompanies an improvised-creation moment, or to the critical comments that are often made by an informant's friend or family member who was present at the time of the recording. In fact, the creative changes that occur in the performance sometimes elicit brief discussions to which the user of the FLSJ library has access.

In 2011, with the support of the Auge Foundation directed by Graciela Roiz, I had the chance to offer at the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo in Mendoza, Argentina, a class titled "El Romancero sefardí: un espacio de intersecciones culturales y su pervivencia en la tradición oral" ("Sephardic Ballads: A Space for Cultural Intersections and its Survival in Oral Tradition"), which was based on the analysis and contextualization of recordings and transcriptions of ballads in the FLSJ digital library. One of the exercises we performed in this class was the analysis of variations in the ending of different versions of the ballad of "Tamar y Amnón."[2] Until they reach the end, all versions that we accessed followed the story without much variation. Tamar is raped by her brother Amnon, who created the occasion for the crime by pretending to be sick and asking his father, David, to send Tamar to his room with some food—and by specifying that she should come alone. While most versions coincided on the argument and on the menu (the suggestive "pechuguitas de una pava"), we found an interesting amount of variation in the closing lines of the ballad, which are spoken by Tamar's other brother, Absalom. After Tamar tells him what happened, in some of the versions he comforts Tamar by telling her that she will be well regarded and receive a good judgment:

> —No se te dé nada, Tamar,
> no se te dé nada, mi alma.
> Mañana por la mañana,
> *tú serás la bien juzgada.*
> (reel4a-1; re25a-5)[3]

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[2] To find these variations, open the "Browse Transcriptions" page (http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/BrowseTranscriptions) and use the browser's "Find" function to search for "Tamar." There are 14 transcriptions that have been identified as instances of this ballad.

[3] Reel4a-1: http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/16; re25a-5: http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/1219. In all my quotations from the archive, I have regularized the spelling. I have provided links to the transcriptions wherever possible. One can also search on the "Browse Transcription" page for the segment designation provided and use the "Details" link to the left in order to reach the page with the embedded audio player and the full transcription of the ballad.

[—Don't you worry, Tamar,
don't you worry, my soul.
Tomorrow morning,
you'll be deemed a good woman.]

—No te dé nada, mi alma,
no te dé nada mi vida.
Mañana por la mañana,
antes que amanezca el sol,
tú serás la bien juzgada.
                    (luna09a-6)[4]

[—Don't worry, my soul,
don't worry, my life.
Tomorrow morning,
before the sun rises,
you'll be deemed a good woman.]

In other versions, Absalom assures his sister that she will be *well married*: "No se te importe, Tamar, / *que tú serás la bien casada*" (62re37a-5)[5] ("Don't you mind, Tamar, / *you will be well married*"); "No estés de nada tú, Tamar, / *tú serás la bien casada*" (isr15-1-3)[6] ("Don't worry yourself, Tamar, / *you will be well married*"); "No te se importe, Tamar, / *que tú serás la bien casada"* (ro16a) ("Don't you mind, Tamar, / *you will be well married*"). And in yet others, the ending addresses concerns about Tamar's honor and about revenge: "tú serás la más honrada" (62-43b5)[7] ("you will be the most honored"), "tú serás la bien vengada" (reel8b-2)[8] ("you will be well avenged"). Indeed, there are versions in which the final emphasis fully shifts from Tamar's future status to Abasalom's revenge on Amnon:

—No se te dé nada, Tamar,
no se te dé nada, mi alma.
De antes que arraye el sol,
su sangre será derramada.
De antes que arraye el sol,
su sangre será derramada.

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[4] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/1871.

[5] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/252.

[6] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/675.

[7] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/427.

[8] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/1052.

(62-46b-4;[9] and similarly in ta51b-3[10])

> [—Don't you worry, Tamar,
> don't you worry, my soul.
> Before the sun comes out,
> *his blood will be shed*.
> Before the sun comes out,
> *his blood will be shed*.]

Interestingly, there are also cases in which we can see almost all of the above possibilities creatively brought together. We have, for instance, Absalom not only promising Tamar that she will be well married, but also that Amnon's blood will be shed, and also that her honor will be avenged:

> —No se te dé nada, Tamar,
> que *tú serás la bien casada*.
> Mañana por la mañana,
> *su sangre será vertida*
> y tú, mi querida hermana,
> *tu honra será vengada*.
>   (62re36a-4)[11]

> [—Don't you worry, Tamar,
> *you will be well married*.
> Tomorrow morning,
> *his blood will be shed*.
> and, you, my dear sister,
> *your honor will be avenged*.]

In yet another creative combination, the final lines take the form of a parallel between the blood of Tamar and that of Amnon. Absalom says that Tamar's blood will be well avenged and Amnon's blood will be well shed: "que *tu sangre* irá bien vengada. / Y antes que el sol apunte, / *su sangre* irá bien vertida" (ro14a)[12] ("*your blood* will go well avenged. / And before the sun shows up, / *his blood* will go well shed"). Both combinations, we must note, force the rhyme a bit (they insert an -*i-a* verse into the ballad's -*a-a* pattern). Other performances in which the

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[9] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/381.

[10] Unfortunately, there seems to be an error associated with the data associated with this audio file.

[11] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/269.

[12] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TapeDetails/346. Unfortunately, transcriptions are not available for this tape. One can hear the whole tape, however, using the embedded audio player on the webpage. The tape named "ro14a" can be found on the "Browse Tapes" page.

perspectives are combined are even less seamless. In one case Absalom tells Tamar that Amnon's blood will be avenged: "Antes de que raye el sol, / *su sangre* será vengada" (ro11a)[13] ("Before the sun appears, / *his blood* will be avenged")—rather than her honor being avenged or Amnon's blood shed. And in another instance, the blood that is shed seems to be Tamar's instead of Amnon's:

> —No se te dé nada, Tamar,
> tú serás la bien casada.
> Y antes que apuntara el sol
> *tu* sangre ya era regada.
>   (62re31b-4)[14]

> [—Don't you worry, Tamar,
> you will be well married.
> And before the sun rose,
> *your* blood was already shed.]

This could very well be a slip of the tongue, but the informant sounds quite confident, and it may also be that she is hinting at a more tragic ending—especially if we consider that, although these lines are still addressed to Tamar (there is a second person possessive "tu"), the tense of the verb changes from future to past in the last verse. This final change may give us the feeling of a different temporal perspective, almost as if we were now listening to the narration of the actual ending, rather than to Absalom's speech.

In any case, whether the informants got confused or actually wanted to convey a different meaning, the more interesting aspect of comparing these various endings is the possibility for discussion that they create. At the most immediate level, we can see this possibility in the recordings themselves. After they have finished singing, some informants comment on the closing lines they've chosen. In the file I first cited, the informant and her daughter add, after the song has finished, that Tamar will not only receive a good judgment but also a prize from Heaven: she will be "juzgada y bien juzgada y de los cielos premiada" (reel4a-1) ("judged and judged good, and she will receive a prize from heaven"). In another file (isr15-1-3), the informant adds an explanation as well: Absalom wanted to calm his sister by telling her that she would have good fortune, as if he were saying, "No te apures, esto no es nada, que tu suerte será buena" ("Don't you hurry, this is nothing, and your fortune will be good"). In file reel8b-2, before remembering the line in which Absalom promises that Tamar will be rightly avenged ("bien vengada"), the informant interrupts himself to explain that Absalom promises to kill Amnon and then kills him. Actually, before he had begun reciting the ballad, this informant had already explained that Amnon's passion was in fact a punishment for King David, who had fallen in love with Bathsheba. And in reel15a, when the informant cannot remember the ending, someone else explains that Absalom kills Amnon in order to avenge his own dishonor as Tamar's

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[13] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TapeDetails/341. This tape also lacks transcriptions.

[14] http://sephardifolklit.illinois.edu/FLSJ/TranscriptionDetails/328.

brother. As we can see, the ending of "Tamar y Amnón" seems to be a particularly unstable place. It provokes change, perhaps because it provokes thought, too.[15]

The decision to include recordings and instrumental transcriptions of these comments in the library was felicitous. As a scholar, I see them as possible entry points into the study of the cultural and historical tensions that the doubts regarding how to repay Tamar, or Absalom, may represent. As a teacher, I see them as an opportunity for my students to experience moments of creative change. Indeed, the comparison of changes, seamless combinations, and discussions can also provoke thought and participation in the classroom. By *witnessing* these moments of instability, we can see ballads not only as past literature, but also as an open tradition that offers room for debate and creation. It is in this sense that the digital library adds an invaluable dimension to the study of the *Romancero*.

Conclusion

The Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews Digital Library offers laypersons and scholars an opportunity to share the results of decades of fieldwork across several continents with over 240 informants. The researchers who engaged in this fieldwork preserved on tape the last stage of an oral tradition whose history reaches back to the earliest strata of Romance epic but no longer exists as a living and evolving transmission practice. The digital library captures moments of performance that no book can possibly offer. There are now six volumes in the *Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews* series authored by Armistead, Silverman, and the musicologist Israel Katz. These books and many articles offer critical editions and discussions of the ballads preserved in the digital library. Our hope, therefore, is that the digital library will make it possible for the cultural treasure that Armistead and Silverman captured on tape just before it perished to live on in the continued tradition of their vibrant scholarship.

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[15] I would like to note that this is not the case in all ballads. The ending of the ballad of the "Infantina," for instance, is much the same in most of the library's versions. The man who goes to ask for his mother's advice before rescuing the beautiful maid from the tree invariably deserves the same punishment: "que le aten pies y manos y le arrastren por la villa" ("let them tie his feet and hands and drag him through the village") (for instance, isr10-1-6, luna09b-4, re21a-3, re29a-5, 62re32b-7, 62re34a-3, 62re38b, ta54a-3), except for the version in file re30b-1, where after the tying he should throw himself into the sea.

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FLSJ II   Samuel G. Armistead, Joseph H. Silverman, and Israel J. Katz, eds. *Folk Literature of the Sephardic Jews, II: Judeo-Spanish Ballads from Oral Tradition, I. Epic Ballads*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1986.

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MacEdward Leach and the Songs of Atlantic Canada

Beverley Diamond and Ian Brodie

This essay describes a website that brought the earliest audio recordings made in Atlantic Canada to the attention of scholars, singers, and cultural historians: MacEdward Leach and the Songs of Atlantic Canada (http://www.mun.ca/folklore/leach). Among the many collections of traditional song that have been made in Newfoundland and Labrador, there was until 2004 a noticeable gap in their accessibility. Collections by Karpeles (1970), Greenleaf and Mansfield (1965 [1933]), Peacock (1965), and Lehr (1985)—as well as Leach's Labrador collection (1966)—were published in print editions, and selections from Peacock (1956) were released on LP, but the earliest audio recordings made on the islands of Cape Breton and Newfoundland by American folklorist MacEdward Leach were largely unknown.[1] His collections are important not only for their size but also for their geographic and generic range. Unlike the earlier collectors, Leach was open to local compositions, as well as songs of American, English, Scottish, or Irish origin. In the late 1940s Leach had traveled with his first wife, Alice May (Maria) Doane, to her native Cape Breton, where they recorded over 80 songs in Gaelic. In 1950 and 1951, he and his second wife, Nancy Rafetto, made two trips to Newfoundland, where they amassed a collection of more than 600 English-language songs largely from English and Irish communities on the Avalon Peninsula.[2] The original reel-to-reel recordings were in the custody of the Memorial University Folklore and Language Archive. When the Research Centre for Music, Media and Place was established in 2003 with a mandate to undertake "applied" projects that would respond to requests and needs in the province's communities, it became clear that local singers—both amateur and professional—sought greater access to archival holdings in order to enrich their repertoires and enhance their knowledge of local culture and tradition. Hence, a website project was developed to seek permission from the Leach estate holder to digitize and present the Leach collection online. We hoped that the project would prove to be a stimulant to the still vibrant oral

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[1] Leach (1966) had released a small selection of the Newfoundland songs (*Songs from the Out-Ports of Newfoundland*, Folkways 4075) on Folkways, and song transcriptions of his Labrador collection were published (1965) as *Folk Ballads and Songs of the Lower Labrador Coast*.

[2] There is no connection between the Cape Breton and Newfoundland collections other than the fact that Leach made both of them and that they constitute the earliest audio-recorded collections in Atlantic Canada. The two Newfoundland collections are related in that Leach returned to some families he visited on the earlier trip, but he also traveled to new communities, including Fermuse, Renews, Portugal Cove South, Biscay Bay, Trepassey, St. Shott's, Riverhead-St. Mary's, St. Catherine's, St. Vincent's, and Mal Bay. His trip to west coast communities was part of the 1950 fieldwork. Details of his fieldwork are explained in the online biography on the website.

traditions of Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as a means for enabling dialogue between culture bearers and researchers. Our hopes were amply fulfilled.

The project had an additional pedagogical motivation: to engage graduate students of folklore and ethnomusicology in archival material itself, training them in technological processes and issues of multimedia representation. In 2003-04 five students (including one Gaelic speaker[3]), coordinated and supervised by folklorist Ian Brodie (then a Ph.D. student at the Memorial University of Newfoundland [MUN]), developed content for the site from the 1950 collection. Ian undertook the difficult task of designing the site, with close attention to both functionality and attractiveness. In 2005-06 a second group of three graduate students (coordinated and supervised by ethnomusicologist Kelly Best, then an M.A. student at MUN) updated and augmented the content of the site with the 1951 collection. The students digitized the original tapes, transcribed song texts or located Leach's transcriptions, and combed the archives for interesting images, annotations, or other relevant research material.

We were cognizant of multiple audiences. As mentioned, we knew that Newfoundland families and particularly singers were eager to access this archival collection, and that cumbersome academic annotations might be at best distractions and at worst obstacles to easy use. But we also wanted to create a site with documentation that academics would find useful. Additionally we were concerned about "protecting" the collection from illegal exploitation—third-party downloads particularly for commercial publication. This concern was much more "in the air" ten years ago and less so now as digital archives proliferate[4] and largely foreclose on the need to commodify or sell the content. To address this perceived need to protect but at the same time enable singers to learn songs, we published full song texts but edited the field recordings, placing audio for only one or two stanzas of each song on the site. This arrangement also helped with an additional (self-imposed) mandate for accessibility: ten years ago, with broadband and high-speed internet less widespread—particularly in the outport communities from which these songs were originally collected—full-length, high-fidelity sound files would have made for cumbersome downloads. By keeping the files under a minute in length and at a low resolution, it was hoped that visitors to the site would get the tune and the aesthetics of the performance without needing what would then have been specialized equipment.

Another early decision was for each song to have its own page. This seemingly predictable choice meant that we were treating the song as the default item of interest—not the genre[5] or chronology of either the recording or the repertoire.[6] This organization was unsettling, as it potentially separated the song from the moment of performance and the performer. The benefit of hypertext, however, is that connections between songs can be made in any number of ways. The site was designed to think of the songs less as "songs" and more as "instances of

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[3] To ensure accuracy, we also commissioned Gaelic specialist Dr. Lori MacKinnon to do further work on the Gaelic texts and translations.

[4] The complete Leach recordings from Newfoundland are now accessible through Memorial University's Digital Archive Initiative on the Library website.

[5] There is also a web page on "genre" but we chose not to emphasize distinctions—between traditional, country, or commercial popular music, for instance—that are most often very cloudy in practice.

[6] It also made sense from a design perspective, allowing for easier indexing and linking of files.

performance": there was indeed a text and a tune, which could be presented through transcription, audio, and cross-references, but it was *this* text and *this* tune brought together at *this* moment by *this* singer of *this* place. These instances of performance occurred within particular contexts and, with the help of hyperlinks to pages for each singer and community, we tried to place them more clearly within local contexts. Bearing in mind the multiple audiences, we tried to anticipate the possible ways a user might approach the site while inviting them to explore further questions.

A folksong revivalist might be interested in variants: he or she would have an already established song repertoire in mind and proceed to look for versions from Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and elsewhere. For that person we provided the standard access points of a title index and a classification by genre (which impelled the team to reconsider "genre" as a system of categorization). For example, someone looking for the ballad "Barbara Allen" (Child 84; Roud 54[7]) would find a version from Cape Broyle (a small community on the Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland, an hour south of the capital, St. John's) as sung by Gerald Aylward. The text of Aylward's version resembles many variants published in other collections, but the tune is a highly unusual one. Were the scholar so inclined, he or she could explore more of Aylward's songs (Leach collected six from him) or those of the other 17 Cape Broyle singers. The song becomes a potential entry point to the person and the community.

But social historians would approach with different questions, and would begin by looking at the community: they would turn to the Cape Broyle page to discover what songs were sung at this place at this time and who were the tradition bearers in the community. The singers reflect different social milieux. Some were fishermen, while others worked at the local fish oil plant, delivered the mail, edited the local newspaper, inspected roads for the government, traveled to work on the American base at Fort Pepperall, or took seasonal employment in the lumber camps. The repertoire of the community is also diverse with many of the great ballads of the Anglo-Irish tradition, comic songs, and some commercial covers. Perhaps the social historian would come across "Tidal Wave at Burin," a locally composed song narrating the titular event (which occurred on November 18, 1929) with details both factual—the time of day and damages—and emotional. And perhaps they would begin to ask questions concerning the personal and community repertoire: why do "Barbara Allen" and "Tidal Wave at Burin"—one the romantic-tragic English, the other the historico-tragic local—each hold a place in the worldview of early 1950s Cape Broyle? The song becomes a potential entry point to the nature of expressive performance. A third audience involves, of course, people with a direct and personal connection to the places and singers themselves. A descendant of Gerald Aylward is less concerned with the songs as "texts" (as would be true for the revivalist) or "accounts" (as in the case of the social historian) than as Aylward's own, particular, idiosyncratic performances. Their value is genealogical and affective, and they need not provide insight into anything beyond that. But the descendant might wish to explore more about Aylward's community through other singers, or the

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[7] Child numbers refer to the index (1882-98) made by American folklorist Francis James Child in the late nineteenth century; Roud numbers were assigned by Croydon librarian Steven Roud to tens of thousands of folksongs in the English language, constituting the largest index (2006-) of English-language folksongs to date. An invaluable tool for documenting songs in the collection was the Traditional Ballad Index (http://www.fresnostate.edu/folklore/BalladSearch.html) maintained by California State University, Fresno.

types of songs he chose to sing, and perhaps through reading the song notes about "Barbara Allen" discover more about traditional ballads. The song becomes a potential entry point to consider how Aylward sat at the confluence of a variety of musical traditions.

A major objective of the project was to focus on people and places—the singers and communities. Each community was represented with a short local history on its own page, complete with photos, some newly shot for the project and others archival. Each singer similarly was given their own page with what biographical information we were able to glean. We managed to contact some of the families, and in some cases they generously shared photos and further bibliographic information. Good examples are pages for the family of Jim Rice, Ned Rice, and Monica Rossiter of Cape Broyle, whose house served locally as a gathering place for music makers and a site of various "times." Jim's great-granddaughter provided family photos and even a piece of poetry written about the times at the Rice house.

We also created a Leach biographical page, attempting to provide both factual details and also qualitative information, exploring the relationship an outsider sought to establish with the people of Newfoundland. Since his wives played an active role in the collecting process, we wrote briefly about their often unacknowledged contribution. Both women were impressive academics in their own right, and while there is not audible evidence of Maria Doane on the field tapes, Nancy Rafetto's voice is clearly heard on some of the Newfoundland recordings, and she was clearly gracious and personable.

To create documentation for scholarly purposes, we prepared Song Notes, printed in small type at the end of the song text as published collections often do; the notes contained Roud numbers, song text summaries, sources, history, text, and tune notes. Webpages with other information—archival accession numbers for photos and recordings, as well as a bibliography of sources consulted—were located in a different part of the site for those who sought such detail. A selected number of transcriptions were linked to the song pages, but transcription was not a priority since we believed that the majority of singers preferred to use the audio sources. We reproduced (with permission) an excellent overview of the collection history of traditional music in the province, written by folklorist Peter Narváez (1995) but published in a source that is not widely disseminated, particularly outside Canada.

We were excited by the new possibilities for social interaction that the Internet afforded —albeit in a much less developed form than would appear in the years to follow with the growth of social media. We began to think of the site not as a "publication" in the print-oriented sense of an endpoint for research, but as a mid-point: a site for sharing and inviting other information. We put our designated email address for correspondence on every page of the site—definite overkill in retrospect. But it worked. When the site first went live, we could expect eight to ten emails each week.

The responses bifurcated, as we predicted, along the lines of local community users and non-local academic users, but we had not anticipated the specific ways in which they digressed. Academics were focused on the songs themselves, often adding information about variants. On the other hand, although we know of many singers who began to use the site, they were not the ones who sent us email. Instead, family members were the most numerous correspondents, sometimes offering corrections or providing additional information, including such things as the names of singers' children or spouses, places of residence, community hosts when collectors

stayed in the communities, or subsequent generations of good singers. Most often, they thanked us for this way of connecting to previous generations. Among the dozens who sent email, one person described their encounter with the website as "an amazing coincidence . . . until today I never heard his voice . . . an amazing experience."[8] Another wrote that "I was six years old when he [grandfather] died in 1958 and to hear his voice after all these years is amazing." Clearly they saw the site as a genealogical tool, a means of representing cultural history through families of song carriers, and they validated our care in taking this additional information seriously.[9] But the effect of those old voices—the surprise hearings or memories recovered—was for many the most important aspect of their online encounter.

Songs have re-entered the repertoires of contemporary traditional performers and scholars have written appreciatively about the usefulness of the information. Thus we fulfilled our primary goals in creating the site. But, the site has additionally proven to be a space of connection between the academic community and the families whose relatives contributed such fascinating renditions of song over sixty years ago, and between contemporary Newfoundlanders and their musical ancestors. These important connections, in our view, have ultimately demonstrated the potential of digital interaction as a vehicle not simply for preserving, but also for reflecting on public memory through song.

Memorial University of Newfoundland

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[8] See Diamond 2007 for more information about responses to the website.

[9] We have not been entirely successful in responding to this correspondence as funding for the project ran out and we lacked the staff and time to do regular updates.

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The Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature

David Elmer

When he assembled the recordings and texts that today form the core of the collection bearing his name, Milman Parry was pursuing very different goals than many, if not most, folklorists and collectors of his time. Partly, perhaps, that is because he was not himself a folklorist by profession. At the time of his death in 1935, Parry was Assistant Professor of Greek and Latin at Harvard University, specializing in the study of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. When he set out for what was then the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the summer of 1933, he was interested above all in testing a hypothesis he had formed about the way in which the Homeric poems had been composed—a hypothesis that later became known as the "Oral-Formulaic Theory."[1] Parry approached his task as a scientist and an experimentalist. While others might have focused on discovering previously unknown epics, Parry deliberately spent time recording multiple versions of songs he had already documented, so as to understand better the manner in which they were recomposed in performance. Of course, like any collector, Parry looked for the most knowledgeable and proficient informants he could find. But instead of always striving to record such informants at their best, Parry not infrequently devised ways of disrupting performances or asked singers to perform novel tasks (for instance, to translate a song from one language into another).[2] Again, his purpose was to learn how master craftsmen handle the tools of their art.

Parry nevertheless managed to create one of the most comprehensive archives of Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian oral traditions in existence. In the course of two field campaigns —an initial survey in the summer of 1933 and an extended expedition from June 1934 through August 1935—he collected a vast number of recordings and written documents. There are 12,554

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[1] For a thorough discussion of the "Oral-Formulaic Theory," sometimes also called the "Parry-Lord Theory," and its background in earlier scholarship, see Foley 1988. Nagy (1996:19) cautions that "It is a major misunderstanding . . . to speak of 'the oral theory' of Milman Parry or Albert Lord." Nagy's point is that Parry and Lord studied the empirical realities of living oral traditions, so "it would be more reasonable to say that Parry and Lord had various *theories* about the affinity of Homeric poetry with what we know about oral poetry" (20).

[2] For an account of how Parry deliberately disrupted the recitation of material by his most talented singer, Avdo Međedović, see Bynum 1980:x-xi. Kolsti (1990) provides a detailed study of Salih Ugljanin's efforts to translate, at Parry's request, songs from Albanian into "Bosnian," and vice versa.

individual items in Parry's collection.[3] Of these, 1,163 represent epic songs of the sort in which Parry was primarily interested. The remainder are ballads, short lyric songs, instrumental performances, and conversations with singers, which often include embedded songs or folktales. (Parry referred to these recorded conversations as *pričanja*, a word that translates roughly as "talking.") The largest single component of the Parry materials is a body of some 11,260 so-called "women's songs" (*ženske pjesme*)—the term, which has been a fixture in the classification of the region's traditions since the work of the nineteenth-century collector Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, is an umbrella for a variety of non-epic songs (ballads, shorter lyrics, ritual songs including laments, and songs tied to the agricultural cycle or household labor) that do not belong to an exclusively male repertoire.[4] The high proportion of "women's songs" among the materials Parry collected is due to a unique set of opportunities that presented themselves in the predominantly Muslim town of Gacko, in today's Bosnia-Hercegovina, where Parry not only found reliable informants willing to assist him in the collection of texts, but was even able to record local women in a private setting in April and May of 1935.[5]

Parry collected materials by a variety of means, including dictation and the solicitation of "autograph" texts (texts written out by the singers themselves).[6] By far the most valuable items in his collection, however, are the field recordings he made with a custom-built phonographic apparatus commissioned from the Sound Specialties Company in Waterbury, Connecticut, and built by Lincoln Thompson. Parry had experimented with a Parlograph, a dictation device that recorded onto wax cylinders, during his initial trip in 1933, but he found that the machine could not sufficiently isolate the singer's voice from the sound of musical accompaniment (Figure 1). Thompson's device, powered by battery, consisted of an electric microphone and an amplifying unit connected to two embossing machines that recorded directly onto blank, twelve-inch phonograph discs (Figure 2). Each side of a disc accommodated only about three and a half minutes, but by toggling back and forth between the two machines, Parry was able to capture continuous recordings of uninterrupted performances. (Epic performances, as one might expect, could go on for hours.) Parry eventually recorded 3,584 double-sided discs, which translates to roughly 415 hours of recorded song, dictation, and conversation, including some 270 hours of epic performance.[7]

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[3] This and subsequent figures on the composition of Parry's collection are taken from an unpublished document in the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature, titled "The Milman Parry Collection of Southslavic Texts: Publication Plan." This document, which is signed by Albert Lord and dated January 1950, indicates that of Parry's 12,554 texts, 758 were recorded and 11,796 were collected by dictation (or as "autographs," on which see below). The body of recorded texts includes 367 epics, 260 "women's songs" (see below for this designation), 115 conversations, and 16 instrumental songs. 796 epics were collected by dictation, as were 11,000 "women's songs."

[4] On the category of "women's songs," see Lord's comments at Bartók and Lord 1951:247-48; on page 253, Lord notes that there is no standard classification recognized by the singers themselves.

[5] For a description of the special circumstances of Parry's work in Gacko, see Bartók and Lord 1951:249-52.

[6] On the unreliability of the "autograph" texts, see Lord 1954:8-9; Kay 1995:xvii.

[7] Of these 3,584 discs, 2,341 document epic performances, 275 feature recordings of "women's songs," 960 contain recorded conversations with singers, and 8 record instrumental performances.

Fig. 1. Nikola Vujnović, singing for Parry's Parlograph, Dubrovnik, 1934. Photo used with the permission of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature.

Fig. 2. Parry's phonograph recording apparatus in use in the village of Kijevo (Croatia). The amplifier and embossing units can be seen on the left side of the image; a singer, Ante Cicvarić, seated before the microphone, is visible in the doorway on the right. Photo used with the permission of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature.

Parry intended to use his materials as the basis for a study of the nature of oral poetry.[8] Tragically, he died some three months after returning from the field. His vast collection then passed into the care of the Harvard University Library. Responsibility for putting the thousands of recordings and texts in order fell to Albert B. Lord, who had studied under Parry as an undergraduate and worked for him as a field assistant during much of the 1934-35 expedition. Lord's 1960 book *The Singer of Tales* (a revised version of the doctoral dissertation he submitted to Harvard's Department of Comparative Literature in 1949) fulfilled Parry's ambition for a general study on the nature of oral epic poetry.[9] Lord also conducted significant fieldwork of his own. In the autumn of 1937, traveling on foot and horseback in northern Albania, he collected by dictation over 100 Albanian epics. He returned to Yugoslavia in 1950 and '51, recording (on wire spools rather than aluminum discs) in many of the same places he had visited with Parry, as well as in a number of new locations, especially in the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In 1958 and '59, equipped now with a reel-to-reel tape recorder, he collected material in Bulgaria. In the 1960's, Lord made five collecting trips to Yugoslavia with David E. Bynum as well as one on his own. Together with Parry's materials, these various collections compose the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature (MPCOL), which is housed in Room C of Harvard University's Widener Library; they are supplemented by assorted ancillary materials, including photographs, correspondence, and copies of important manuscripts from other archives. Room C is also home to two important collections of Greek folklore, the James A. Notopoulos Collection (recordings of Greek folk

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[8] Parry gives an account of his purposes in the first pages of a manuscript he titled *Ćor Huso* ("Blind Huso"; the name refers to a famous singer from the region of Kolašin, in Montenegro); this part of the manuscript is published in Parry 1971:439-40.

[9] A second edition of *The Singer of Tales*, with an introduction by Stephen Mitchell and Gregory Nagy, Curators of the MPCOL, was published by Harvard University Press in 2000 (Lord 2000 [1960]). A fully electronic version, integrating digitized audio, texts, and photographs, is planned for web publication.

music and narrative poetry, as well as related manuscripts) and the Whitman/Rinvolucri Collection (audio recordings of Karagiozis shadow plays, with sundry other materials).[10]

Transforming this mass of material into an archive that could be easily navigated and utilized by researchers presented a significant challenge. When Lord initially assumed responsibility for Parry's collection, he had no comprehensive index, nor even a complete set of transcriptions. Many of the recordings had been transcribed in the field by Parry's Hercegovinian assistant, Nikola Vujnović, but many more had not. Lord used his 1937 trip to Albania as an opportunity to bring more discs to Dubrovnik in order to be transcribed there by Vujnović. From 1938 to 1940, Vujnović worked at Harvard to complete the task. (All of Parry's recordings, with the exception of a few songs in Albanian or Turkish, have now been transcribed, as well as many of Lord's recordings from the 1950's.) A rudimentary card catalogue was compiled in 1938-39 by John Hastings under Lord's direction.

Given the enormous volume of material, translating and publishing the collection in its entirety was out of the question. Lord planned to publish as much of Parry's material as possible in a series of paired volumes, each pair comprising one volume of transcriptions and one of translations. Some seven volumes eventually appeared, but the bulk of the material remains accessible only in the original archival documents.[11] Since 2002, the curatorial staff has been working to digitize the contents of the archive. To date, roughly 630 aluminum discs, 25 reel-to-reel tapes, and nearly 10,000 manuscript and typescript pages have been digitally reformatted. These digital materials are available to researchers through the MPCOL's open-access database, a link to which is provided on the Collection's website (http://chs.harvard.edu/mpc).[12] Additionally, a collection of approximately 750 photographs documenting the fieldwork of Parry and Lord has recently been digitized and added to the materials available through Harvard's Visual Information Access catalogue (http://via.lib.harvard.edu). From the VIA search page, these materials may most easily be accessed by searching for "Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature" in the "Repository" field.

The MPCOL database (to be kept distinct from the VIA catalogue) allows users to search a subset of the Collection's audio recordings and texts by singer's name, title, date of collection, place of collection, or item number. Limiting the search by "Digital Audio" or "Digital Text" will retrieve only records containing links to digitized recordings or texts. Limiting in this manner a

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[10] Brief notices about these collections may be found in the pages of this journal at Beaton 1986:118. For an inventory of the contents of the Whitman/Rinvolucri Collection, see Appendix 1 of Stavrakopoulou 1994.

[11] Lord's original plan, as outlined in the document cited above (note 3), called for at least twenty volumes. The seven that eventually appeared, in one form or another, are Lord 1953, Lord 1954, Bynum and Lord 1974a, Bynum and Lord 1974b, Bynum 1979, Bynum 1980, Bynum 1993. The bibliography is complicated by the fact that the volumes in the series *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs* were not numbered in order of their appearance but according to a geographical scheme, so that gaps appear in the series numbers; moreover, some volumes also bear numbers in the Publications of the Milman Parry Collection, Texts and Translation Series. Bynum 1993 belongs to a different series altogether (Milman Parry Studies in Oral Tradition, published by Garland Press).

[12] From the MPCOL homepage, the database can be accessed by clicking on "Collection Database" in the sidebar. Images of manuscript pages are delivered as JPEG files through Harvard University's Page Delivery Service. Audio recordings are delivered as Real Audio files. These compressed formats are used only for deliverables; archival digital objects are stored as either TIFF (page images) or WAV (audio) files in Harvard's Digital Repository Service.

search that uses only the wildcard character (*) as a search term will return a list of all records containing links to digitized audio or texts. The following sequences of screenshots illustrate multiple ways to retrieve the recording or text of a song I discuss briefly below (PN 662, Alija Fjuljanin's "Halil Hrnjičić i Miloš Keserdžija").
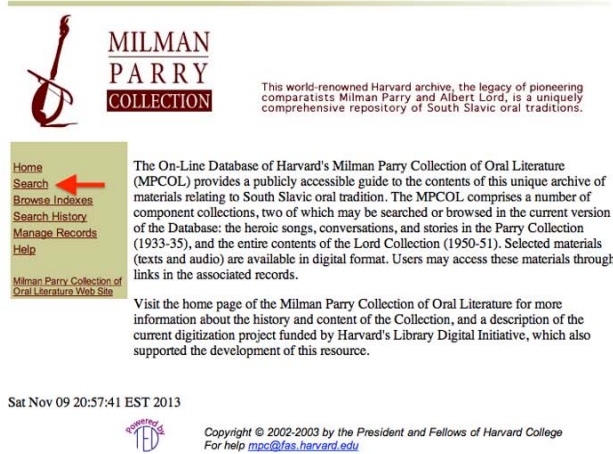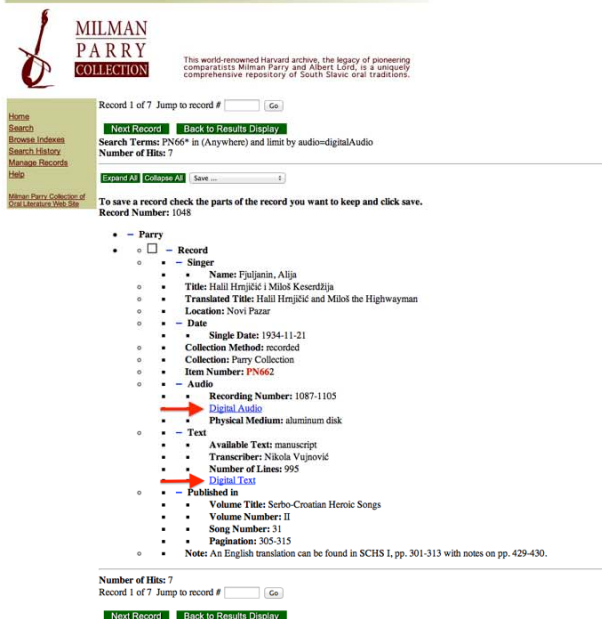

Figs. 3.1.1-4. Screenshots 1-4 above represent the first of three possible searches for PN 662, Alija Fjuljanin's "Halil Hrnjičić i Miloš Keserdžija."

Fig.s 3.2.1-2. Screenshots 1-2 above represent the second of three possible searches for PN 662, Alija Fjuljanin's "Halil Hrnjičić i Miloš Keserdžija."

Figs. 3.3.1-2. Screenshots 1-2 above represent the third of three possible searches for PN 662, Alija Fjuljanin's "Halil Hrnjičić i Miloš Keserdžija."

At present the database covers only a subset of the MPCOL's holdings. It includes the data compiled by Matthew Kay for his published index of the Collection's epic materials (Kay 1995)—thus covering the epic songs recorded by Parry and conversations with the singers, but omitting, for example, the "women's songs"—as well as records for the materials collected by Lord in 1950-51. The available digital objects represent an even smaller subset of the Collection. Digitization efforts concentrated initially on those materials quoted or referenced in Lord's *The Singer of Tales* (Lord 2000 [1960]; digital audio or text is available for every archival item mentioned in Lord's book). More materials are being digitized as resources permit. The curators intend eventually to make the entire contents of the archive available through the website and database, but progress is dependent on the availability of funding and faces significant technical

challenges, particularly in connection with the aluminum discs.[13] The translation of so much material presents challenges of a different sort. The language of the texts can present difficulties even for native speakers. The biggest problem, however, is one of scale: only by some version of "crowdsourcing" is anything more than a small part of the MPCOL's holdings likely to be made available in translation.

I am occasionally asked whether there is anything "new" to be learned from the materials in the MPCOL. This question is usually put to me by classicists, who are really asking whether there is anything more to be added to Parry's and Lord's accounts of Homeric poetry on the basis of these materials. (The questioners may not actually accept those accounts, but that is beside the point.) Understood thus, the question is obviously prejudicial: it assumes that the inherent value of the materials, apart from their comparative importance, is negligible. In *Ćor Huso*, Parry admits that "it was least of all for the material itself" that he made his collection.[14] And yet he would surely have insisted on the intrinsic interest and importance of the materials he gathered in the field. There are in fact many things still to be learned from the MPCOL's holdings, both for specialists in the represented traditions and for those seeking comparative insights.

Specialists will find that there are significant subsets of the Parry materials that have never been fully explored or utilized beyond a mere fraction of their potential. The *pričanja*— conversations with singers—are perhaps the clearest example. Parry, wishing to understand how traditional songs were embedded in the lives of those who sang and listened to them, solicited lengthy biographical narratives from his informants. His Hercegovinian assistant, Nikola Vujnović, who conducted the interviews, routinely asked wide-ranging questions about the singers' lives, customs in their communities, and so on. These conversations could provide fascinating material for a social history of the Balkans in the early twentieth century—a place and time of obvious importance to European history more generally. Only short selections from the interviews have ever been published; they await detailed and systematic investigation. The "women's songs"—another extraordinarily rich component of the Parry archive—have received somewhat more attention. Lord collaborated with Béla Bartók on a study of 75 of these songs, mainly short lyrics; their volume includes musical transcriptions and a lengthy musical analysis by Bartók, as well as transcriptions of the texts, translations, and textual notes by Lord.[15] More recently, Aida Vidan has published an illuminating monograph that includes texts and translations of 40 ballads together with selected variants, excerpts from interviews with the singers, and a detailed discussion of the material from multiple points of view (Vidan 2003).

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[13] The grooves on the aluminum discs are very shallow, averaging about 10 microns in depth. By comparison, the most common recording format of Parry's time, the 78-rpm shellac or lacquer disc, had a typical groove depth of about 75 microns, while a modern long-playing (LP) $33^1/_3$-rpm vinyl disc has grooves about 25-35 microns in depth. (I owe these figures to Carl Haber, Senior Scientist in the Physics Division at Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory.) Because of the shallow groove depth of the Parry discs, phonographic styluses tend to skip during playback, with the result that digitization often requires multiple takes and subsequent editing of the resulting audio files.

[14] Parry 1971:439. Parry also indicates in the same passage that he intended his collection to be a resource to "other students of Southslavic oral literature"—that is, he recognized the value of the tradition he was studying in its own right.

[15] Bartók and Lord 1951, reprinted as Bartók and Lord 1978.

Taken together, these two volumes cover just over 1% of the "women's songs" in Parry's collection: a vast amount of material remains untouched. Even among the epics, which have always received more attention than anything else, scholars will find that there are significant discoveries yet to be made.[16] Lord's Albanian collection, which includes some of the longest Albanian epics ever recorded but remains unpublished, stands out in this regard. An introduction that will hopefully attract much-needed attention to this remarkable corpus is planned.[17] The relative under-utilization of all of the materials in the MPCOL has historically been due to the difficulties of access noted above.

Comparatists, too—and even Homerists—stand to benefit a great deal from the increased availability of the MPCOL materials, especially the recordings. As an example of what may be learned from the recordings, I hope I may be permitted to offer a project I have recently undertaken in collaboration with Anna Bonifazi. Taking for our case study a song performed by Alija Fjuljanin in November, 1934 (PN 662, "Halil Hrnjičić i Miloš Keserdžija" ["Halil Hrnjičić and Miloš the Highwayman"]), we have endeavored to understand the relationship between the musical aspects of performance (melody, rhythm, vocal timbre) and the text.[18] Our investigation has underscored the extent to which music and words are both meaning-bearing components of an overarching communicative event. While there is no strict "grammar" of sound—the same musical feature may flexibly serve a variety of purposes—it is possible to identify a variety of non-verbal techniques that Fjuljanin uses to enrich the meaning of his text. Melodic and rhythmic discontinuities and manipulations of vocal timbre serve as narrative and emotional landmarks, helping to guide the listener's experience of the tale. They also permit the singer to express implicit evaluations of the content of his narrative, as in the following excerpt in which Fjuljanin uses these techniques to convey his distaste for the morally questionable behavior of one of his female characters:[19]

> uh kad Haljil sabra lakrdiju
> tek se stade crnjo pomerati
> vi devojke fištila je guja
> đe mu daje vino i rakiju
> ponajprije cura posrkuje   480
> pa posljenke dodaje Halji(lu)
> da je njemu slađe piti vi(no)
> i to joj se malo učinelo

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[16] For studies devoted to specific epics from the MPCOL, see Fisher 1990, Goldman 1990, and Kolsti 1990 (all originally Harvard dissertations advised by Albert Lord), as well as Erdely 1995 (musical transcription and analysis of recordings from Bihać) and Foley 2004.

[17] A collaborative project to produce an introduction to Lord's Albanian collection is now underway. The collaborators are John Kolsti, Zymer Neziri, and Nicola Scaldaferri, under the general direction of Nicola Scaldaferri.

[18] We have to date published two preliminary studies (Bonifazi and Elmer 2012a, 2012b). A monograph is in preparation.

[19] See the discussion of PN 669, ll. 479ff., at Bonifazi and Elmer 2012b:242-43.

kako bliže pa se primaćije
a na krilo dupe naticu(je)   485
od sebe je Haljil odgurkuje
mić se curo grom te pogodijo
mene nije do tvoga šikljan(ja)
drugi su me jadi pogodi—lji
a nesmijem kumstvo ištetiti   490

Oh! when Halil understood these words
just then that black one began to move away.
But look at the girl—may a serpent devour her—
how she gives him wine and brandy.
First the girl sips it,   480
then afterward she gives it to Halil
so that he finds the wine sweeter to drink.
And that seemed little enough to her.
When she moves herself closer
and slides her bottom into his lap,   485
Halil pushes her from him.
"Get away, girl, may lightning strike you!
I don't care for your friskiness;
other woes have afflicted me,
and I cannot offend against my *kum*."   490

The transcription above has been marked up with graphic signs—shading, underlining, and so on—that indicate the various non-verbal devices Fjuljanin uses to add emotional color to this section of his song.[20] An audio clip of this section of Fjuljanin's performance accompanies this article.[21]

     In this case of the episode I have just quoted, the emotional standpoint of the singer coincides with that of his main character, a convergence that brings me to one of the most fascinating purposes to which such techniques may be applied. Like many forms of oral narrative, Fjuljanin's medium is one in which the voice of the narrator alternates with the quoted speech of characters. The distinction between the two is generally very carefully maintained, and it is often marked by performative features, especially manipulations of the melody. In some cases, however, these same performative features can actually blur the distinction: what is linguistically marked as the narrator's speech is performed in a manner suggestive of the mimeticism and emotional investment typically displayed

Audio clip of Alija Fjuljanin singing "Halil Hrnjičić i Miloš Keserdžija" ("Halil Hrnjičić and Miloš the Highwayman"), November, 1934 (MPCOL, PN 662). http://journal.oral tradition.org/issues/ 28ii/elmer#my Gallery-picture(11)

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20 For a complete description of the system of graphic signs used here, see Bonifazi and Elmer 2012b: 237-38.

21 The recording is used with the permission of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature.

by characters' speech.[22] At moments such as these, epic song achieves what some might consider its truest ambition, namely, to bridge the gap between the present of performance and the heroic past.

I should underscore the fact that Dr. Bonifazi and I are both primarily Homerists. We have undertaken this investigation of Fjuljanin's performative style in order to gain a better understanding of those aspects of Homeric performance for which the textual record provides no direct evidence. Of course, the study of a tradition such as Fjuljanin's can only ever suggest possibilities with regard to Homeric poetry—secure conclusions are beyond reach—but the possibilities themselves are illuminating. With regard to still-living traditions, the value of Parry's and Lord's recordings is even greater since insights gained from those materials about the expressive potential of non-verbal features can be tested against direct observation of performance.

It may be that the recordings in the MPCOL have an even broader range of applicability, in excess even of the study of oral poetry narrowly conceived. Parry viewed his project in the most general terms as the study of oral style; style he defined as "the form of thought."[23] A newly emerging field—the cognitive study of oral traditions—suggests that a corpus of recorded oral song and poetry such as that represented by the MPCOL does indeed have the potential to shed a unique light on fundamental aspects of cognition. Cognitive linguistics relies on the use of "natural-speech" corpora to track the workings of the mind as made manifest by language. The MPCOL—to say nothing of other, similar archives—includes an extensive corpus of "natural poetic speech": documentation of the use of stylized speech patterns by hundreds of language users as they recall learned material, organize their thoughts, and communicate with their audience. A recent conference on "Oral Poetics and Cognitive Science," organized by Mihailo Antović and Cristóbal Pagán Cánovas and held at the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Study, has focused attention on the value of such a corpus for studying issues such as the relation between long-term and working memory, among others.[24] In their present form, of course, the Parry materials are not directly utilizable for such purposes. Complete digitization would be only the first step. The recordings must also be synchronized with the transcriptions, and the transcriptions themselves must be converted into a machine-readable format (to date, digitization of the Parry texts has meant only the capturing of digital images of the manuscripts) and marked up with the metadata necessary for linguistic research. This would be an expensive and ambitious project. But it would occupy an exciting position at the intersection of the digital humanities and the sciences, and it would open up whole new avenues of research.

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[22] See Bonifazi and Elmer 2012b:244-45, where we compare the notion of "free indirect discourse" as described by theorists of written discourse.

[23] Parry 1971:441.

[24] Cristóbal Pagán Cánovas, *per litteras*. I regret that I was not able to attend this meeting myself. See the conference website at http://sites.google.com/site/oralpoetcogsci/home.

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From Spoken Word to Digital Corpus: The Calum Maclean Project

John Shaw and Andrew Wiseman

The Calum Maclean Collection (http://www.calum-maclean-project.celtscot.ed.ac.uk) is a searchable, standards-based catalog of a collection of Scottish Gaelic oral narrative that was developed between 2005 and 2009 with major research funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC, http://www.ahrc.ac.uk). It is one of a series of projects begun early in the past decade to make folklore materials in Scotland more widely available to the public through the usage of digital technology. Implicit in such initiatives has been the intention to develop multiple social applications of archived folklore materials; during such development, two primary aspects of the technological applications have been a wider promotion of folklore materials through technology and the enhancement of Scotland's main folklore archives. The major share of the various projects' activities and funding has gone toward the institutional, social, and promotional aspects, but the size and value of the archival collections themselves have presented a strong case for the applications of technology for research purposes. Ways in which such archival collections in Scotland could be further developed became clear during a visit in 2002 to the National Folklore Collection at University College Dublin (UCD) aimed at assessing the research potential of their extensive collection by the Scottish folklorist Calum Maclean (1915-1960). The importance of the collection to ethnologists is uncontested, but until that time very little of it had been made available to researchers. Maclean's transcriptions were meticulous and written out in a clear hand that gave rise to the possibility that the entire collection would not only be useful in a digitized form, but could be made searchable, with additional information and comments for the use of researchers in a range of disciplines. Subsequent negotiations with UCD secured their full support for a project to develop the collection, and funding was awarded by AHRC late in 2004.

The bulk of the research materials at the center of the project were collected in the West Highlands and the Islands of Scotland (primarily in the Outer Isles) between 1946 and 1951 by Maclean during his employment as a full-time field collector with the Irish Folklore Commission (later to become the National Folklore Collection) in Dublin and then when he was at the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, from 1951 until 1960 (cf. Maclean 1975 [1959]). The main collection consists of Maclean's written transcriptions from wax-cylinder field recordings that in the course of his fieldwork were shaved and re-used as an economy measure. The Collection is bound in 24 volumes (10,511 handwritten pages, approximately 2.1 million words), of which 19 contain Scottish Gaelic transcriptions, with the recording information provided on a standard form at the beginning of each recording session. The remaining volumes

(about 1,850 pages) are Maclean's field diaries covering this period and written in Irish and Scottish Gaelic. They furnish a valuable context and commentary for the ethnographic materials in the main collection, as well as his own illuminating observations on ethnology and ethnologists. In addition to the materials made available by UCD, a smaller collection of transcriptions from audiotape (ten volumes; 2,224 pages, approximately 440,000 words) from the School of Scottish Studies (SSS) Archives, University of Edinburgh (http://www.ed.ac.uk/ schools-departments/literatures-languages-cultures/celtic-scottish-studies/archives) was also incorporated into the project. Individual reciters' names are listed by volume and page number in both collections, but no information (for instance, Aarne-Thompson/ATU international tale-types) is accessible through a catalog. The contents are primarily long folktale texts along with more than 300 song texts, as well as full-length autobiographies of two major Scottish Gaelic storytellers. The greater part of the items were recorded in the Outer Hebridean islands of South Uist, Benbecula and Barra, strongholds of Gaelic tradition and a primary focus for field collectors since the mid-nineteenth century. In addition to being the most prolific collector in the history of Scottish ethnology, Maclean was a highly-trained ethnologist and a competent, careful worker. Taken together, the collections (including six bound volumes of Irish material from Connemara) constitute the entire known corpus of Maclean's field transcriptions, amounting to around 4,000 items, or 2.5 million words.

Fig. 1. Angus MacMillan, Moss Cottage, Griminish, Benbecula, recording on the Ediphone for Calum Maclean in 1947. National Folklore Collection, University of Dublin.

The primary *aims* of the AHRC-funded project were to convert the collection of field transcriptions by Calum Maclean, as well as his diaries, into a format compatible with modern research methods in order to serve as an effective and flexible resource for future research within a number of disciplines and to ensure that his vast legacy would be available to a wider audience. In this connection, the following *objectives* were identified:

- to create a digitized *literatim* electronic corpus based on the entire transcribed collection
- to create the largest searchable, digitally-based collection of Gaelic oral narrative and concurrently the largest known written electronic corpus of oral Gaelic prose
- to provide an online, searchable catalog designed to accommodate diverse research needs, and to provide secure and managed access to the resource

- to make the collection more widely accessible to researchers in ethnology (particularly folktale specialists), Celtic studies, linguistics, anthropology, and oral history, including those without knowledge of Gaelic
- to encourage research collaboration with other research institutions through developing the resource

Following consultation with University of Edinburgh technical staff, the development of the Collection was set out in four consecutive stages: *pre-project* (incorporating a pilot project), *training and orientation*, *digitization/markup/cataloging*, and *dissemination/maintenance.*

The first stage of the digitization process was to scan images either from microfilm of the original field transcriptions or from the original notebooks to TIFF (Tagged Image File Format). These images were then used for the production of texts that were rekeyed (using a double-entry method to reduce errors) into an XML template. Preliminary pilot work had confirmed that rekeying of the texts could be carried out to an accuracy of 99.95%. In the following stage, TEI-Lite (an internationally recognized standard for the production of electronic texts) markup was added to the texts in two distinct phases. During the double rekeying process a minimal but valid document instance was produced, with a TEI header incorporating generic elements and defining the structure of the body of the text from the headings and paragraphs in the handwritten source. Such files formed the raw data that acted as the foundation for more detailed analysis and work. In the subsequent phase, further markup was carried out in Edinburgh by two Gaelic-speaking researchers. The researchers were required to possess a thorough knowledge of the Gaelic language and Scottish ethnology, a practical acquaintance with the School of Scottish Studies (University of Edinburgh) folktale archive and tale classifications, a familiarity with international academic literature on the folktale, and finally the requisite level of computer skills. Their responsibility was to add markup to the TEI header to categorize the text, and to add to the body text improved interpretative and analytical markup of the material itself based upon their academic and cultural knowledge. Specifically, markup of the text involved insertion of tags for names, places, titles, contractions, foreign words, emendations, notes, and so on; replacing entities such as accents, contractions, and special symbols to accord with their ISO equivalents; assigning motifs where they occur in the main text and to the summary; assigning a genre to a given text; assigning a taxonomic classification to a text if it had been identified as either an International Tale (AT/ATU), a Migratory Legend (ML), a Witch-type (Wi), or a Fairy-type (Fa) legend; assigning keywords to the text; and parsing all marked up documents against the TEI Lite-DTD (Document Type Definition) to ensure they were valid and well-formed.

Classification of items—other than those under recognized international systems—was carried out in consultation with similar or parallel digital folklore projects (see below). The most suitable genre classification for each item, generated from an in-house created list of hierarchical descriptions, and moving gradually from the general to the particular, was identified. All the metadata—such as the information
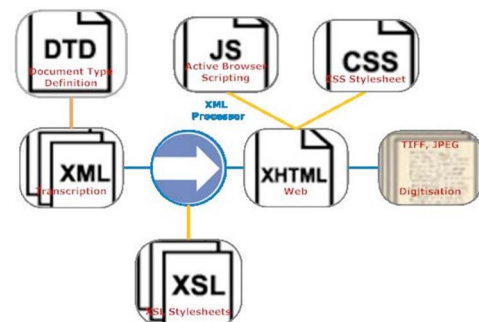

Fig. 2. Data Flow Diagram.

concerning the informant's details, date, place, provenance (of the material if available), and so on—were then added to the header. A proforma used by the IFC was the source for metadata creation that, in most cases, had been appended to each section of the manuscripts for each of the individual informants. All such metadata are vital for information retrieval and thus searches may be based on title, name of reciter, location, recording date, classification, or keywords. Work on the project involving the two researchers was carried out entirely in Gaelic. A guiding principle of the markup procedure was to approximate as faithfully as possible the original documents in order that each notebook could be maintained along with its content. The features of XML are such that they provide flexibility in order to convey emendations such as deletions, supralinear additions, marginalia, and so on that reflect, to some extent, the immediacy of the original transcriptions.

Once completed, the marked up texts were served up to an application built by University of Edinburgh technical staff. This process involved loading and storing the texts in files on an XML-capable database. A web interface was then developed that was *specifically* designed to query the texts stored in the database, and the results of any given search were then rendered for display using a CSS (Cascading Stylesheet) that published the resultant files in a web browser. As stated, the process of digitization began with the production of TIFF images, and the resultant derived JPEG (Joint Photographic Experts Group) file format was used to make the fieldwork transcription images available alongside the edited texts.

The website through which the collection is accessed is bilingual and hosted by the University of Edinburgh. It consists of a universally accessible homepage that provides information on the resource and the project, a short biography of Calum Maclean, and useful links. The second section of the website contains the database, with options and instructions for simple or advanced searches, a taxonomy guide, a contents list of manuscripts, a handbook, and background and technical information.[1]

Fig. 3. Screenshot of the Calum Maclean Project website (http://www.calum-maclean-project.celtscot.ed.ac.uk/home/).

The materials available online make up one of the most important and extensive folklore collections in existence for Scotland, or indeed for northwest Europe. The only transcribed Scottish folktale collection to rival it in size and quality is the work of the pioneering nineteenth-century collector John Francis Campbell of Islay (now in manuscripts at the National

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Library of Scotland; cf. Campbell 1890 [1860-62]) followed by the Dewar Manuscripts Collection (also nineteenth-century and containing some 1.3 million words and housed at Inveraray Castle). With the demise of storytelling in the Outer Hebrides and in the West Highlands over the last half-century and more, the materials are now irreplaceable. Given its size, content, and centrality to Gaelic tradition, the Calum Maclean Collection is of fundamental importance to future research and publications in the field of Scottish ethnology. The wealth of international tales provides extensive material for comparative research; the hero-tales contribute toward a knowledge of storytelling from late medieval times; and the two full-length autobiographies transcribed from twentieth-century reciters of international standing provide a unique source for researching the contexts of oral narrative.

The advantage of the present online resource is to allow the application of modern research methods to an extensive body of ethnographical data. Digitization of the transcripts using the Text Encoding Initiative's TEI-Lite XML Schema (http://www.tei-c.org) provides the basis upon which keyword, subject, genre, and contextual information searches can be constructed, and the English tale summaries provide effective access for folktale comparatists worldwide. The resulting digital corpus is suitable for rigorous analysis by computer, enabling a variety of research projects. The primary groups of users include those with an interest in the following subject-related areas: ethnology (especially from a Scottish and Irish perspective), narrative studies, Celtic studies, linguistics, anthropology, and oral history. It is envisaged that the corpus will be used in a variety of ways, providing up-to-date tools for interdisciplinary research such as analysis of stylistics, folklore register, oral formulae, word frequency, or dialectology; discourse analysis; geographic distribution analysis of folktales and motifs; historical/comparative studies; and lexicography. Additional benefits of the developed corpus may include aspects such as providing an up-to-date tool for interdisciplinary research by allowing access to an electronic catalog where researchers can compare materials through an easy-to-use web interface and an adaptable search tool. The flexible format of the texts provides an effective point of departure for a vastly increased output of research and related publications based on a central but hitherto largely unused collection. An electronic resource such as this can also be easily replicated for any other folklore collections.

The direction taken in the future development of the collection will be determined significantly by opportunities to interact with similar or parallel collections in Scotland and possibly further afield. Examples of online resources that contain relevant material for those studying Scottish ethnology include *Tobar an Dualchais/Kist o Riches* (http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk) that gives access to a wide variety of original fieldwork recordings drawn together from the archives of the School of Scottish Studies, BBC Scotland, and the National Trust for Scotland's Canna Collection, as well as *Pròiseact MhicGilleMhìcheil MhicBhàtair/The Carmichael Watson Project* (http://www.carmichaelwatson.lib.ed.ac.uk) that makes available the collection of the pioneering folklorist Alexander Carmichael (1832-1912). Similar projects outside Scotland that are of an ethnological interest include *Struth nan Gàidheal/Gael Stream* (http://www.gaelstream.stfx.ca), containing archival sound recordings and hosted by Saint Francis Xavier University at Antigonish, Nova Scotia; *Cainnt mo Mhàthar/My Mother's Tongue* (http://www.cainntmomhathar.com); and a recent innovative project, *An Drochaid Eadarainn/The Bridge Between Us* (http://www.androchaid.ca), that provides an

interactive, online social space specifically (though not exclusively) aimed at the Gaelic community of Nova Scotia. This last resource invites users to participate actively and share knowledge about ethnological materials, thereby embracing their social dimension. Taken together, the sources complement one another in serving from their various perspectives to conserve and disseminate hitherto difficult-to-access or culturally marginalized materials.

Since the Collection went online, it has provided an effective point of departure for the study of the folktale and folktale collecting in Scotland. Maclean's field diaries contain descriptions of his first reactions to communities where he carried out so much of his work, achieved against a background of his constant awareness that the recording of Gaelic folklore was a race against time. We are also able to observe firsthand his relationships with colleagues in the Hebrides that formed the point of departure for the politics of access and ownership that emerged by the 1950s around the active interest taken by folklore collectors—some of them commercial—from outside of Scotland. There is also valuable information taken down from the reciters themselves regarding the transmission and spread of tales in Gaeldom. The apparently prodigious ability of Gaelic reciters to acquire a lengthy folktale orally has been a perennial area of interest for folklorists, together with the ways in which such major tales were (and are) capable of being absorbed into the repertoire from neighboring cultures. In 1950 Calum Maclean transcribed an internal account that portrays a remarkable instance of how swiftly and adeptly individual storytellers could master these tales, and how easily in recent times they could be introduced into the Gaelic repertoire through re-oralization. It is taken from the life story of the prolific Gaelic reciter Angus MacMillan (Aonghas Barrach) of Benbecula, held in the National Folklore Collection at UCD (NFC 1180:301-548) and extending to 247 pages. MacMillan, who had only a smattering of English, describes going to hear a tailor in a neighboring township, whose performance consisted of translating a story from an English book into spoken Gaelic for his audience. Calum Maclean in an aside hazards that the book was *Five Weeks in a Balloon* (first published in 1863) by Jules Verne. If he is right, what follows is an impressive feat indeed: the 1926 English translation of the work entitled *Five Weeks in a Balloon: Around the World in Eighty Days* is 374 pages in length. Angus MacMillan continues,

> It took the tailor a week to read it [aloud]. When the book was completed I knew the story and returned home early, around nine o'clock . . . My father inquired whether I was poorly and I replied that I was not. He knew very well that I had been listening to the story and he asked me to recite it until it came time to retire for the night. When we had taken our evening meal I started on the story. There was no one at home except for myself, my father, my mother and two sisters. As I continued with the story my sisters grew sleepy and retired. Soon after, my mother became sleepy and went to bed, but my father didn't even wink—he had been constantly berating me every night for being so late in coming home. The sun was rising before I stopped reciting—it was a winter's day—and I told him that would have to do for today . . . I just kept on and went out to feed the cattle without going to bed at all.

Angus' father rose early that evening and expected to hear the rest of the story, but Angus declined and went to rest. In the meantime his father was filling in the others on the story he had heard the night before. The following evening, after he had completed his chores and eaten,

Angus took up where he had left off "and I continued until five the next morning. And when I was finished I said to him [my father], 'Now I hope you won't be so hard on me for being so late coming home. You yourself are just as late as I was two nights ago.'"

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Cartlanna Sheosaimh Uí Éanaí: The Joe Heaney Archives

Lillis Ó Laoire

The Joe Heaney Archives (http://www.joeheaney.org) is a digital resource focusing on a single individual's repertoire of song and narrative, now surviving through recordings made of the man during his lifetime (1919-1984). The archives represent an edited sample of that repertoire, based on decisions made by the team who assembled the site. The work received funding from the Irish Research Council in 2009-10, and it was also supported in various ways by the National University of Ireland, Galway and by the University of Washington, Seattle. The site is bilingual, available in both Irish and English. The team decided to prioritize the Irish site as a reminder of the daily use of the Irish language as a vernacular in the home region of the singer. Though this presentation may at first seem daunting to those who do not know Irish, by simply changing the language preference at the top left-hand corner of the introductory page, the English site becomes available immediately at the click of a mouse. The homepage contains a number of items connected to the singer's life, including a recording of the singer's great niece singing one of the area's great love songs, *An Sagairtín* ("The Little Priest"). Additionally, the timetable of the annual Joe Heaney Festival is available on the site, and the aim is to keep the homepage fresh and relevant by changing some of the items available on it. There are various methods of searching the database of material, all of which are readily available through drop-down menus. Four biographical and historical essays, written specially for the site, are provided under the heading "Joe Heaney," and a small section that includes video recordings can be accessed under "Video." Finally, for those wishing to learn more, a comprehensive bibliography can be found via the "Further Study" link. In his seminal book, *How to Read an Oral Poem* (2002), John Miles Foley once drew attention to the stubborn, deep-rooted reality that it is written tradition that commands respect in most university curricula. Questioning whether text, writing, and reading as conceived in the Western tradition represent the apex of human communication, he welcomed the advent of the electronic age as a climate in which these questions might be revisited (23-24). It has been our hope in building the Joe Heaney Archives that we have made a small contribution to that debate.

Joe Heaney was a traditional singer, raconteur, and storyteller from Carna, County Galway, Ireland, about fifty miles west of Galway City. In his local area, traditional lifeways and modes of entertainment continued to flourish even as they were radically changing in other parts of rural Ireland, and members of his family were well known as carriers and performers of song, music, dance, and storytelling. Heaney's birth coincided with the culmination of a great wave of cultural renaissance that washed over Ireland in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the

first 20 years of the twentieth. A key date in this period is the foundation of the Gaelic League by Douglas Hyde and others on July 31, 1893. The idea that English language and culture were superior to Irish equivalents had gained prominence by means of the law and governmental administration that had been English since the final conquest of the last independent Gaelic leaders in the early seventeenth century. From 1850, in the rush of emigration that the Great Famine accelerated, this perceived superiority carried the force of an unquestioned truth. The Irish language and culture became more than ever stigmatized markers of poverty and ignorance, obstacles to progress and social advancement. Cultural leaders and activists became concerned about such developments and set about trying to reverse a rapid and alarming shift in language.

In 1897 the Gaelic League established *An tOireachtas*, a festival to promote all forms of Gaelic arts, including the performing arts. Hyde valued the performing arts as a close second after literature in his program of cultural revitalization. Song and singing were highly regarded, and arguments soon broke out over what the Irish style was. Although much debate ensued from efforts to define it, this style was considered to be the authentic representation of Gaelic song. Some forceful individuals championed the singing style of rural Gaelic speakers as the most convincing representation of an old Gaelic way of singing; it was this style that eventually came to be known as *sean-nós* ("old way" or "custom" in the Irish language). Afterwards, the style came to be viewed as a true and authentic representation of a surviving strain of indigenous culture, despite the "epistemic violence" (Spivak 1988:280, 287; Ranković 2012:8) that had been visited upon Gaelic ways and language over a 300-year period (Ó Súilleabháin 1984).

As people who carried such traditions as part of their everyday existence, Heaney's family and neighbors in Gaelic-speaking Carna in West Galway became aware of the value that outsiders place on their heritage. A major initiative begun in 1935, The Irish Folklore Commission consolidated in a professional institutional manner various initiatives that had gathered pace since the turn of the twentieth century (Briody 2007). Heaney's brother Seán (1914-1980), for example, compiled a manuscript of his father's songs and lore that later became part of the National Folklore Collection (NFC 74:198-206, 223-35, 241-48, 258-60, 280-81, 316-17). This archive, one of the largest of its kind in the world, is now housed in University College Dublin. Many of the songs in this collection were among those that Heaney later recorded in electronic formats, though at least one of them remained unrecorded by Heaney for various reasons (Williams and Ó Laoire 2011:71-88).

The Oireachtas Festival was abandoned for about 15 years, but by the time Heaney had matured into a young adult it had been re-established, giving a renewed sense of hope about the future of Gaelic culture. Heaney emerged into the competitive arena and immediately attracted favorable attention. He won the gold medal for men's singing in 1942. His picture and that of the women's champion, Cáit Ní Mhuimhneacháin, appeared in *The Irish Press*, a national daily newspaper.[1] Such recognition made its mark on the young man, especially since his career path toward becoming a primary school teacher had essentially ended with his expulsion from school before completing the State examinations that would have allowed him to continue his training.

Heaney eventually settled in Glasgow, Scotland, where his father had worked before him. He married there and had four children. His search for work took him increasingly to England,

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[1] Published in Williams and Ó Laoire 2011.

and his absences from home became longer and longer. Visiting only sporadically, after a time he ceased returning home completely. In addition to satisfying his employment needs, Heaney was also drawn to the burgeoning folk scene in England where in clubs and other venues he could garner the kind of recognition he desired for his art, and in 1965 Ralph Rinzler recorded songs from Heaney that were later published by the Smithsonian Institution (Siegel 1965). He encountered and was befriended by Albert Lloyd, Ewan MacColl, and Peggy Seeger, who were all active in promoting folk songs, and was invited to be resident performer at the Singers Club in London. Albert Lloyd also produced his first solo album. Despite such accolades, material success proved elusive.

For this and other reasons, Heaney migrated permanently to the United States in 1966. Although he visited Ireland and England regularly thereafter, the United States became his permanent home. During his visits to Ireland, he recorded two solo albums of Gaelic songs in 1971 and 1976 (Ó hÉanaí 2007). Settling in New York, where he found work as a doorman, he performed in hundreds of venues large and small, at festivals and other events all over the country. He also performed abroad during this time, presenting a concert in Sydney in 1981, for example, and notably participating in John Cage's avant-garde musical and dramatic production of *Roaratorio*, based on excerpts from James Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake.* In 1982, along with other performers he was awarded the National Endowment for the Arts' National Heritage Fellowship, the first time such an honor had been presented.[2] This award represented the peak of Heaney's life's work, achieving international recognition for an oral art that was previously confined to limited and diminishing Irish-speaking areas in rural Ireland. In the same year, Heaney moved to Seattle to take up a two-year appointment as visiting artist at the University of Washington, and in 1984 he died prematurely as a result of complications from emphysema.

During his life Heaney had made many private recordings for students and others interested in his work. One was James Cowdery (1980), whose book *The Melodic Tradition of Ireland* drew extensively upon songs and knowledge he recorded from Heaney. In 1978 Esther Warkow made further recordings of Heaney during a three-week visit to the University of Washington. This body of work forms the core of the Joe Heaney Archives at the University of Washington. After his death others were invited to contribute their materials as well, and many responded to this call. The result was a comprehensive collection of material from Heaney amassed by various individuals over almost two decades.

In the 1990s, Micheál Ó Cuaig, founder and director of the Joe Heaney Festival, arranged successfully to have a copy of the recordings sent to Ireland so that his native community could have access to them. This access became a reality with assistance from Pádraig Ó hAoláin in Údarás na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht Development Authority) and the kind cooperation of Laurel Sercombe, archivist for the Department of Ethnomusicology at the University of Washington, Seattle. In time the recordings were given for safe keeping to Áras Shorcha Ní Ghuairim, the National University of Galway's extra mural facility in Carna.

I was already engaged in researching with Sean Williams a monograph on Heaney when I took a position at NUI Galway in 2007. A successful research grant application to the Irish Research Council (IRC) in 2009 included a proposal to construct a website based on materials in

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[2] http://arts.gov/honors/heritage/fellows/joe-heaney?id=1982_02&type=bio.

Seattle's Heaney archive. The project proposed to disseminate knowledge about Heaney's legacy as a master of the oral arts of singing and storytelling, and was intended to provide greater access for researchers, teachers, and all those who admired and followed Heaney's work. A team of workers began the task in September 2009. This team included most importantly Micheál Mac Lochlainn, the site architect and IT designer, and Dr. Virginia Blankenhorn, IRC postdoctoral researcher and editor of the materials. The IRC grant provided a yearlong stipend that supported Dr. Blankenhorn's work. The one-year project resulted in the Joe Heaney Archives, now available free to all who wish to access it. The archives have proved an indispensable resource for teachers of music and folklore at NUI Galway and beyond, and they complement the books published on Heaney, including *Nár Fhágha mé Bás Choíche: Seosamh Ó hÉanaí* ("*May I Never Die: Joe Heaney*") (Mac Con Iomaire 2007) and *Bright Star of the West: Joe Heaney, Irish Song Man* (Williams and Ó Laoire 2011).

The online archives contain some 400 items in both the Irish and English languages. Because of Heaney's work in America, the majority of the commentary from the Seattle material is in English. However, a number of other archives were included beyond those from Seattle. These materials include items from the National Folklore Collection, from Radio Telefís Éireann (RTÉ, the national broadcaster), from the Máire Nic Fhinn collection, and from a small number of recordings by Liam Clancy. Although few in number, the Clancy recordings provide unique insights into Heaney's repertoire and emphasize the Irish language repertoire. Items from the National Folklore Collection constitute first recordings dating to the early 1940s. (See, for example, *Amhrán Rinn Mhaoile* ["The Song of Renvyle"]: http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=1153.) Other recordings by RTÉ show Heaney's later progression and his accomplishment as a narrator in the Irish language (for instance, *Máire Ní Mhongáin* ["*Mary Mongan*"]: http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=674). Materials in the archives thus cover a 40-year span, allowing unique opportunities for understanding Heaney's development as a performer over his lifetime. The archives therefore constitute a valuable resource for researchers who work on musical style, on Gaelic and English language folksong and ballad, or on narrative. More broadly they constitute a resource for contemporary performers in search of new performance materials and a source of entertainment and enjoyment for those who simply want to look and listen. (Translations of all items have been provided to assist those with little or no understanding of Irish to comprehend the items.)

To focus on particular pieces from a collection of over 400 one can be guided by Heaney's own choices with respect to the core items in his repertoire. Although much of what Heaney sang over the years was necessarily in English—a result dictated by his wish to communicate directly with his mostly non-Gaelic speaking audiences—Heaney did not in any way devalue his Gaelic songs; because of his upbringing and the path he had taken through life, these songs were more than ordinarily important to him. Heaney himself chose the songs he recorded on his 1971 and 1976 albums for Gael Linn, and it can be safely assumed that these represent some of the songs he considered most important in his repertoire. Generally they represent the local versions of songs that were common all over Gaelic Ireland in former times. Variants proliferated in an oral culture with no standard published versions to consult, and even in adjacent areas songs could take on radically different form, depending on chains of transmission available to singers.

Heaney sang three religious songs from oral tradition and was deeply connected to them, as they came out of his own family and village repertoire. Two of these, *Amhrán na Páise* ("*The Song of the Passion*") (http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=676) and *Caoineadh na dTrí Muire* ("*The Lament of the Three Marys*") (http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=1161) are found on his Gael Linn albums, and it is certain that he would have recorded the third *Dán Oíche Nollag* ("*The Poem of Christmas Eve*") (http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=970) had he lived to make another Irish-language record as he had planned. Of the three, *Caoineadh na dTrí Muire* is the one that most effectively represents Heaney's achievement as an artist. In one of the few video clips in the archives, Heaney sings his rendering of this piece, recorded in Fred Lieberman's house in 1978, with Lisa Null and Peter Bellamy also present.

Caoineadh na Páise, ("*The Lament of the Passion*") as the song was known to Heaney in his native Carna, concerns the passion of Christ. The event is narrated from the perspective of Mary, Christ's mother, with the song concentrating on Mary's motherhood and on her pain at seeing her son tortured and crucified. The narrative proceeds in single lines with the lament vocables *ochón agus ochón ó* ("alas and alas oh") interspersed between them. Such vocables link the song closely to the tradition of women's lament practiced at wakes and funerals in Ireland in the past. In fact, keening women invoked Mary's lament as a guarantee of authority for their own lamenting, claiming that since Mary had lamented Jesus *in illo tempore* (Eliade 1959:21), it was necessary and proper for all women to lament the dead. Invocations of sacred precedents provided some traction against official church doctrines that explicitly forbade lamenting and especially deplored the hiring of professional mourners. Such indigenous practices were everywhere stigmatized but continued vigorously in rural locations and cannot yet even today be said to have disappeared entirely.

Lamenting and other observances represented an indigenous spirituality based strongly in oral tradition. Oral transmission of Irish spiritual heritage increased after the proscriptions—known as the Penal Laws—against the Catholic religion in 1695. As priests were restricted from practicing openly, religious leadership often devolved to the communities themselves. Individuals in various communities took on the role of orally transmitting catechism to the young. Pilgrimage became a major expression and performance of faith, one that combined the secular and the sacred in ways not always pleasing to the authorities. As the Catholic Church reorganized in Ireland after 1760, these rituals were increasingly criticized as the resurgent hierarchy vied for renewed control over its flock, implementing more orthodox practices as it did so. Cardinal Paul Cullen's appointment in 1850 accelerated this drive; his reforms further condemned indigenous Gaelic practices as backward superstition and instituted Roman-based ceremonies and orthodoxies in their stead. By the end of the nineteenth century attendance at mass for Irish people was very high, where previously it had been low in many places. The "devotional revolution" had been successful (Larkin 1972).

Heaney was a Catholic but one who opposed the clergy and the hierarchy's heavy-handed approach to indigenous spiritual ways. By singing and promoting *Caoineadh na dTrí Muire*[3] as a

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[3] Partridge (1982:27, 31, 141) remarks that Heaney's use of this name reveals direct or indirect literary influence. The lament is usually called *Caoineadh na Maighdine* ("*The Virgin's Lament*") in Carna.

legitimate expression of indigenous Irish, oral spirituality and culture, he continually expressed this opposition. He was proud of the fact that, because of his agency, the church choir in his native Carna instituted the lament as part of the liturgy again. He had succeeded in influencing matters and achieving recognition for the tradition of which he was so proud.

This background is necessary to understand how profoundly Heaney felt the "epistemic violence" that the Irish language and its vibrant oral and literary traditions had endured over centuries of colonial rule. When Heaney sang the lament, he sang for himself and for his own people, but he also sang for a vision of Ireland that could reclaim and celebrate these despised and discarded elements of culture. Because of such exclusion, he was supremely sensitive to any perceived slights against his native language and its oral traditions, even when comments were uttered innocently and without malice. He was noted for his abrupt and frequently abrasive manner, sometimes castigating audiences for their lack of understanding and sympathy.

The video clip of Heaney's performance of "Mary's Lament" runs to 4 minutes and 43 seconds. In it none of the cultural tensions that I have briefly outlined above seem obvious. However, for a contrasting dynamic one can watch Heaney's performance in San Francisco (http://www.joeheaney.org/default.asp?contentID=1151). In this performance Heaney is in a crowded space, a folk club where he is not necessarily sure of his audience. Hence, a certain unease and tension is palpable despite Heaney's consummate ability to project to his listeners. In the recording made in Lieberman's house, however, Heaney is clearly very much at ease within an intimate domestic setting in the presence of just three other individuals. The quiet dignity that pervades the whole performance suggests an atmosphere of trust and confidence, one where Heaney perhaps responded to a request from listeners who, because of their familiarity with his work, already understood the value of the item he was performing. Consequently, the presence of the camera had no negative effect on Heaney's performance of the hymn. Heaney's famously craggy face, which drew commentary again and again from those who admired him, remains impassive throughout the performance, its planes taking on the aspect of a tragic mask. Despite its brevity, Heaney's song can metonymically represent the expressive beauty of a whole tradition, little known and understood as a living entity before his career.

In February 2013, the annual Winter School of the Cumann Merriman held in Westport, County Mayo, was devoted to the maintenance and transmission of tradition through new, electronic archives and other methods. This School is a focal point for Irish speakers; all lectures are delivered in Irish, and the program also includes readings and performances in Irish.[4] Micheál Mac Lochlainn and I gave a presentation about the Archives and their contents, showing how it would appeal to those interested in Heaney or in traditional oral song in a more general way. During my part of the presentation, I chose this video clip and played an excerpt from it. Because of time constraints, I had decided not to play the full song, as I had other ground I also wished to cover. When I clicked on "pause," however, a collective call, *Á, fág air é!* ["Ah! Leave it on!"] erupted from the assembled audience. The performance had struck a chord. I felt I had no choice and left the song on until it had finished. Afterwards, many people remarked how beautiful and moving they had found the performance. Although most would have been familiar

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[4] Further information on the 2013 Winter School is available at http://www.merriman.ie/scoileanna/2013/geimhreadh/index.ga.

with the Lament, they would not have had the chance of *seeing* Heaney perform it in such a grave, private, intimate way. I believe that this aspect, together with Heaney's remarkable, melismatic musicality, is what moved the listeners so much. My colleague and former teacher Dr. Pádraig Ó hÉalaí was also very moved by the video. He remarked that it provided a startling example of *glór na muintire*—"the voice of the people." There are many other items in the collection, the great Conamara love songs that Heaney loved singing and also many children's items. Such a range of material provides ample opportunity for scholars of oral tradition, poetry, song, narrative, and performance to study a little understood tradition.

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The Philippine Epics and Ballads Multimedia Archive

Nicole Revel

Background and History

Palawan is an island in the Philippines with remarkable heritages of both an archaeological and an intangible nature.[1] Major prehistoric discoveries occurred on the island in the 1960s, and today intensive excavations are ongoing alongside progressive, interdisciplinary research employing new analytical tools.[2] In May 1970 Charles Macdonald (an anthropologist) and I (trained as a linguist and an ethnologist) met the Pala'wan, and since that time, we have both regularly shared in their lives with many faithful returns.[3] But during our very first week of fieldwork, we were invited to attend two simultaneous weddings where we heard for the first time Usuy, a beloved singer of tales and shaman, singing *Kudaman*. This lengthy narrative—which was performed that night in order to entertain the relatives and friends assembled under the roof of the large meeting house on the eve of the jural discussion related to the marriage alliances—is referred to among the Pala'wan as *tultul*, a genre-defining term I have proposed to translate as "epic" in contrast to the other eight defined oral genres (see Figure 1) present among the culture of the Highlanders on the southern part of this island.

Most of my research over the last 43 years has been centered in this same location facing the Sulu Sea. Sensitive to the linguistic concerns and the beauty of oral traditions among the Highlanders, I have focused a great deal of attention upon their own knowledge of nature and

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[1] On the intangible heritage, see Revel-Macdonald 1983; Revel and Intaräy 2000; Revel et al. 2005.

[2] The Tabon Caves (with remains dating back to nearly 50,000 years ago) were discovered in 1962 by Dr. Robert Bradford Fox and his team from the National Museum of the Philippines. The sites of Lipu'un Point and Iliq Cave in the northern part of El Nido are currently being excavated through a joint endeavor of the National Museum of the Philippines, a French team of prehistorians and paleontologists—under the direction of Dr. François Semah—of the Muséum national d'Histoire naturelle (MNHN) in Paris, and a team of Indonesian prehistorians from the famous site of Sangiran in central Java. The program is named PRESEAS.

[3] Dr. Robert Bradford Fox was the starting point for this commitment when he invited the two of us to join a summer school in ethnography and prehistory in April 1970 and engaged us to extend the anthropological work he had previously conducted among the Tagbanwa in the southern part of this island to the Pala'wan, a distinct ethno-linguistic group.

Palawan Highlanders' Speech and Know-How: Categories, Contrasts, and Mental Faculties

Dämdäm Reflection *Rändäm* Memory

Ngasa Premonition

Kira-kira Imagination

Not Sung

Teaching of the Ancestors

Flowers of Speech

Dialogues

Monologues

Speech Games

Exempla

Igum Riddles

Bisara Jural Discussions

Tuturan Myths

Sudsugid Tales

Kunduq (+ Kusyapiq) Kunduq Dance (+ Luth)

Urangin Invocations

Measured

Bägit Birdsongs

Lumbaga (+ Basal) Shamanic Song (+ Gongs)

Unmeasured

Love Songs

Karang ät Kulilal (+ Kusyapiq & Pagang) Kulilal Songs (+ Luth & Bamboo Zither)

Karang ät Siburan Jar Songs (A Capella)

Tuttul (+ Bäbäräk) Epics (+ Ring Flute)

Lyrics to the Invisible

Multivocality

Alternate Songs Men/Women

Courteous Speeches

Sung

Utäk Intelligence

Päläpläp Inspiration

Musical Accompaniment

Fig. 1. Chart of the nine categories of verbal arts in the Palawan language and their respective translations in English.

their verbal arts.[4] As early as 1987 when multimedia technology was first developing, I conceived of a research program that would document and safeguard the long, sung narratives of this group as well as those of other animists or Islamic groups. It was meant to be implemented not only for the Philippines (with over 170 languages), but for the entire Nusantara area that includes several neighboring countries belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the vast Austronesian family.

During the ten years from 1991 to 2001, while I was conducting an international seminar on epics within the "Integral Study of Silk Roads, Roads of Dialogue" program that was part of UNESCO's Decade for Cultural Development, I was able to expand efforts to document and safeguard this multifaceted intangible heritage. At this point, I was able to implement my vision of a multimedia archive of oral epics not in Central Asia, but in the country that was most

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[4] See, for instance, Revel-Macdonald 1979; Revel 1990-92. The fullest illustration of my own approach toward oral tradition—synchronizing song, text, and translation—is the hypertext-enabled CD-ROM I produced in 2004, portions of which have been reproduced in the eCompanion to this essay.

familiar to me as a linguist-anthropologist, the Philippines.[5] In 1991 the collection began with collaboration among 25 Filipino scholars and other knowledgeable locals, and with the financial support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France and the French Embassy in Manila (including four grants per year over the entire ten-year period) we were able to preserve the voices and beauty of verbal art forms from 15 different cultural communities.[6] This preservation process involved audiotapes, audio-video tapes, photographs, and computer storage of manuscripts in the various source languages and in English, Tagalog, and/or French translations. However, we have not

Fig. 2. Map of the Philippine Archipelago, with locations of epic collection indicated (red: animists groups; green: Islamicized groups; blue: Christianized groups).

yet been able to fully cover the multiplicity of languages and cultures present in this complex archipelago, and much work still remains to be done in order to preserve the memory of the many songs that still survive. It is my hope that the multimedia archive we have initiated will be enriched by the younger generation of scholars and other individuals from the Philippines or abroad.

The Philippine Epics and Ballads Archive (http://epics.ateneo.edu/epics)

Over the last 23 years, the Philippine Epics and Ballads Archive has involved 69 singers and 11 technical assistants, in addition to many scholars and local informants. Most of the documents were taped originally in analog form, but with the collaboration of the audio-visual departments at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the Centre national de la recherche scientifique in France, and Ateneo de Manila University, all data (representing about 1,500GB of information) have now been digitized and preserved on CD-ROMs, DVD-ROMs, and hard disks. As of August 2013, the physical collection itself consists of 7,820 pages, bound in 34 volumes, located in the Pardo de Tavera Collections section of the Rizal Library at Ateneo de Manila University, where it may be consulted *in situ*.

All epics in the database were recorded via audio in their entirety, with portions of them filmed during performance. The narratives have then been orthographically transcribed as

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[5] I was simultaneously trying to encourage similar research in the neighboring countries of southeast Asia. Meanwhile a weekly seminar on epic poetry and hermeneutics was taking place at Centre de recherche sur l 'Oralité (CRO) and national des Langues et Civilisations Orientales (INALCO) in Paris.

[6] Many of these cultural communities had been able to keep their indigenous worldviews and artistic vocal expressions alive even as they resisted Spanish and American colonization.

accurately as possible with respect to the particular phonemic systems of the given vernacular languages involved, and manuscripts were edited and formatted for typographic consistency aimed at generating an eCollection. These manuscripts were in turn translated into either English or French (and sometimes both) and in some instances into Tagalog as well. Final contributions were then placed into PDF format so as to protect the relevant copyrights held by all contributors: singers, researchers, and technicians alike.

We have sought to reflect the poetics of each song through the layout on the page itself. The question of layout is fundamental, for it must somehow within the linear constraints of a white page reflect the main poetic features of the chanted narrative and the totality of the composition. An ethnopoetic approach is required in order to confront successfully the projection of time upon a physical page.[7] Accordingly, when the meter is short, the translation mirrors the text on the same page; however, if the composition rules are different and demand more space per line, the translation will appear on an adjacent page while still matching the format of the original transcribed song. Such metrical patterns of course vary greatly according to the particular singing tradition, and one must work diligently to identify by ear the relevant features of the song as it was performed and recorded so that they might be reconfigured primarily for the eyes in this new context.

Since January 2011 a special server at the Rizal Library has provided free access to most of the multimedia eCollection portion of the Archive.[8] The website was elaborated according to my own design and with the guidance of several technicians in the Department of Electronics, Computer, and Communications Engineering within the School of Science Engineering Management and Information at Ateneo de Manila University; it is organized (as shown in

Fig. 3. Screenshot (http://epics.ateneo.edu/epics/linguistic_groups) illustrating the overall arrangement of the Phillipine Epics and Ballads Archive.

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[7] In these matters Georges Condominas, Jacques Dournes, Dell Hymes, Dennis Tedlock, and Jerome Rothenberg with the journal *Alcheringa* have been my guiding inspiration.

[8] A simple registration process involving the creation of a username and password is required (access is free).

Figure 3) by means of the 15 different linguistic groups represented in the collection, with no hierarchies being intended within the overall design.

Within each linguistic group's section, a constant arborescence consisting of eight tabs ("Map," "Overview," "Archive Listing," "Epics," "Articles," "Photos," "Videos," and "Overall Archive") allows easy navigation of the database. Clicking the "Map" tab will show the user the

Fig. 4. A sample beginning of an archive listing (in this case for the Tala-andig bukidnon linguistic group). Screenshot captured from http://epics.ateneo.edu/epics/linguistic_groups/archive_listing/5.

geographical location of the specific group, while the "Overview" tab leads to a video (less than five minutes in length) providing a further introduction to the culture involved.

The "Archive Listing" (see Figure 4) provides a list of the archive's registered epics and ballads for the linguistic group along with further information concerning the performance and collection of each song. Actual audio recordings along with—and sometimes in synchronization

Fig. 5. A small sample of the Palawan and English versions of *Mämiminbin*. Screenshot captured from http://epics.ateneo.edu/epics/linguistic_groups/epic/15?epic_number=8&epic_version=Palawan+%26+English.

with—the transcriptions and translations mentioned above are found under the "Epics" tab. (See, for example, Figure 5.)

Other tabs provide important supplemental materials. A user may find a list of English-language essays written by the collectors in connection with a given epic or ballad under the "Articles" tab. Clicking "Photos" reveals miscellaneous collections of related photographs (with captions) depicting landscapes, habitat, crafts, performances, and rituals; similarly for most of the epics and ballads, the "Videos" tab leads to any videos filmed during the song's performance. And a complete archive listing for the epics and ballads of all 15 linguistic groups is always available via the "Overall Archive" tab.

Final Thoughts

Digitization of an intangible cultural heritage forces us to confront the quality of the database employed, and in our case this quality has been ensured since the project's inception by coordinating a complex and complementary set of disciplines: linguistics, ethnopoetics, lexicometry, pragmatics, ethnomusicology, acoustics, ethnology, and cognitive anthropology. Since 1991, however, technology has developed at an ever-increasing pace, forcing us to adjust continually to new tools in order to improve our methods of saving, presenting, and analyzing these epics and ballads.

Throughout our endeavor, we have been guided by the insight, creativity, and inspiration of *Oral Tradition*'s founding editor, John Miles Foley. In 2011 during a conference organized by Dr. Chao Gejin in Beijing on the "Digital Documentation of Oral

Fig. 6. *Le chant d'une épopée palawan / The Song of a Palawan Epic: Mämiminbin*, Literature of the Voice 1. 1st edition 2004 as a CD-ROM. http://journal.oral tradition.org/issues/28ii/revel#my Gallery-picture(5)

Tradition," I was able to share with Dr. Foley how a Palawan singer, Mäsinu Intaräy, referred to his multiple narrative options during any given performance of a story by using the word *dalan*, translated as "path" or "pathway." The two of us shared the same amazed smile and were both convinced of the accuracy of this term and its universal applicability for describing the cognitive procedure behind any performance by a singer of tales. On December 1, 2013, Mäsinu left us for another realm, and my task is now to continue to preserve his powerful memory and splendid repertoire for generations to come.

Centre national de la recherche scientifique

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The Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America: An Overview

Susan Smythe Kung and Joel Sherzer

The Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) is a repository of primarily linguistic and anthropological data about the indigenous languages of Latin America and the Caribbean. In this article we give a brief description of the archive and its mission in Section 1, and we discuss the predecessors and precursors to AILLA in Section 2, and the importance of AILLA in Section 3. In Section 4 we highlight a few of the large and publicly accessible collections, and in Section 5 we illustrate some of the ways in which teachers, professors, researchers, and indigenous community members have used data archived at AILLA.

1. Description and Mission of the Archive

AILLA was founded at the University of Texas at Austin (UT-Austin) in 2001 with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Science Foundation.[1] Today AILLA is directed by Joel Sherzer, Emeritus Professor of Anthropology, along with co-directors Anthony C. Woodbury and Patience Epps, both Professors of Linguistics; and it is managed by Susan Smythe Kung, who holds a Ph.D. in Linguistics.

AILLA has no physical presentation space because it is a completely digital repository whose collections are accessible only through its website at http://www.ailla.utexas.org. As of this writing, the collection includes samples of 282 languages from 22 Latin American and Caribbean Countries. There are 16,370 audio recordings, 2,155 video recordings, 4,604 digital texts, and 4,289 images. 126 depositors from North, Central, and South America, as well as Europe have collaborated by archiving their data, the majority of which are raw, unanalyzed audio and/or video recordings. Often the raw recordings are accompanied by images, transcriptions, translations, and interlinearized morphological analyses.

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[1] AILLA was launched as a pilot project with a seed grant from the College of Liberal Arts at UT-Austin in 1999. It is now chiefly supported by the LLILAS Benson Latin American Institute and Collections, a collaboration between UT-Austin's College of Liberal Arts and the University of Texas Libraries (UTL), with crucial additional support from the National Science Foundation. We are grateful to all these institutions for financial, moral, and technical support over the years. AILLA's founding directors are Joel Sherzer and Anthony C. Woodbury, mentioned below, and Mark McFarland, the former Director of the Digital Library Services Division of UTL. The founding manager of the archive is Heidi Johnson (Ph.D. in Linguistics), who retired in 2012.

The collection consists of multimedia files preserved on servers managed and backed up by the University of Texas Libraries (UTL) Digital Services. The AILLA website has parallel interfaces in English and Spanish. Visitors are free to browse the catalog and read the general information pages without registering with the archive. However, if they wish to access any of the files, they must register and create a user account. This process is free, but it requires that users agree to the Conditions for Use of Archived Resources (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/use_conditions.html), which include, among other things, a prohibition against commercial use of the files, and an expectation that the visitor will demonstrate respect for the cultures and peoples whose languages, cultures, and work are represented in the archive. Once users have agreed to these terms, they are able to access any media file that has been archived at the public access level (level 1). Three other levels (levels 2-4) involve restricted access; these restricted-access levels allow creators or depositors of archived materials, or the communities in which these materials were collected, to control access to these data by means of passwords and time limits (that is, dates when the restricted materials will convert to public access).[2]

AILLA's primary mission is the preservation of irreplaceable linguistic and cultural resources in and about the indigenous languages of Latin America, most of which are endangered. Most archived resources are deposited by linguists and anthropologists for whom audio and video recordings are a central part of their research methodology. Many indigenous groups, such as the Maya linguistic research organization Oxlaiuui Keej Maya' Ajtz'iib' (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=67), have also archived the results of their investigations with AILLA.

The majority of the materials in the repository are audio recordings that were originally created on media ranging from open-reel tapes to digital recorders. Analog materials are digitized either in AILLA's lab or in the UTL Digitization Services labs. The audio and video recordings consist of a wide range of discourse genres, including conversations, many types of narratives, songs, political oratory, traditional myths, curing ceremonies, and so on. Some recordings are accompanied by transcriptions and/or translations in media ranging from scans of handwritten notebooks to time-aligned XML files. Other textual resources include dictionaries, grammars, ethnographic sketches, field notes, articles, handouts, and presentations. The collection also contains many hundreds of photographs. If it can be digitized and is specifically relevant to an indigenous language and culture of Latin America, it is fully acceptable for AILLA.

AILLA's secondary mission is to make these valuable and useful resources maximally accessible via the Internet. However, we simultaneously endeavor to protect from inappropriate use any materials that are personally, culturally, or politically sensitive and to support the intellectual property rights of the creators. The system of access levels discussed above lets creators and depositors have fine-grained control over their materials, allowing them to specify different levels of access for each file in their collections or a single level of access for an entire collection. For example, audio recordings might be public, while video recordings might be restricted. Names of speakers or research participants can be kept anonymous or made public.

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[2] A full description of the system of access levels is outside the scope of this article, but more information about the different levels of access is available on the Access Restrictions page of our website (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/access_restrict.html).

Historically, very little of the fruit of linguistic and anthropological research has been genuinely available to the public, to other researchers, or to the indigenous communities in which the research was done. The reasons for this lack of accessibility are threefold. First, very little of the linguistic and anthropological research on indigenous languages that was conducted during the twentieth century was archived. A linguist would go to the field for several months or years, record various narrative genres, take handwritten notes during elicitation sessions and interviews, and take photographs or make sketches. Upon returning home from the field, one would analyze as much of the data and publish as many analyses as possible, but there was not enough time to be able to transcribe every recording or analyze every speech event, and there was no precedent for sharing the raw data that had been collected. In very rare cases, for example when the linguist or ethnographer was extremely prolific or famous or affiliated with a particular institution, the collection might end up in a brick and mortar archive such as the American Philosophical Society or the Indiana University Archive of Traditional Music, among others, where the data would be archived and preserved for future researchers, students, community members, or interested persons. However, the large majority of the raw data on indigenous languages that was collected in the twentieth century has simply disappeared; it has deteriorated to the point of uselessness, or it has been thrown out by surviving family members. AILLA tries to rectify this problem by providing free digitization services for analog data, uploading both digitized analog data and born-digital data to secure servers, providing a user interface (website) to allow the public access to these data via the Internet, and returning the original analog data to the depositors.

The second reason that very little research data on indigenous languages has been available to the public has to do with the accessibility of data that are stored in brick and mortar archives. Even when raw, primary data are physically stored at a traditional archive, these data are still not easily accessed by either researchers or members of the indigenous communities in which the data were collected. In order to have access to these materials, community members or researchers must travel to the location of the archive, where they will have to pay for food and lodging for several days or even weeks in order to browse and/or study the materials. This physical barrier is non-existent for AILLA because all of the data are available online to anyone with Internet access. Thus, interested persons can browse the archive and download data from anywhere in the world.

Finally, even when interested persons travel to a traditional brick and mortar archive, they still might not be able to view or handle the data because the materials are restricted. They find themselves in a frustrating situation in which they are denied access to data even after they have traveled a long distance and spent a lot of money to study it. Though sensitive materials are protected, AILLA's directors, manager, and advisors strongly believe that accessibility is extremely important. Restrictions tend to keep the language community members out, while researchers might be able to gain access to archival materials through academic networks. Resources that are publicly accessible can be heard, seen, and read by all speakers, even those living outside of their native communities. AILLA's policy is that if a resource can be made public, it should be made public; if it is sensitive, it should be protected. Our goal is to ensure that the unique and wonderful resources preserved at AILLA can be used to maintain, revitalize, and enrich the communities from which they came.

AILLA was intended from the outset to function as a partner with its depositors, providing them with a means of both preserving and sharing, under appropriate terms, the data they collected during their fieldwork and research with the indigenous peoples of Latin America. The archive accepts any legitimate resources that can be housed in a digital format.

2. Predecessors and Precursors of AILLA

AILLA has roots in the Americanist tradition of the documentation of indigenous languages of the Americas, beginning with Franz Boas and Edward Sapir and continuing with their students. According to this tradition, grammatical features of a language and the culture of its speakers are observed and documented by means of the collection of texts. Of course, Boas and Sapir did not have tape recorders, so they collected texts through elicitation. The invention of the portable tape recorder revolutionized the field of linguistic anthropology. Tape recording—first on reel-to-reel tapes and later on cassette tapes—made it possible to collect, as well as accurately transcribe and translate, actual performances of verbal discourse. These texts, both the manuscripts and/or the audio recordings, were sometimes archived in such places as the National Anthropological Archives of the Smithsonian Institution, the American Philosophical Society, the Library of Congress, or the Indiana University Archive of Traditional Music, among others. However, most researchers never archived their text collections.

During the 1970s and 1980s, the University of Texas at Austin became the center of what has come to be called "the discourse centered approach" to language and culture. Two important conferences at UT-Austin developed this approach and led to the publication of two books, *Native South American Discourse* (1986), edited by Joel Sherzer and Greg Urban, and *Native American Discourse: Poetics and Rhetoric* (1987), edited by Joel Sherzer and Anthony Woodbury. During these conferences, tape recordings were played and analyzed, and these audio recordings were included in the resulting books. In the years that followed, recordings became essential components of both field research and the publication of its results.

Though there was already a tradition of archiving recordings along with field notes, especially in the field of ethnomusicology, the emergence of the Internet revolutionized the possibilities of archiving verbal discourse. Recordings could be digitized and archived on servers that were available to the public at large. Access, especially open access, became possible. All of this led to the founding of AILLA.

3. Importance of AILLA

Hundreds of native languages are still spoken in Latin America, but they are all endangered because of massive migration of the speakers away from their original homelands and drastic changes in sociocultural and economic conditions. Even in communities where the languages are still vibrant, culturally important ways of speaking—such as ceremonial dialogues, traditional narratives and songs, and curing practices—are being lost. Saving recordings of these speech genres enables future generations to remember and perhaps relearn their traditions.

Linguists and anthropologists have been making recordings of indigenous languages for decades. Collections of magnetic tapes recorded in the mid- to late-twentieth century still survive, but even the original researchers find these materials difficult to access today. One of AILLA's most valuable contributions has been to digitize these fragile collections and to make them available to the public by storing them on a secure and stable server. Many well-known senior researchers have deposited recordings with AILLA, and new generations of researchers do so as well because they recognize that this is the best way to preserve the materials that they have so carefully collected and protected. Because the current generation of researchers is collecting digital audio and video, the collections are growing exponentially and will continue to do so.

It is especially urgent to support the survival of these endangered, indigenous languages and to help their speakers maintain them. AILLA enables the traditions of the past to be preserved for the present and the future. Current and future generations will have access to the cultural, moral, and aesthetic components that are part of their indigenous heritage. AILLA contributes to this goal in a major way, and is recognized for this contribution by the speakers and communities involved. In several cases, treasured curing chants and other valuable verbal performances thought to be extinct have been recovered, thanks to the recordings provided by the depositors.

Once recordings are safely housed in standard digital formats, they are available to anyone who has access to the Internet.[3] AILLA is especially dedicated to making the collection available to members of indigenous communities in Latin America. It strives to keep the website sleek and swift so it will work properly in small-town internet cafés, as well as in big-city universities, and it uses only formats that can be listened to or viewed using common software programs that are easily downloaded free of charge. Many recordings are accompanied by transcriptions and/or translations in English, Spanish, or Portuguese.

AILLA plays a crucial role for indigenous communities. The recordings give credibility to their languages and cultures and confer prestige to them. Rather than being considered inferior dialects, these languages stand on a par with the major languages of the world. In addition, each indigenous community becomes aware of being part of a larger set of communities that has its own unique and special language. Each indigenous group is proud to have its voices represented along with other indigenous groups. For these reasons community leaders and organizations support AILLA.

4. Featured AILLA Collections

AILLA currently consists of 10,736 resources spread across 140 collections, some of which are quite large.[4] Obviously it is impossible to highlight all 140 collections here, though they all are worthy of special attention. As our goal for this article is to encourage the reader to

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[3] Excluded from this availability are files that have been restricted from public access.

[4] In order to access any of the files contained in the collections mentioned in this section (including files for which links have been provided), the reader must be a registered AILLA user and must agree to AILLA's Terms and Conditions of Use (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/use_conditions.html).

visit and explore the archive, here we mention some collections that are completely or mostly unrestricted. Nevertheless, even when individual files are restricted, the AILLA visitor can still read the descriptions of these files, as well as descriptions of the collections in which they are found, in the metadata notes. Some AILLA collections that are completely unrestricted include Jonathan Amith's Nahuatl Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=1), Amith and Rey Castillo García's Mixteco Language Documentation Project (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=101), Alan and Pamela Sandstrom's Nahuatl Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=117), Yolanda Lastra's Mexican Languages Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=39), Kathryn Josserand's MesoAmerican Languages Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=79), Nicholas Hopkins' Maya Languages Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=86), Maurizio Gnerre's Jivaron Languages Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=18), H. Dieter Heinen and Werner Wilbert's Warao Language and Culture Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=29), and Marie Claude Mattei Müller's Venezuelan Languages Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=45).

Many of the collections that are archived with AILLA and are thus available on the website contain the raw, primary data that are the foundations upon which many journal articles, dissertations, and books have been based. Here we highlight two such collections that are relevant to specific books.

Jonathan Hill's Curripaco[5] Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=68) includes his recordings of all of the stories and music, as well as the photographs and some of the transcriptions of stories, that he included in his 2009 book *Made from Bone: Trickster Myths, Music, and History from the Amazon*. Appendix B in the book provides a chapter-by-chapter list of all of the archived resources and their corresponding AILLA resource numbers. Though the book itself is not archived at AILLA, much of Hill's raw data on which the book is based is. Figure 1 shows a screenshot of the AILLA resource KPC003R000. At the bottom of the resource information is a list of filenames. Each filename contains the resource number plus an item number followed by the file format (for example, KPC003R000I001.pdf). When AILLA users click on and open the very first file, KPC003R000I001.pdf, they find a draft version of the table of contents from the book, reproduced with a list of corresponding AILLA resource numbers. Items 2 and 3 (I002 and I003) in this resource are translations of the table of contents into Spanish and Curripaco, respectively. The reader can consult these lists in any of these three languages in order to quickly and easily find the corresponding recording for a particular narrative. Also included in this same resource is an introduction to the collection in Spanish (I004), as well as two versions of the introduction in Curripaco (I005 and I006).

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[5] This language is also called Wakuénai.

Fig. 1. AILLA Resource Information for KPC003R000 (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/resource.html?r_id=1644).

Victoria Bricker's Mayan Language Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=81) includes the primary data that she used to write her 1973 book *Ritual Humor in Highland Chiapas*. Two sets of Tzotzil resources will be of particular interest to readers of the book. The first set, which includes the resources TZO004R003 (shown in Figure 2) and TZO004R007, encompasses a ritual performance on New Year's Day that is described in great detail in Chapter 2. Both of these resources contain recordings of the ritual, as well as

Fig. 2. AILLA Resource Information for TZO004R003 (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/resource.html?r_id=2209).

Tzotzil transcriptions accompanied by English translations that are organized like scripts for a play. The recordings found in the first resource (TZO004R003) were made in 1966 while the recordings found in the second resource (TZO004R007) were made in 1969. One can read the description of the ritual in the book (which is archived as resource TZO005R001 [http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/resource.html?r_id=3062]), listen to the recordings from the two years, and compare the transcriptions to each other and to the corresponding passages (pp. 20-29) in the book.

Parts of Chapter 3, "The Festival of Saint Sebastian," in this same book are based on Bricker's raw data that are archived in four different AILLA resources. Two resources were recorded in 1966, TZO004R004 (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/resource.html?r_id=2210) and TZO004R005 (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/resource.html?r_id=2211), and two were recorded in 1969, TZO004R009 (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/resource.html?r_id=2215) and TZO004R010 (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/resource.html?r_id=2216). These resources also contain the recordings, along with Tzotzil transcriptions and English translations, and they correspond to the ritual speech described on pages 57-65 and 50-53 of the book, respectively.

When depositing her collection with AILLA, Bricker chose to keep anonymous the identities of the performers in this particular ritual. Thus, the only restricted files in these six resources are the ones that are listed as "guide" under the "Type" column (see Figure 2). The rest of the files in these resources can be viewed by anyone who is registered with AILLA and logged onto the website.

The collections described here are just the tip of the iceberg. AILLA contains a wide variety of materials on many different Latin American indigenous languages. We hope that the reader will take the time to explore the virtual archive and contact us with any questions about accessing or depositing files.

5. How AILLA Visitors Use the Data

The AILLA website does not track site users' activities or viewing histories, so we have no way of knowing who has viewed what. Instead we rely on the visitors themselves to tell us how and for what purposes they use the archive. In this section, we will describe some anecdotes that have been shared with us about ways in which AILLA users have used the archived data.[6]

Early in the archive's history, the first manager, Heidi Johnson, received a call from a local Austin kindergarten teacher. Her class was making paper versions of Kuna *molas*[7] as a cultural enrichment project, and she wanted to find some Kuna music for the children to listen to during this activity. Following the recommendation of Dr. Johnson, the teacher downloaded

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[6] Detailed instructions for AILLA visitors that explain how to use the AILLA website can be found on the AILLA "How to Use the Archive" page (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/site/howto_use.html), so we will not go into those details here.

[7] A *mola* is a geometric design that Kuna women embroider onto fabric panels. The term refers to both the design and the embroidered panels.

several songs and chants from Joel Sherzer's Kuna Collection (http://www.ailla.utexas.org/search/collection.html?c_id=54).

Many researchers use data archived at AILLA either to supplement their own data corpus or to find data on languages related to their own research languages. One linguistic researcher listened to recordings of survey interviews, searching for all occurrences of a particular morpheme, which he then compared to the cognate morpheme in his own research language. The same researcher has combed through transcribed narratives in related languages for occurrences of particular sequences of consonants. Other linguistic researchers have used transcriptions of archived recordings to search for particular grammatical constructions, while others have used some of the higher-quality recordings to do acoustic analyses.

Professors of both linguistics and anthropology have used archived recordings as examples of various types of speech events, such as whistled speech, ceremonial or ritual speech, storytelling, humorous speech, and so on. Similarly, professors who teach linguistic or anthropological field methods courses have used archived data for examples of both best and worst practices for such field necessities as metadata collection and audio and video recording techniques. Some professors who teach courses on endangered and/or indigenous languages require their students to utilize materials that are archived at AILLA when conducting research for their term papers.

A few linguists who work on language revitalization projects in Central and South America have told us that members of some indigenous communities use the data archived at AILLA to create word lists, dictionaries, story books, and other teaching materials. However, the most touching anecdotes come from the archive users who are also members of indigenous communities. They browse the archive to hear the voices and words of their ancestors, family, friends, and neighbors. Several times a year, we receive emails from community members who have just listened to the voices of their loved ones who have passed on; they write to tell us how thankful they are that AILLA has preserved these voices for the present and the future.

Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America
LLILAS Benson Latin American Studies and Collections
The University of Texas at Austin

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