

## **The ethnographer as a trader: On some metaphors in the Komi fieldwork diaries**

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**Abstract.** Collecting ethnographic items for the Estonian National Museum has been linked to the practice of buying objects during fieldwork. Often we can find metaphors or expressions connected with trading in the Komi fieldwork diaries. Comparing ethnographers with merchants is a stereotypical way of describing the activities of Estonian researchers in the field. If ethnographers use, in their diaries, metaphors and expressions connected to trading, it may be just a spontaneous phrasing or inter-textual play of words. Inside the community of Estonian ethnologists there exists some kind of discourse style, which is followed in the fieldwork diaries, more or less consciously. This style of narration is also connected to the specific social and historical context in which ethnographers act. At the same time, even satiric inter-textual quotations do not exclude the possibility that some of this discourse is related to a deeper level of human consciousness.

In his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, Bronislaw Malinowski argues that ethnographers must pay more attention to the context of their whole research process:

Many writers do not exercise the full searchlight of methodical sincerity, as they move among their facts but introduce them to us from a position of complete obscurity. I consider that only such ethnographic sources are of unquestionable scientific value, in which we can clearly draw the line between, on the one hand, the results of direct observation and of native statements and interpretations, and on the other the inferences of the author.

[...] In Ethnography, the writer is his own chronicler and the historian at the same time, while his sources are no doubt easily accessible, but also very elusive and complex; they are not embodied in fixed, material documents, but in the behaviour and in the memory of living men. In Ethnography, the distance is often enormous between the basic material of information [...] and the final authoritative presentation of the results. [...] A brief outline of an Ethnographer's tribulations [...] may throw more light on the question, than any long abstract discussion could do. (Malinowski 1987 [1922]: 3–4)

Perhaps, the most (in)famous fieldwork diary in the history of anthropology<sup>1</sup> is written by Malinowski during his stay on the Trobriand Islands (Malinowski 1967). This text caused a sensation as it consists of quite sharp opinions about indigenous people that Malinowski studied<sup>2</sup>. Naturally, most researchers feel sometimes tired and have been bored by people they live beside, although usually nobody recognises this. An anthropologist can modify his or her instinctual impulses in a socially acceptable manner by writing everything down in a diary, as Malinowski did.

The possibility to write down everything in our mind, during field trips, makes diaries somehow spontaneous and intimate documents. In Estonian ethnology, there exists an opinion that fieldwork diaries report “‘unwilling evidence’ of history” (Pärdi 1995: 83). But the issue is not as straightforward as Pärdi states. In most cases, field travellers are professional ethnologists (this is the case with almost all Komi diaries of the Estonian National Museum), and thus one should be wary of examining the “‘unwillingness’ of the message. Also, the conception of “‘stylistically pure and direct observation”, suggested by Pärdi (1995: 83), should be further discussed. Supposedly, observation by an ethnologist tends to be charged with theories, attitudes, or else pre-suppositions. A researcher can also construct “‘direct experience’” and thus expose the most illuminating aspects of his or her personality<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> We use the terms ‘anthropologist’, ‘ethnologist’ and ‘ethnographer’ as synonyms in this article.

<sup>2</sup> For example: “The boys and girls behaved in a silly or perhaps hostile manner” (Malinowski 1967: 71); “I was irritated by the *niggers*” (Malinowski 1967: 208); “I felt so low that even the company of those fellows was pleasant” (Malinowski 1967: 209).

<sup>3</sup> As it appears, Malinowski was also aware that his diary may somehow become accessible for extended audience: “I had some essential thoughts about keeping diary and adding depth to my life. [...] Ideas about the historical value of the diary” (Malinowski 1967: 170).

Clifford Geertz (1997 [1988]: 2) notices that anthropological texts seem to be based clearly on facts and are literary unpretentious. But somehow we can compare ethnographic writings with poems and novels, as we may find there complicated imagery, metaphors and phraseology.

The ability of anthropologists to get us to take what they say seriously has less to do with either a factual look or an air of conceptual elegance than it has with their capacity to convince us that what they say is a result of their having actually penetrated (or, if you prefer, been penetrated by) another form of life, of having, one way or another, truly “been there”. (Geertz 1997 [1988]: 4–5)<sup>4</sup>

In the diaries, stored in the archives of Estonian National Museum (ENM), we can find more personal notes and thoughts than from the papers that are written purely for research purposes. At the same time, we must take into consideration that, although the fieldwork diaries have not been written for publication, the authors of these texts (who have been mainly professional ethnologists) were aware that their diaries would be publicly accessible. We cannot be sure to what extent one or another discourse in these texts was influenced by the factor of the potential use of diaries by other researchers.

The authors of this article have put themselves into a quite complicated reflective situation. From July to August 2006, we were a part of a research group doing fieldwork in the Komi Republic, among the *Vylysezhvasajas* (‘the Komis of Upper Vychegda River’ in Komi). Naturally, we wrote fieldwork diaries. But we had carried out research about the ENM’s Komi diaries even earlier (see Leete 1998a; Koosa 2006). Thus, when writing our last year’s fieldwork diaries, we were aware (and Art Leete has also recognised the issue during his earlier fieldwork trips) of the content of our colleagues’ field-notes and this influenced us during our field research. But, at the same time, some spontaneous ideas have been left out of our notes because our colleagues’ texts have been known to us and we consciously did not want to elaborate the same kind of discourse<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> About the construction of ethnographic and anthropological knowledge, see, for example, Atkinson 1994: 110; Biolsi, Zimmerman 1997: 7.

<sup>5</sup> Art Leete: Sometimes I have used hidden inter-textual quotations from previous Komi diaries in my field-notes. By doing so, I have had mixed feelings. It’s because I felt myself too obviously on a power position. I had a possibility to put former researchers’ texts into any context I wished. At the same time, I was

## Komi expeditions and diaries at the ENM

The Komis inhabit the north-eastern corner of the European part of Russia, westwards of the Ural Mountains. The Komi language belongs to the Permian branch of the Finno-Ugric language family. According to the last official census in 2002, there were 296 000 Komis and 125000 Komi-Permyaks living in the Russian Federation<sup>6</sup>. Traditionally, the Komis are divided into eight ethnographic groups by scholars.

The fieldwork trips to the Komis have been organised by the ENM in 1967 (among the Komi-Permyaks), 1969 (among the Izhma Komis, *izvatas*, and the Sysola Komis, *syktylsajas*), 1976 (among the *syktylsajas* and Luza Komis, *luzsajas*), 1981 (among the Izhma Komis), 1989, 1996 (among the Upper-Ezhva, or Upper-Vycheгда Komis, *vylysezhasajas*), in 1997 (among the Lower-Ezhva, or Lower Vycheгда Komis, *ezhvatas*), 1998 (among the Udora Komis, *udorasajas*), 1999 (among the Pechora Komis, *pechorasa*) and 2000 (among the Yemva Komis, *yemvatas*). From 2001 to 2006, the fieldwork has been done among the *vylysezhasajas* and organised by the Department of Ethnology of the University of Tartu. Most of these fieldwork trips were conducted in cooperation with the National Museum of the Komi Republic (NMKR). From the mid-1990s, the NMKR has been represented in our team by Vladimir Lipin.

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sure that only few people (if anybody at all) would read these diaries and it was also unclear, if anybody could understand these hidden connections. Also, in later diaries I started to avoid metaphors, used by former ethnographers, because I did not want to create any intertextuality too consciously.

Piret Koosa: I have not used quotations or metaphors from previous Komi field-notes in my diary intentionally (in fact, I attempted to avoid this). But I had read over all previous Komi diaries at the archives of ENM and I had no previous experience in writing a fieldwork diary by myself. So it may be possible that stylistic and thematic influences of earlier texts (although not so conscious ones) can be found in my diary. My diary also consists of some hints to events of earlier fieldwork. But these hints may stay unnoticed by readers who are not familiar with these texts. And for sure, I was aware that my diary would be read by my fieldwork mates and, possibly, by a wider range of researchers. So I censored my notes essentially in some parts of the texts. It means, perhaps, that one cannot find too sincere emotions in my diary.

<sup>6</sup> See [www.perepis2002.ru](http://www.perepis2002.ru).

The topographical archives of the ENM contain 18 Komi fieldwork diaries<sup>7</sup>. These diaries are quite different in their character. Every author has his/her own, recognisable style. Earlier expeditions were dedicated basically to the collection of ethnographic items and so these diaries reflect mainly collection work. In this sense, diaries written by Art Leete, Janno Simm, Jaanika Jaanits, Piret Koosa and Kristi Tinkus do not deal with this topic to the same extent as the previous fieldwork notes, as during their fieldwork the collection work had lost its previous importance. This tendency is in accordance with the general change in Estonian ethnographers' fieldwork practices since the 1990s. Less attention is paid to the collection of items and researchers work more on participant observation and recording visual and textual materials (see Leete 1998b).

The diary of the 1989 expedition differs from the others because it is a result of a collective effort. Every day is described by a different fieldwork team member, as was the quite normal practice during the ENM's expeditions from the 1970s to the 1980s. We can guess that the awareness about the fact that all fieldwork participants could read each other's notes immediately, influenced the authors to apply self-censorship to some extent. At the same time, this situation could encourage some persons to attempt to use a more attractive style and we can also find some linkages between different parts of the diary text. For example:

*I documented data about the collected items into the collection entry book. [...] The **diligent student**<sup>8</sup> Eve started to fix numbers on these items. (TAp 858: 25, Alop 1989)*

*On our way back to the bus I was entrusted with a specific Komi manure fork, which I then tried to use to the full. Unfortunately, an **eager museum worker**, Terje could not evaluate the use of the dung fork as a walking stick. (TAp 858: 37–38, Randoja 1989)*

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<sup>7</sup> These diaries are written by Kalju Konsin (TAp 576 — 1969, 7 pp), Aleksei Peterson (TAp 679 — 1976, 82 pp), Edgar Saar (TAp 760 — 1981), Heiki Pärdi, Terje Alop, Aldo Luud, Anneli Säre and Eve Randoja (TAp 858 — 1989, 48 pp); Art Leete (TAp 909 — 1996, 25 pp; TAp 905 — 1997, 51 pp; TAp 915 — 1998, 34 pp; TAp 919 — 1999, 8 pp; TAp 924 — 2000, 10 pp; TAp 929 — 2001, 14 pp; TAp 933 — 2002, 14 pp; TAp 939 — 2004, 14 pp; TAp 941 — 2005, 17 pp) and Janno Simm (TAp 918 — 1998, 10 pp). Art Leete's diary from 2003 and diaries by Jaanika Jaanits, Piret Koosa, Kristi Tinkus and Art Leete from 2006 are not registered in the archive yet.

<sup>8</sup> Here and later, bold by the authors of this article.

### **Discourses related to the metaphors of trading in the ENM's Komi fieldwork diaries**

Collecting of ethnographic items for the ENM has been linked to the practice of buying objects during fieldwork<sup>9</sup>. So it is not surprising that often we can find metaphors or phrases connected to trading in the Komi fieldwork diaries.

In general, Kalju Konsin's diary is textually minimised, even further than suggested by Heiki Pärdis, to the form of "[...] boringly formal and dull accounts of 'what I ate this morning, how many households I visited, what kind of things I collected / did not collect, and what the weather was like'" (Pärdis 1995: 82). The laconic notes of Konsin can be interpreted as fulfilling a boring obligation to transfer something to the ENM's archives. But, anyway, the hint of trading in the Soviet style (an attempt to obtain objects that belong to the list of deficit goods) can be found even in this short text:

*Aug., 12<sup>th</sup>. — A ride by bus to Mezhadov village at Sysvolski district in the southern part of Komi ASSR with A.M. Rubtsov, head of department of Syktyvkar Museum of Regional Studies<sup>10</sup>. Photographing buildings. Inquiry about clothes and buildings. Search for the possibility to **obtain** the exhibits. (TAp 576: 3, Konsin 1969)*

In his diary, Peterson often describes the collecting of objects by metaphors of trading. Peterson's expressions are closer to a description of business in the capitalist style:

*In one household there is a whole chest full of all kinds of socks and stockings, and the Syktyvkar women **bought** a lot. **We have spent a lot**. I had 150 roubles with me, in 2 days 50 roubles is gone. Soon we will be **bankrupt**. (TAp 679: 14–15, Peterson 1976)*

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<sup>9</sup> Analysis of the Komi diaries of the ENM reveals different kinds of metaphoric discourse. In this paper, we concentrated only on one possible approach. Beside the metaphoric discourses of object collecting, we can find information about different aspects of fieldwork in the Komi diaries: the organisation of a field trip, problems that occur while being in the "field", process of collecting work, local people's understanding of ethnologists' work and the way ethnologists have described their personal emotions in diaries, conditions of local everyday life, ethnologists' living conditions, their opinions about the work of local researchers and museums, contacts with the official institutions and the representations of local people's character.

<sup>10</sup> Nowadays NMKR.

*What can we get here? Mostly stockings and mittens. First of all women's stockings with beautiful patterns - just give 20 roubles, and the pair is yours! Too expensive, actually the work is worth it, all they ask is the same price (even 25 roubles per pair, and 5 roubles per mittens), as if they had agreed about it. You can buy or not if you do not want to. Bargaining would not help much. Also, there are shirts and sarafans available. The lower parts of the shirts have been removed, and the tops are sold for 3–5 roubles. So are the belts, not valuable. And this is all for textiles, represented by things. There are very few towels and other items. Towels tend to be new and bought, and sometimes embroidery is on the bought cloth. There are lots of wooden things, and often you can get them for free.* (TAp 679: 23–25, Peterson 1976)

*We called into some houses, and got some objects. First of all, both Nadyas<sup>11</sup> trade in textiles.* (TAp 679: 36, Peterson 1976)

*Now, we set out to a longer trip about 15 km from the schoolhouse along the asphalt. Some old crone takes us there, saying that there is all kinds of bric-a-brac available.* (TAp 679: 37, Peterson 1976)

*At first we were not lucky, but then all kinds of things were laid out. As we did not have any money, we could not do any shopping. We were not struck by anything worth buying. All textile goods were already known to us.* (TAp 679: 46, Peterson 1976)

*Here we get a number of things for free.* (TAp 679: 50, Peterson 1976)

*In two hours we are in the city and unload the cargo.* (TAp 679: 77, Peterson 1976)

Edgar Saar's expressions are more modest than Peterson's ones. Saar uses, like Konsin, descriptions that connect collecting to usual practices of obtaining deficit goods during the Soviet period.

*As I have obtained relatively few objects for the museum this year, I'll pay the main attention to obtaining objects. I got for the museum one more bag for handicraft, ladle, wooden platter, three rings and breast ornament, made by beads.* (TAp 760: 45, Saar 1981)

*For the museum, I was able to obtain the Komi woman's costume: a sarafan, apron, cloth cap and a jacket. I was also offered a child's maalitsa<sup>12</sup>, but as its fur was coming off, I did not buy it.* (TAp 760: 45–46, Saar 1981)

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<sup>11</sup> In Peterson's diary, Nadya I is Nadezhda Mityusheva from the Komi State's Research Museum of Regional Studies (KSRMRS) (present National Museum of Komi Republic). Nadya II is Nadezhda Titova from KSRMRS, who also participated in the expedition.

<sup>12</sup> *Maalitsa* — a shirt-like coat of reindeer hide with the fur inside in the style of Nenets, Komi, Khanty, Mansi and the other Arctic peoples.

During the expedition of 1989, a self-ironic and reflexive statement about field collection work was made:

*As real **travel sellers or peddlers**, we have obtained quickly the Komi names of the main **articles of trade** as *вoнь* — belt, *дöпöм* — women's shirt, *сера чувку* — ornamented stockings, *туес* — birch bark vessel, *нестерь* — back-basket (made from birch bark) and some others, quite similar ones. (TAp 858: 31–32, Pärdi 1989)*

Expressions connected with trading can also be found in Art Leete's and Janno Simm's diaries:

*There is a lot of all kinds of **stuff**, of course. [...] Today as well I **got** for the ENM this and that. (TAp 905: 22, Leete 1997)*

*I paid for the stockings 100 roubles and for the mittens 30. I must moan just as the ethnographers of previous decades — items are **costly**, although **actually the work is worth it**. (TAp 915: 5, Leete 1998)*

*With the help of the locals we captured a lady, more than 90 years old. From her we buy several objects. [...] As we must carry all the **obtained stuff** on our backs, we can't **stock** weighty items. (TAp 918: 6, Simm 1998)*

*Another woman scuttled here and **traded** me a sarapan<sup>13</sup> & stockings. **I have already bought five items**. Lady did not tell me the **price** but I had no choice — the smallest banknote was 50 roubles. Vova<sup>14</sup> had escaped with the 10 rouble banknotes. (TAp 924: 4, Leete 2000)*

A metaphorical connection between the expeditions of collecting ethnographic items and trading trips appears in several fieldwork diaries of the ENM. Discourse of trading can be found, for example, in the diary of Gustav Ränk's<sup>15</sup> fieldwork among the Karelians as early as in 1929 (Ränk complains about quick *bankruptcy* — TAp 610: 26, 52; see also Nömmela 2006: 59). At the same time, clear inter-textual connections are not usually observable, although the expressions look quite similar in different diaries. But the discourse of trading is represented in all earlier Komi diaries in the ENM.

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<sup>13</sup> Sarapan – 'sarafan' in Komi.

<sup>14</sup> Vladimir Lipin from NMKR.

<sup>15</sup> Gustav Ränk (1902–1998), one of the founders of Estonian ethnology, the first Professor of Ethnography at the University of Tartu.

## Discussion

Let us compare the self-reflections of Estonian field ethnographers with the metaphoric self-image of Estonian folklorists. Ülo Valk, Professor of Folklore at the University of Tartu, analyses the way Estonian folklorists described their work at the end of the 19th and in the beginning of the 20th centuries:

These are metaphors, similes and expressions that were drawn from the collective textual pool of the Estonian intellectuals, most of whom had their roots in the peasants' culture. [...] These ideas are connected with economic and cultural developments in Estonian village, with the growing number of farmers who had become masters through purchasing land from their Baltic-German landlords. (Valk 2004: 266)

Valk also writes:

Explaining and building up the value of something as vague as oral heritage was not simple in the earth-bound Estonian society, and it was easier to introduce new ideas by using the vocabulary of progressive farming, comprehensible for most people. (Valk 2004: 267)

A question appears: why do Estonian ethnologists continually use metaphors related to trade<sup>16</sup> and Estonian folklorists reflect their work metaphorically as agricultural? Perhaps, one part of the answer is related to the issue that collecting (and often buying) ethnographic items is, by itself, more close to trade than recording folk narratives, songs etc. During the ethnographers "trading" procedures objects will be given over to a new owner (an ethnographer representing the ENM). But folklore texts remain in the heads of the people even after the narratives or songs have been recorded for folklore archives. So we can apply the metaphors of agriculture more easily in the case of folklorists' fieldwork. One can "harvest" the same folklore "field" several times. The image of an ethnographer as "a peddler" may be also important in the case of Komi fieldwork. An ethnographer — a

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<sup>16</sup> In fact, the other popular images that can be found in their diaries of Estonian ethnologists are connected to hunting, fishing, gathering, robbery and war. But the analysis of these expressions is more closely connected to the specific vocabulary of the Estonian language and it is too difficult to attempt to write about these metaphors in English.

travel seller — moves from one remote village to another and makes some “trade” with local inhabitants.<sup>17</sup> In the case of Komi field trips it is hard to see the relationship with settled work that benefits the prosperity of fields of Estonian national culture (as it was an issue with Estonian folklorists a hundred years ago).

At the same time, we must take into consideration that Estonian folklorists presented their self-image as metaphoric peasants in public texts but the trader’s image of Estonian ethnologists can be revealed from fieldwork diaries, meant to be stored in the ENM’s archives. These diaries were not supposed to be public (although, in principle, everybody can read these texts in the ENM’s archive and there is always a possibility that some of those texts will be published). Anyway, it means that the image of Estonian ethnologists “as peddlers” is much more hidden from the public than the peasant’s image of folklorists. Obviously, in public texts no ethnologist will represent him- or herself as a trader. It does not look solid enough. In fact, Peterson has presented the Estonian ethnographer’s work to the public audience also through the metaphors of agriculture. For example, his book about the history of the ENM was titled “The Storehouse of Treasures” (Peterson 1986).

Konsin and Saar stay basically apart from the other Komi field researchers’ shared discourse’s style, related to trading metaphors (see Fig. 1). They both use sporadically the term “obtain” (*hankima* in Estonian) that is connected with the everyday jargon of the Soviet period, when ordinary people were forced to carry out a hard job in “obtaining” goods that were not available in stores. From the others, only Simm uses a similar expression.

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<sup>17</sup> Geertz, for example, reminds that if an anthropologist went off to remote non-Western societies, “there was no one else around, [...] or if there was — a missionary, a trader, a district officer, Paul Gauguin — he or she was mentally pushed aside” (Geertz 2001: 92). In our case, we can interpret the situation in a way that sometimes an ethnographer may take over the position of a trader, whom he or she has mentally dismissed.

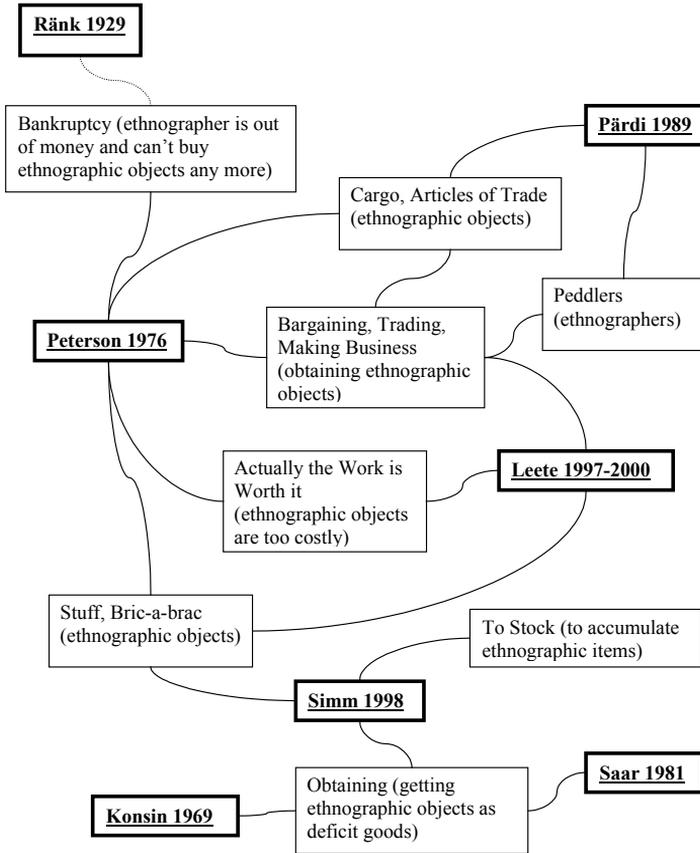


Figure 1. Relationship between the use of trading metaphors and expressions in ENM's Komi diaries (and Gustav Ränk's Karelian diary).

Although Ränk makes his field-note about bankruptcy already in 1929,<sup>18</sup> we can consider Peterson to be the real initiator of trading discourse in the ENM's fieldwork diaries (the Komis, perhaps, are just

<sup>18</sup> It may be possible that the trading metaphors and expressions can be found in many early fieldwork diaries of the ENM. ENM's archives consist of more than 900 fieldwork diaries and we are not familiar with all the material.

one example<sup>19</sup>). Peterson starts to designate ethnographic objects as “cargo”, “stuff” and “bric-a-brac” (*kaup, trään, kraam* in Estonian). Pärdi, Leete and Simm follow Peterson’s style (Pärdi adds the term *nõudluskaubaartiklid* — “articles of trade” in Estonian). Describing the process of getting ethnographic objects, Peterson writes about “bargaining”, “trading” or “doing business” (*kauplemine* in Estonian). Pärdi compares ethnographer to a peddler (*harjusk* in Estonian) that is clearly connected with trading paradigm. Leete uses expressions like Peterson (adding *ärima* — “to do business”, “to trade” in Estonian). Simm describes the accumulation of objects by the expression “to stock”. This style has parallels in early Estonian museology<sup>20</sup>. Simm makes his statement independently from former researchers. The connection is intuitive, although not less interesting.

Leete uses trading metaphors and expressions as a parody regarding Peterson’s way of describing fieldwork situations. It is especially clear in the case when Leete repeats Peterson’s remark that “actually the work is worth it” (both complaining about the price which the Komis ask for ethnographic items). Simm (who was on fieldwork with Leete), perhaps, heard these expressions from Leete and used a few of those in his diary, as well. Pärdi was definitely aware of Peterson’s attitudes towards collecting work and the style of writing. But Pärdi’s expressions do not actually repeat Peterson’s ones. So we assume that Pärdi follows the general way of how Peterson treats the collecting process but does not make any conscious inter-textual quotations. Later, the Komi fieldwork trips were not connected to collecting ethnographic objects anymore and thus the trading metaphors and expressions disappear from the diaries.

By drawing more or less conscious allusions between the Komi fieldwork diaries, later researchers attempt to distance themselves from Peterson’s aggressive and extensive collecting tactics. These (quasi-)quotations have been made in humorous way. Later re-

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<sup>19</sup> For example, Peterson uses expressions such as “stuff”, “trading” and “making business” also in his Udmurt fieldwork diaries (see Peterson 2006: 25, 36, 68, 69).

<sup>20</sup> F. Linnus described the ENM’s collections as “unorganized stock of old things” (Leinbock 1930: 45). A. M. Tallgren wrote about the threat that ENM would remain just “a reserve stockhouse of old treasures” (*vanavara tagavaraladu* in Estonian) or “an unorganized stock of curiosities and devices” (Tallgren 1921a: 5; 1921b: 2).

searchers try to point at the grotesque that can be observed in Peterson's working and writing style. Just imagine: communist Peterson acts and expresses himself according to the paradigm of capitalist economic discourse. He trades with the Komi as a peddler and complains about the possible bankruptcy. And Soviet citizens meet only modest moral standards concerning trade: they are not willing to give much away without getting paid. Can we observe some silent irony towards the Soviet regime if we see that capitalist attitudes are very much alive among the Komi population? Or was the practice of collecting items, in fact, an attempt to "obtain deficit goods" in the Soviet style and just decorated by capitalist-style discourse in fieldwork narratives?

As it appears, the ENM's Komi fieldwork diaries' texts include several discourses related to the metaphoric concept of trading. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980 and 1999) interpret the everyday level of thinking as largely metaphoric:

The concepts that govern our thought are not just matters of the intellect. They also govern our everyday functioning, down to the most mundane details. Our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining our everyday realities. If we are right in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor. (Lakoff, Johnson 1980: 3)

And:

They [metaphors] cut to the deepest questions of what we as human beings are and how we understand our everyday world. (Lakoff, Johnson 1999: 118)

We are not sure that the analysis of the ENM's Komi fieldwork diaries confirms this view adequately. Even if ethnographers use in their diaries metaphors and expressions connected to trading, it does not necessarily reflect any deeper layers of thinking. It may be just a spontaneous phrasing or inter-textual play of words. Inside the community of Estonian ethnologists circulates some kind of discursive style that is followed in the fieldwork diaries more or less consciously. This style of narrating is also connected to the specific social and historical context in which the ethnographers act. At the same time, even satiric inter-textual

quotations do not exclude the possibility that some discourses are related to 'deeper' level of human consciousness.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Acknowledgements*. This article has been prepared with the support of the Estonian Science Foundation (project 6688) and EUROCORES Boreas programme (project FP-007).

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### **Этнограф как торговец: о метафорах в дневниках полевых работ в Коми**

Собирание материалов для Музея эстонского народа всегда было связано с покупкой предметов в ходе полевых работ. В дневниках полевых работ мы часто находим связанные с торговлей метафоры и выражения. Сравнение этнографов с торговцами является стереотипным образом в описаниях полевых работ эстонских ученых, причем можно отметить определенную модель дискурса, которой более или менее сознательно следуют авторы. Разумеется этот стиль рассказывания связан со специфическим социальным и историческим контекстом деятельности этнографов. В то же время, учитывая обнаруженные сатирические интертекстуальные аллюзии, нельзя исключать и возможность того, что некоторые дискурсы связаны с более глубокими уровнями человеческого сознания.

### **Etnograaf kui kaupmees: metafooridest komi välitööpäevikutes**

Etnograafiliste materjalide kogumine Eesti Rahva Muuseumi jaoks on ajalooliselt olnud seotud esemete kokkuostmisega välitööde käigus. Komi välitööpäevikutest leiab tihti kauplemisega seotud metafoore ja väljendeid. Etnograafide võrdlemine kaupmeestega on stereotüüpne kujund eesti teadlaste välitööde kirjeldustes. Kui etnograafid kasutavad oma märkmikes metafoore või väljendeid, mis on seotud kauplemisega, siis võib see olla kas spontaanne sõnavalik või intertekstuaalne sõnamäng. Eesti etnoloogide välitööde päevikutes võib täheldada teatud diskursuse-tüüpi, mida vähem või rohkem teadlikult järgitakse. See jutustamisstiil on loomulikult seotud etnograafide tegevuse spetsiifilise sotsiaalse ja ajaloolise kontekstiga. Samal ajal ei saa lausa satiiriliste intertekstuaalsete viidete tõttu välistada ka võimalust et nii mõnigi diskursus on seotud sügavamate inimteadvuse tasanditega.