

Finno-Ugric peoples have been living in the Soviet Union since ancient times. They have always been a small minority in the large Russian majority. However, they have managed to maintain their language and culture despite the difficult circumstances.

Ingrid RÜÜTEL

ABOUT FINNO-UGRIC FOLK MUSIC ACTIVITIES IN ESTONIA

When speaking about the traditional music of Finno-Ugrians, one must take into consideration their special situation in the Soviet Union. The Finno-Ugrians in the Soviet Union are 1) native peoples, or 2) minorities, 3) their traditional ethnic culture is decaying, and contemporary (literary) culture is greatly based on foreign influences.

Departing from the common abode, located somewhere in the Urals, the Finno-Ugric tribes settled in pre-historic times large territories from the Urals to the Baltic Sea. Our ancestors carried the proto Balto-Finnic language to the coast of the Baltic Sea about 5 000 years ago. Later it has branched off into the Estonian, Finnish, Karelian, Votic, Izhorian, Vepsian, Livonian and Lapp languages. Some Finno-Ugric tribes moved far to the north (the Komis), others to the north-east, to Siberian regions (the Hantis, the Mansis). The Hungarians took their own course to the south and later on to the west; the Mordvinians, the Maris and the Udmurts stayed at the Volga River or in the district between the Volga and the Urals. Thus, the Finno-Ugrians have contacted in the course of time with different peoples and cultures while their relationships with each other have loosened or even broken up altogether. The Balto-Finns developed tight relations with the Scandinavian and the Baltic peoples, and also with the Slavic tribes (the Kryvyches et al.) who had settled east of them. The Estonians (like the Latvians) fell later under the influence of German culture. The Mari, Mordvinian, Udmurt and some other cultures show strong Turko-Tatar influences, northern Finno-Ugrians are related to other peoples of North Eurasia who in their turn have a lot in common with North American aboriginal cultures.

Later contacts with the Russians who had settled huge areas between as well as on the territories of the Balto-Finns and the Eastern Finno-Ugrians, have been of decisive importance for the Finno-Ugrians.

A number of Finno-Ugric peoples have been assimilated by today, and we know them only from ancient historical documents (the Muroms, the Merians et al.), some have disappeared or are disappearing under our very eyes (the Votians, the Izhorians, the Livonians, the Mansis et al.). Others are still there and want to continue their existence as a nation. Here belong also the Estonians. We want to be an open society. We cherish equally our own basic values — our language, cultural tradition — as well as the cultural experience of the other peoples. We feel belonging to the peoples of Northern Europe, the peoples we have become integrated with in the course of centuries, at the same time we do not want to forget that we are Finno-Ugrians at least as long as we speak Estonian. Every nation, let it be small or great, presents the world its peculiar cultural experience. The special place of Estonian culture derives from the origin of the Estonian people, their historical and geographic position. In Estonian culture cultures distant in space and time, originating from different cultural areas, languages, peoples meet. The East and the West, the Finno-Ugrians and the Indo-Europeans, the ancient and the recent cultural layers are combined here in a unique way.

Thus, our mission is to tie once again the threads torn in the course of history between the separate Finno-Ugric peoples, we also try to mediate broader cultural contacts of all the Finno-Ugrians.

The Finno-Ugrie cultural phenomenon taken as a whole is an intriguing phenomenon of multifarious contacts, symbioses of different cultures and trends of development which still waits to be studied in detail from theoretical and cultural-historical aspects.

While speaking about the ethnic culture of Finno-Ugrians, we consider first of all the orally transmitted forms of culture. Here belong different genres of folklore (folk songs, folk tales, proverbs, riddles, etc.) and also folk music, which is usually considered to belong to the wider conception of folklore as an inseparable part of folk songs, sometimes even of tales and other genres of folklore. Folklore in a wider sense comprises also myths and beliefs, games and dances, customs, rites and ceremonies. Together with traditional musical instruments, handicraft, architecture and other forms of traditional material culture as well as traditional means of subsistence, social and jurisdictional organization, "folk sciences" (incl. folk medicine and pedagogy), ethical, aesthetical and moral conceptions and other forms of social selfconsciousness, they form the whole complex of the ethnic culture of the Finno-Ugrians.

Finno-Ugric folklore is collected, published and studied in several research and educational institutions in the Soviet Union. There are special institutions for collecting and studying folklore in the Karelian, Komi, Udmurt, Mari and Mordvinian autonomous republics. The Estonian SSR has become a collection and research centre of the music of the Finno-Ugric peoples in the Soviet Union. The Folklore Department of the Fr. R. Kreutzwald Literary Museum of the Estonian Academy of Sciences which was reorganized in 1940 on the basis of the former Estonian Folklore Archive established in 1927, is the central Estonian folklore archive being the central Finno-Ugric folk music archive as well. About 50 000 folk melodies are preserved here either in the form of auditory notations or sound recordings. Besides Estonian folk music about 7000 samples of music of other Finno-Ugric peoples are to be found here.¹

First sound recordings were made at the beginning of this century with the help of Edison phonograph. All these recordings have by now been copied on the tapes. Since the 1960s the main form of folk music collection is tape recording.

The Folk Music Department set up at the museum in 1970 fixed as its main task in addition to recording Estonian folk music, the collecting of folklore heritage of other Finno-Ugrians, paying special attention to those small nations who have no archives and research centres of their own and whose language and culture are decaying (as the Votians, the Izhorians, the Vepsians, the Livonians, the Ingrian Finns, the Lapps, but also Ob-Ugrians: the Hantis (Voguls) and the Mansis (Ostyaks)). The last good connoisseurs in Votic, Izhorian and Livonian folklore have already passed away for today, their repertoire, however, has been preserved in the form of sound recordings. To some extent it is possible to collect Vepsian, Kola Lapp and Ingrian Finns' folklore. Nowadays traditional folk music is still used by the Vepsians (mostly death dirges and newer dance songs, children's songs; wedding laments and some other genres are also remembered). The carriers of Ingrian Finnish and Kola Lapp traditional songs have assembled in ensembles ("Röntyskät" — the Ingrian Finnish and "Oiyar" — the Lapp one). There are recordings of Lapp personal songs, narrative songs, improvisations, but also rare wedding songs which were noted among Kola Lapps only in Tallinn in 1986 at the conference and the concerts organized within its frame (up to that time there were

¹ Рюйттель И., Виссель А. Звукозаписи музыкального фольклора разных народов в фондоархиве Литературного музея им. Ф. Р. Крейцвальда АН ЭССР // Финно-угорский музыкальный фольклор и взаимосвязи с соседними культурами. Таллинн, 1988, 298—320.

no data about Kola Lapp wedding songs). Livonian folklore groups ("Skandinieki" et al.) practice mostly the so-called secondary tradition, i.e. that which is learned via written records although partly they rely also on the knowledge preserved in the memory of old people.

Ob-Ugrians have preserved their folklore tradition somewhat better. Here and there even Bear Feasts are celebrated although for a long time they were officially repudiated or forbidden, and therefore disappeared from wider use. Still in recent decades shaman's charms and other ritual songs have been recorded among Ob-Ugrians. Personal songs and improvisations on contemporary topics are more widely spread. A number of sangkvaltap-players can be found, and even Ob-Ugrian harp tunes have been recorded.

The folk music collections of the above-mentioned small Finno-Ugric nations have been compiled mostly as a result of the efforts of Estonian collectors and researchers. To some extent (especially in case with Mordvinians, but also with Ob-Ugrians) the help of local collectors has been used. All in all there are more than 1,000 Ingrian (Votic, Izhorian and Ingrian Finnish) songs and more than 1,000 Ob-Ugric (Hanti and Mansi) folk songs and instrumental pieces, 150 Lapp and 125 Livonian folk songs in the Folklore Archive of the Literary Museum of the Estonian Academy of Sciences. In addition about 200 Udmurt (Votyak) folk melodies have been recorded as a result of the co-operation of Estonian collectors and local researchers. The Udmurts are one of the few Finno-Ugric peoples who have preserved ritual songs (calendar and wedding songs and farewell songs to recruits) and even pagan agrarian prayers. The conspicuous Mordvinian folk music collection at the museum consists of about 2,400 melodies and contains the heritage of the local collector M. Tchuvachov and the collections of V. Danilov, a Mordvinian living in Estonia. There are samples representing all the traditional song genres: epics, ceremonial songs, laments, etc. The samples of Mari (Cheremis), Komi and Karelian music have been mostly received as copies from other archives. The archive of copies was established at the museum in the 1970s with the aim to guarantee the preservation of the material scattered in several different places and often kept in poor conditions, also in order to draw the material together, document and dispose it and make it available for the researchers. In the Folklore Archive of the Literary Museum of the Estonian Academy of Sciences the materials are kept in special rooms where the necessary temperature and humidity are guaranteed. The tapes have been arranged into preservation units and supplemented with necessary data; the originals are copied for the research use. All the collected material is fixed in the general index on the basis of which special indices (catalogues) are compiled; the catalogues enable a researcher to find separate pieces proceeding from the collector, performer, topographic spot, or genre.

A special folk music research centre, the Folk Music Department founded at the Institute of Language and Literature of the Estonian Academy of Sciences in 1978, has since its establishment collected besides the Estonian folk music also the music of other Finno-Ugrians. All the materials collected by the Folk Music Department are passed over to the Folklore Archive of the Literary Museum. The Folk Music Department is carrying on extensive activities in collecting, publishing and studying Finno-Ugric folk music. Besides the publications and research made by the scholars of the department (e.g. the compilation of a folk music data bank, elaboration of a computerized method for discovering melody-types and clusterization of typological groups, experiments in automated notation and acoustical analysis of folk tunes, etc.), the scientific conferences on Finno-Ugric folk music which have been held in Estonia since 1976 deserve mentioning. Finno-Ugric folk music researchers from all over the

Soviet Union have participated in these conferences. Under the situation where there still is what to collect, and there already are technical devices with the help of which to collect, the topics of collecting and its results have been of great importance at the conferences as well as in the publications compiled of the conference materials. Another vital problem constantly on the agenda is that of cultural contacts and interrelations of Finno-Ugrians and the neighbouring peoples. The Finno-Ugric peoples, scattered long ago over a huge territory, have fallen under the influence of several neighbouring peoples (Russians, Balts, Turkic peoples et al.), at the same time they themselves have left their traces into the cultures of those peoples either as cultural substrata or cultural borrowings. There are also several folk music phenomena which have originated as a result of symbiosis of different cultures. Yet, all these folk music phenomena interesting from the point of view of folk music history as well as folk music theory could be solved only as a result of a thorough investigation of every single music culture. In order to move on from the correlation of occasional samples or from proving theoretical speculations with subjectively chosen samples to really objective and scientifically verified comparative studies it is inevitable to get a detailed and exact survey of every single music culture. It is not an accident that in generalizing cross-cultural studies Finno-Ugric folk music is usually absent. Our activities in Finno-Ugric folk music research have been aimed at filling these blanks in the picture of world music development. At that we have born in mind that folk music is a complex phenomenon which originates and exists only in a wider ethnocultural context, and it can be understood only within this context. Here belong the texts, of great significance is the verse system as well as speech intonation and other linguistic peculiarities; it also includes dances, games and other movement forms connected with singing (swinging, child rocking in the cradle, certain work processes accompanied by songs, etc.), as well as customs and rites which in their turn are related to folk belief and mythological images. Traditional music, especially its more archaic forms are directly connected with them all, therefore, when studying Finno-Ugric folk music we consider of major importance a complex approach to music, its investigation within the concrete ethnocultural context which often determines the style, form and types of the music.

In addition we have taken into consideration the fact that the possible common traits of Finno-Ugric peoples from which the single music cultures have originated and started their own way of development are to be seen only in the oldest, most archaic layers, genres and forms which at least partly may come from the times when the Finno-Ugrian peoples had not branched off yet or were living in tight contacts with each other. In order to reconstruct the diachronic developmental picture of Finno-Ugrian folk music (together with fixing the later influences of neighbouring cultures and ways of development) we have paid special attention to older, more authentic phenomena like the laments, ritual and ceremonial songs, work songs and other musical forms of applicative function.

Taking into account everything said above and considering the different scientific level of studying separate Finno-Ugrian musical cultures, Finno-Ugrian folk music conferences have been held on the following subjects:

- 1) Finno-Ugrian folk music and its connections with neighbouring cultures (1976);
 - 2) the archaic forms of Finno-Ugrian folk music and their role in present-day culture (1979);
 - 3) the problems of context of Finno-Ugrian folk music (1982);
 - 4) music in the Finno-Ugrians' wedding ceremony (1986).
- In addition to the publication of the abstracts of the conference reports

(in Russian) the following, rather extensive collections of articles and materials have been issued (with summaries in English and German): "The Musical Heritage of the Finno-Ugrians"²; "Folk Music of the Finno-Ugrians and its Relations with Neighbouring Cultures"³; "Music in the Work and Customs of the Finno-Ugrians"⁴; "Music in the Wedding Ceremony of the Finno-Ugrians and Neighbouring Peoples"⁵.

Moreover, the Folk Music Department of the Institute of Language and Literature issues its own rotary-press series "Ars Musicae Popularis" which contains both publications of commented material and monographic studies (up to now eight volumes have been published).

The Department also participates in the preparatory work for publishing a series of Estonian old runo songs "Vana Kannel" issued on topographic (regional) principles. Scholars of the Department take part in preparing the melodies for the Folklore Series of Siberian and Far-East Peoples.

Sets of records of authentic folk music: "Estonian Folk Songs and Instrumental Melodies" I—II (both compiled of 5 discs); "The Folk Music of Estonia" from the series "Musical Art of the Peoples of the USSR" (a double record); "Votic and Izhorian Folk Songs", "Ersamordvinian Folk Songs" and "Livonian Folk Songs" from the series "Songs of the Finno-Ugric Peoples" have been produced. Separately "Kola Lapp Folk Songs" have come out.

Within the frame of all the above-mentioned conferences as well as inbetween quite a number of workshops and concerts of authentic folk music have been organized in Estonia wherein folk singers and musicians and also traditional folklore groups have taken part. All the concerts have been recorded on tapes, part of them on videotapes. Besides numerous special studio records have been made.

At present ensembles have become the main folk music mediators in contemporary culture. Such groups, even if they have maintained a direct contact with the living tradition — through some members of the ensemble — belong anyhow to a smaller or greater extent to amateur art, music has been detached from its primary ethnocultural context (from customs and other authentic situations), special programs are composed to be performed on the stage which inevitably causes certain standardization, reduction in the variability within a song, unification of the versions performed by different singers, shortening of song texts, etc. Thus, here we have to do already with the so-called folklorism phenomena — with conscious transference of folklore elements to present-day culture in new forms and with new functions and mostly through recorded sources.

At that one can distinguish:

1) folklore groups who directly carry on the primary tradition (i. e. at least part of the members of the ensemble are authentic connoisseurs of traditional folk songs, dance, or folk instrument playing and teach younger members);

2) ensembles who perform the so-called secondary tradition. They in turn include:

a) reconstructing ensembles who take samples from authentic folklore and try to perform them in a genuine manner, in a traditional performance style although the primary tradition has been cut and the repertoire is learned from written records or from tape recordings,

² Soome-ugri rahvaste muusikapärandist. Koost. I. Rüütel. TIn., 1977.

³ Финно-угорский музыкальный фольклор и взаимосвязи с соседними культурами. Сост. И. Рюйтэл. Таллинн, 1980.

⁴ Музыка в обрядах и трудовой деятельности финно-угров. Сост. И. Рюйтэл. Таллинн, 1986.

⁵ Музыка в свадебном обряде финно-угров и соседних народов. Таллинн, 1986.

b) ensembles who perform folklore arrangements and try to mediate old folk culture in an up-to-date form familiar to the contemporary audience: they modify the style, add to one-voiced songs polyphonic arrangements or instrumental accompaniments, arrange instrumental tunes for ensembles, combine old folk dances with elements of classical ballet style or turn them into special stage or outdoor arrangements, etc.,

c) folklore elements are used to realize the creative aspirations of group leaders. Here belong for example pseudo-folk dances performed by many folk dance groups as well as as compositions for folk music instrument orchestras;

3) folk tunes or their elements are used in professional creative work and the result is an entirely new quality — a symbiosis of traditional folklore and modern artistic means of expression, a new composition of higher or lower artistic level performed by professional or amateur musicians.

In professional music folk music elements are always joined with modern music styles. Thus, the first Estonian folk song arrangements were made in the German Liedertafel-style, the most recent ones — in the style of modern rock music. One of the latest trends in Estonian folk music arrangements is the use of the oldest folk song peculiarities (one-line melody of a small ambit performed by a songleader and a chorus) in rock-songs which expresse the feelings of the present-day national awakening movement. Here belong e. g. a number of sings by Alo Mattisen. Such songs are performed by rock or folk groups and are sometimes accompanied by a chorus of thousands of people gathered together to rallies. That kind of songs together with the old revived popular patriotic songs belong to the phenomenon called "the singing revolution" in Estonia.

One must mention that groups who carry on traditional folklore and follow authentic tradition as well as reconstructing ensembles are comparatively rare and rather recent phenomena in the USSR and among the Finno-Ugric peoples. For a long time folk music and folk dance groups performing arrangements and individual elaborations dominated and were officially estimated as preferable, corresponding better to the then current conception of art "socialist in content, national in form". The role of folklorists and ethnomusicologists in the new trends of folklorism which aim to preserve both the national form and content and avoid common standards, is considerable. Thus, we have tried to organize the international folklore festival "Baltica '89" in Estonia not as an official ethno-show but as a real folklore festival where authentic or at least not-arranged folk music and folk dances predominate and where participants have possibilities to sing and dance all together which corresponds more to the primary function of folklore.

Finno-Ugric folk music conferences, concerts and publications in Estonia and other places in the Soviet Union have done much to raise the value of the culture of small Finno-Ugric nations among the peoples themselves as well as among local cultural leaders. This understanding and appreciation had meanwhile been much shattered, which alongside with the natural decay of folklore environment in the present economic and social situation significantly accelerated the perishability of traditional folklore. The basic goal of the folklore ensembles cropped up in recent years is not to perform on stage but to help people find their identity, to reconstruct the consistency of tradition and preserve it. These activities have also favoured the growth of national intelligentsia among small Finno-Ugric nations.

Estonian culture, which in last centuries has mostly developed under the influence of European culture, has recently received increasingly more

Finno-Ugric and further Siberian cultural influences which have brought much fresh air and bright colours into it. In addition to concerts, radio and TV broadcasts and records of authentic folk music, mention should be made of the compositional works of the Estonian composer Veljo Tormis. Besides Estonian folk music he has written compositions on the folk music of other Finno-Ugrians (choral compositions "Livonians' Heritage", "Votic Wedding Songs", "Izhorian Epics", "Vepsian Paths", "Ingrian Evenings", choral songs on "Kalevala" themes, etc.). One must mention also the drawings of Kaljo Põllu which drive their world vision and artistic criteria from Finno-Ugric mythology, and the exhibitions of the materials of the expeditions of his pupils (Finno-Ugric ethnography, materials of folk art, drawings, photographs) as well as of the influential interpretations of Finno-Ugric culture in the output of Lennart Meri, especially his films ("Water-Bird Peoples" and "The Winds of the Milky Way").

The time and space of culture are without limits, the mutual relations of different cultures are natural and characteristic of all the times, especially that of ours. Therefore it is no wonder that the cultures isolated and receded in the course of their history refind each other and gain fertile impulses from the process.

Everything mentioned above has helped familiarize elements of Finno-Ugric culture also in other countries, and they will be included into the general cultural pattern of the contemporary world; at the same time the Finno-Ugric cultures get from it support for preserving and developing their own peculiarities. National culture and world culture are developing in dialectical unity while the traditional folklore heritage of peoples is a decisive source for them all. It is of primary importance to support it and preserve it without external interference where it still lives its natural life, we have to fix, record and learn it. In places where the inevitable and irreversible process of traditional folklore's decay is under way, the only possibilities to preserve it in present-day culture are the folklorism realized in amateur art and the professional creative work.

Everything said has been born in mind while organizing the international folklore festival "Baltica '89". The present conference is the first in which we had an opportunity to ask folk music researchers of the Soviet Union, ethnomusicologists from Finland and Hungary, but also from other, mostly Baltic countries, to participate. These are the topical problems which are common to us all and our common concern is "Folk Music Today".⁶

Thus, problems of national identity and national survival as well as those of the development of present-day culture in the real process of dialogue of cultures, are topical in the present situation of the Finno-Ugric cultures in the Soviet Union. In a wider context the problem of the survival and development of Finno-Ugric cultures is connected with the idea of national and cultural pluralism as the main basis of the richness and multiplicity of the world culture as a whole.

⁶ International Conference "Folk Music Today". Tallinn, July 10—13, 1989. Abstracts. Tallinn, 1989.

Presented by Juhani Kahk

Estonian Academy of Sciences,
Institute of Language and Literature

Received
Aug. 3, 1989

SOOME-UGRI RAHVAMUUSIKA ALASEST TEGEVUSEST EESTIS

On antud ülevaade soome-ugri rahvamuusika kogumisest, uurimisest ja publitseerimisest Eestis. See tegevus on eriti intensiivistunud viimase paarikümne aasta jooksul. 1970. aastal F. R. Kreutzwaldi nim. Kirjandusmuuseumi juurde loodud rahvamuusika-sektor seadis üheks oma põhiülesandeks eesti rahvamuusika körval ka teiste soome-ugri rahvaste muusikamaterjalide kogumise, pöörates peatähelepanu assimileerimisjärgus olevaltate rahvastele, kellel puuduvad oma teaduskeskused. Sama suunda on arenanud 1978. aastal Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituudi juurde loodud rahvamuusikasektor, kes on kujunenud üheks peamiseks soome-ugri rahvamuusika kogumis- ja uurimiskeskuseks NSV Liidus. Kogutud materjalid loovutatakse ühtse keskarhiivi põhimõtteid silmas pidades endiselt Kirjandusmuuseumi rahvaluule osakonnale, kus kõik materjalid lülitatakse ühtsesse registre ja kartoteekide süsteemi.

Alates 1976. aastast on koos Eesti NSV Heliloojate Liiduga korraldatud viis üleliidulist soome-ugri rahvamuusika teaduskonverentsi. Viimane neist, käesoleval aastal toiminud konverents «Rahvamuusika tänapäeval», oli rahvusvaheline. On antud välja mitte meid teeside, artiklite ning materjalide kogumikke, samuti autentse rahvamuusika heliplaate.

Artiklis on käsitletud ka rahvamuusika integreerumist tänapäeva kultuuri taidluse ja professionaalse kultuuri vahendusel. On rõhutatud eesti kultuuri ajaloolist missiooni kultuurikontaktide vahendamisel ida ja lääne vahel. Need sidemed on olulised kõikide soomeugrilaste, sealhulgas eestlaste enda keele ja kultuuri säilitmiseks ning arenemiseks.

Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia
Keele ja Kirjanduse Instituut

Toimetusse saabunud
3. VIII 1989

Ингрид РЮЙТЕЛ

О СОБИРАНИИ И ИССЛЕДОВАНИИ ФИННО-УГОРСКОГО МУЗЫКАЛЬНОГО ФОЛЬКЛОРА В ЭСТОНИИ

Статья носит обзорный характер. Работы по собиранию, исследованию и публикации музыки финно-угорских народов в Эстонии стали особенно интенсивно развиваться в последние десятилетия. Созданный в 1970 г. при Литературном музее им. Ф. Р. Крейцвальда АН Эстонии сектор народной музыкиставил одной из своих основных задач собирание, помимо эстонской народной музыки, музыкального фольклора финно-угорских народов, особенно тех из них, которые находятся в стадии ассимиляции и у которых отсутствуют свои научные центры. То же направление деятельности стал развивать сектор музыкального фольклора, созданный в 1978 г. при Институте языка и литературы АН ЭССР, ныне один из ведущих центров изучения финно-угорской народной музыки Советском Союзе. Все собранные эстонскими учеными материалы передаются в фольклорный архив Литературного музея, где, следуя сложившимся традициям единого центрального архива, они включаются в общую систему реестров и картотек.

С 1976 г. совместно с Союзом композиторов Эстонии организовано пять всесоюзных научных конференций по проблемам финно-угорской народной музыки. В последней из них, состоявшейся в 1989 г. под названием «Народная музыка сегодня», принимали участие не только ученые Советского Союза, но и фольклористы-музыковеды из других стран.

Изданы сборники тезисов, тематические сборники статей и материалов, а также выпущены грамзаписи антологий аутентичного музыкального фольклора.

В статье рассматриваются также пути интегрирования народной музыки в современную культуру посредством художественной самодеятельности и профессионального искусства. Особо подчеркивается историческая миссия эстонской культуры как посредника в налаживании культурных контактов между Востоком и Западом, что весьма важно с точки зрения сохранения и развития языка и культуры финно-угорских народов.

Институт языка и литературы
Академии наук Эстонии

Поступила в редакцию
3/VIII 1989