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## "Genre Doubles" as a Universal Characteristic of Traditional Culture

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All traditional cultures are familiar with the fear of twins: people fear literal mirror-like similarities. At the same time all traditional cultures are permeated with duplication and idiosyncratic types of multiplication: multiple repetition of one and the same thing in different forms and genres of art and life. So, for example, among the Kazakh people, there was the idea, from the moment of a baby's birth, of the duplication of the new-born by a puppy. In order to confuse an evil spirit (*karakus* – a black bird, *zhalmayz kempir* – a witch, etc.), the adults would praise and adore the baby while calling him or her a puppy (*kushik*). The baby's first shirt<sup>1</sup> is called canine clothing (*it koilek*), and the baby's plate is called a dog dish (*ayak*). The living puppy is placed in the cradle before the baby, and the baby's shirt is stretched over the puppy before dressing the baby for the first time, thus "turning it into" a canine skin. A child's feet, which are initially bound, are released when he is beginning to walk for the first time, and the binds are tied to the neck of a puppy along with candies, and older children who can already run chase the puppy.

In the image of the puppy we seemingly glimpse the image of the wolf, behind which stands the image of the totem: the first ancestor. In these substitutions – baby, dog, wolf, totem – lie a certain simultaneity, the idea of coexistence which is inherent in the traditional culture and the ancient worldview. It is significant that this simultaneity, even the very idea of simultaneity, a co-existence, permeates a person's existence literally from birth and accompanies him his entire life. Semantics and the shamanic roots of this entire ritual life activity is a special topic; here we are examining only the traditionally existing stable system of ritual and functional replacements and multiplications.

At the end of the 1970s, working on my doctoral dissertation on the Kazakh epos, I noticed the idiosyncratic manner of genre multiplication within the entire body of Kazakh folklore and oral forms of professional art, taken from the functional-semantic point of view. Here I recount my hypothesis.

I proceed from the obvious: one needs to take into account the type of culture in one's analysis of the structure and genre system of folklore. If the discovery of a genre system in one tradition or another actually can serve as a key to understanding the specific character of the culture corresponding to it, then this genre system itself must be understood in the context of the professional artistic institutions<sup>2</sup> arising and prevailing in this tradition.

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<sup>1</sup> "Raspashonka" – a baby's short-sleeved undershirt that opens down the back. {Translator's note, hereafter "Tr."}

<sup>2</sup> "Professional" here implies not only in terms of skill, but that the artist is traditionally taught in a systematic way, and is paid (or expects to be paid). "Institutions" here imply to social-artistic phenomena, not necessarily formal organizations.

Genres are connected not only with the texts of a culture, but also with its functions, and also, therefore, with the carriers of these functions, with its ethnophore.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, notwithstanding one or another set of musical (or other) genres, we must proceed not only from the content of the oral text, but also from the entire sociocultural context of their existence.

I did such a contextual study with respect to Kazakh musical-poetic culture through comparing and contrasting<sup>4</sup> its three traditional subcategories of cultural expression: folk song (i.e., strictly folklore), *akyn* culture (wherein the *akyn* directs traditional ritual in the capacity of a professional artist) and epic (an unconditionally professional art form).

Each event, each assertion, being located in the system of the genres of traditional oral culture, becomes comprehensible at three different, but mutually inclusive levels: at the level of ordinary consciousness (in the ritual genres of folklore), at the level of the ritualized clan consciousness (in the *akyn* tradition), and at the level of the aphoristic and descriptively revealed, its own kind of "scientific" consciousness (in the epic tradition).<sup>5,6</sup> Overlaying all institutional differences are certain subject areas (briefly: "threading,"<sup>7</sup> "reflection," "edification," and the like), principles and methods of textual embodiment, those which had to be duplicated, or more precisely, tripled at the levels of folkloric ritual, *akyn* lyric poetry and the epic. Or, taking as a basis the final aim of each group of genres, the subject areas had to be tripled at the levels of individual person, clan and entire ethnos.<sup>8</sup> And at the same time everywhere in Kazakh traditional poetry the moral-ethical starting point is key: it is precisely that starting point that gives rise to the unified current of culture, whose energy also ensures uniformity in the spiritual guideposts of the people, as they are personified in each of the aforementioned genres.

On the basis of the proposed structuring of the traditional Kazakh repertoire of songs in connection with the artistic formal traditions historically prevailing in the culture, I introduce into the scholarship the concept of genre doubles, and in the working method I propose the following composition of Kazakh folksong culture:

<sup>3</sup> *Ethnophore*: the carrier of a particular ethnic culture (from *Slovar'-spravochnik russkogo gumanitarnogo internet-universiteta* [Reference Dictionary of the Internet University of the Humanities]. Moscow 2006). This term has been in use in Russian ethnographic scholarship since the 1970's, and in Russian ethnomusicology since the 1980's. {Tr.}

<sup>4</sup> Through a process of "institutional differentiation" - the comparison of different cultural institutions. {Tr.}

<sup>5</sup> This is to say, the "genre doubles" take place at three levels of awareness: everyday, ritual, and epic. The author adds (see footnote below) a fourth level of awareness: competition. {Tr.}

<sup>6</sup> For more about the traditional institutions of the *akyn* (poet-singer) and *zhyrau* (epic storyteller), see: Edige Tursynov. "Tipy nositelei kazakhskogo fol'klora" ["Types of Bearers of Kazakh Folklore"] Alma Ata, 1976 (in Kazakh); Alma Kunanbaeva. "Zhanrovaia sistema kazakhskogo muzykal'nogo eposa: opyt obosnovaniia" ["The genre system of Kazakh musical epics: An attempt at definition"] In the book: *Muzyka eposa* ["The music of the epos"]. Compiler-editor I. I. Zemtovskii. Yoshkar-Ola: Soiuz kompozitorov Rossii, 1989. For the present edition of this article I add a fourth traditional institution: the practice of **competitions** (belonging to the Kazakh traditions of *aitys*, *tartys*, *baiga*, and others). For more information see my article "Surprises of typology: from the World of Ancient Greek and Kazakh Lyric Poetry" (published in the book in memory of Boris N. Putilov *Folklore and Folk Culture*. St. Petersburg: publisher Dm. Bulanin).

<sup>7</sup> "Threading" refers to a type of poetry that is a string of aphorisms. {Tr.}

<sup>8</sup> Ethnos: people of the same race or nationality who share a distinctive culture. {Tr.}

I. Folksong tradition.

1. Ritual songs.
2. Lyric songs.
3. Epic songs.

II. *Akyn* tradition.

1. *Akyn* doubles of ritual songs.
2. Professional lyric poetry.
3. Songs by *akyns*<sup>9</sup> with epic plots.
4. Genres of *aitys* (song-poetry disputes).

III. Epic tradition.

1. Epic doubles of ritual songs.
2. The epic story, in its complete form (*zhyr* – an epos, strictly speaking)
3. *Tolgau* ("meditation"), *terme* ("didactic"), *osiet* ("instruction"), *nakyl soz* ("instructions") *khat* ("letter"), *soz* ("speech"): what I call "orbital" genres "around" the epos *per se*.
4. Epic lyric poetry.

This diagram shows not only the generic characteristics of each group, but also the presence of the specific connections between them.

Moreover, if we take the diagram as a working model, then the very criteria by which classifications are determined for a particular work change: the criteria no longer appear as separate demarcating components of the whole (text, melody, the presence of instrumental accompaniment, and the like), but the entire totality of demarcations, necessarily also including the social-artistic position of a live performer in the culture, and, just as pertinently, the factor of how the performer's creativity is perceived in society.

In fact, for the traditional society the concepts of the epic tradition (*zhyraulyk destur*), the art of singing (*enshilik oner*), and the art of the *akyn* (*akyndyk*) are not just theoretical ideas, but the wide complex of concrete phenomena and associations based on extensive cultural experience. Also, there is a class of audience members which are considered highly skilled "perceivers" of the art [so-to-speak epic performance connoisseurs and critics] who play the role of approving or disapproving of a performance.<sup>10</sup> Only by taking into account the reality of how the perception of art is valued in a traditional medium is it possible to approach the clarification of the terms themselves, and their actual fulfillment. In discussing genre doubles in the Kazakh song culture I will describe three possible situations and their interpretations.

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<sup>9</sup> *Akyn* - bard

<sup>10</sup> This "professionalized" epic critic in a traditional milieu is expected by the audience and epic singer alike to give supporting comments on the performance. This is a traditional role, not a paid one (while the epic singer's position is paid). {Tr.}

First: creative works, identical by their essential demarcations or identical from our point of view – while in reality they occur in different genre groups in different regions. In the case of a mass confirmation of this differentiation it is possible to speak about either the specific character of a region, or about the imperfection of our concepts.

Second: a textual doubling of one and the same versions in all three traditions. In this case we can see their fundamental varied purposes and different places in the concrete artistic community. For instance, the didactic *terme* form turns out to belong to both the *akyn* and the epic genre categories. The external similarity leaves differences of form, both musical and functional, untouched: in the contexts of differing perceptions and functions they can mean different things.

Third: if the researcher accepts the theory of genre doubles, he or she can uncover not just the works but the carriers of different kinds of works from different social-artistic traditions which otherwise appear to be absolutely monolithic within each region, from the musical-stylistic point of view. Thus, a similar individualized approach will reveal the performers of all the basic types (*bakhsy*, *zhyrau*, *zhyrshi*, *enshi* and *akyn*) within this medium, which will make it possible to compare representatives of the same type without making an unintentional error of substitution.

It seems to me that by using this paradigm one can reveal the real typology of culture which reflects essential cultural differences instead of forcing pseudo-universalities onto the genre.

Now, twenty years later, having encountered a wide variety of ethnic cultures, I begin to see this hypothesis as being of a more and more generalized—if not universal—nature. I find confirmation of my idea everywhere, and therefore, if I am not mistaken, it may be a real universality.

I have yet to begin the stage where I attempt to overturn my own conclusions. Today I present the argumentation of this hypothesis, first limiting myself to Kazakh examples, then continuing on to show how this hypothesis can be seen as inherent in one form or another within a great many ethnic traditions. Moreover, I see the hypothesis reflected in a whole series of fundamental oppositions (more accurately, I should say, I think oppositions are often and quickly revealed to those modern scholars who tend to see oppositions in everything). For example, I see them in poetry and prose, ritual and narration, and so forth. One art form appears as the "other-state" to another art form: one duplicates the other in the language of its own specific genre or genres.

Prose does not, for example, stand in opposition to poetry, but is a parallel form of existence of the exact same cognitive constants as poetry. I am impressed by the thinking of Alexander Lobok, for whom "poetry is made to be a mythological rite: it is the authentic center and essence of mythological rite," whereas "the narrative genre appears, everything considered, as principally secondary with respect to myth, ritual, or rites. It appears as the secondary intellectual treatment of myth: as a method of using the word to

redesign myth."<sup>11</sup> Similar but less obvious doubling takes place when one compares the ritual and narrative forms of myth: they are doubled, each in their own "genre."

"Narrative mythology is the true 'other-state' of natural and ritual forms of myth."<sup>12</sup> But, indeed, the same can be said also in relation to such phenomena as the parallel realities of sleep and wakefulness: sleep is reality, just a different kind. Lobok mentions the well known phenomenon from Australian Aboriginal mythology called "Dream Time." This is a state that occurs, not as something that happened in the past, but rather as "a certain parallel time and place, a certain special dreamlike modus of world existence."<sup>13</sup> I permit myself to read this all in my own terms of worlds duplicating each other.

Moreover, I shall now permit myself to read the history of traditional culture as a whole in this way. I see a basis for this approach in the fact that practically the entire depth of oral culture, its entire volume, stretched seemingly horizontally, through space, across each ethnic territory, is interpenetrated with the same basic ideas, values and images. Such is our initial premise for the study of oral culture.

As Izaly Zemtsovsky showed,<sup>14</sup> every genre presents a kind of special window through which people look on the whole world. As a result, we have a multiplicity of images of the same world. Each genre reflects not only one sector of reality that is dominant in the genre, but the entire wealth of the universe that enters into the world view of the ethnos.

The method proposed by Zemtsovsky is important and extremely promising as it is directed toward the exposure of each genre's concealed possibilities which are usually not noticed by analysts. However, for our purposes, this method is also insufficient, being limited only to the genre aspect of culture in its relation to reality; here we are interested in all aspects of culture without exception, including examples of doubling that fall outside of traditional genres. The examples presented here demonstrate the phenomenon of how doubling goes beyond the level of genre.

Our initial prerequisite is based on the acknowledgment of self-propagation as the bases of existence of any oral culture, generally speaking.<sup>15</sup> This acknowledgment helps one not only to understand and, I think, also to satisfactorily explain many obscure and even mysterious instances in traditional culture, but also to recognize them as such. We know that new sight, new prospect produces new knowledge.

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<sup>11</sup> See A. M. Lobok. *Antropologiya mifa*. Ekaterinburg: Bank kul'nurnoi informatsii, 1997, p. 487. ["The anthropology of the myth."]

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 491.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid, p. 576-577.

<sup>14</sup> For more information, see the following articles by I. I. Zemtsovsky [transliterated: "Zemtsovskii" {Tr.}]: (1) "Rekonstruktsiia predstavleniia o tselostnosti fenomena fol'klornogo zhanra: metod i primer" in the magazine "Bulgarsko muzikoznanie," 1986, No. 1, p. 16-24, with an abstract in Bulgarian and English ["The reconstruction of the concept of integrity in the phenomenon of the folkloric genre" in "Bulgarian Musicology"], and also (2) "Predstavlenie o tselostnosti fol'klornogo zhanra kak ob'ekt rekonstruktsii i kak metod" . [The concept of the integrity of the folkloric genre as the object of reconstruction and as a method"] in the book *Fol'klor i etnografiia*. ["Folklore and ethnography."] Leningrad: Nauka, 1990, p. 205-212.

<sup>15</sup> "Self-propagation" here indicates that, to researchers, it appears as if the propagation of oral culture goes on independent of human activity. {Tr.}

But, one may ask, how does one interpret these new facts, standing before us in their new constellation? How does one explain this starry sky of culture opening suddenly before us, in all its many colors?

For an answer to this complex question one must approach from a distance.

First of all, for expedience, it seems one must define an initially productive period of folklore, saturated by a plurality of events, including events of an *ethnogenetic*<sup>16</sup> nature, and including migratory processes of varied natures and causes, the development of society's class infrastructure and all that one could conditionally call the horizontal [spacial, geographic] development of an ethnos and its oral culture. Since the beginning of active ethnic self-awareness and, most importantly, with an increase in external interest in folklore "from the sidelines" and, so to speak, from above, i.e., in more modern language, with the appearance of *folklorism*,<sup>17</sup> one must assume that a folklore's productive period ends as it is replaced by the productive period of folklorism, i.e., the development of the entire network of vertical relationships in a culture.

During the study of a productive period of folklore and its genre systems, it is advisable not to be limited to the traditional genre approach and to subdivide the particular kinds of activity which are actually broader and more precise than "genres" and which encompass the full entirety of a culture. Every subdivision of this nature is demarcated with its own relationship to the same reality. But this is not enough. One and the same subdivision is embodied by a different genre: in the different local traditions, and in the artistic repertoire of the different social and gender and age groups of an ethnos. The generally immutable law of oral tradition is such that it preserves itself from oblivion and destruction: it attaches itself in eternity, so it, being dispersed, is not scattered, but seemingly being multiplied, it concentrates its essence in a culture's tradition.

We propose to call "genre doubles" just those manifestations by different genres of the same kind of artistic syncretic<sup>18</sup> activity within a given ethnic tradition's productive period.

Genre doubles indicate precisely original plurality, not evolutionary development of the same thing, or transformation of one thing into another. It is important to realize that this plurality is not by chance and is not arbitrary, but is always dependent on real historic context. The plurality is dependent on (1) function and genre, (2) social structure, (3) region, and (4) the perspective of gender and age.

The law of the living is such: culture duplicates itself at all levels by its self-fulfillment (regionally, functionally, socially, in terms of gender and age), by the very same means makes its core values unshakable.

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<sup>16</sup> *Ethnogenetic*: relating to the origin and history of a given ethnic group. {Tr.}

<sup>17</sup> *Folklorism*: inauthentic, manufactured folklore presented as if it were genuinely traditional: a secondary form of existence of folklore. {Tr.}

<sup>18</sup> *Syncretic*: a quality of fusing the substances of elements that are now usually differentiated (in modern times) but which were interrelated and indissoluble (in ancient times). *Primitive syncretism* is the theory of Alexander N. Veselovsky (1838-1906) that all arts come from a primary (i.e., primordial, prehistoric), indivisible form (see his *Historical Poetics*, 1940). {Tr.}

The acknowledgment of genre doubles as a general law of oral culture's existence opens up new research perspectives for the fields of folkloristics, ethnomusicology, cultural anthropology, and ethnography. Genre doubles allow the explanation of why we are justified in reconstructing a whole mythology or ritual system from one or another ancient ethnos based only on fragments of its traditional culture. (Naturally, for these purposes, the parallel development of Zemtsovsky's hypotheses, explaining the possibility of reconstructing the integrity of each genre, is appropriate.)

The aforementioned also concerns the epos, with the reference to which this article began. Moreover, this idea works especially clearly on the material of the epos.

In fact, although the epos is one way or another genetically connected with archaic mythology, cosmogony, ritual and shamanism, it cannot, strictly speaking, be considered proper folklore, since it is the art of the professional epic "singers-of-tales," rhapsodes. Nevertheless, it can have—and, as I try to show, actually has – its genre doubles in folklore. Analytically, I am limited to Kazakh material, as it is the most familiar to me, and the most studied, not only in the literature, but also as a result of my own long-standing field work in different regions of traditional and relatively new Kazakh settlements. Nevertheless, I am justified in noting that my hypothesis, procedure and conclusions relate not only to the Kazakh epos, but to the productive period of the oral culture of every ethnos, basically without exception. In any case, Zemtsovsky, familiar with my hypothesis in its initial short version,<sup>19</sup> shows its applicability to Russian folklore.<sup>20</sup> Here are a few examples examined in detail in his new manuscript.

Genre doubles, according to this study, are obvious in the poetics: it suffices to compare the formulae of praise songs at the end of the Russian epic folk tales (*bylina*), fairy tales, wedding praise songs, carols and other seasonal ritual and round-dance (*khorovod*) praise songs with each other, showing the unique genre parallels of exactly the same idea of praising (laudation and gratitude, etc.). At one time they seemed to be a magic formula, i.e., there was one additional genre hypostasis<sup>21</sup> consisting of the same ritual-poetic idea.

Thanks to this approach, the notorious problem of the "authorship" of the Russian epos is also solvable on some level. Meanwhile, according to Zemtsovsky, the particular genre-stylistic versions of an epos could have originally existed in different layers of old Russian society: it was as if each social stratum "wrote" its own version of native history. Motives and plots could sometimes intercept each other, especially with the influence of the social-artistic institutions of itinerant singers, pilgrims, traveling blind bards (*kaliki perekhozhie*) and wandering minstrel-clowns (*skomorokh*).

The situation also becomes clear with the epic poetry (*bylina*) motives in caroling songs in the Russian north (though not exclusively in the north) and in the wedding songs in the

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<sup>19</sup> See my article "Zhanrovaia sistema kazakhskogo muzykal'nogo fol'klora..." p. 82-112. ["The genre system of Kazakh musical folklore."]

<sup>20</sup> I have had the lucky opportunity to familiarize myself with the work he is preparing for an as-yet unpublished book about Russian folk music, consolidating his many years of research, and received the kind permission of the author to briefly summarize some of his theses.

<sup>21</sup> *Hypostasis*: aspect or embodiment, e.g., the understanding of the Christian God as having three aspects, in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. {Tr.}

south, among the Don Cossacks. From here comes the tendency of musical ballad plots to exist in songs of different genres, such as epic, lyric, wedding, dance, and lullaby songs. In the 1980s Zemtsovsky wrote that round-dances required (sic!<sup>22</sup>) the ballad as the means by which to reflect and encompass the entire world that is not embraced with dance alone.<sup>23</sup>

In short, everything in the oral tradition – formulas, musical motives, plots, poetics, the genres themselves, etc. – each without exception has its “doubles” along the vertical (social) and horizontal (local dialects). Zemtsovsky thinks it is possible to find idiosyncratic doubles even in tonal modes, scales and rhythms.

Thus, it is already possible to see that genre doubles appear as their own kind of universal concept in the world of separate ethnic oral traditions, i.e., predominantly along the horizontal stratum of one culture. But it is appropriate to ask the question: can the concept of genre doubles also be effective in the field of historical poetics<sup>24</sup>, i.e., predominantly along the historical vertical of many cultures?

Perhaps no one has specifically asked that question. Yet, it is by no means an idle question.

Let us recall one of many (analogous and now already classic) statements by Aleksandr N. Veselovsky:

Myth is transmitted through avatars of fairy tale, short stories, and touching tales, so that we can meet it anew in the paperback bindings of a library of novels.<sup>25</sup>

Andrei L. Toporkov, recently citing this phrase, explained *avatar*, a word now rarely used, as meaning “metamorphoses.”<sup>26</sup> This explanation is completely possible according to the general meaning of phrase; however, there remains the slippery question of why Veselovsky preferred precisely this rare word. Meanwhile, the term *avatar* means literally and primarily an incarnation of an ancient Indian deity (for example, Vishnu). In philosophy this word became a term for the designation of a phenomenon of embodiment or personification of a concept (or even an entire philosophy) in the individual personality. Indeed, maybe all similar, countless, examples turned out to be – for the brilliant mind of Veselovsky – examples of the existence of one plot, image and so on, in the appearance of works in various genres? Maybe Veselovsky had in mind those examples precisely and foremost as examples of multiple-genre incarnation and reincarnation, or as examples of

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<sup>22</sup> As opposed to the usual way of thinking, which is that the ballad requires the dance. {Tr.}

<sup>23</sup> See the article by I. I. Zemtsovsky on the reconstruction of the idea about the integrity of the folklore genre (1986). There he also wrote about the “universality” of humorous folk ditties: “a quick and brief epos” of the modern day.

<sup>24</sup> “Historical poetics concerns itself with the historical evolution of poetic principles, devices and forms, as well as with the evolution of the methods and means of the artistic “assimilation” of reality.” (See: Pavel Grincer, in ‘Neohelicon’, vol. 15, no. 1, March 1988, p. 13).

<sup>25</sup> See A. N. Veselovskii, “Neizdannaiia glava iz ‘Istoricheskoi poetiki,’ *Russkaia literatura*, 1959, No. 3, p. 118-119. [“An unpublished chapter from ‘Historical poetics.’”]

<sup>26</sup> See A. L. Toporkov, “Teoriia mifa v russkoi filologicheskoi nauke XIX veka.” Moscow: Indrik, 1997, p. 376. [“The theory of myth in Russian philology of the 19<sup>th</sup> c.”]

the genre being considered as the embodiment-personification of a certain travelling idea, plot, motive, image and the like?

Seemingly, it makes sense to think about this idea of Veselovsky especially, to analyze the appropriate examples and, most importantly, place them in the framework of the overall picture of oral tradition and attempt to give to them new interpretation in the spirit of the concept of genre doubles.

It is possible that such reinterpretation would also require from us a certain renewal of the comparative-typological methodology, which, as we know, arises from the international unity of folklore culture. "The field of historical typological analogies... covers all sides of ideology, imagery, genre composition and artistic style of the works of literature and folklore."<sup>27</sup> The laws of typology, as shown by Boris N. Putilov, are typological sequence and typological succession.<sup>28</sup>

Let us recall that typological similarity is never literal. Therefore the typologist pays attention not to the direct but to the "shifted" correspondences. All typological laws are not simply given to science, but are seemingly objectively assigned.

Maybe we must attempt to also answer the question of how the relationships according to the type of genre double enter into the system of typological relations? Are genre doubles a phenomenon from the field of typology, or principally do they relate to some other field, which requires additional explanation and determination? Or is it more expedient to forget about omnipresent typology and to examine the genre doubles within the framework of other entirely different culturological<sup>29</sup> categories? Then the question arises, which kind?

It is necessary to understand that the universalism of typology does not deny nor does it diminish other approaches, but calls for an understanding of the inevitability of *cooperation* with the typological method.

Gathering many separate facts (and factors) one way or another into uniform (uniordinal) groups, this is typology that transforms the chaos of facts into a cosmos of culture [i.e., into accessible data in cultural space]. Of course, this is a culture that we built. Therefore it is expedient to differentiate between the *typology of ethnophores*, which are concerned exclusively with their own tradition, and the *typology of ethnographers*, constructed on the basis of many world traditions. The question is how to combine our typological pictures with the data of the ethnophore typology, always defined locally and working on the basis of clearly specialized models. The answer to this question may turn out to be the key.

Let me conclude with this guess: could a system of genre doubles turn out to be exactly the typology of ethnophores we were searching for?

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<sup>27</sup> See V. M. Zhirmunskii, "Narodnyi geroicheski epos: Sravnitel'no-istoricheskie ocherki." Moscow, Leningrad: issued by the Akademii nauk, 1962, p. 9. ["The folk heroic epos: historical comparative sketches."]

<sup>28</sup> See B. N. Putilov, "Metodologiya sravnitel'no-istoricheskogo izucheniia fol'klora." Leningrad: Nauka, 1976. ["The methodology of the historical comparative study of folklore."]

<sup>29</sup> *Culturological* – from *Culturology*: a Russian academic discipline (similar to Cultural Studies) which emerged in the 1960's and focuses on the influence of culture on human behavior.

