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Encapsulated Voices: Estonian Sound Recordings
from the German Prisoner-of-War Camps in 1916–1918

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0. Introduction

Jaan Ross

In 2006 when I was working on a textbook on the psychology of music at the *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin* on a Mellon scholarship, my co-fellow at the institute, an Iraqi ethnomusicologist by the name of Scheherazade Hassan, once invited me to join her for a visit to the *Phonogramm-archiv* at the Ethnological Museum in the Dahlem district of Berlin. During that visit, Susanne Ziegler of the *Phonogramm-archiv* drew my attention to a set of historical phonograph recordings in my native language, Estonian, which neither myself nor, as far as I knew, any of my colleagues in Estonia were aware of. The recordings had been made in German prisoner-of-war camps during World War I. I soon learned that there were two large corpora of sound recordings from that period in Berlin: one on wax rolls, at the Ethnological Museum (the *Phonogramm-archiv*) and the other on shellac discs (called the *Lautarchiv*), currently held at the Department of Musicology and Media Science of the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*. Jürgen-Kornelius Mahrenholz was the person who kindly introduced me to the Estonian material in the *Lautarchiv*. In 2009, an opportunity presented itself to spend a month in Berlin on a DAAD scholarship in order to continue work with the Estonian sound recordings in the two archives. It was during that month that the idea of putting together the present volume started to develop.

Before 1918, Estonia was part of the Russian empire, and during World War I ethnic Estonian conscripts fought in the Russian army alongside with representatives of other national minorities inhabiting Russian territories. In 1914 a campaign was initiated in Germany by Wilhelm Doegen to record speech and music from prisoners of war and in this way to create a sound archive containing examples of the world's different languages and music cultures. His activities led to the establishment of the Royal Prussian Phonographic Commission on 27 October 1915. Carl Stumpf, psychologist, acoustician and founder of the *Phonogramm-archiv* was appointed as chairman of the commission. In total, the commission included thirty academics working in the fields of philology, anthropology and musicology. Between 1915 and 1918 they recorded samples in 250 languages and dialects on 1650 shellac records and 1022 wax cylinders. In 1918 the collection was divided according to the recording medium.

This book is focused on the sound recordings of ethnic Estonian informants prepared between 1916 and 1918 in the German prisoner-of-war camps. The recordings were made in five camps located in Giessen, Mannheim, Niederzwehren, Puchheim and Wittenberg (see Figure 0.1). The total number of individuals recorded was 22. Their list is presented in Appendix I. Not all of the recordings were available to us – some appear to have been lost. The oldest informant recorded was born presumably in 1875 and the youngest in 1895, such that at the time of recording the informants were aged approximately 20 to 45. An overview of the recorded material is presented in Appendix II. The duration of recordings stored on a phonograph roll is between 1.5 and 2 minutes, and the duration of those on a gramophone disc normally between 2 and 4 minutes. The total duration of available audio material is about one hour and it is presented on the CD accompanying this book (43 tracks in total). The disc should contain all holdings preserved in the two Berlin archives of Estonian audio material collected in World War I prisoner-of-war camps, except for the phonograph record Phon. Komm. 875a of the *Phonogramm-archiv*, which was unavailable in digital form at the time of collection of material for the book and therefore was not included.

The recorded material includes readings of excerpts of narrative text or word lists, as well as songs, recitals, and number-counting. No Estonian instrumental music is known to have been recorded during the sessions. All material is presented in Estonian, except for record PK 488 of the *Lautarchiv* where a native Estonian informant whose knowledge of Russian is limited attempts a reading of an unfamiliar text (Luke 15:11–17) in that language. The word-lists informants were asked to read were apparently compiled by the linguist Hermann Jacobsohn, who was appointed by the commission to work with ethnic Estonian prisoners. The lists comprise pairs or successions of lexical items contrastive in their quantity or palatalisation.

This volume consists of nine chapters each written by a different author. The first chapter *The* Lautarchiv *of the* Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin by Jürgen-Kornelius Mahrenholz focuses on the Berlin archives of acoustic material that contain historical collections which are unique in the world: the *Lautarchiv* and the *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv*. While the recordings in the *Lautarchiv* have been made on shellac discs, the recording medium of the *Phonogramm-Archiv* until the 1950s was the wax cylinder. The *Lautarchiv*, with recordings dating back to 1909, was established in 1920. Today it is part of the Department of Musicology and Media Science at the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*. The *Phonogramm-Archiv* was founded by the psychologist Carl Stumpf at the *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität* with audio recordings that he had been making starting 1900 on Edison wax cylinders. In 1934,

Figure 0.1. Location of five prisoner-of-war camps where ethnic Estonian informants were recorded in 1916–1918: Wittenberg, Niederzwehren, Giessen, Mannheim and Puchheim (from north to south).

the *Phonogramm-Archiv* became part of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* (now *Ethnologisches Museum*), where it is still located today. The chapter continues with a detailed discussion of the history of the *Lautarchiv* of the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, and describes the production of audio recordings in German prisoner-of-war camps in 1915–1918.

Reinhard Nachtigal in the second chapter *Troops of Estonian origin among Russian prisoners of war in Germany in 1914–1918* concludes that the interest of the German and Austro-Hungarian prison camp authorities in individual ethnic groups among the POWs was differentiated. Certain categories of prisoners (such as Muslims, Ukrainians, Georgians) received considerable attention and numerous privileges because the Germans wished to employ them towards their military ends. Yet, in addition to this political interest there was also an anthropological and ethnographic research interest which was present independently of the political aims, and which extended to captured troops of various origins, among them also Finno-Ugrians, Latvians and Caucasians. German and Austrian anthropologists, ethnographers, music

researchers and linguists regarded the presence in their respective countries of POWs representing various ethnic groups as a research opportunity. Unlike the work of Austrian researchers, the results of the research carried out by the Germans never arrived beyond the point of data collection. Today these results are regarded as valuable data which, as the author of this chapter thinks, have received added value thanks to the work of Estonian researchers in the present volume.

The third chapter *On Estonian recordings made in German prisoner-of-war camps during World War I* by Jaan Ross assesses the value and significance of the recordings of Estonian material in the Berlin archives. Although the first recordings in the Estonian language on shellac discs were made in 1901, these were predominantly of a commercial rather than scholarly nature. Systematically selected samples of Estonian folk and professional music, as well as of spoken Estonian, started to appear considerably later. Thanks to the material discovered in Berlin, researchers now have access to a historically valuable collection of audio material on the Estonian culture from the beginning of the 20th century. One of the recordings' greatest value for contemporary researchers lies in the areas of dialect studies and experimental phonetics. Thus, the Berlin recordings may be the earliest audio document to highlight differences between Estonian dialects by reference to a standard source text. Likewise, the material seems to represent the first recordings of the phonological effects of palatalisation and quantity in Estonian, captured in the form of the so-called minimal pairs (or, in the case of oppositions involving more than two linguistic units – minimal series). From the point of view of music studies, the Berlin recordings contain several instances of popular songs whose importance during the period in question has so for a long time not been sufficiently appreciated, and of patriotic songs, including the anthem of the Republic of Estonia (in multiple renditions, one of which is performed in two voices).

The fourth chapter *Prisoners of war as language informants: observations of two archivist/historians* by Aadu Must and Kadri Tooming deals with the value of the recordings of Estonian speech and music discovered in Berlin for archivists and historians. In many cases, the authors of the chapter, relying on archival material, have been able to trace earlier or later episodes from the life stories of the 22 Estonian prisoners-of-war whose voices were recorded during 1916–1918. The authors regard the Estonian collection in Berlin as an interesting and unique find which fits into the system of sources of Estonian history and opens up new aspects of research that have so far eluded "insider" historians. They conclude that the recordings demonstrate the excitement of implementing state-of-the-art methods in research and revive the situation of

World War I prisoners-of-war as a subject of historical study.

The fifth chapter *Acoustic features of quantity in early recordings of Estonian* by Pärtel Lippus considers the temporal and tonal characteristics of the Estonian three-way quantity system in recordings from the Berlin archives and compares these to contemporary speech data. His analysis shows that by reference to contemporary recordings, in the Berlin material the three-way opposition of segmental duration is more pronounced, whereas the additional pitch cues that it includes tend to be less contrastive. In the contemporary recordings the situation appears to be different in that both temporal structure and pitch contrast can be employed to establish an opposition of the long and overlong quantity. The syllable duration ratio introduced in early 1960s for describing the Estonian three-way quantity system has turned out to be its most stable characteristic. It is surprising to see the similarity in the syllable ratios derived from the Berlin data from the beginning of the 20th century and in contemporary Estonian speech. At the same time, the reading style has changed: in the contemporary data, the speech rate is considerably faster and the pitch lower than in the Berlin data.

The sixth chapter *Dialectal features in recordings of Estonian speech in the Berlin archives* by Karl Pajusalu presents the author's views of the distribution and characteristic features of Estonian accents in the second decade of the 20th century. He considers it intriguing that recordings made for the purposes of exemplifying Written Estonian contain a certain degree of dialectal features in the case of all informants. As the informants came from Tartu county and had also lived in Tartu, it is possible to conclude that the standard North Estonian then spoken in Tartu was not entirely similar to the present-day Written Estonian. Of particular interest are those recordings by South Estonian informants where they were asked to read excerpts from the North Estonian version of the Bible in their home dialect. The pronunciation of speakers from the Võru dialect area was more dissimilar to North Estonian pronunciation than that of contemporary speakers of Võru. The recording of the informant from Saaremaa revealed features of the insular dialect which quite well correspond to the modern insular accent. Therefore, it may be argued that although South Estonians in Võrumaa and Setomaa have yet maintained their dialectal grammar and vocabulary, the insular pronunciation has been preserved better to date than South Estonian pronunciation.

The seventh chapter *Recordings of Bible texts in South Estonian: observations of a translation historian* by Kristiina Ross examines the Berlin recordings as an *ad hoc* sight translation of a literary text into each informant's home dialect. The author notes that the informants seem to have spent no time on preparatory reading and suggests that the interviewers may have been at least

partly mistaken in their assumption that the text was familiar to the informants – the latter appear to have missed the meaning of a number of phrases. In particular the excerpt from Exodus (3:10–3:17) can be said to include some sentences that are too abstract and too complicated for sight translation. During transcription, the recorded translation has been improved. One informant was probably given an opportunity to explain certain issues and correct certain slips in the final text of the transcript, while another one was allowed to record his text twice. Although the dialectal background of the informants is clearly revealed in the recordings, it remains doubtful whether the method used is suitable for collecting dialectal material. While the Bible may certainly be used as a source of standard texts convenient for comparing different sublanguages, researchers conducting such comparisons should take it into account that giving informants a text in the written language and asking them to read it in their vernacular dialect essentially amounts to sight translation and as such will unavoidably generate some translation "noise". The author concludes that sight translation of a written text is not the best way to reveal an informant's actual vernacular usage.

The eighth chapter *Observations on traditional or folk tales appearing in the Berlin recordings of Estonian speech* by Arvo Krikmann discusses five texts in the Berlin recordings, of which four appear in the classification of folk tales compiled by Aarne, and revised and expanded by Thompson and by Uther (ATU). The texts are provided with general background information in the form of type reference and type description and other eventual notes according to the ATU system of classification of folktales and with distribution maps generated in respect of the ATU types of tales. A further section of local background information is included in the chapter, in order to give the reader information concerning the occurrence of the tale type in Estonian printed texts and archival sources.

The ninth chapter *Recordings of songs by Estonian prisoners of war: repertoire and its representations* by Janika Oras endeavours to place recordings of Estonian songs from the Berlin archives in a series of broader contexts, focusing on the selection made by the informants and on the extent to which existing collections of Estonian songs dating from the beginning of the 20th century may be considered representative of the Estonian song tradition of the time. Naturally, the first questions that come to mind upon hearing the songs performed by the Estonian prisoners-of-war relate to their captive condition and the circumstances under which the recording took place. The author analyses the choices of songs and the likely motives of the Estonian prisoners of war asked to record folk songs from their native tradition in a prison camp far away from home by scholars who worked for their captors. One may

wonder why the Estonian informants decided to perform those particular 13 songs in the recording sessions with the German interviewers, or why the Germans decided to record those particular 13 songs. These questions have at least as many answers as there were singers. The author sketches a series of informed suggestions in the matter, pointing out that the information available on the performers and the circumstances of their particular recording situations is very limited.

I would like to thank Jürgen-Kornelius Mahrenholz of the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* and Susanne Ziegler of the *Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin* for drawing my attention to the presence of Estonian sound recordings in Berlin archives. I am also grateful to the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* and the *Ethnologisches Museum* for their permission to reproduce digital versions of the original phonograms on the CD accompanying this book. I am further indebted to Anti Selart and Mati Laur, my former colleagues from the University of Tartu, for their help in discussing the concept of the book and its publication strategy, as well as to Karsten Brüggemann of Tallinn University for enlisting the help of an important additional contributor and for assisting me in publication negotiations with the *Böhlau Verlag*. It is a pleasure to recall the stimulating discussions that I had with Katharina Biegger and Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus of the *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin*, who encouraged me to start work on the book. Christian Kaden kindly agreed to receive me as a *DAAD* scholar at the Department of Musicology and Media Science of the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* in 2009. As Mellon scholar in 2006 I enjoyed the warm hospitality of the *Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin*, who were also kind enough to arrange my accommodation in Berlin in 2009. Assistance from Matthias Thumser of the *Baltische Historische Kommission* during preparation of this book manuscript for publication is greatly appreciated. Finally, I would once more like to express my sincere gratitude to all colleagues who agreed to contribute to this volume for their time and willingness to share their expert knowledge in diverse fields such as archival studies, folkloristics, history, linguistics, and musicology. This has made preparation of the book a truly interdisciplinary and exciting endeavour. Its publication has been supported by a targeted financing project SF0150004s07 from the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research, and by the Cultural Endowment of Estonia.

1. The *Lautarchiv* of the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*

Jürgen-Kornelius Mahrenholz

In Berlin are located two archives containing historical acoustic collections which are unique in the world: the *Lautarchiv* and the *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv*[1,2]. These archives are easily confused but are distinguishable by their preferred recording medium. While the recordings of the *Lautarchiv* have been made on shellac discs, the *Phonogramm-Archiv* used the wax cylinder as its recording medium until the 1950s.

Before discussing the history of the *Lautarchiv* of the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, I would like to give a short description of each archive.

The *Lautarchiv*, with recordings dating back to 1909, was founded in 1920 as the *Lautabteilung an der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek* [Sound Department of the Prussian State Library]. In 1934 the *Lautarchiv* was integrated into the *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität* as the *Institut für Lautforschung* [Institute for Sound Research]. Today it is part of the Department of Musicology and Media Science at the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*[3].

The foundation of the *Phonogramm-Archiv* of the *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität* was laid by the acoustic psychologist Carl Stumpf with audio recordings that he had produced since 1900 on Edison wax cylinders[4]. The *Phonogramm-Archiv* was established in 1905 when Erich Moritz von Hornbostel

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1 *Lautarchiv* translates as "sound archive" and *Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv* as "Berlin Phonogram Archive". In this article their names will be left in the original German form, and they will be referred to respectively as the *Lautarchiv* and the *Phonogramm-Archiv*.

2 Dieter Mehnert, Historischen Schallaufnahmen – Das Lautarchiv an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, in: Elektronische Sprachsignalverarbeitung. Siebente Konferenz, Berlin, Studientexte zur Sprachkommunikation, Heft 13 (1996), pp. 28–45, here pp. 35–38; Susanne Ziegler, Die akustischen Sammlungen. Historische Tondokumente im Phonogramm-Archiv und im Lautarchiv, in: Theater der Natur und Kunst. Essays, ed. by Horst Bredekamp / Jochen Brüning / Cornelia Weber, Berlin: Henschel 2000, pp. 197–206, here p. 197.

3 During its history, the university has been renamed on several occasions. Having been founded in 1810 as *Berliner Universität*, it became *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität* in 1828. In 1945, that name was changed to *Universität Berlin*, and in 1948 to *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*, which is also its current designation.

4 Ziegler, Die akustischen Sammlungen (see footnote 2), p. 199.

assumed leadership of the archive[5]. Under the care of this postdoctoral chemist, by the end of World War I the collection grew to include over 10,000 wax cylinders. The rapid and continuing growth of the collection was the result of providing recording devices to researchers and missionaries departing on overseas travel. In 1922, the *Phonogramm-Archiv* officially became part of the *Hochschule für Musik*. According to Hornbostel, the ultimate ambition of the archive was: "[…] to collect music from all the peoples of the world, modes of expression which are rapidly disappearing in the face of an all levelling civilisation, and to make this expression available for comparative studies in the areas of musicology, ethnology, anthropology, ethno-psychology and aesthetics"[6].

Through the publication of numerous articles based on the recordings of the archive, Hornbostel became known as one of the founding fathers of comparative musicology and a leading representative of systematic musicology. In 1933, he immigrated to the United States. A year later, the *Phonogramm-Archiv* became part of the *Museum für Völkerkunde* (now *Ethnologisches Museum*), where it is located today.

The *Lautarchiv* and the *Phonogramm-Archiv* house a unique collection of historical sound documents whose exact genesis is, in some respects, very difficult to establish. In the *Phonogramm-Archiv* recordings of traditional music predominate while in the *Lautarchiv* the majority of the recordings consist of speech in various languages. Although both archives have always existed independently, overlaps are evident in recordings emanating from the work of the *Phonographische Kommission* [Phonographic Commission] from 1915–1918.

The history of the *Lautarchiv* is closely linked to its founder Wilhelm Doegen[7]. Doegen was born in Berlin in the same year that Edison invented the phonograph. On finishing high school he did an apprenticeship in a bank, and went on to study economics and business law. Doegen also unofficially attended English lectures given by Alois Brandl at the *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität*. In the end Brandl encouraged Doegen to study modern languages. In 1899–1900 Doegen spent a term at Oxford where he studied under Henry Sweet. Sweet is regarded as one of the pioneers of modern phonetics, who played a decisive role in the development of phonetic transcription with its numerous special characters.

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5 Artur Simon, Einleitung, in: Artur Simon, Hg., Das Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv 1900–2000. Sammlungen der traditionellen Musik der Welt, Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung 2000, p. 26.

6 Erich Moritz v. Hornbostel [1928], quoted in Simon, Einleitung (see previous footnote), p. 30.

7 Wilhelm Doegen: born 17 March 1877, died 3 November 1967.

Figure 1.1. Doegen as a student at the University of Oxford in 1900. Photo: *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft, Lautarchiv.*

Doegen later described the meeting with Sweet and the latter's system of phonetic transcription as a determining influence on his own work. In 1904 Doegen qualified as a teacher of English, French and German. His dissertation focused on the use of phonetics in the teaching of English to beginners[8]. With great enthusiasm he pursued the use of phonetic transcription in teaching materials to be used in conjunction with recorded texts.

As a teacher at the Borsig high school from 1909 Doegen compiled teaching materials running to several volumes in cooperation with the Odeon Recording Company in Berlin. These materials were called Doegen's teaching booklets for the independent learning of foreign languages with the help of phonetic transcription and the speech machine[9]. In addition to this he published material using native speaker actors reading classical English and French literature.

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8 The title of his thesis was *Die Verwendung der Phonetik im Englischen Anfangsunterricht* [The use of phonetics in teaching English to beginners].

9 Original German title: *Doegens Unterrichtshefte für die selbständige Erlernung fremder Sprachen mit Hilfe der Lautschrift und der Sprechmaschine*.

Figure 1.2. A shellac record containing a text from Shakespeare used in school teaching. *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft, Lautarchiv.*

Doegen continued to work closely with the Ministry for Education[10], and was sent by this department to the world exhibition in Brussels in 1910. There he received the silver medal for introducing the record in teaching and research. Encouraged by the success of his recordings, Doegen proposed the idea of a "voice museum". In February 1914 he submitted an application to the Prussian Ministry for Education. The application was entitled *Vorschläge für die Errichtung eines Kgl. Preussischen Phonetischen Instituts* [Suggestions for the establishment of a royal Prussian phonetic institute]. According to his application, the following were to be collected:

1) languages from around the world;
2) all German dialects;
3) music and song from around the world;
4) voices of famous people;
5) miscellaneous[11].

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10 The German *Kultusministerium*, which literally translates as "Ministry of Culture", is in fact the administrative department that, in each state of the federation, is responsible for the field of education. In this article it will therefore be referred to as "Ministry for Education".

11 Wilhelm Doegen, Einleitung, in: Unter fremden Völkern. Eine neue Völkerkunde, Hg. von Wilhelm Doegen in Verbindung mit Alois Brandl, Berlin: Otto Stollberg Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft 1925, p. 9.

Figure 1.3. Gramophone recordings being made by William Doegen and the English philologist Alois Brandl in the Wahn Camp in October 1916. *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft, Lautarchiv* (with the kind permission of Harro Broedler).

Doegen's application led to the establishment of the Royal Prussian Phonographic Commission on 27 October 1915. The purpose of this commission was to make audio recordings in German prisoner of war camps. In these camps about 250 languages and dialects spoken by the prisoners were systematically collected. The commission also recorded traditional music performed by the prisoners. The psychologist, acoustician and founder of the *Phonogramm-Archiv* Carl Stumpf was appointed as chairman of the commission.

In total, the commission comprised thirty academics working in the fields of philology, anthropology and musicology[12]. During 1915–1918, these academics visited 31 camps and made a total of 1650 shellac records documenting 250 languages and dialects. Assisted by the academic subject experts and a technician, Doegen was responsible for the technical production of gramophone recordings which mostly contained speech in various languages.

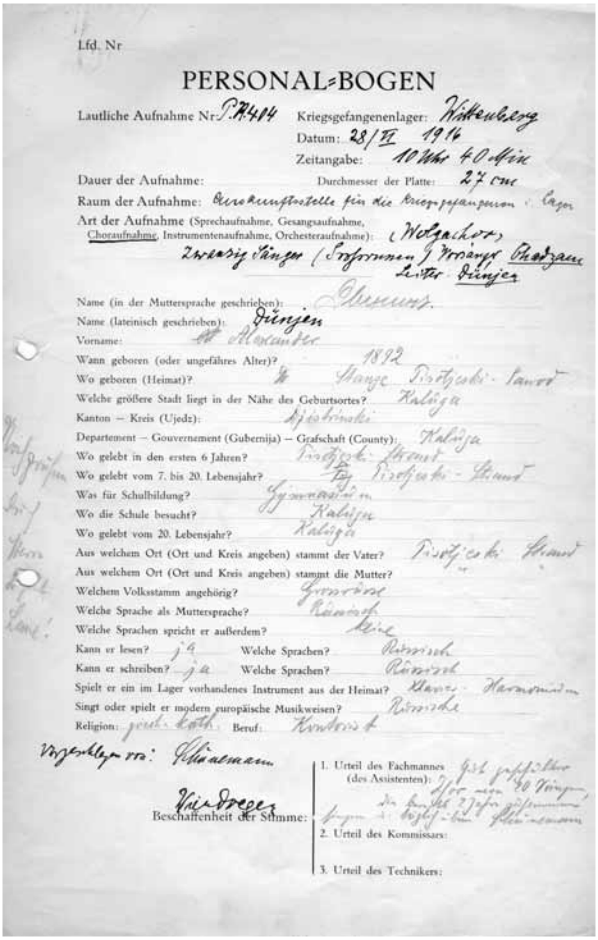
12 Some famous members of the commission were: Felix von Luschan, Friedrich Carl Andreas (Iranian languages), Alois Brandl (English dialects), Otto Dempwolff (Malay), Adolf Dirr (Caucasian languages), Helmut von Glasenapp (Sikh, Hindi), August Heisenberg (Greek), George Schünemann (musicology).

Figure 1.4. Carl Stumpf (right) and George Schünemann (centre) using the phonograph to record a Tatar musician. The recording is archived in the Berlin *Phonogramm-Archiv*, where it is registered as *Phon. Komm. 34, Camp Frankfurt a.d.O., 1916*. Photo: Wilhelm Doegen, 1925, photograph opposite page 144.

At the request of the academic Carl Stumpf, who led the group of music experts, the musicologist Georg Schünemann made musical recordings exclusively with the phonograph. His collection consists of 1022 wax cylinders which are today kept in the *Phonogramm-Archiv*[13].

The recordings were realised in the following manner: first, the members of the commission looked for different languages spoken by the prisoners in each camp. Commanding officers of the camps had been ordered to provide lists of their prisoners which, however, were not always accurate. The commission and/or the language expert decided which prisoners would be recorded. Each prisoner selected to make a recording was required to complete a *Personalbogen* [personal questionnaire].

13 The shellac discs of the Phonographic Commission carry the seal *PK*, whereas Edison wax cylinders are marked *Phon. Komm*.



Lfd. Nr

PERSONAL-BOGEN

Lautliche Aufnahme Nr: PK 404 Kriegsgefangenenlager: Wittenberg
Datum: 28/VI 1916
Zeitangabe: 10 Uhr 40 Min
Dauer der Aufnahme: Durchmesser der Platte: 27 cm
Raum der Aufnahme:
Art der Aufnahme (Sprechaufnahme, Gesangsaufnahme, Choraufnahme, Instrumentenaufnahme, Orchesteraufnahme):

Name (in der Muttersprache geschrieben):
Name (lateinisch geschrieben): Dünjen
Vorname: Alexander
Wann geboren (oder ungefähres Alter)? 1892
Wo geboren (Heimat)?
Welche größere Stadt liegt in der Nähe des Geburtsortes? Kaluga
Kanton – Kreis (Ujedz):
Departement – Gouvernement (Gubernija) – Grafschaft (County): Kaluga
Wo gelebt in den ersten 6 Jahren?
Wo gelebt vom 7. bis 20. Lebensjahr?
Was für Schulbildung?
Wo die Schule besucht? Kaluga
Wo gelebt vom 20. Lebensjahr? Kaluga
Aus welchem Ort (Ort und Kreis angeben) stammt der Vater?
Aus welchem Ort (Ort und Kreis angeben) stammt die Mutter?
Welchem Volksstamm angehörig?
Welche Sprache als Muttersprache?
Welche Sprachen spricht er außerdem? keine
Kann er lesen? ja Welche Sprachen?
Kann er schreiben? ja Welche Sprachen?
Spielt er ein im Lager vorhandenes Instrument aus der Heimat?
Singt oder spielt er modern europäische Musikweisen?
Religion: Beruf:

Beschaffenheit der Stimme:
1. Urteil des Fachmannes (des Assistenten):
2. Urteil des Kommissars:
3. Urteil des Technikers:

Figure 1.5. The personal questionnaire completed by Alexander Dünjen in his own hand on 28 June 1916. *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft, Lautarchiv,* PK 404.

Apart from documenting the particulars related to the recording, the questionnaire gave detailed information about the provenance of the speaker as well as his linguistic heritage and also contained items about the speaker's social background. Furthermore, no recording could be made before the text to be recorded had been written out in a handwriting style or typeface usual for the country from which the speaker came. Since speakers and singers did not always follow the agreed text precisely, new transcriptions had to be made once the shellac discs and been produced. Transcriptions of music were only made after the records had been pressed.

The subject matter of the recordings is formed by:

1) word groups of relatively unknown languages, consisting of confusible words which were recorded for use in dictionaries.
2) fairytales, stories and anecdotes.
3) a variety of linguistic versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11ff.) which prisoners of war, in particular those from Great Britain and France, but also from other European countries, each read in their own dialect.
4) traditional and/or folk music. The majority of the music recordings are of songs, only a few are purely instrumental. About two thirds of the recordings are spoken and about one third is of music.

The activities of the Phonographic Commission did not only extend to acoustic recordings. As well as simply transcribing the recorded texts, palatograms were made by the dentist Alfred Doegen[14] in order to detail the exact tongue position, made more complicated by variation in accent. X-ray images of the larynx were made to facilitate scientific investigation of certain speech sounds.

Figure 1.6. Front and profile photographs of the choir leader Alexander Dünjen whose personal questionnaire was shown above (Fig. 5). *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft, Lautarchiv*, PK 404.

14 Brother of Wilhelm Doegen.

The ethnologist and curator of the Berlin Ethnological Museum Felix von Luschan undertook anthropological studies and made measurements of the prisoners. A photographer was commissioned by Wilhelm Doegen to take pictures of nearly every speaker and singer. About 50 of these photos survive in the archive. Not all of them can be linked definitively to a specific recording. The photos show the informant from the front and in profile in keeping with the ethnological practice of the time.

The last disc (PK 1650) was recorded shortly before Christmas 1918. In the confusion of the November 1918 revolution Doegen obtained personal control of the gramophone recordings through the Ministry for Education and used it as the basis for the *Lautabteilung an der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek* [Sound Department of Prussian State Library], founded on 1 April 1920[15].

The chairman of the Phonographic Commission, Carl Stumpf, was not informed of this development and reacted angrily[16], because in his view the collection had to be retained in its entirety by the Ministry for Education. Instead, with the establishment of the *Lautabteilung* [Sound Department] the collection of the Phonographic Commission was divided up according to the recording medium (gramophone discs in the *Lautabteilung*, wax cylinders in the *Phonogramm-Archiv*) and these have been kept at two different locations ever since.

In addition to the gramophone recordings of the Phonographic Commission, the *Lautabteilung* also received a voice collection consisting of recordings of famous individuals, which was begun by Doegen in 1917. These recordings were made with financial support by the chemist Professor Dr. Ludwig Darmstaedter. According to the donation agreement, the purpose of the collection was: *Stimmen von solchen Persönlichkeiten aufzubewahren, an deren Erhaltung für die Nachwelt ein historisches Interesse vorliegt* [to retain voices of celebrities

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15 This was based on Doegen's memorandum on the establishment of a sound department in the Prussian state library (*Denkschrift über die Errichtung einer Lautabteilung in der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*).

16 GStA PK [Geheimes Staatsarchiv – Preussischer Kulturbesitz] I. HA Rep. 76 Kultusministerium, Va Sektion 2, Titel 10, Nr. 250 Bd. 1 Dok. 78 und 79. Following a meeting of the Phonographic Commission of 3 February 1919, Carl Stumpf wrote to the Ministry for Education on 12 April 1920 as follows: *Sie [die Kommission – J.-K. M.] kann daher ein starkes Befremden darüber nicht verhehlen, dass im Staatshaushaltsplan von 1920 zu diesem Zwecke die Errichtung einer Lautsammlung als besonderer Abteilung der Staatsbibliothek vorgesehen ist, ohne dass die Meinung der Phonograpischen Kommission irgendwie gehört worden wäre*. [The Phonographic Commission cannot pretend not to be severely disappointed to learn that the draft national budget for 1920 for this purpose makes provision for the creation of a collection of sound recordings as a separate section of the national library without hearing the opinion of the commission.]

that are of historical interest for future generations][17]. The circle of celebrities would include politicians, scientists and artists.

The recordings of the voice collection were intended to supplement the Ludwig Darmstaedter collection of autographs for the history of science, which Darmstaedter had donated to the Royal Library ten years earlier[18]. As honorary curator of this collection Doegen had to accept the decisions made by a curatorship on new recordings. The records of this voice collection are marked *Aut* (abbreviation of *Autophon*). The first official recording, shelf-marked *Aut 1*, was of the speech of the German Emperor Wilhelm II entitled *Aufruf an mein Volk* [Appeal to my people] recorded on 10 August 1918 in the *Schloss Bellevue*. The speech was originally pronounced in August 1914. Typically, recordings in the *Aut* series are made up of passages taken from famous speeches or lectures already given. The time lapse between a speech being made and its being recorded ranged from a few days to four years. A further characteristic of the *Aut* series is that the speaker was asked to sign the wax matrix after successful recording.

Figure 1.7. A record carrying a part of the speech made by Friedrich Ebert on the occasion of his being sworn in as President of the National Assembly on 21 August 1919 in Weimar. The signatures of Ebert and Doegen are clearly visible in the photo. *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft, Lautarchiv,* Aut 39. Photo: Barbara Herrenkind.

The record *Aut 0* carrying a recording of the voices of Doegen and Darmstaedter is particular in that it was not mentioned in any of the documents

17 GStA PK I. HA Rep. 76 Kultusministerium, Va Sektion 2, Titel 10, Nr. 250 Bd. 1 Dok. 78 und 79. Dated 17 March 1917.

18 GStA (see previous footnote).

describing the archive, and was thus used only within the collection. It was discovered among the 7500 records during a review of the contents of the collection. In this recording Doegen and Darmstaedter set out their reasons for building up the collection and also discuss the financial support provided by Darmstaedter. Additions to the *Aut* series stopped in 1924 because Darmstaedter withdrew his financial support.

When Doegen became director of the *Lautabteilung* in 1920 he remained accountable to the *Lautkomission* [Sound Recording Commission] which, like its predecessor the Phonographic Commission, was authorised to decide on what to record. In part, the new commission was made up of the same group of people as the old one. As director of the existing collection, Doegen was responsible for the technical realisation, conservation, and evaluation of the collection, as well as for making it available to the public.

The recordings of the *Lautabteilung* were marked *LA*. The range of themes covered in the collection was greatly extended. In addition to the focus on languages and music from around the world, the documentation of German dialects became a matter of interest. Recordings of the "40 Wenker Sentences" for the German language atlas were made with the help of Ferdinand Wrede from Marburg. Along with the various recording expeditions to various corners of Germany recording missions were dispatched to Switzerland, to Ireland and to Latvia. The sub-collection *Famous people* (previously part of the *Aut* series) was carried on under the LA series under the heading *People of public interest* after Darmstaedter ended his involvement in the project. The target group of public-interest individuals was redefined to include those involved in technical innovations, as well as pioneers of aviation and others.

In 1925, animal voices were recorded in co-operation with the Krone circus. In addition to elephants, sea lions and tigers, North American Indians (who at the time were part of a show in the circus) were brought in front of the recording trumpet. By recording the chiefs of the Iowa and Cheyenne tribes, sound documents of Siouan and Algonquin languages came into the collection.

Irregularities in bookkeeping led to Doegen's stepping down in July 1930. In October 1931 he was, however, able to begin work again but the administration of the *Lautabteilung* became the responsibility of the university. In the end a Nazi law of 1933 (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums* [Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service])[19] led to Doegen's dismissal.

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19 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law_for_the_Restoration_of_the_Professional_Civil_Service, accessed 29 April 2011.

Figure 1.8. An American Indian in traditional dress preparing to make the recording, photo from: *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Berlin, 20 September 1925. *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft, Lautarchiv*, LA 519.

After the africanologist and phonetician Dietrich Westermann took over management of the *Lautabteilung* it became a teaching and research institution for phonetics and was integrated into the university as the Institute for Sound Research. In 1935, the institute was divided into a linguistics department, a music department and a phonetics laboratory. An academic specialist was responsible for each department[20]. The organisational structure of the archive retained this form until 1944.

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20 Dietrich Westermann took charge of the department of linguistics, Fritz Bose of that of music and Franz Wethlo of the phonetics laboratory.

After 1945 the Institute for Sound Research was reorganised on several occasions. As a result of the third higher education reform of 1969[21] it was finally integrated into the section *Rehabilitationspädagogik und Kommunikationswissenschaft* [Rehabilitative education and communication studies] of *Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität* as the department for phonetics and speech studies. In the mid 1980s the ethnomusicologist Jürgen Elsner recognised the great value of the collection which by then had been largely neglected and took steps to ensure that the collection was secured in a lockable facility of the Institute of Musicology at the address *Am Kupfergraben 5*. Dieter Mehnert looked after the collection in the 1990s and in 1996 published a first comprehensive report on its holdings[22].

Further details regarding the collection are available in the catalogues and volumes of essays accompanying various exhibitions, e.g. *Theater der Natur und Kunst – Wunderkammer des Wissens* [A Theatre of Nature and Art – Cabinets of Curiosities] which took place in Berlin (December 2000 to March 2001) and *Man – Culture – War; Multicultural Aspects of the Great War* which took place in Ypres, Belgium (May to September 2008)[23]. In these and other exhibitions representative samples of material from the *Lautarchiv* could be seen and heard.

In the beginning of 1999 work was initiated to systematically explore the collection. By mid-year 2006, all records in the *PK, Aut* and *LA* shelf mark series had been digitalised and made available in a multimedia database. The database is publicly accessible on the Internet at http://www.sammlungen.hu-berlin.de.

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21 *III Hochschulreform* 1969, see http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hochschulreform#Kurzer_geschichtlicher_Abriss_der_Hochschulreformen_in_BRD_und_DDR_seit_1945, accessed 29 April 2011.

22 Mehnert, Historischen Schallaufnahmen (see footnote 2).

23 Kirsten Bayer / Jürgen-Kornelius Mahrenholz, Stimmen der Völker. Das Berliner Lautarchiv, in: Theater der Natur und Kunst. Katalog, ed. by Horst Bredekamp / Jochen Brüning / Cornelia Weber, Berlin: Henschel 2000, pp. 117–128, Ziegler, Die akustischen Sammlungen (see footnote 2); Britta Lange, Academic research on (colored) prisoners of war in Germany, 1915–1918, in: World War I. Five continents in Flanders, ed. by Dominiek Dendooven / Piet Chielens, Tielt: Lannoo 2008, pp. 158–160; Jürgen-Kornelius Mahrenholz, Ethnographic audio recordings in German prisoner of war camps during the First World War, in: Dendooven / Chielens, World War I. Five continents, pp. 161–166.

2. Troops of Estonian origin among Russian POWs in Germany in 1914–1918

Reinhard Nachtigal

The massive exchange of population groups that took place during World War I (WWI) on the eastern front can be regarded as a series of full-fledged migration flows. Some voluntarily, yet most under threat or coercion, people were leaving their homeland as refugees, as interned civilians or as administrative deportees. At the same time, approximately 5 million troops of the German, Russian and Austro-Hungarian army were captured by the enemy: 2.4 million troops of the Central Powers were interned in Russia, while at least the same number of Russian troops were interned by Germany (up to 1.5 million) and Austria-Hungary (approximately 1.1 million). In addition to these, there were smaller contingents which had been captured and which were kept in Bulgaria and Turkey. In recent years the fate of WWI prisoners of war (POWs) has been the subject of extensive investigation. There is still considerable uncertainty, however, regarding the proportion of representatives of small ethnic groups of the Russian empire among conscripts drafted to the Russian army (which by the end of the war in December 1917 counted approximately 15 million men), and among the POWs.

At the same time, we have relatively detailed information regarding a large minority nation of the Russian empire – the Ukrainians – because many of them (both in German and Austrian internment camps) were accorded privileged treatment and became the focus of advocacy campaigns whose aim was to persuade them to change sides. Approximately 150,000 Ukrainians in four special camps in Germany were targeted by propagandist messages created for the most part by members of expatriate Ukrainian intelligentsia who resided in the territories of the Central Powers. It is likely that tens of thousands more Ukrainians were sent to other German camps and work facilities because they had not identified themselves as Ukrainians, because they did not realise they were Ukrainian [sic!] or because they did not regard their ethnic background as important. In Austria-Hungary, the number of captured troops of Ukrainian background was probably of a similar magnitude, which means that one can in all likelihood speak of 300,000 to 500,000 Ukrainian POWs in the two countries together. To a significant degree because of the presence of expatriate Ukrainians in the territory of the dual monarchy (and subsequently in the territories of their successor countries) and of Germany,

in 1914 as well as after the East European civil wars, the history of captured Ukrainians has been investigated in considerable detail[1].

The situation is different with what the Germans regarded as the second largest minority group of the Russian empire, the "Tatars". The designation was used in Germany as a collective label to refer to individuals who belonged to the Kyrgyz, Bashkir and other ethnic groups without distinguishing these from one another. The fact that the "Tatars" in Germany were supposed to be addressed by a campaign conceived for Muslims means that they were classified as a separate category not on the basis of their ethnic group or nationality but on the basis of their religion – which makes it difficult to trace them in the system. Their preferential treatment was gradually abolished during the war and several thousand were sent to the Turkish army. Whether they represented Muslims from the French or the English colonial army, or whether they were Russian troops, is very difficult to determine[2].

There were also representatives of yet another minority from the Russian empire – the Georgians – who were similar to the peoples inhabiting the Baltic provinces of Russia in terms of the size of their population. Regardless of their small number, the Georgians enjoyed considerable preferential treatment already early on during the war, and, as was the case with the Ukrainians, that treatment was gradually expanded even in the latter stages of the war. The political considerations that led to this cannot be explored in this chapter, except for one important distinction which should be highlighted at this point. The Ukrainian POWs, as a rule, had not received much education – similarly to Russian peasant conscripts, many of them could neither read nor write – and thus had to "learn" from their compatriots who represented the thin layer of intelligentsia in the Ukrainian community that

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1 Wolfdieter Bihl, Österreich-Ungarn und der „Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine", in: Österreich und Europa. Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch, Graz / Wien / Köln: Styria 1965, pp. 505–526; Wolfdieter Bihl, Einige Aspekte der österreichisch-ungarischen Ruthenenpolitik 1914–1918, in: Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas 14 (1966), pp. 539–550; Claus Remer, Die Ukraine im Blickfeld deutscher Interessen: Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1917/18, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang 1997. See also: Omeljan Terleckij, Die Ukrainer in Deutschland 1915–1918: Lager Rastatt, Kiew / Leipzig: Ukrain. Verl. 1920; Omeljan Terleckij, Ukrainer-Lager Rastatt: Zur Erinnerung an das Ukrainer-Lager Rastatt = Український табор у Раштаї: На спомин про табор Українців у Раштаї, Mannheim: Haas [1919].

2 See, for instance, the well researched and richly illustrated work by Kahleyss (Margot Kahleyss, Muslime in Brandenburg - Kriegsgefangene im 1. Weltkrieg. Ansichten und Absichten, in: Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Völkerkunde, Neue Folge 66, Berlin: Museum zur Völkerkunde 1998). See also: Gerhard Höpp, Muslime in der Mark. Als Kriegsgefangene und Internierte in Wünsdorf und Zossen, 1914–1924, Berlin: Das Arabische Buch 1997.

Ukrainians were a separate ethnic group with a distinct history and culture. Already for that reason, until the end of the war on the eastern front most Ukrainian POWs abstained from announcing any political support for the Central Powers. This position was reinforced also by practical considerations – in a preferential camp (and even in compelled labour arrangements) their likelihood of survival was considerably higher than on the front, where they would have run the additional risk of being dealt with as traitors should they have been captured by Russian troops.

Georgians, too, were met by compatriots in German prison camps. Partly, these were members of old Georgian nobility who had been co-opted to the Russian elite after their country was annexed by Alexander I. They had had access to higher education and had, already before the war, most of them for studies, others for other reasons, taken up residence in Germany. For Georgian POWs, too, the Germans had created a special campaign camp in which pro-German members of the Georgian intelligentsia could address the inmates. It should be noted, too, that the German military command committed a significant gaffe (one that was not repeated at the beginning of the Soviet-German War in 1941) in respect of Georgian POWs – they were sent to the Sagan camp in Lower Silesia together with Armenians and Azerbaidjanis, to be treated indiscriminately as "Caucasians"[3]. Without much awareness of the relevant ethnic and regional relationships, at the beginning of the war Germany had devised an *ad hoc* policy for bordering countries. Its purpose was to use minorities in the Russian Empire to destabilise the Russian government from within and thus to force it to accept a separate peace treaty.

In the Baltic region, the situation was different in that neither Estonians, Latvians nor Lithuanians had an extensive class of native intellectuals. Nor did they possess any representatives abroad who would have been capable of acting as ambassadors for the national interests of the ethnic groups in question. In addition, the groups were very small in terms of the size of their populations. It should also be mentioned that Latvians and Lithuanians had just been politically marginalised due to military developments. As a result of the 1915 summer offensive, the Central Powers controlled most of ethnic Lithuanian territories, with the exception of a small strip east of

3 Ethnographically speaking, the label "Caucasians" can only be applied to Georgians, together with the Islamic Tcherkessians, Kabardians, Tchetchens and a part of the population of Dagestan. Armenians are an Indo-Iranian people and Azerbaidjanis a Turko-Tatar one. In terms of religion, Georgians and Armenians belong to separate Christian denominations. For advocacy campaigns that had to be conducted among Georgians according to German military strategy, see: Wolfdieter Bihl, Die Kaukasus-Politik der Mittelmächte. Teil 1: Ihre Basis in der Orient-Politik und ihre Aktionen 1914–1917, Wien: Böhlau 1975.

the line Vilnius-Grodno. The latter was still held by Russian forces, and its population was evacuated from the area just as had been done previously in the Russian war zones in Poland and Lithuania. The situation was similar with Latvia, since the province of Curonia which corresponded to the south-western part of the area populated by Latvians, was almost entirely controlled by the Germans, who saw it as part of the territories they referred to as *Ober Ost*. It is estimated that approximately 60% of the population of Curonia had fled from the path of the war by 1915. Military developments and related measures, including the inhabitants' mass evacuation or flight to the Russian heartland, had considerably weakened both Latvians and Lithuanians, at least in the short term. In the longer term, this was to have remarkable positive consequences for both ethnic groups in their nation-building work after 1916, causing their political elites to take steps to assist and assemble their compatriots who had fled to Russia, not least to counter the risk of their assimilation[4]. In the meantime, Lithuania and the Baltic provinces became an immediate target for the German war effort. This was partly due to the influence of a number of Baltic Germans, a group which consisted of intellectuals of common origin (dubbed *Literaten* [the literati]) as well as of noblemen. They had come to Germany during the war or before it, and aspired to influence German policy-making in a way that was meant as an early input into negotiations concerning peace with the imperial government of Russia. Understandably, they were interested in securing a dominant position for themselves in the Baltic provinces, without much consideration to the interests of Estonians and Latvians. For the German military command the decisive factor was the fact that these individuals possessed detailed information about the provinces' geography and populations (although this only applied to Lithuania to a limited extent, because the number of Germans in Lithuanian territories was very small). It was not least because of this that German occupation authorities perceived extensive areas of *Ober Ost* as uninhabited and uncivilised territories that were waiting to be colonised. The Lithuanian areas in particular were regarded as a civilisational no man's land awaiting German cultural missionaries[5]. One may even doubt whether the German side realised the existence of a certain antagonism between Lithuanians and Poles at all. On the other hand, the occupied Curonia was in part already

4 Peter Gatrell, A whole empire walking. Refugees in Russia during World War I, Bloomington / Indianapolis: Indiana University Press 1999; Michael Garleff, Die baltischen Länder: Estland, Lettland, Litauen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart (in the series: Ost- und Südosteuropa: Geschichte der Länder und Völker), Regensburg: Pustet 2001, p. 92.

5 Vejas G. Liulevicius, War land on the Eastern front. Culture, national identity and German occupation in World War I, Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press 2000.

governed by the Baltic Germans originating from the area, who naturally set their sights also to the rest of the provinces.Yet, the northern part of the provinces and its Estonian population remained for the time being outside the immediate sights of the German military. Out of a fear of espionage, the Russian authorities had already in 1914/1915 ordered parts of the Baltic German elite to move to the interior of the realm.

Similarly to the Germans residing in Curonia and Livonia, those who inhabited Estonian territories also experienced a nationalist campaign launched by the Russian power holders against the "internal enemy" – a label that was used to refer mostly to Germans and Jews. Since the undermanaged Russian state had traditionally relied on local elites to control its periphery, Russian authorities had started mobilising public opinion among ethnic minorities who were thought to hold anti-German attitudes. In the Baltic provinces, these minorities were the Estonians and the Latvians.

As has been noted by Eric Lohr, this risky and imprudent policy effectively pre-empted any subsequent appeals to the unity of the Russian nation-state as a civic body. What happened was that, mostly unintentionally, the campaign stoked ethnic nationalist aspirations of the non-Russian groups because these were officially allowed to turn against the German elites[6]. The resulting anti-German sentiment, however, soon started to recede or only had a limited influence, especially when in 1916 it emerged that the Emperor's family together with the entire Russian leadership had apparently been far from patriotic in their actions. According to Latvian historians, anti-German campaigns among non-Russians were the most successful in the Latvian provinces[7]. In the areas populated by Estonians, which until 1917 remained untouched by the war, these campaigns had much less influence.

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6 Eric Lohr, Nationalizing the Russian Empire: the campaign against enemy aliens during World War I, Cambridge / London: Harvard University Press 2003. With respect to developments leading up to the abandonment of claims to supranational authority in preference to the demands of Russian nationalism, see the recent work by Utz (Raphael Utz, Russlands unbrauchbare Vergangenheit: Nationalismus und Aussenpolitik des Zarenreichs. Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte 73, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2008).

7 This is stressed for instance by Spekke (Arnolds Spekke, History of Latvia: an outline. Stockholm: M. Goppers 1957, pp. 319–336, and above all in: Geschichte Lettlands im 20. Jahrhundert, hrsg. von Daina Bleiere / Ilgvars Butulis / Inesis Feldmanis / Aivars Stranga / Antonijs Zunda, Riga: Jumava 2008, p. 69). From the German side, a description of the ethnic groups whose representatives had been interned in German POW camps is provided by Doegen (Wilhelm Doegen, Kriegsgefangene Völker, Bd. 1. Der Kriegsgefangenen Haltung und Schicksal in Deutschland, Berlin: Otto Stolberg Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft 1919, pp. 31–35), whose opinion of Latvians was that they were *nicht immer gutartig* [not always good-natured] – in contrast to Estonians, whom he praised as *prächtigen Esten offenen Charakters* [splendid Estonians of open disposition] on p. 32.

According to an estimate by the Estonian historian Toivo U. Raun, approximately 100,000 Estonian men were conscripted to the Russian army. He does not give any figures regarding the losses these troops suffered in terms of those killed in action, wounded or captured[8]. In the German POW camps, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians alike were marginalised in comparison with Russians, Ukrainians and "Tatars". It is quite surprising that the German military command estimated the corresponding number of conscripts to be of the order of 12,000[9]. Considering that the Germans were not planning to establish nation states for the ethnic groups populating the Baltic seaboard, there were no nationalist or anti-Russian campaigns (leaving alone the fact that in the territories of the Central Powers the number of intellectuals representing the ethnic groups in question – who could have been used as campaign speakers in the camps – was, as has been already mentioned, insufficient)[10]. In addition, the Latvians had a considerable interest in the realisation of Russian military policy goals which they hoped would help them "throw off the German yoke". While the heart of the *Oberost* for Germans consisted of territories populated by ethnic Lithuanians, German authorities had prepared detailed plans for annexing also the Latvian areas in which the German occupying forces in the summer of 1917 had been moved further north over the Western Dvina into Livonia. At that point, no firm decision had been taken regarding Estonia – it was only in February 1918, after negotiations in Brest-Litovsk had failed, that the country

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8 Raun (Toivo U. Raun, Estonia and the Estonians. Stanford (California): Hoover Institution Press 1987, p. 95) refers to the fact that in 1915 the Russians established several units consisting of ethnic Latvians, but none of ethnic Estonians. In the same work, on p. 100, he discusses the role of tens of thousands of Estonians who resided in St. Petersburg in 1917, the year of the revolution. See also: Karsten Brüggemann, Die Gründung der Republik Estland und das Ende des „Einen und Unteilbaren Russland". Die Petrograder Front des Russischen Bürgerkriegs 1918–1920. Forschungen zum Ostseeraum 6, Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz 2002, pp. 52–58, 68–71. Concerning the Latvian Riflemen Corps, see: Geschichte Lettlands (see footnote 7), pp. 72 and 77, whose authors regard national unity as an important milestone in the nation-building process.

9 Bestimmungen für die Arbeitgeber über die Aufklärung der baltischen Kriegsgefangenen, in: Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv 11352, Stellvertretendes Generalkommando Nr. 562. Kommandantur Lechfeld, cited from Оксана Нагорная, Другой военный опыт. Российские военнопленные Первой мировой войны в Германии (1914–1922) [A different military experience. Russian POWs in Germany during WWI (1914–1922)], Москва: Новый хронограф 2010, see pp. 147–148. Amongst other details, the source also estimates the number of Ukrainians in German POW camps as more than 150,000 and that of Georgians as exceeding 3000.

10 Seppo Zetterberg, Die Liga der Fremdvölker Russlands 1916–1918, Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura 1978.

was included in the plans. A "rail offensive" in the direction of Lake Peipus saw Estonia quickly occupied, the aim being to exert military pressure on Bolshevik leadership and to force them to make peace with the Central Powers.

It is interesting to note that at the end of 1915 the Germans saw the Latvians as a Protestant people who did not have their own elite, whose culture was similar to central European ones and who thus represented an easy target for gradual and peaceful Germanisation. Because the Russian government in its struggle against the local German elite had reinforced the population's predominantly socialist attitudes – which emanated from the property relations in the country and from the large proportion of working class among the population of Riga (a major industrial centre of the region) – the national struggle had become a class struggle. Still, a Baltic German author expressed the following opinion of the situation: *Alles in allem ein durchaus sympathischer Menschenschlag wird er auch unter veränderten Verhältnissen stets gern mit den Deutschen leben. Irgendwelche Gelüste nach politischer Selbständigkeit können in das Reich der Träume verwiesen werden*[11]. [Altogether a likable race in all respects, they will, even in a changed situation [German rule and Germanisation – R. N.], co-habit with the Germans amicably. Any yearnings for political independence are extremely unlikely.] It is unclear whether this was meant to trivialise the author's intentions in the eyes of the German public, or whether it manifested a fundamental miscalculation regarding the situation in the country. In its sharply anti-German orientation, the Latvian population was in any case easier to win over for the Russian war propaganda machine. The Latvians' socialist sentiments, which reached a new peak when the Latvian Riflemen Corps switched their allegiance to the Bolsheviks in 1917[12], further nourished and intensified their anti-German attitudes. As for Estonians and Estonia, similar views were more difficult to find. There was insufficient time to conduct a public debate in Germany about the "Estonian question".

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In German prison camps the Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians who had served in the Russian army did not receive any of the preferential treat-

11 Gustav v. Lutzau, Letten und Deutsche in Kurland, in: Süddeutsche Monatshefte, Dezember 1915, pp. 370–376. The author was fully aware of the movement of "young Latvians" and of the so-called "grey barons" – owners of large agricultural landholdings in Latvia.

12 Geschichte Lettlands (see footnote 7), pp. 82–83.

ment that was accorded to the Ukrainians, Muslims, Georgians or the Irish. Yet, there are indications that they had been supposed to be treated with more consideration than, for instance, Russians or the French. Studies of the relevant prison camps in Germany and Austria-Hungary showed that none of the Baltic ethnic groups in the camps possessed a sufficient prominence. Even in forced labour arrangements to which an overwhelming majority of the prisoners in both countries were subject, researchers did not find any special mention of the Baltic groups[13]. A similar study of prisoners in Germany during the war showed that there were plans of conducting advocacy campaigns specifically among captured troops of the Russian army. Still, unlike those for Muslims and Russian Germans, the plans did not contain any mention of captives originating from the Baltic countries. The same applies to the Austrian prison system[14]. Indeed, it would not have been very sensible to run advocacy campaigns to muster support for German war goals among populations who had been earmarked in the same war goals for colonisation and Germanisation. Yet, what is perhaps even more significant, it was relatively late in the war that an "Estonian question" arose for German military authorities, and in respect of German war goals.

In this context, the recently discovered sound recordings of voice material from Estonian POWs and their investigation acquire a particular significance. The focus on the language and folklore of Estonians indicates an interest based above all on purely anthropological and ethnographic considerations. As will be seen in what follows, the interest was in many respects an unusual one.

Already early on in the war, Germany held the most POWs of the warring powers, followed by Russia and Austria-Hungary. By 1918, the number of POWs in Germany had risen to 2.5 million – in addition to the highest number of captured enemy troops, this also signified a rich diversity of ethnic groups represented by the POWs. In Germany, this diversity exceeded the corresponding measures for Russian and Austrian prison camps, because German forces on the western front were faced amongst others by British and French troops originating from those countries' overseas colonies. The fact

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13 In connection with campaigns conducted among Russian POWs of German ethnicity, there is a study of the POW camp at Ingolstadt, which amongst other things also mentions Estonians and Latvians, who were supposed to be Germanophiles and therefore to merit better treatment (Katja Mitze, Das Kriegsgefangenenlager Ingolstadt während des Ersten Weltkriegs, Phil. Diss. Münster, Berlin 2000, p. 222).

14 Uta Hinz, Gefangen im Grossen Krieg. Kriegsgefangenschaft in Deutschland 1914–1921. Schriften der Bibliothek für Zeitgeschichte 19, Essen: Klartext 2006, pp. 80–91, primarily pp. 84–87.

that this signified a breach of the General Act of the Berlin Conference[15] on one hand caused widespread indignation in wartime German society, yet was at the same time used for German war propaganda and produced a stimulating effect on ethnographic and anthropological research[16]. What might be described as POW tourism at camp fences by local populations craving to see the *Völkerzirkus unserer Feinde* [peoples' circus of our enemies], was soon accompanied by scientific interest in the diversity of peoples and races represented by the captured troops.

Although POWs originating from cultures or civilisations that were regarded by Germans as inferior – which in addition to Africans and Asians also included the Russians – were caricatured and made fun of in the corresponding media editions, there were many articles in both governmental and commercial editions especially in Germany that showed a scientific and very probably to a certain extent also human interest in such foreigners. This is evident in a series of photo strips that report scenes of life in the camps for neutral and hostile international observers[17] or that show the prisoners' faces[18] and in some cases contain artistic images of heads of prisoners[19].

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15 The General Act of the Berlin Conference laid down, amongst other things, that it was prohibited to deploy coloured troops in European theatres in a European war. In 1914 the General Act was proved to be *ein Fetzen Papier* [a scrap of paper], as expressed by the Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg in relation to Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality.

16 Christian Koller, „Von Wilden aller Rassen niedergemetzelt". Die Diskussion um die Verwendung von Kolonialtruppen in Europa zwischen Rassismus, Kolonial- und Militärpolitik (1914–1930). Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte 82, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 2001.

17 Die Kriegsgefangenen in Deutschland. Gegen 250 Wirklichkeitsaufnahmen aus deutschen Gefangenenlagern mit einer Erläuterung von Professor Dr. Backhaus (in deutscher, französischer, englischer, spanischer und russischer Sprache), Siegen / Leipzig / Berlin: Hermann Montanus 1915. Page 111 of the strip, which shows captured colonial troops, bears an ironic caption *Münster II. Kämpfer für Freiheit und Zivilisation* [Munster 2. Fighters for freedom and civilisation]. See also: Aus deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlagern. Les Prisonniers de Guerre en Allemagne, hrsg. vom „Ausschuss für Rat und Hilfe", Frankfurt a. M.: Literarische Anstalt Rütten & Löning 1915; Aus deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlagern. Zweite Folge mit 100 Originalaufnahmen, hrsg. vom „Ausschuss für Rat und Hilfe", Frankfurt a. M.: Literarische Anstalt Rütten & Löning 1916; Aus deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlagern. Dritte Folge: Eindrücke eines Seelsorgers, von Pfarrer Ch. Correvon, hrsg. vom „Ausschuss für Rat und Hilfe", Frankfurt a. M.: Literarische Anstalt Rütten & Löning 1916.

18 See O[tto] Stiehl, Unsere Feinde. 96 Charakterköpfe aus deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlagern, Stuttgart: J. Hoffmann 1916.

19 See, for instance, the notes of von Luschan in: Kriegsgefangene. 100 Steinzeichnungen von Hermann Struck. Begleitworte von F[elix] v. Luschan, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer 1917. In addition to the anthropological, this also shows a distinct artistic interest in the POWs. The author and anthropologist von Luschan stressed in particular that POWs should not be seen as an exotic collection of fauna in a circus.

All these images depict representatives of various ethnic groups (including very small ones) of the Russian empire, amongst them also a Russian German. None of the prisoners in these publications is depicted in a pejorative fashion or selected solely for propaganda purposes. In any case, a prominent strip of pictures, which bears a title that is certain to sound discriminatory to contemporary tastes – the above-mentioned "peoples' circus of our enemies" – was considered inappropriate by the German government, although it had been published with support from the military authorities[20].

It will be of no use, however, to search for representatives of Baltic nations in these publications. The reason for that was probably not so much their modest number in German camps but rather their anthropological and cultural proximity to central Europeans, which made them much less interesting than "truly exotic" specimens of humanity. Compared to colourful Africans or Asians, there would have been little irony in presenting a prisoner of Latvian or Estonian origin as "fighting for civilisation".

The ethnographic and anthropological interest in Estonians and Latvians first came to a head in the studies launched by the linguist Wilhelm Doegen in Germany and by the *Anthropologisches Institut der Universität Wien* [Institute of Anthropology of the University of Vienna] in the summer of 1915. In Austria, the leading figure of this direction of research was the Viennese anthropologist Rudolf Pöch (1870–1921) who published a number of papers during and after the war about the physical measurements, sound recordings and documentary footage (of songs, recitals, conversations, story-telling, dances, etc.) of prisoners originating from these ethnic groups[21]. The scientific results of Austrian researchers were more specific, because their measurement data and recordings of POWs were analysed and published relatively quickly,

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20 Leo Frobenius, Der Völkerzirkus unserer Feinde, Berlin: Eckart 1916. The publication was perceived as counterproductive by the *Auswärtiges Amt* [German Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. It should be regarded as an exception among the commercial as well as official representations of POWs, which were much more neutral. It is curious to note that Frobenius was an ethnologist and should thus have known better than to yield to the temptation of caricaturing the strangers encountered in the camps. See also: Karl Pusman, Die „Wissenschaften vom Menschen" auf Wiener Boden (1870–1959). Austria: Universitätsgeschichte 1, Wien: LIT Verlag 2008, pp. 85 and 219.

21 With respect to measuring work and recordings performed in the Bohemian camps of Eger and Reichenberg, see: Rudolf Pöch, I. Bericht über die von der Wiener Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in den k.u.k. Kriegsgefangenenlagern veranlassten Studien (überreicht am 8. September 1915), in: Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien 45 (1915), pp. 219–235. Among the prisoners measured at Reichenberg there were 17 Estonians. Amongst other things, hair samples were taken from representatives of the "Baltic Sea peoples" (ibid., p. 231). As for Pöch and the Vienna Anthropological Institute see also: Pusman, Die „Wissenschaften vom Menschen" (footnote 20), pp. 49 and 74.

which was not the case with the German material[22]. In 1916, Pöch compiled a brief presentation dedicated to POW voice recordings which corresponds chronologically to the first recordings presented in this volume (May 1916) and in which he had had his informants record adages, recite poetry and sing songs. In addition to that, he had also recorded dialogues[23].

Pöch's third report focused predominantly on Caucasians and Turkic groups, which he found in POW camps that were now referred to by code numbers. In addition to other representatives of the Baltic area, this report mentions a small number of Estonians[24]. In his fourth report from June 1917 concerning anthropological work in four other Austrian camps (December 1916 to June 1917), he also mentions some Estonians, besides representatives of other Finno-Ugric groups. Pöch writes in his conclusion:

> "Die Materialsammlung an osteuropäischen Völkerschaften kann hiermit mit einer Gesamtzahl von 5159 gemessenen und untersuchten Kriegsgefangenen als im wesentlichen abgeschlossen betrachtet werden […] Der Stoff teilt sich in folgende grosse Hauptgruppen […] die finnisch-ugrische Völkergruppe ist ebenfalls in allen ihren Teilen so zahlreich vertreten, dass an eine erfolgversprechende Bearbeitung geschritten werden kann[25]."
>
> [The collection of data on East European peoples may, now that we have measured and investigated 5159 prisoners, be deemed substantively complete […]. The material can be classified under the following principal heads […] since there are numerous representatives of all segments of the Finno-Ugric group of peoples, a successful analysis of that material can now be undertaken.]

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22 Cf. Reinhart Meyer-Kalkus, Stimmen der Völker auf Platten. Gefangene sprechen: Eine Dokumentation zum Berliner Lautarchiv und seinen Schätzen, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 5. September 2007, p. N3.

23 Rudolf Pöch, Phonographische Aufnahmen in den k.u.k. Kriegsgefangenenlagern, in: Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse, Abteilung III, 124. und 125. Band, pp. 21–26.

24 Rudolf Pöch, III. Bericht über die von der Wiener Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in den k.u.k. Kriegsgefangenenlagern veranlassten Studien (überreicht am 8. November 1916), in: Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien 48 (1917), pp. 77–100, here: p. 98.

25 Rudolf Pöch, IV. Bericht über die von der Wiener Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in den k.u.k. Kriegsgefangenenlagern veranlassten Studien (überreicht am 5. Juni 1917), in: Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien 48 [sic!] (1918), pp. 146–161, here: p. 150.

As for code-number camps, these probably included Bruck on the Austrian river Leitha, Wünsdorf in Brandenburg und Turgu Magurele in the occupied Romania, the two last of which were run by the Germans. It is especially in the sound recordings that one sees that Pöch's research interest was primarily directed to ethnically exotic representatives of the Russian empire: Caucasians, Turkic and Finno-Ugric groups and the two Baltic peoples. In the case of the Finno-Ugric groups, it should be pointed out that a relatively small number of Estonians was treated practically the same as the Mari, the Chuvash, the Mordvins, the Komi, the Komi-Permyak, the Udmurt and the Karelians, of whom the camps also had but very small numbers of individuals.

It is now 20 years since a review of Pöch's photographic material and documentary footage took place, stressing Pöch's pioneering contribution to ethnographic documentary film, which above all consisted in the use of modern technical equipment[26]. Another string of ethnographic studies concerned representatives of Finno-Ugric peoples, whose recorded songs were in part studied in 1917/1918 and after the end of the war by a member of the Viennese Academy of Sciences Robert Lach, who also published the results of some of his research. Estonians were among the groups Lach had studied but he regretted that the group of Finno-Ugric POWs had not received sufficient attention as a whole[27]. Still, it can be said that Austrian researchers started to collect ethnographic data during the war before the German authorities did. Thus, it is now for the first time that an analysis of sound recordings in the

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26 Andrea Gschwendtner, Als Anthropologe im Kriegsgefangenlager – Rudolf Pöchs Filmaufnahmen im Jahre 1915, in: Wissenschaftlicher Film, Nr. 42, April (1991), pp. 105–118. The author works at the *Hochschule für Fernsehen und Film München* [Munich School for Television and Film].

27 Robert Lach, Vorläufiger Bericht über die im Auftrage der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften erfolgte Aufnahme der Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener im August und September 1916, in: Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 183, 4, Wien 1917 (62 pp.), here: p. 47; ibid.: Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener, 1. Band: Finnisch-ugrische Völker, 1. Abteilung: Wotjakische, syrjänische und permiakische Gesänge […] 54. Mitteilung der Phonogramm-Archivs-Kommission, in: Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 203, Wien / Leipzig 1926 (135 pp.); Robert Lach, Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener, 1. Band: Finnisch-ugrische Völker, 2. Abteilung: Mordwinische Gesänge […] 66. Mitteilung der Phonogrammarchivs-Kommission, in: Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 205, Wien / Leipzig 1933 (117 pp.). About Estonian folksongs see: Robert Lach, Vorläufiger Bericht über die im Auftrage der Akademie der Wissenschaften erfolgte Aufnahme der Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener im August bis Oktober 1917, in: Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 189, 3, Wien 1917 (63 pp.).

Berlin-Dahlem Museum of Ethnology and in the Musicology Seminar of the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* has been published – by an interdisciplinary group of researchers from Estonia and Germany.

Conclusions

1. The German and Austro-Hungarian prison camp authorities showed different degrees of interest in individual ethnic groups among the POWs. Certain categories of prisoners (such as Muslims, Ukrainians, Georgians) received considerable attention and numerous privileges because the Germans wished to employ them towards their military ends. Yet, in addition to this political interest there was also an anthropological and ethnographic research interest which was present independently of the political aims, and which extended to captured troops of various origins, among them also Finno-Ugrians, Latvians and Caucasians. It should be recalled here that the relevant fields of research had not yet become fully established as scientific disciplines. German and Austrian anthropologists, ethnographers, music researchers and linguists, above all Doegen and Pöch, regarded the presence in their respective countries of POWs representing various ethnic groups as a research opportunity, i.e. as a chance to attain new knowledge. In relation to the use of sound recordings and documentary footage in their research effort one has to consider access to state-of-the-art technical equipment which was not present to the same degree in the case of Russian custodial authorities. On the other hand, the British and the French, in their prison camps had little interest for racial types resembling ethnic Germans, let alone for their ethnology. After all, for the most part, POWs on both sides of the front still served one single purpose – that of cheap labour.
2. Unlike the work of Austrian researchers, the investigations carried out by the Germans never arrived beyond the point of data collection. Today their outcome is regarded as valuable research data which have received added value thanks to the work of Estonian and German researchers in the present volume.
3. Any misgivings of an ethical nature concerning the measurements of and recordings by prisoners, and their subsequent use in racial studies which were supposed to provide a foundation for a racial hierarchisation of peoples, were at the time unknown to the researchers. Their only purpose was the attainment of new scientific knowledge. At least to a historian, passing judgment on their work in this respect in accordance with contemporary

standards appears in any case to manifest a failure to understand history[28].

One should not see any hidden political agendas regarding Estonians or their native territory behind the work of the teams of Pöch and Doegen, or in the permission and support that they received from the military authorities of Austria and Germany respectively. There is nothing to suggest that the Central Powers had in any way attempted to turn the Estonians and the Latvians against the Russian government, although Russian authorities were making advances of precisely such a type to POWs in their camps, seeking to turn especially the Austrian Slavs against their homeland[29]. Although certain ethnic groups among POWs in Germany and Austria-Hungary were granted a series of privileges and targeted with advocacy campaigns, this was, above all in the later stages of the war, due to the desire of the German command to establish a solid foundation for trade relations and export of German goods to former enemies after the signing of a peace treaty. Such treaties were executed with the Ukraine in February and with Soviet Russia in March 1918. The POWs in German camps were supposed to play the part of multipliers in "the economic war", which was what British leaders had dubbed WWI.

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28 A stronger opinion can be found in Pusman, Die „Wissenschaften vom Menschen" (see footnote 20), pp. 49–198, especially as regards developments in the period between the two world wars.

29 Reinhard Nachtigal, Russland und seine österreichisch-ungarischen Kriegsgefangenen 1914 bis 1918, Grunbach: Greiner 2003, pp. 153–219.

3. On Estonian recordings made in German prisoner-of-war camps during World War I

Jaan Ross

In 1914, World War I (WWI) broke loose in Europe. This was a war of empires, each of which was made up of a varied body of peoples and ethnic groups. Consequently, the battles of the war pitted against one another individuals who spoke different languages and represented different cultures, different social strata and different religious affiliations. From an ethnographic point of view, the totality of people who found themselves swept into the maelstrom of the war can be regarded as a unique culturally determined group. Such a group would be characterised by a shared mode of everyday existence and by the fact of being made up of diverse subgroups. As for the group's shared mode of everyday existence, this could be described as routine-bound, basic and often perilous – the servicemen were subject to severe restrictions emanating from the strict military regime of wartime, their needs were poorly catered to and they were routinely exposed to potentially fatal situations. The diverse composition of the group means that its subgroups of members would have cardinally different historical and cultural backgrounds resulting in those members having different impulses and motives for action[1].

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1 In particular, the well-known German historian and Slavonic studies scholar Karl Schlögel (Karl Schlögel, Russische Berlin: Ostbahnhof Europas, München: Carl Hanser 2007, p. 383) wrote: "Der Krieg ist die Grunderfahrung der Generationen zwischen 1914 und 1945. Wer 1914 als junger Soldat in den Krieg gezogen war, den konnte es, wenn er nur überlebt hatte, knapp zwanzig Jahre später noch einmal treffen. […] Aber auch derjenige, der nur einen der beiden Kriege miterlebt hatte, wusste, was Krieg war: der Ausnahmezustand als Lebensmitte und Lebensmittelpunkt, egal ob man die "Stahlgewitter" heroisch durchschritten oder als Krüppel und Kriegsgefangener durchlitten hatte. […] Die Kriegserfahrung stiftet einen Zusammenhang von unvergleichlicher Intensität, wie sie nur in Kampf auf Leben und Tod entsteht." [War was the basic mode of experience of generations between 1914 and 1945. Those who were drafted into the war as young recruits in 1914 were not shielded from having to go through the same again in 1945 – if they had survived in the first place. Yet even those who had experienced only one of the two world wars, knew that the nature of the war was a constant state of emergency as the only mental and physical reality, regardless of whether you marched through the 'storm of steel' as a hero from the beginning to the end or whether you eked it out as an invalid or a prisoner of war. Shared experience of combat forges the strongest of links between individuals – these links are above comparison to other affiliations because they are formed in mortal battle.]

Military campaigns are, sadly and almost without exception, accompanied by the taking of prisoners of war (POW). During WWI, a series of POW camps were created and operated in Germany. Naturally, the linguistic and cultural variety that was characteristic of the battling troops was equally reflected in the population of the camps. At the time, the ethnographic potential that lays in such a rich population of representatives of enemy nations appears to have been realised the most acutely by a high school teacher from Berlin by the name of Wilhelm Doegen[2]. This chapter is not the place to analyse the ethical aspects of the work that Doegen did with POWs in the camps during the war. It is likely that certain aspects of this work would be condemned if judged against the current standards governing fieldwork involving human subjects.

The beginning of the 20th century was a period during which the technology of recording of sounds, which had been invented a few decades earlier, experienced rapid development. It is well known that the phonograph was invented by Edison in 1877 and the gramophone by Edwin Berliner a decade later[3]. It took some time, however, before the significance of these inventions for scientific research started to be understood and appreciated, and before the technology was put to use. The Berlin archives of phonograph records were created in September 1900[4]. To provide a point of comparison, it may be noted that the first institution in Russia for storing collections of sound recordings – the archive of phonographic records of the First Slavonic Department of the Library of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, was established in St. Petersburg in 1908[5]. In Estonia, the phonograph was used for the

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2 Although the music of POWs representing various ethnic groups who in times of peace resided in the territory of the Russian Empire was also being recorded in Austria (see Robert Lach, Vorläufiger Bericht über die im Auftrage der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften erfolgte Aufnahme der Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener im August bis Oktober 1917, in: Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 189, 3, Wien 1918), an analysis of these recordings is beyond the scope of this article. See also the chapters by Reinhard Nachtigal (pp. 36–38) and Janika Oras in the present volume.

3 Susanne Ziegler, Die akustischen Sammlungen. Historische Tondokumente im Phonogramm-Archiv und im Lautarchiv, in: Theater der Natur und Kunst. Essays, hg. v. Horst Bredekamp / Jochen Brüning / Cornelia Weber, Berlin: Henschel 2000, pp. 197–206, here p. 197.

4 Artur Simon, Hg., Das Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv 1900–2000. Sammlungen der traditionellen Musik der Welt, Berlin: Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung 2000, p. 48.

5 Victor Denisov / Tjeerd de Graaf, The use of sound archives for the study of endangered languages in Russia. Contribution to the Symposium to celebrate the 110th anniversary of the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv, 27 April 2009, in manuscript.

first time in ethnographic fieldwork in 1912 by the Finnish scholar Armas Otto Väisanen[6].

Wilhelm Doegen was born in 1877. Having been trained as an economist, in the beginning of the 20th century he found an opportunity to continue his studies at Oxford University. While in Oxford, he developed an interest in phonetics and in the challenges presented by the modern sound recording technology[7]. In the opinion of Susanne Ziegler, currently resposible for the Berlin archive of phonograph records, Doegen's talent expressed itself the most forcefully by way of business acumen as opposed to an aptitude for scientifc research. In February 1914, i.e. before the beginning of the war, he suggested to the authorities in Berlin that they establish a special institute for collecting and preserving phonograph recordings of material documenting the language and culture of different peoples of the world[8]. The authorities responded (only in the autumn of 1915) by establishing the Royal Prussian Commission of Sound Recording[9]. The commission included 30 members. Chairmanship was vested in the well-known music scholar and psychologist Carl Stumpf. Under the supervision of the commission, sound recordings soon started in POW camps[10].

It is curious that the initiators of the process – Doegen and Stumpf – were unable to reach an agreement on the technical solution to be preferred in making the recordings. Doegen favoured recording and reproduction of sound by the gramophone, while Stumpf preferred the phonograph. Naturally, both ways have their advantages and their drawbacks. Considering the conditions in the field, to opt for recording on wax cylinders of the phonograph was

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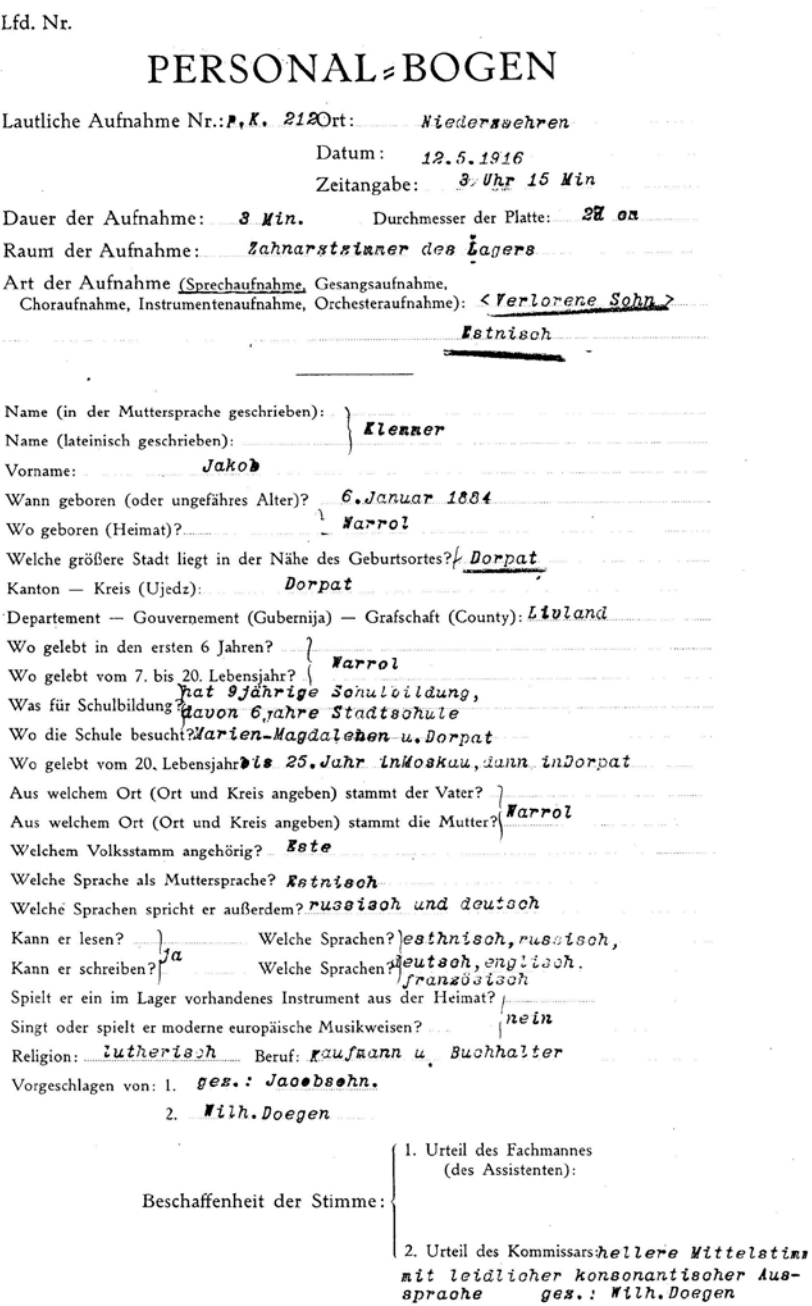
6 Vaike Sarv, Setu itkukultuur [The Seto culture of lament]. Ars musicae popularis 14, Tartu / Tampere: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum / Tampereen yliopisto, p. 83.

7 Jürgen-Kornelius Mahrenholz, Zum Lautarchiv und seiner wissenschaftlichen Erschliessung durch die Datenbank IMAGO, in: Berichte aus dem ICTM-National-Komitee Deutschland, Bd. XII, hg. v. Marianne Bröcker, Bamberg: Universitätsbibliothek Bamberg 2003, pp. 131–152.

8 For details, see: Reinhard Meyer-Kalkus, Stimmen der Völker auf Platten. Gefangene sprechen: Eine Dokumentation zum Berliner Lautarchiv und seinen Schätzen, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 5. September 2007, p. N3.

9 Susanne Ziegler, Dokumentation balkanischer Musiktraditionen in Deutschland. Aus den historischen Schallaufnahmen der Preussischen Phonographischen Kommission, in: Musik im Umbruch. Kulturelle Identität und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Südosteuropa, Beiträge des Internationalen Symposiums in Berlin, 22.–27. April 1997, München: Verlag Südostdeutsches Kulturwerk 1999, pp. 378–393.

10 For Doegen's own recollection of how the idea of recording linguistic material from POWs was born, see: Unter fremden Völker. Eine neue Völkerkunde, hg. von Wilhelm Doegen in Verbindung mit Alois Brandl. Berlin: Otto Stollberg Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft 1925, pp. 9–16.



Lfd. Nr.

PERSONAL=BOGEN

Lautliche Aufnahme Nr.: P.K. 212 Ort: Niedersehren

Datum: 12.5.1916

Zeitangabe: 3 Uhr 15 Min

Dauer der Aufnahme: 3 Min. Durchmesser der Platte: 28 cm

Raum der Aufnahme: Zahnarztzimmer des Lagers

Art der Aufnahme (Sprechaufnahme, Gesangsaufnahme, Choraufnahme, Instrumentenaufnahme, Orchesteraufnahme): <Verlorene Sohn> Estnisch

Name (in der Muttersprache geschrieben): Klemmer

Name (lateinisch geschrieben):

Vorname: Jakob

Wann geboren (oder ungefähres Alter)? 6. Januar 1884

Wo geboren (Heimat)? Warrol

Welche größere Stadt liegt in der Nähe des Geburtsortes? Dorpat

Kanton — Kreis (Ujedz): Dorpat

Departement — Gouvernement (Gubernija) — Grafschaft (County): Livland

Wo gelebt in den ersten 6 Jahren? Warrol

Wo gelebt vom 7. bis 20. Lebensjahr? Warrol

Was für Schulbildung? hat 9jährige Schulbildung, davon 6 Jahre Stadtschule

Wo die Schule besucht? Marien-Magdalenen u. Dorpat

Wo gelebt vom 20. Lebensjahr? bis 25. Jahr in Moskau, dann in Dorpat

Aus welchem Ort (Ort und Kreis angeben) stammt der Vater? Warrol

Aus welchem Ort (Ort und Kreis angeben) stammt die Mutter? Warrol

Welchem Volksstamm angehörig? Este

Welche Sprache als Muttersprache? Estnisch

Welche Sprachen spricht er außerdem? russisch und deutsch

Kann er lesen? ja Welche Sprachen? esthnisch, russisch, deutsch, englisch, französisch

Kann er schreiben? ja Welche Sprachen?

Spielt er ein im Lager vorhandenes Instrument aus der Heimat? nein

Singt oder spielt er moderne europäische Musikweisen? nein

Religion: lutherisch Beruf: Kaufmann u. Buchhalter

Vorgeschlagen von: 1. ges.: Jacobsohn.

2. Wilh. Doegen

Beschaffenheit der Stimme:

1. Urteil des Fachmannes (des Assistenten):

2. Urteil des Kommissars: hellere Mittellage mit leidlicher konsonantischer Aussprache ges.: Wilh. Doegen

Figure 3.1. A specimen survey form with the personal particulars of a subject (Jakob Klemmer). *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft, Lautarchiv,* PK 212.

the practical choice because producing shellac records would have required stationary apparatus[11]. For this reason, in the first half of the 20th century the phonograph can be said to have formed part and parcel of the standard equipment of ethnographers and dialect researchers. The quality of phonograph recordings, however, was significantly inferior to that of gramophone records – a fact that was apparent even to the untrained ear. For this reason, the preference given by Doegen to the gramophone – even if slightly unusual at the time – appears to have been fully justified in the long term.

The materials of the archives allow the general outline of the procedure of recording work with POWs to be reconstructed. Doegen's assistants preselected a series of subjects in close to 70 POW camps. For each subject, a detailed form was filled out, including particulars of origin, parents, education, work experience, language skills, residence history, mastery of musical instruments, etc. The subjects were photographed and their principal anthropological measurements were taken. In some cases, X-ray images were made of the vocal tract of the subject.

Figure 3.1 shows a section of specimen survey form containing the particulars of the subject Jakob Klemmer[12], and the circumstances in which the recording was made. On 12 May 1916 starting 3:15 pm in the dental surgery of the Niederzwehren camp near Kassel, Klemmer's reading of the biblical story of the prodigal son was recorded. By occupation, Klemmer was a trader and a bookkeeper. He was born on 6 January 1884 to the north of Tartu off the St. Petersburg road in the village Vara (German name: Warrol) which was historically part of the Mary Magdalene parish of Tartu County. His mother and his father came from the same parish. By his own admission, he had resided in Moscow from 1904 to 1909, although the information in the form remains unclear as to the reason for this episode. His linguistic skills are impressive. In addition to the mastery of Estonian as his native language, Russian as the official language and German as the local upper class language, Klemmer was also proficient – both orally and in writing – in French and English. He did not consider it necessary to provide information to the interviewer regarding his music skills. Finally, at the end of the form, one finds an observation by Doegen himself, characterising Klemmer's voice as follows: […] *hellere Mittelstimm[e] mit leidlicher konsonantischer Aussprache* [high baritone with a passable articulation of consonants].

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11 Ziegler, Die akustischen (see footnote 3), p. 198.

12 A recording of him is accessible on the Internet at: http://publicus.culture.hu-berlin.de/lautarchiv/tonbsp.htm, accessed 9 September 2009.

Then, the nature and content of the texts to be recorded were discussed with the subject. Although Doegen was primarily interested in recording spoken material, he did not pass up an opportunity to capture samples of folksongs. In particular, in addition to recording the melody of a folk song, he stressed the need to transcribe its lyrics.

Having finished their work, the assistants laid before Stumpf and his colleagues their recommendations regarding the list of POWs from whom musically valuable material was likely to be obtained[13]. Stumpf, unlike Doegen, was primarily interested in recording musical (vocal as well as instrumental) material[14]. As a result of the work of the Royal Prussian Commission on Voice Recording, over 1600 gramophone (shellac) records and over 1000 wax cylinders were cut in German POW camps[15]. Both collections have been subject to remarkable vicissitudes which, however, remain beyond the scope of this chapter. The gramophone records collection is currently kept at the Department of Musicology and Media Science of *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* in what used to be East Berlin. The phonograph cylinders collection is stored at the Museum of Ethnography in the Dahlem district of former West Berlin[16]. According to the view of Susanne Ziegler[17], "[d]er Schwerpunkt des Phonogramm-Archivs

13 Ziegler, Die akustischen (see footnote 3), p. 201.

14 The person directly responsible for recording collectible material from Estonian POWs onto shellac records was Hermann Jacobsohn (whose personality will be examined later in this chapter), while phonograph cylinder recordings were entrusted to Georg Schünemann. The latter provided a brief, comparative and rather accurate description of the state of Estonian folk song tradition of the time (Georg Schünemann, Kurzer Abriss der Musik im östlichen Europa, in: Unter fremden Völker. Eine neue Völkerkunde, hg. von Wilhelm Doegen in Verbindung mit Alois Brandl, Berlin: Otto Stollberg Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft 1925, pp. 310–317, here p. 313). Schünemann wrote: "Unter den baltischen Völkern sind **Letten**, **Litauer** [boldface in the original – J. R.] musikalisch wenig ergiebig. Von den alten Liedern wissen sie kaum etwas, und was sie an neuen Liedern bringen, ist von westlichen Einflüssen durchsetzt. Eher findet man bei den **Esten** Reste älterer Volksmusik, doch ist bei ihnen eine einfache, ganz an deutsche Vorbilder – die übrigens zum Teil wörtlich übernommen sind – erinnernde Literatur die Regel." [Among the Baltic peoples, the Latvians and the Lithuanians are musically less active. It is rather with the Estonians that one is likely to find traces of an early folk music, although as a rule their musical tradition is rather simple and closely reflects German models – which in part have been copied word for word.]

15 Simon, Das Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv (see footnote 4), pp. 28, 237.

16 Dieter Mehnert, Historische Schallaufnahmen – Das Lautarchiv an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, in: Elektronische Sprachsignalverarbeitung. Siebenten Konferenz, Berlin, Studientexte zur Sprachkommunikation, Heft 13 (1996), pp. 28–45.

17 Ziegler, Die akustischen (see footnote 3), p. 206.

liegt im Bereich der traditionellen Musik, der des Lautarchivs auf den Sprachaufnahmen und Stimmporträts und im Bereich der europäischen Volksmusik. […]" [The focus of the archive of phonograph recordings lies in the field of traditional music, while the focus of the archive of gramophone recordings is on linguistic material, voice images and European folk music.]

For the purposes of this chapter, the fact of primary interest is the presence of recordings of Estonian in both of the above-mentioned Berlin archives[18]. Historical records indicate that Estonian subjects in the camps were asked to make 29 shellac records[19] and 6 wax cylinders[20]. However, 12 shellacs containing Estonian material are currently missing from the collection at *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin*. The circumstances surrounding their disappearance are unclear. There is some reason to believe that in the 1930s, Doegen simply sold the records to unidentified interested parties[21]. If this opinion is correct, it cannot be ruled out either that the records missing from Berlin might in the future be discovered in the folklore collections of other countries, in particular, in those of Finland (it appears scarcely probable that recordings of spoken Estonian by Estonian POWs would have been of interest to too many individuals in Berlin in the 1930s).

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18 Doegen (Doegen, Unter fremden (see footnote 10), p. 13) characterised the Estonian POWs in a manner that does not quite agree with widespread stereotypes regarding Estonians: "Eine stattliche Anzahl von Völkerrassen aus allen Erdteilen waren vertreten. […] Von den finnisch-ugrischen Völkern: prächtige Esten offenen [sic! – J. R.] Charakters [...]" [A considerable number of ethnic groups from all corners of the world were represented. The Finno-Ugric peoples were represented by splendid Estonians of open disposition.]

19 Lautarchiv der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, PK 211–214, 407–409, 488, 494–497, 729–733, 1076–1081, 1255–1260. See also Appendix II in this volume.

20 *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum, Phonogramm-Archiv, Walzensammlung 238: Phonographische Kommission,* Phon. Komm. [equivalent to PK – J. R.] 60–61, 87, 279–281 (Susanne Ziegler, Die Wachszylinder des Berliner Phonogramm-Archivs, Berlin: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 2006, pp. 239–241). See also Ziegler, Dokumentation (see footnote 9), p. 384, and Appendix II in this volume.

21 In 1935, a catalogue was published listing a selection of music recordings from the Berlin archive of gramophone records. In the foreword to the catalogue, its publisher (Fritz Bose, Lieder der Völker. Die Musikplatten des Instituts für Lautforschung an der Universität Berlin. Katalog und Einführung, Berlin-Schöneberg: Max Hesses Verlag 1935, p. IV) stated: "Die Schallplatten des Instituts [für Lautforschung – J. R.] stehen jedermann zur Benutzung unentgeltlich zur Verfügung. Sie können ausserdem von jedermann käuflich erworben werden." [The shellac records of the *Institut für Lautforschung* are available free of charge for use by members of the public. They are also available for purchase.] The catalogue includes a reference to two records (PK 211 and PK 729) containing Estonian music (Bose, Die Musikplatten, p. 101), both of which have since been lost.

A closer look at the survey forms used to collect information from prisoners of Estonian origin suggests that the assistant whom Doegen had assigned to work with these individuals was someone fluent in Estonian. On the margins of the forms containing the particulars of Estonian POWs one finds observations written in the hand of the interviewer, including comments to the effect of "speaks the Reval county dialect freely", "interesting subject from the point of view of South Estonian dialect", etc. Considering the small number of Estonian speakers and the relatively low status of the language at the time (Estonia proclaimed itself an independent state in 1918), the presence of an individual capable of working with Estonian POWs in their native tongue in those circumstances is something that can by no means be taken for granted[22]. Who, then, was that person?

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22 To be fair, it should be stressed that at the time linguists already had at their disposal remarkably accurate information regarding the distribution of Balto-Finnic languages. For instance, the linguist Ernst Lewy (Ernst Lewy, Die finnisch-ugrischen Stämme im europäischen Russland, in: Unter fremden Völker. Eine neue Völkerkunde, hg. von Wilhelm Doegen in Verbindung mit Alois Brandl. Berlin: Otto Stollberg Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft 1925, pp. 212–232, here p. 213) wrote: "[…] die Finnen, deren Land in ihrer eigenen Sprache Suomi heisst, bewohnen nicht nur das eigentliche Finnland, sondern reichen überall, wo es nicht das Meer verhindert, über diese Grenzen hinaus, im Norden nach Sweden, im Osten nach Karelien, im Süden ins Gouv. Petersburg. Die Karelier wohnen sogar noch weiter nach Südosten; sie bilden im G[o]uvernement Twer einen durch strengere Tüchtigkeit und Festigkeit unter den Russen jener Gegend auffallenden Teil der Bevölkerung. Als besondere Sprachen muss man wohl betrachten das Wepsische am Onega-See, das früher auch Nord-Tschudisch genannt wurde, und das Wotische, westlich von St. Petersburg, das früher Süd-Tschudisch genannt wurde; das Estnische, das in stark von einander abweichenden Dialekten in Estland, und das Liwische, das nicht in Liwland, sondern an der Nordspitze von Kurland gesprochen wird." [The Finns, whose country is called *Suomi* in Finnish, do not inhabit exclusively the territory that is Finland, but spread out everywhere where the sea does not hinder it – in the north, towards Sweden, in the east towards Karelia, in the south towards the St. Petersburg province. The Karelians have settled even further south-east; in the province of Tver they form a population group conspicuously different from Russians because of their closeness of community and superior work ethic. The Vepsian at Lake Onega, which used to be known as North Tschud, and the Votian to the west of St. Petersburg, which was earlier referred to as South Tschud, as well as the Estonian which takes the form of a number of strongly divergent dialects spoken in Estonia, and the Livonian that, instead of Livonia, is spoken in the northern tip of Courland, should be regarded as separate languages.] Judging by contemporary views on the typology of Balto-Finnic languages (Arvo Laanest, Einführung in die ostseefinnischen Sprachen, Hamburg: Buske 1982), Lewy only neglected the Izhorian (Ingrian) language which is also encountered in the historical Ingrian area. On the other hand, it is remarkable that he should have quite correctly underlined the presence of important differences between the Estonian dialects.

He was a linguist of Jewish origin by the name of Hermann Jacobsohn[23]. Jacobsohn was born in 1879 and studied classical philology and Indo-European languages at the University of Freiburg, University of Berlin and University of Göttingen. Starting 1911, having defended his doctoral thesis, he started teaching at the University of Marburg, in the beginning as an extraordinary staff member and, after 1922, as a regular professor. In April 1933, after the Nazis came to power, Jacobsohn was given notice of termination of his employment. Two days later, he committed suicide by throwing himself in front of a train[24]. The most notable piece of Jacobsohn's work is his monograph entitled *Arier und Ugrofinner* whose first edition was published in 1922 and the second in 1980. It is primarily thanks to the second edition that its author's name has become known among researchers of Finno-Ugric languages in Estonia – at the end of the last century, the academician Paul Ariste published a review[25] of the book in the journal *Советское финно-угроведение* [Soviet Finno-Ugristics], which now continues to appear under the name of *Linguistica Uralica*. The author of this chapter has so far not been able to establish where and under what circumstances Jacobsohn learned Estonian. One may speculate that in his work with POWs of Estonian origin, Jacobsohn relied on a reference work – the self-study ABC of Estonian for German learners[26] written by Mihkel Neumann, a teacher from Tallinn.

It seems that Jacobsohn as a linguist was principally interested in comparative study of Estonian dialects. The number of Estonian POWs interviewed by him in the camps was 22. If we plot their birthplaces onto a map of Estonia (see Figure 3.2) we will see a distribution that is far from even. Neumann's ABC, which Jacobsohn was using, also deals with characteristic traits of Estonia's dialects. Its author correctly points out the most important dialect regions of Estonia, including, first of all, the south-eastern part of the country, as well as the regions on the coast of the Gulf of Finland and the north-east of Estonia, then the south-western part of the country bordering

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23 According to Doegen's recollections, Jacobsohn's work in POW camps was supervised by Professor Wilhelm Schulze, who was considered an authority in the field of comparative and Indo-German linguistics (Doegen, Unter fremden (see footnote 10), pp. 10–11).

24 Wolfgang Veenker, Nachwort des Herausgabers, in: Hermann Jacobsohn, Arier und Ugrofinner, Nachdruck der Ausgabe von 1922, hg. v. Wolfgang Veenker, Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht 1980, pp. 292–300.

25 Paul Ariste, Reviews: Hermann Jacobsohn, Arier und Ugrofinner (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1980), in: Советское финно-угроведение, 1981, T. 17, № 1, pp. 72–73.

26 Below, references to Neumann's ABC are given in accordance with its third edition: Mihkel Neumann, Praktisches Lehrbuch der Estnischen Sprache für den Selbstunterricht, 3. erneuerte Auflage, Reval: M. Neumann's Verlag 1926.

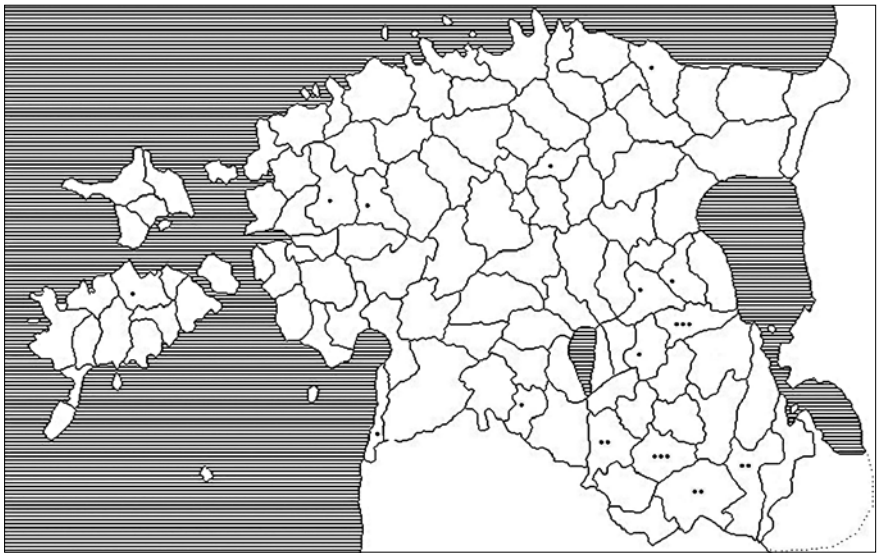

Figure 3.2. The distribution of Estonian POW subjects according to the parish of their birth (compiled by the author).

what is now Latvia, and finally the islands off the west coast of the country[27]. As is known, a strongly dialectal form of Estonian is encountered in the south-eastern part of the country in which, let it be mentioned in passing, a standard of writing different from that used in North Estonia was employed

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27 Neumann writes (Neumann, Praktisches Lehrbuch (see footnote 26), p. 152: "In der dörptschen Kirchen-Sprache obwalten die gleichen schriftlichen Unzulänglichkeiten wie im Estnischen. Von den lautlichen Abweichungen ist zu bemerken: es kommen noch zu *z* (Aussprache wie im Deutschen) und ein ungeschriebener Konsonant, eine Art Spiritus lenis, welches als Pluralbezeichnung das Wort scharf abschneidet. Das Gesetz der Vokalharmonie wird beobachtet, das ist, wenn ein Wor[t]stamm nur harte Vokale *a, o, u* hat, so können in den Endungen nicht die weichen *ä, ö, ü* vorkommen, und umgekehrt. Die dörptsche Sprache hat ausserdem hunderte, vielleicht tausende Wörter, welche im Estnischen anders sind, darum ist es unmöglich hier in diese Sprache gründlicher einzugehen. […] Nennenswert sind noch der Dialekt der nördlichen Strandbewohner (*rannameeste keel*), der ein Mittelding zwischen dem Estnischen und Finnischen ist; der südliche pernausche Dialekt, der einige Formen von dem alten Livischen entlehnt hat; die Insulaner Sprache, die durch das Schwedische verdorben ist. In den letzgenannten Dialekten sind keine Bücher erschienen." [The Dorpat church language is characterised by the same deficiencies of script as the Estonian language. As for phonetic differences, there are the z (pronunciation as in German) and an unwritten consonant, a sort of glottal stop which terminates the word abruptly when it appears as a plural ending. The law of vocal harmony holds, i.e. when a stem has a strong vowel such as *a, o, u,* the endings will not have a weak vowel such as *ä, ö, ü,* and vice versa. The Dorpat language also has hundreds if not thousands of words which

until the second half of the 19th century[28]. It is interesting to observe how attempts are being made these days to revive that script. The corresponding dialect, in its turn, can be divided into two main subgroups, each with its own territory and its own centre – respectively, in Tartu and in Võru.

The data regarding the origin of Jacobsohn's interviewees appear to follow the territorial division of Estonian dialects according to Neumann. Of the overall number of interviewees (22) 9 are natives of the Võru county, 6 of Tartu county, 2 of south-western border regions, one of the northern coast, one of the island Saaremaa (German name: Ösel) and, finally 3 of central Estonia. Referring to the Central North Estonian dialect in which he sees "peamiselt endise Virumaa maamurde alal, Järva- ja Harjumaal kõneldavat keelt" [the language spoken mainly in the area of the former Viru rural dialect, and in the Järva and Harju counties], Kask[29] writes: "[…] eesti rahvusliku kirjakeele arenemise seisukohalt erakordne tähtsus, sest see murre sai baasiks meie tänapäevasele kirjakeelele." [Of extraordinary importance from the point of view of development of the national literary language, because it was this dialect that became the foundation for Contemporary Written Estonian.]

The material recorded by Jacobsohn can be divided into the following categories. Firstly, biblical passages: the Exodus (second book of the Old Testament) and the story of the prodigal son from the Gospel of Luke. Secondly, excerpts from the work of Estonian authors of the time – for instance, of Juhan Liiv[30] and Reinhold Wellner[31]. Thirdly, examples of oral folk tradition:

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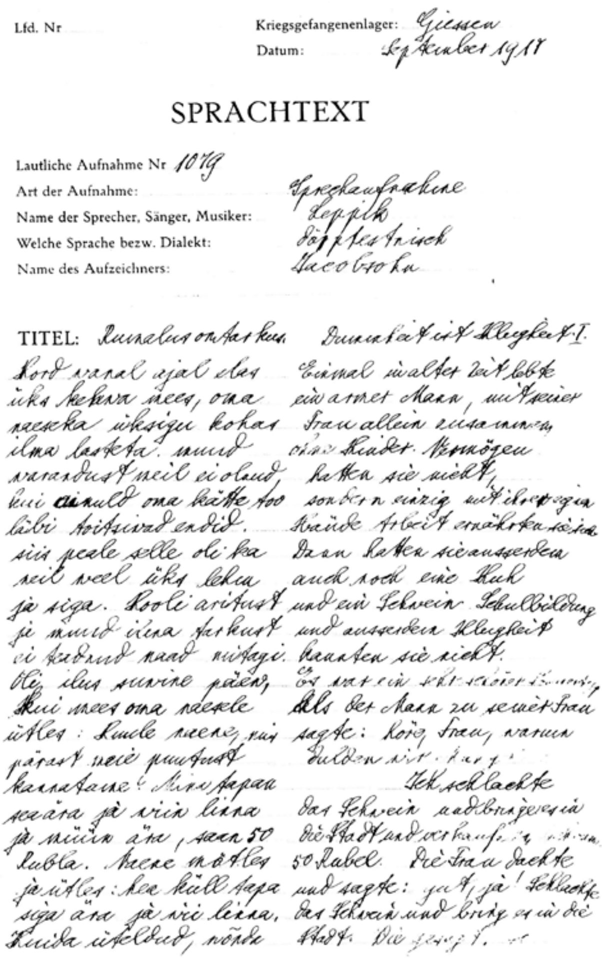
are different from those used in Estonian, for which reason it is impossible to consider that language here in detail. Mention should also be made of the dialect of the people inhabiting the north coast, which is a mixture of Estonian and Finnish, and that of the southern dialect of Pernau, which has borrowed certain forms from the Old Livonian, as well as the island dialect, a form of Estonian corrupted by Swedish. No books have been published in these.]

28 Arnold Kask, Eesti murded ja kirjakeel [Estonian dialects and literary Estonian], Tallinn: Valgus 1984, pp. 24–25.

29 Kask, Eesti murded (see previous footnote), pp. 18–19.

30 The record PK 733 carries the beginning of the well-known short story *Peipsi peal* [On Lake Peipus] by the Estonian writer Juhan Liiv, which Jacobsohn probably took from Neumann's textbook of Estonian (Neumann, Praktisches Lehrbuch (see footnote 26), p. 145).

31 Wellner is an Estonian literary figure about whom little is known and whose printed work the author of this chapter has only had the chance of reading thanks to four short texts in the collection/almanac by Heiberg *et al.* (Marie Heiberg / Richard Roht / Reinhold Vellner / Henrik Visnapuu, Moment: esimene [Moment: one], Tartu: E. Bergmann 1913, pp. 51–60). For information about Wellner [also spelt Vellner – J. R.], see the history of Estonian culture by Talve (Ilmar Talve, Eesti kultuurilugu. Keskaja algusest Eesti iseseisvuseni [Estonian cultural history. From Middle Ages to Estonian independence], Tartu: Ilmamaa 2004, p. 565).


Lfd. Nr
Kriegsgefangenenlager: Giessen
Datum: September 1917

SPRACHTEXT

Lautliche Aufnahme Nr 1079
Art der Aufnahme:
Name der Sprecher, Sänger, Musiker:
Welche Sprache bezw. Dialekt:
Name des Aufzeichners:

TITEL:

Figure 3.3. The first page of the transcription of the story (Story 1642 according to Uther's catalogue (UTHER, The types (see footnote 34), p. 348)) entitled *Rumalus on tarkus* [Stupidity is wisdom] read by the cabinet-maker Karl Lepik from Dorpat, together with a parallel translation into German (both by Jacobsohn). *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Medienwissenschaft, Lautarchiv,* PK 1079.

fairytales, jokes, songs, etc. And fourthly, the phonologically significant contrastive pairs or successions of separate Estonian words, probably selected by Jacobsohn himself.

The last category of the material recorded by Jacobsohn merits particular attention. The nature of that category suggests that the investigator was interested in such phonetic phenomena as the contrast between different degrees of quantity and of palatalisation in Estonian. As we know, quantity in the Balto-Finnic languages has a grammatical and a lexical

function[32]: the words in such Estonian series as *sada-saada-saada* or *sagi-saki-sakki*, differing from one another principally in terms of duration of the stressed vowel of the initial syllable or of the consonant at the boundary of two syllables, have a different from each other meaning or a grammatical form[33]. In the Berlin recordings discussed here, Jacobsohn prepared and presented to the subjects scholarly flawless material for an experimental phonetic study of quantity relations, which remains valuable to date. On 2 February 1917, in the camp at Puchheim, Christian Hermann, a village teacher from the parish of Sangaste (German name: Sagnitz), meticulously enunciated several dozen series of Estonian words contrasted in terms of the quantity of their vowels and consonants, which were recorded under Jacobsohn's supervision onto shellac records. Similarly, Jacobsohn prepared and Christian Hermann voiced a series of minimal word pairs whose members differed from each other only by the presence of absence of palatalisation.

The academician Arvo Krikmann of the Estonian Literary Museum has kindly agreed to determine the type of certain short folkloric forms rendered in the recordings by the Estonian POWs. The record PK 1079, for instance, presents the cabinet-maker Karl Lepik of Tartu (German name: Dorpat) reading the so-called short story *Rumalus on tarkus* [Stupidity is wisdom], which actually represents a rather widely known joke (The Bargain – no. 1642 in the catalogue by Uther[34]). A part of the transcribed text of the story together with a parallel German translation made by Jacobsohn are shown in Figure 3.3.

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32 Trubetzkoy (Nikolay S. Trubetzkoy, Principles of phonology, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press 1969, p. 31) wrote: "A phonic property can therefore only be distinctive in function insofar as it is opposed to another phonic property, that is, insofar as it is a member of an opposition of sound. Oppositions of sound capable of differentiating the lexical meaning of two words in a particular language are *phonological* or *phonologically distinctive* or *distinctive oppositions* [italics in the original – J. R.]."

33 See, e.g., Jaan Ross / Ilse Lehiste, The temporal structure of Estonian runic songs, Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter 2001, p. 38.

34 Uther (Hans-Jörg Uther, The types of international folktales. A classification and bibliography, based on the system of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, vol. II, Tales of the stupid ogre, anecdotes and jokes, and formula tales, Helsinki: Suomalainen Tieteakademia 2004, p. 348) provides the following brief summary of joke 1642: "A foolish farmer performs various senseless actions that turn out to be to his advantage: Because he misunderstands the croaking of frogs, he throws money into the pond for them to count. […] When he returns for his money and does not receive it, he complains to the king […] and thus causes the melancholy princess to laugh. […] He declines to marry her and is offered a different reward, which he promises to a guard (soldier) and a Jew. The king offers a beating instead of money, and the Jew receives the blows. […] The Jew takes the farmer to court, loaning him his coat (boots). At the trial, the farmer denies that he has borrowed the coat and thus renders the Jew's testimony unbelievable (makes the Jew appear to be insane)."

The Berlin archives currently make available two gramophone records[35] and six wax cylinders[36] with recordings of Estonian songs[37]. The number of songs on a cylinder ranges from one to three. The two records, however, carry only four songs or song excerpts. Thus, all in all, there are at our disposal 14 recordings made of Estonian music during 1916–1918 in the POW internment camps. These can be divided into two groups: patriotic songs the authors of whose music and lyrics as a rule are known, and traditional songs of "the new layer", which unlike the early ones are based on tonal musical figures. There are five songs of the first type (one song has been performed by two interviewees), and eight of the latter[38].

It appears significant that the recorded body of Estonian songs lacks any instances of early songs – regardless of the fact that, according to Schünemann, the corresponding tradition had not disappeared yet by the beginning of the 20th century ("It is rather with the Estonians that one is likely to find traces of an early folk music…", see footnote 14). In addition, the history of Estonian folklore studies shows[39] that at this time the so-called new songs were regarded as much less valuable than the early ones. Why, then, do we not find any examples of early songs amongst the POW recordings?

The simplest answer to this question appears to be that early songs are traditionally considered to belong to female repertory, while recent songs are regarded as belonging to the male repertory. Since the POWs were all male, the songs that they selected belong to the repertory typical for males. In addition, we can surmise that any attention by the interviewees to the value judgments of the investigators (which might have played a role had the interviews taken place in Estonia and in a less stressful setting), can be discounted as an influence, i.e. the interviewees selected the songs to be recorded princi-

35 PK 494 and 496.

36 Phon. Komm. 60–61, 87 and 279–281.

37 Jaan Ross / Maile Nairis, Esimese maailmasõja aegsetest eesti salvestustest Berliini arhiivides [Estonian recordings of the time of World War I in the Berlin archives], in: Keel ja Kirjandus, no. 5 (2008), pp. 353–362.

38 A more detailed analysis of Estonian songs can be found in the seminar paper submitted by Maile Nairis in the course of her studies at the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre (Maile Nairis, Vanadest eesti ainese helisalvestistest Berliini arhiivides. Seminaritöö [On recordings of early Estonian material in the Berlin archives. Seminar paper], Tallinn: Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia 2007, in manuscript).

39 Ingrid Rüütel, Eesti uuemad rahvalaulud ENSV TA Fr. R. Kreutzwaldi nim. Kirjandusmuuseumi rahvaluule osakonna kogudes [New layer of Estonian folk songs in the collections of the folklore department of the Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald Literary Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR], in: Rahvasuust kirjapanekuni. Uurimusi rahvaluule proosaloomingust ja kogumisloost, Emakeele Seltsi toimetised 17, Tallinn: Emakeele Selts 1985, pp. 50–68, here p. 51.

pally on the basis of their own musical preference and did not give too much thought to how this would reflect on them in the eyes of ethnographers of posterity. It is probably for this reason that certain of the songs recorded by the interviewees have lyrics which border on the indecent.

Some features of the recorded songs allow certain conclusions to be drawn regarding the situational characteristics of the entire recording process. In the majority of cases, the material to be recorded appears to have been prepared by the interviewee in advance and was read back from paper. Yet there are certain cases in which the interviewee clearly exhibits difficulties in enunciating a certain word or producing a certain utterance. This suggests that the recorded material was produced spontaneously. For instance, the passages from the story of the prodigal son in the South Estonian dialect are as a rule reproduced with pauses, hesitations and incomplete sentences. In principle, the New Testament was translated into South Estonian already at the end of 17th century[40], i.e. before it was translated into the North Estonian dialect that later provided the basis for Contemporary Standard Estonian. However, in the beginning of the 20th century, South Estonian had already been forced to retreat before standard Estonian created on the basis of the North Estonian dialect. According to Kristiina Ross of the Institute for the Estonian Language[41], analysis of phrase structure of the recorded material suggests that it stems rather from the written translation of the Bible into North Estonian than into South Estonian. In other words, it appears that the interviewee had in front of him a canonical translation of the Gospel of Luke into standard Estonian, which he endeavoured to translate, extemporaneously, into his native dialect.

The recording made on 1 November 1916 in the camp Mannheim of the text rendered by Jan Pome[42], born on the north-eastern coast of Estonia, can be regarded as curious in several respects. When he was 14, Pome left the then province of Estonia to take up residence in a Russian-language environment outside the Baltic provinces, probably in the vicinity of St. Petersburg. This fact made Jacobsohn ask Pome to read the story of the prodigal son in Russian instead of Estonian – as a linguist, Jacobsohn was interested in recording

40 Meije Issanda Jesusse Kristusse Wastne Testament Echk Jummala Pöha Sönna [The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, or the Hallowed Word of God], Riga: Johann Georg Wilcken 1686.

41 See the chapter of Kristiina Ross in the present volume.

42 PK 488.

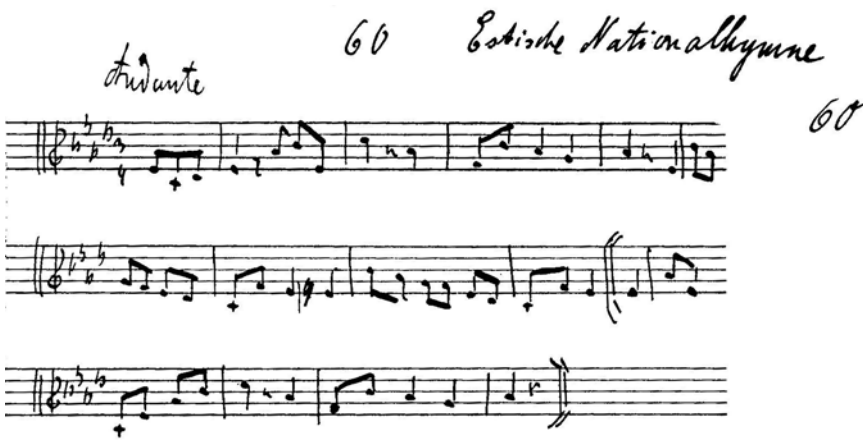

Figure 3.4. A sample of Schünemann's notation of the Estonian national anthem as rendered by Karl Warjun, after the phonograph recording made in the Niederzwehren camp near Kassel, Germany. *Berliner Phonogramm-archiv, Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,* Phon. Komm. 60.

Pome reading a Russian text with a non-Russian accent[43].

In conclusion, if we were to try and assess the value and significance of the recordings of Estonian material from the time of WWI in the Berlin archives, a number of different aspects of various orders of importance strike the eye. Since, as was pointed out above, recordings were made in parallel on the gramophone and the phonograph, it should once again be stressed that the quality of the gramophone recordings is superior to those of the phonograph. Although the first recordings in the Estonian language on gramophone records were made in St. Petersburg in 1901[44], these were predominantly of a commercial rather than scholarly nature and therefore remain in a sense haphazard. Unlike the recordings made on phonograph cylinders, systematically selected examples of Estonian folk and professional music, as well as of spoken Estonian started to appear on gramophone records only considerably later (and tape recordings only after World War II). For this reason, we can say that thanks to the material discovered in Berlin, researchers

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43 In Poome's survey form, Jacobsohn wrote the following observation: *Es ist wichtig, die russische Aussprache eines Esten festzuhalten, der in russischer Bezirken lebt und den russischen Lauten seine eigenen substituiert.* [It is important to record the pronunciation of an Estonian who lives in a Russian-speaking area and substitutes the sounds of his native language for Russian sounds.]

44 Heino PEDUSAAR, Tema isand hääl. Tardunud helide maailm [His highness voice. A world of still sounds], Tallinn: Koolibri 2007, pp. 93, 186.

now have access to a high quality (according to the standards of the time) and historically valuable collection of auditory material on the Estonian cultural heritage.

The recordings' great value for contemporary researchers lies in the area of dialect studies and of experimental phonetics. According to existing information, the Berlin recordings are the earliest audio document to highlight differences between Estonian dialects by reference to a standard source text. Likewise, the material represents the first instance of the phonological effects of palatalisation and quantity in the form of the so-called minimal pairs (or – in the case of an opposition involving more than two linguistic units – minimal series).

From the point of view of folk music studies, the Berlin recordings contain valuable instances of popular songs of the time whose value in some cases was not sufficiently appreciated, or of patriotic songs, including the anthem of the Republic of Estonia[45] (in multiple renditions, of which one was performed in two voices). It is interesting to note that performing techniques in the music of that time in some cases markedly differ from those employed nowadays. For instance, regarding phrasing and the temporal structure, the POW performers often preferred splitting the melody into relatively short segments whose start and end they would mark with brief accelerations and decelerations of pace during rendition.

And, last but not least, the recording of the story entitled *Leinadi Leenu* by a little known writer Reinhold Wellner[46] may somewhat expand our scant knowledge of his creative biography: there are some reasons to believe that the story in question was written by Wellner himself, and has never been published in print – which means that it is currently only accessible to us in the form of the sound recording kept in the Berlin archive[47].

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45 Figure 3.4 shows a sample of the notation of the future anthem of the Republic of Estonia, made by Schünemann on the basis of the recording Phon. Komm. 60. The song was performed by Karl Warjun.

46 PK 408.

47 See transcription of the Wellner's story in the chapter by Arvo Krikmann.

4. Prisoners of war as language informants: observations of two archivist/historians[1]

Aadu Must and Kadri Tooming

The Berlin collection and Estonian history sources

The sources on Estonian history share a conspicuous trait – to a very large extent they are scattered over various locations outside Estonia, mostly in archives of the states which have held sway over Estonia at one time or another (Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, also Vatican, etc.). It is an elementary truth, but it has usually been regarded as pertaining to earlier centuries rather than to the modern period. Recently, however, we have started to realise that the 20th century is no exception in this respect, especially when we consider the archives of Russia and Germany. In recent times, numerous "modern" archival records documenting the history of the Estonian people have also entered our academic and cultural scene. Perhaps one of the most remarkable examples is Karl Hintzer's abundant collection of high-quality photos (comprising approximately 24,000 negatives) preserved in the archives of the Herder Institute in Marburg[2]. It is in recent years, as part of a series of visits organised into the archives of German prison camps under the aegis of the Estonian Compatriots Programme that Estonian historians have been able to access archival records describing the fate of Estonian prisoners of war (POW) in Germany[3]. Considering the fact that the archival records examined in the course of the visits concerned Estonian POWs during World War (WW) II, not WWI, discovery of the Berlin recordings represents a valuable addition to our knowledge of Estonian culture and history of the beginning of the 20th century.

Many extensive treatises have been published in different parts of the world on the subject of the fate of WWI POWs, yet Estonian historians have so far overlooked this topic. To some extent, this situation has been remedied by

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1 This chapter is based in part on the research conducted in 2005 for the national research programme *Eesti keel ja rahvuslik mälu* [Estonian language and national memory], financed by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research.

2 See: http://www.herder-institut.de/startseite/sammlungen/bilder/bestaende/bestaende/hintzer.html, accessed 8 March 2011.

3 See: https://www.rarhiiv.ee/rahvuskaaslased/, accessed 8 March 2011.

Russian historians – for instance, Oksana Nagornaya has written an exciting and thorough treatise on the POWs of the Russian Empire in Germany[4]. Supported by various German grants, she was able to do research in both Russian and German archives over an extensive period of time and thus managed to produce an informative and unbiased analysis.

Significance of the Berlin collection for Estonian cultural history

What is the value of the recordings of Estonian speech discovered in the Berlin collection for Estonian archivists and historians? To spice up our discussion, let us start on a provocative note and ask: what impact did the use of Estonian POWs as language informants have on Estonian cultural history? After all, the fact of the recordings did not lead to any qualitative change or renewal in Estonian culture. Have there been cases where the internment of military personnel by the enemy has led to clearly traceable consequences for the culture represented by that personnel? In fact, recorded history knows of such cases. One such example is the captivity of approximately eight hundred and fifty Swedish army officers from the provinces of Estonia and Livonia in Tobolsk, the then capital of Siberia, at the beginning of the 18th century. The officers formed a separate congregation which established close contacts with August Hermann Francke and Halle's pietists. The latter sent clerical literature and medicines to Siberia, collected money and endowed a pietistic school in Tobolsk[5]. The teachings that these contacts brought to Tobolsk offered the only ray of hope for dejected prisoners of war who had seen their empire crumble, and effectively captivated the souls of most. When they returned from Siberia, the officers started actively propagating their newly found beliefs on their estates and founded numerous manor schools in Sweden[6]. Manor pietism also reached Finland through officers from the same camp[7]. And the

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4 Оксана Нагорная, Другой военный опыт. Российские военнопленные Первой мировой воины в Германии (1914–1922) [A different military experience. Russian POWs in Germany during WWI (1914–1922)], Москва: Новый Хронограф 2010.

5 Richard L. Gawthrop, Pietism and the making of eighteenth-century Prussia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1993, p. 193.

6 Ingun Montgomery, Der Pietismus in Schweden im 18. Jahrhundert, in: Geschichte des Pietismus, Band 2, Der Pietismus im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, hg. v. Martin Brecht / Klaus Deppermann, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1995, pp. 495–496; Neil Kent, The soul of the North: a social, architectural and cultural history of the Nordic countries 1700–1940, London: Reaction Books 2000, p. 29.

7 Pentti Laasonen, Der Pietismus in Finnland im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, in: Geschichte des Pietismus (see footnote 6), p. 530.

roughly hundred men, who returned to Estonia, propagated it in Estonia, leaving a positive contribution in the history of our culture and education (although so far the corresponding sources have been assiduously overlooked by historians)[8]. Thus, while it is heart-warming that our men made it home from the German POW camps, they certainly did not bring any new vision or worldview with them.

Was there, then, anything new and original to be found in the material recorded orally or in writing by Estonian POWs? As a matter of fact – not really. All of the songs and stories that they performed are quite well known.

In such a case, may these early recordings be a rarity unto themselves? Alas, not quite. As we know from *Kevade* [Springtime] by Oskar Luts – one of the most popular works of Estonian youth literature of all time – not only were wind-up gramophones available in Estonia at the turn of the 20th century, but there were also records of popular Estonian songs liable to enliven, for instance, the solemn sacrament of baptism. The elder of the authors of these observations also owns several pre-WWI records: a rendition of the folksong *Tuljak* by Aino Tamm, as well as performances of *Kuldrannake* [Golden Coast], *Mingem üles mägedele* [Let's Climb the Mountains] and other popular songs performed by the male quartet of the Estonian Students' Society[9].

Might the Berlin collection then be said to offer some qualitatively new information on the fate of the men kept in German POW camps? Again, this is not the case – except perhaps for the fact that their use in the service of research on that occasion involved no medical experimentation. Could the recordings then be deemed exceptional in that they represent a method of linguistic data gathering which, instead of painstaking fieldwork in the area in which the language is spoken, makes use of informants who have been, so to speak, handed to the researchers on a silver platter? When asked such a question, Estonian scholars are fond of recalling a story from the life of Julius Mägiste, a well-known Estonian folklorist and linguist who had emigrated to Sweden and whom the Soviet authorities were trying to coax into returning to Soviet Estonia. The task was entrusted to the academician Paul Ariste, who

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8 This topic will be discussed in detail in: Aadu Must, Eesti ja Siber [Estonia and Siberia] (forthcoming by Tartu: Kleio 2011).

9 Aleksander Läte, Kuld rannake [Golden coast], Männer-Quartett (I. ten.: Stud. A. Laur, II. Ten.: stud. R. Bernakoff, I. Bass: A. Simm, II. Bass: A. Siefermann), conducted by Samuel Lindpere, Jurjew: X-64345, Zonophone Records: International Zonophone Company 1910?; Norman traditional Kas tunned maad? [Do you know the country?], performed by Aino Tamm, St. Petersburg: X-63489, Zonophone Records: International Zonophone Company 1910?.

was sent to Uppsala to attempt to persuade Mägiste. Mägiste is reported to have replied by suggesting that Ariste ask the Soviet authorities what would be the point of travelling to the Estonian regions of Setomaa, Sakala, Saaremaa or Viru, when it was possible to meet people from all those places when walking down a street in Uppsala, and to collect a wealth of folklore before one had reached the end of the street. The story obviously contains a strong dose of ironic hyperbole, and yet there is a grain of truth to it as well. Thus, the Berlin recordings cannot claim monopoly of the method of collecting linguistic material from expatriate informants either.

Perhaps then the recordings could be considered to stand out in the annals of history owing to the humane manner in which the Estonian POWs were used as test subjects? Once again, one does not have to look far for a counter-argument, one being provided by the history of our own faculty. The famous Estonian linguist and academician Paul Ariste is reported to have used a similar method during WWII – sporting a jaunty service cap of a German army officer, he combed the POW camps in Tartu in an effort to find representatives of Finno-Ugric peoples whom he could use as language informants, in return providing them with food.

Interesting as the above list of denials of significance may have been, it is now high time to end our little series of provocations. If the academician Paul Ariste resorted to this manner of collecting linguistic material, it was probably in tribute to the methods used a generation earlier, during the previous great war. As for the other adverse considerations evoked above, they can be laid to rest by recalling a truth recognised by all good archivists – the value of a historical source cannot be assessed on the basis of a single criterion. Instead, a complex view must be taken of the entire set of relations reflected in the source. Examined through such a prism, the Estonian recordings in the Berlin collection, which combines in itself a reflection of the fates of the Estonian WWI POWs, the study of Estonian language and culture, the use of highly professional research methods and state-of-the-art technology, undoubtedly represent a unique treasure trove of cultural history.

Of historical and archival context

Since the 1840s, provenance has become a fundamental principle in the organisation of archives. It means that all archival records must be preserved according to the system that was originally used in creating and filing these records. The records of one body, organisation or individual constitute an indivisible whole. Only by retaining the internal structure of that whole is it possible to preserve intact all relationships that arose between the records

when they were created and processed. A whole in which not only the documents or files have been preserved but also their context, constitutes an archive. Needless to say, in practice such archives are far from numerous.

Not all documents enter the archives as part of a well-ordered and organised set. More often than not archivists have to create at least some semblance of organisation and order among a large body of disorganised documents of unclear origin. It also happens time and again that somebody somewhere has deemed it necessary to put together a selection of materials from archives of different origin, to combine materials of different origin or to break up the original structure in some other manner. In such a case, archivists can no longer refer to the result as an archive, and instead use the term "collection".

For cultural history research, the collection resulting from the Berlin project holds a wealth of information. Yet with respect to many questions of interest to historians the existing information remains insufficient. For example, why did the Germans decide to launch the project in the first place? The answer to that question might be found in the clerical procedures of the project, its financing scheme and the movements of the records created. It would be necessary to read the guidelines of such a project – what other activities were carried out in parallel to sound recording, note-taking and compilation of the register of informants, where and to whom the data were transmitted, how the information was used.

If no such information is available – which is unfortunately the case – for the time being (alas, embarking on another research visit to Germany is not an option!) one would have to rely on the information that can be obtained from literature, and on hypotheses. Actually, this represents a rather commonplace situation which researchers often encounter in real life.

To begin with, we must admit that it would be rather naive to believe that in the Berlin project the upper hand was held by the scholars who, with tacit consent of the military authorities, harnessed the intellectual potential of the POWs to advance learning and spread culture. In the 19th century, the reality of such situations was quite the opposite, and the influence of the military on decisions regarding the funding of scientific or scholarly research was (although in great secrecy) gradually rising. The professional success story of the academician Alexander von Middendorf, a greatly admired and revered scholar of the history of science in Estonia, was not founded on his discovery of mammoth skeletons in the permafrost of Siberia, as many have gullibly accepted, but on the clear and concise report he submitted to the Russian imperial authorities, in which he stated that annexation of the then Chinese region of the Amur river was both possible and necessary. Admiral Constantine Possiet, born in Pärnu, engaged in "research" in areas which belonged

to Korea, but soon thereafter were conquered by Russia. Admiral Fyodor Lütke[10], Vice President of the Russian Geographic Society, ran a powerful organisation, which outwardly engaged in scientific research, while clandestinely gathering intelligence for Imperial Russia. The situation was exactly the same in the British Royal Geographical Society, which could be likened to a cover organisation for the British intelligence services. From the middle of the 19th century onwards, Russian ethnographers and anthropologists drew up a number classification tables, which divided the empire's peoples into many compartments according to their "military value" and loyalty to the emperor[11]. Now this is all very well, the reader may say, and yet wonder whether in Germany everything was not different?

It is clear that the German plans for research projects involving POWs were not conceived for the event of Germany losing the war. Instead, they were undertaken in order to help the German army to conquer and hold new territories. However, it is unlikely that recording and transcribing Estonian songs and texts served any specific intelligence-related purpose, because the local Baltic German population in Estonia (including many members of gentry, clergy, urban middle class, civil service and intelligentsia) would have constituted a far better source of information for the German intelligence services than the Estonian POWs could ever be.

One of the aims that the Germans probably had in mind was to dispose Estonian POWs in favour of the German authorities, and in this way to create a pro-German group in the Estonian society. The threat that Russification posed to the Estonian national culture and society was taken up on numerous occasions with Estonian POWs in various camps. Sometimes, it seems the Germans effectively "overcooked" their approach: thus, the report on POWs in Saxony observes that Estonians and Latvians should be grateful to their German masters for the preservation of their language and culture[12]. Yet, in fact, stories of the extremes of Russification told to POWs should not be seen simply as a PR campaign to blacken Russia. The Germans had no need to resort to lies, since the reality that followed in the wake of the Russification policies of Imperial Russia was as grim as any stories that could be told. Moreover, educated Estonians were of exactly the same mind and did not need persuading. A public letter by Estonian politicians and public figures sent to the Provisional Government in April 1917 highlighted the severe

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10 The name has been modified to "Litke" in English usage – techn. ed.

11 The ways in which science in the 19th century was subjected to military control and made to serve military purposes will be discussed in more detail in Must, Eesti ja Siber (see footnote 8).

12 Нагорная, Другой военный опыт (see footnote 4), p. 151.

consequences of those policies: ethnic Estonians had no hope of becoming a civil servant in the midst of their own people, whereas the civil servants appointed by Russian authorities knew nothing of the local culture. If an Estonian actually succeeded in being admitted to civil service, it was to a station far from his home country. As late as in March 1917, the Russian Provisional Government observed that the appointment of Jaan Poska, an ethnic Estonian, as the Governor of Estonia was a mistake and that only Russians should be appointed as governors in Baltic provinces[13]. The Estonian POWs heard and unequivocally understood the message of the German military authorities regarding the damage that Russification was doing, and in return, as they indeed were expected to, railed against the Russian imperial regime and complained to German intelligence officers that Estonia would have no future or chance to develop within the poor and backward Russian Empire[14].

Of course, the information obtained by German ethnographers, folklorists and anthropologists was used for purposes of propaganda. The materials had to demonstrate to the rest of Europe that Germany was at war with a world of "less developed" and "second-class" peoples. Most of the peoples of the Russian Empire were included in that notion and it was Germany's historic mission to spread European culture among them[15]. Estonians did not occupy a central place on this stage – the role that they were assigned was more akin to that of an extra. However, that role still had a positive undertone: apparently thanks to the influence of the fertile German culture the Estonians, compared to other peoples, were deemed to have reached a significantly better, almost European level of development.

At this point, we should again caution the reader and emphasise that the way we interpret an episode today and the way it was interpreted by the researchers in the POW camps can be very different. For example, to an Estonian, the song *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm* [My fatherland, my happiness and joy] sung in two voices by Estonian POWs conveys an uplifting message of patriotism and high musical culture. To the German researchers, however, what appeared significant was probably the fact that the Estonians' most important song was in fact based on the melody *An Germania* by the German composer Friedrich Pacius (1809–1891), which was premiered more than two generations before. The original version of this song, whose melody was to become the national anthem of both Estonia and Finland, was no

13 Kadri Tooming / Aadu Must, Kubermangukomissar Jaan Poska [Provincial Governor Jaan Poska], in: Jaan Poska oma ja meie ajas. Artikleid ja mälestusi, ed. by Küllo Arjakas / Anne Velliste, Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv ja Konstantin Pätsi Muuseum 2010, pp. 264, 267.

14 Нагорная, Другой военный опыт (see footnote 4), p. 179.

15 Нагорная, Другой военный опыт (see footnote 4), p. 149.

simple ode to contemporary Germany. Instead, it was an appeal to something primordial – the ancient original home of Germanic tribes. The song was first printed in a collection of German anthems which among others included Haydn's *Deutschland über Alles*, *Heil dir im Siegerkranz* (the anthem of the German Empire during 1871–1918), and the song that would become the anthem of contemporary Estonia[16].

What can Estonian archives and libraries tell us about the informants of the Berlin project?

In terms of research methodology, the Berlin project was carried out impeccably. In addition to audio recordings and transcribed texts, all particulars of informants were also recorded in as much detail as possible. This body of information deserves a thorough analysis. What was the selection of informants, which geographic regions of Estonia they represented, whether and to what extent was the selection random? Since a critical view of sources is the cornerstone of history as a field of scholarship, we also need to address the principal question: what is the evidentiary value of the information given? Whether and to what extent is the body of information of the Berlin project corroborated by what the Estonian archives hold on the informants of the recordings? What other information regarding those individuals can we obtain?

Archives

Among the commoners, the two best described categories in history sources are soldiers and prisoners.[17] Since the end of the eighteenth century, when the obligation (imposed on communities or social groups having a specified status) to provide a certain number of recruits was extended to the Estonian territory, there exist lists of recruits. In addition to the recruits' names, these lists also include rather detailed personal information starting from the recruits' height in arshins and vershoks to descriptions of their appearance and skills. Indeed, the documents which are preserved in the archives of of the provincial treasuries have supplied scholars with data for highly interesting research

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16 See also: Aadu Must, Kas Eesti väärib algupärast hümni? [Does Estonia deserve an original national anthem?], http://www.postimees.ee/160108/esileht/arvamus/306445.php, accessed 22 March 2011.

17 Aadu Must, Eestlaste perekonnaloo allikad [Sources of family history of Estonians], Tartu: Kleio 2000, pp. 221–226.

on the writing, reading and crafts skills of Estonians in the 19th century[18].

The archives of conscription boards found in the Estonian Historical Archives are generally regarded as extensive and well-preserved. Amongst other things they have proved most useful in providing data for historical research in a number of seemingly unrelated areas, such as, for instance, education. Thus, in the case that the municipal archives of a certain area have been destroyed and there are no records on local school teachers, the archives of the conscription boards can be very useful. The boards kept meticulous records on school teachers as a category of individuals exempted from the duty to serve in the armed forces, which allows researchers to reconstruct the list of school teachers of the area.

Our assessment of Estonia's archives is furthered by each search for information that we perform in those archives. Thus, for instance, the research for this chapter revealed that the data available in the archives concerning the period of WWI was more meagre than one might have expected or hoped. The archivists know that record generation is much more regular during peaceful and boring periods than during wars and revolutions, although it is mainly the latter that historians are interested in. It appears that this rule also applies to the archives of conscription boards. Thus, we found nothing in the archive of the conscription board of Võru county. The archives of the boards of Tartu and Pärnu counties offered the best information, and the archive of the Saaremaa board was also relatively well-preserved. As for the Province of Estonia, the archive of the conscription board of Harju county was also in good shape, although it proved irrelevant for the research on this chapter because it did not contain information on the informants of Berlin recordings.

The archives of the conscription board of Tartu county, our primary source of information at the moment, are badly organised. The problem is not the archive itself, but rather the clerical business procedure used at the time of its generation. The archive's materials are unstructured, without any systematic order whatsoever (including alphabetical order of personal particulars). There is no system of internal references: the content and name indices, which significantly expedite the researcher's work with the corresponding materials for

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18 Liivi Aarma, Nekrutite käsitöö-, ameti- ja kirjaoskusest Eestimaa kubermangus 19. sajandil [Of the crafts skills, professional skills and reading and writing skills of recruits in the Provice of Estonia in the 19th century], in: Etnograafiamuuseumi aastaraamat XXXII, Tallinn: Eesti Etnograafiamuuseum 1981, pp. 114–132; Liivi Aarma. Kirjaoskus Eestis 18. sajandi lõpust 1880. aastateni (nekrutinimekirjade andmeil) [Reading and writing skills in Estonia from the end of the 18th century to1880s (on the basis of the lists of recruits)], Tallinn: Eesti Teaduste Akadeemia Ajaloo Instituut 1990.

Pärnu county, are completely lacking in the archive of the conscription board of Tartu county. This makes retrieving relevant data highly time-consuming and tedious.

The archives of conscription boards hold principally three types of documents that contain personal information regarding our POW informants:

1. Lists of men eligible to be drafted *(призывные списки).* These lists contain information regarding all men who were 21 years old at the time. The information provided is relatively extensive, since it was on the basis of these materials that the military officials had to decide, whom to draft, to whom to give an extension, and whom to exempt from military service altogether. On one side of the sheet, these lists record the person's date of birth, family situation (which could change the terms of the draft in favour of the conscript), religious denomination, reading and writing skills, occupation, and on the other side of the sheet, his height and chest measurement and the board's decision (to draft or to exempt from military service, including reasons for exempting).
2. Lists of conscripts *(приемные списки)*, which list the men who were drafted into military service in the given year. These contain little personal information, but tell us who and when was drafted.
3. Service records, created after the draft to military service: these constitute the most informative and detailed source of personal information. These documents tell us the unit to which the conscript was assigned, and his service career. However, this category of documents has a major drawback – at least with respect to enlisted ranks in WWI, the archives of conscription boards rarely contain such documents. There was probably no time to create such records (which is more probable), or the regimental leaders may have failed to send them to the board. Still, we can find some records from the archives of the boards of Pärnu county, Saare county, Lääne county and Tartu county. Most of the formal lists preserved from WWI concern the wounded and the ill. The archives do contain several service records of men who were taken prisoner, but unfortunately none concerning those of interest to us[19].

Of other Estonian archival materials, mention must be made of printed lists regarding the fate of soldiers. The archive of the provincial treasury of

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19 For example, the archive of the conscription board of Tartu county includes a formal list and service record in respect of Johannes Raudsepp, a Berlin project informant from Tartu county (EAA, 314-1-910). Here and below, the acronym EAA stands for *Ajalooarhiiv* [Estonian Historical Archives].

Estonia preserves the lists of soldiers killed, wounded or missing in action from 1914 to 1917. On the basis of these lists, news on soldiers conscripted from the governorate were published in the governorate's official gazette[20]. The lists comprised the names of soldiers from all over Russia by province of origin. These were probably similar to the general printed lists regularly distributed by the military intelligence department of the general staff. To our moderate dismay, those lists failed to provide any information regarding four of our POWs from the province of Estonia. We must therefore conclude that the lists were incomplete.

The archive of the military commander of Pärnu county also contains lists of soldiers killed, wounded or missing in action in 1914[21]. These lists, of course, do not refer to any instances of Russian soldiers being taken prisoner by enemy forces, since the Germans did not send any lists of their own to their enemy. Sometimes, the boards have subsequently added further information to the lists of men eligible to be drafted, indicating the fate of one or another conscript. For example, the entry regarding one of our informants, the stone-cutter Oskar Laane, who was the only son in his family, shows him to be "missing in action" on 6 November 1914[22].

Printed press

Naturally, the public's interest in news of young men sent to the war was considerable. The editorial boards of newspapers were well aware of this and letters from soldiers and various reports on the war were given ample space on their pages.

At the same time we must keep in mind that at the time all news regarding events in the war and especially news regarding soldiers taken prisoner by the enemy were hardly an exact science. In fact, it would be more appropriate to say that truth was "administered in moderation" – POWs were a highly sensitive topic for the general staff and governments of all powers involved in the war. The respective archival documents often reflect a combination of spy scares, a constant fear of treason and voluntary mass surrender to the enemy. By the end of August 1914, after the Battle of Tannenberg, already 92,000 Russian soldiers and officers were held prisoner in Germany. By the spring of 1915, that number had increased to half a million. The total number of Russian troops captured by Germans during World War I was one

20 EAA 30-3-2375-2386 (12 items); EAA 30-3-3813.
21 EAA 380-1-35.
22 EAA 314-1-570, pp. 164v–165.

and a half million. As far as journalists were concerned, information on this scale was a war secret. At the same time, the general principle for particular cases recognised that it was useless to keep the names of soldiers who were killed or who had been taken prisoner secret from their families, since sooner or later the families would find out anyway. Indeed, it often happened that those who had gone "missing" wrote letters to their family or to a newspaper, announcing that they had been taken prisoner. Journalists were allowed to write about POWs only to the extent that did not undermine the faith of Russian troops in the emperor and in the imminent victory. Any voluntary surrender to enemy forces was taboo for newspapers. Reports published on the war had to downplay any losses as far as possible, so that no one would see the worrisome bigger picture. Heroic acts on the part of Russian troops had to be emphasised whenever possible[23].

In October 1914, the Estonian daily newspaper *Postimees* announced that the lists of enlisted men who were killed in action, wounded, or taken prisoner by the enemy would be transmitted from the Military Intelligence Department of the General Staff to the official Russian military gazette *Русский инвалид* [Russian invalid], which would print those lists in its evening editions. One newspaper cost two kopeks and proceeds from the sales were donated to help the wounded soldiers. The editors of *Postimees* promised to try and publish the names of the men from Estonia[24]. And indeed, we can find in *Postimees* several columns dedicated to news regarding the fate of Estonians in the battlefield. We found headings which would translate as *News of Estonian soldiers*, *Soldiers taken prisoner* and *Casualties of war*. The last of the mentioned columns was the most authoritative, relying on the information published in *Русский инвалид*. Yet, as required by the authorities, the newspapers were running more stories on the valour of Estonian men in the battlefield and on the decorations awarded to them than on the casualties of war. We can also glean some information on our informants from such "success stories". For example, the volunteer Jaan Raudsepp had been awarded the Order of St. George (Fourth Degree) for his valour. Whether that person was our informant Jan Raudseb or his contemporary namesake from Pärnu county, the newspaper unfortunately fails to tell us[25]. It may have been that the families of both men rejoiced over this recognition when they read it in the newspaper.

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23 Нагорная, Другой военный опыт (see footnote 4), pp. 9, 38–39, 99–100.

24 Postimees, 15 October 1914, no. 236, p. 3.

25 Postimees, 13 January 1915, no. 9, p. 3.

The 16 October issue of *Postimees* published a greeting of 20 soldiers from the battlefield. The men sent regards to their relatives, friends, acquaintances and "brothers-in-arms" and let the readers know that they had already fought several victorious battles. The message had been dispatched on 1 October 1914. Among the undersigned we find the names of two of our informants, Aleksander Birkwaldt and Hans Wander[26]. We see that wartime letters from soldiers in the battlefield were like the light of a distant star – by the time it reached its adressees, the star itself might no longer be in existence. Similarly, by the time the greetings were published, the glorious war heroes might already have been disarmed and reduced to humbled prisoners.

Postimees also published the names of those killed, wounded or missing in action in respect of enlisted troops originating from Livonia. For example, the 3 November issue printed the names of 64 men from Tartu county[27] who were captured on 13 August during the Battle of Soldau,[28] disastrous for Russian forces. Although the lists were supposed to originate from a single source, it is prudent to cross-check their information in several different publications. For example, *Postimees* fails to mention the name of Peeter Mutra, one of the informants from Tartu county, who went missing at Soldau, and who is mentioned in the annex to the Official Gazette of the Province of Livonia published on 20 October[29]. A thorough search of the newspapers of the time also reveals information on some of our other informants. For example, immediately before the first wartime Christmas it was announced that Reinhold Wellner, one of the Berlin project informants, was being held prisoner in Germany in Wittenberg, Halle district[30]. The 4 December 1914 issue of *Postimees* printed an extensive report on how Russian soldiers were treated in German POW camps[31]. The general impression evoked by the report was that the life of POWs in Germany was bearable[32]. The newspapers *Meie Mats* and *Perekonnaleht* also published photos of Estonian soldiers in 1914–1917.

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26 Postimees, 16 October 1914, no. 237, p. 3.

27 Postimees, 3 November 1914, no. 252, p. 3.

28 Soldau, historical German name of Działdowo (Poland).

29 Лифляндские губернские ведомости. Официальное приложение к № 118 [Official Gazette of Livonia. Official annex to issue 118], 20 October 1914.

30 Saksamaal sõjavangis [POW camps in Germany], in: *Postimees*, 22 December 1914, no. 294, p. 3.

31 Kuidas sakslased Vene sõjavangidega ümber käivad [How Germans treat Russian POWs], in: Postimees, 4 December 1914, no. 279, p. 3.

32 For example, there was a student of Berlin Institute of Technology, Otto Meh, originally from Kodavere, Tartu county, who was held as a POW in Germany, but was allowed to continue his studies, which had been interrupted by the war, on condition that he report to the police every three days (in: Postimees, 3 January 1915, no. 2, p. 3).

The user *manic* in a military history forum[33] has compiled a list which led us to the photo of Karl Leppik, the informant from the municipality of Luunja[34].

Of the personal particulars of informants

In total, German researchers working for the Berlin recordings project selected 22 Estonian POWs as informants. As was to be expected, all were men – female POWs were a very rare occurrence indeed. The composition of the group of informants was determined by the units they were recruited to and the region they were recruited from[35]. Most of the informants (more than 80%) were of South Estonian origin, i.e. from what was at the time the northern part of the Province of Livonia. Rest of the informants came from the Province of Estonia: the Viru and Järva county were represented by one man each, Lääne county by two men, and there were no informants came from the Harju county or Tallinn. From the Livonian side, we have one man from Saare county and two from Pärnu county. The main group came from Tartu county (8, including 2 from the city of Tartu) and from Võru county (7). There were no informants from Viljandi county.

We drew up a combined table, in which we tabulated all personal particulars of the Berlin project informants that we were able to retrieve from the Estonian Historical Archives (mainly from the archives of conscription boards). When we compared our data, we saw that the personal particulars of the Estonian informants of the Berlin project as reflected in the forms accompanying the recordings were accurate. The dates are given in the "old style". Although Germany had already adopted the Gregorian calendar a few centuries earlier, no one appears to have bothered to convert the Julian dates into "new style" dates. From our Estonian sources, we were also able to obtain some further details (marital status, the number of siblings, etc.) that were not reflected in the German forms. As for the information on informants' places of residence, the German and Estonian sources show a good match – the Germans have obviously paid good attention to these data. There are minor mistakes in the spelling of toponyms. There is also some confusion as to the types of schools: the names of parish schools are translated such that they appear as secondary schools.

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33 http://www.militaar.net, accessed 7 March 2011.

34 Teadmata kadunud [Missing persons], in: Meie Mats, 4 (17) July 1915, no. 46, p. 8.

35 Recruits from the same area were usually assigned to the same unit. If that unit did not take part in a battle which the other side won, its members were unlikely to end up as POWs and thus did not have the opportunity to be selected to do the recordings.

Thus, minor discrepancies must be conceded between the documents preserved in Germany and Estonia. These, however, are not the only ones. Even the Estonian archives fail to provide answers to a number of questions regarding the lives of our informants. For example, Kristjan Hermann, a teacher from Rannu parish school, is shown to have requested from the conscription board that he be accorded the preferential treatment reserved to educated draftees. Since he was unable to produce the required certificates, the request was denied and he was drafted into active service according to the regular procedure. However, what is curious about the entire affair is that the certificates in question were actually present in the file[36].

One is saddened by the records reflecting the life of Robert Karl Peter Leppik. The man was born in 1881 in Tartu, and married Julie Pauline Kasik from Tartu, three years his junior, on 11 October 1909. The marriage appears to have been an urgent affair because 20 days after the wedding the newlywed wife gave birth to a boy child, who was baptised Erhard. In 1912, when the child was slightly over two years old, the mother died. When the war broke out, the father was drafted to the army, despite being the child's only parent[37].

There are also some minor unimportant inaccuracies, which would not be worth mentioning except for the potential that they have for providing an amusing diversion to the readers. For example, the wife Miina (Melanie) of Eduard Siitan (one of our informants) is a year older in the municipality's population records than she is in her husband's papers[38]. Talk about women wishing to be considered younger than they really are…

The informants have also been properly measured. We actually considered whether including in the chapter data showing the informants' height and chest measurements might help the reader to understand their personality better. Well, Johan Tamm was a sturdy man who stood 174 cm tall and whose chest circumference was 91 cm[39]. Peeter Mutra was shorter and stouter: 169 and 95 cm[40]. Jakob Klemmer was slightly taller and slimmer than Peeter Mutra: 171 and 87 cm[41]. What can we conclude from this? These men were significantly smaller in build than typical representatives of the corresponding contemporaneous cohort. This seems to spell a confirmation of the phenomenon known as acceleration.

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36 EAA 314-1-535 (unpaginated).
37 EAA 3150-1-681, p. 80.
38 EAA 1279-1-181, pp. 105–106; EAA 1075-1-36, p. 263v–264.
39 EAA 316-1-323, pp. 182v–183.
40 EAA 314-1-517, pp. 30v–31.
41 EAA 314-1-577, pp. 65v–66.

Informants' participation in the hostilities

The stories of how the conscripts who later became the Berlin recordings' informants reached the battlefield and how they were captured contain discrepancies. It is difficult to specifically determine the units to which our informants belonged. We do not know either when exactly they were drafted. As far as the informants from Tartu county and Võru county are concerned, it is safe to assume that they would have very similar stories to tell. Those stories would be relatively short and revolve around the action history of the 95th Krasnoyarsk infantry regiment, which was formed in Tartu in the course of the first draft and which was mainly comprised of Estonians. In the case of Peeter Truusa and Peeter Mutra this theory can also be proved – in respect of Peeter Truusa a corresponding observation has been entered in the list of men eligible to be drafted[42]. Perhaps it was because as a volunteer he could choose himself which regiment to join. Peeter Mutra was taken prisoner on 13 August, the same day when, according to the memoirs of Eduard Grosschmidt, the Estonian poet Tõnis Sander who also served in the 95th Krasnoyarsk regiment was captured[43].

Kaarel Parts, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Estonia during 1919–1940, twenty years later recalled on the pages of *Postimees* the events that took place in Tartu in the first days of the Great War. According to him, the gathering of the reservists started in the early morning of Saturday, 31 July 1914[44]. From the municipalities of Tartu county, 511 men were summoned, and from the city of Tartu, 1427. Thus, 1938 men in total had to answer the first summons in Tartu county. Unlike elsewhere, there was no excessive display of patriotism among the Tartu group – most of the reservists had families to support and the summons came during the busiest period of the work year (especially in the countryside). There was much grumbling about the ill timing of the summons. In the city as well, a number of factories and other businesses were drained of almost half their manpower, bringing their operations to a temporary halt[45]. In 1935, reminiscing about his experience of the war in 1914, Jakob Tamm from Tartu confirms that the men from Tartu county and the city of Tartu were assigned to the Krasnoyarsk and

42 EAA 314-1-573, pp. 364v–365.

43 Лифляндские губернские ведомости (see footnote 29); Eduard Grosschmidt, Suures heitluses [The big war], Tartu: Noor-Eesti 1937, p. 10.

44 Kaarel Parts, Tartu Maailmasõja esimestel päevadel. Sündmusi ja mälestusi 1914. aasta augustist [First days of the World War in Tartu. Events and memoirs from August 1914], in: *Postimees*, 2 August 1934, no. 208, p. 5.

45 Parts, Tartu Maailmasõja esimestel päevadel (see previous footnote).

Krasnoselsk regiment[46], both of which were sent to Prussia. From Tartu to Warsaw, they travelled by train, and then marched on foot towards Mława, which is situated approximately 140 km from Warsaw. After three days of marching, they reached Mława, a town on the border of Germany and Russia, where Germans were in the process of demolishing the railway station. The next day they made Soldau, which they took with ease. The more enterprising men had already managed to do a spot of looting – a loaf of bread, a tube of sausage, a bottle of liqueur or even a box of cigars. They were, of course, reluctant to let the commanding officers know what they had procured. One man had taken some silk from a shop – to take it home to his wife. A Russian from the shore of Lake Peipus had acquired a gramophone, complete with a record. When he finally succeeded in getting it to work, everyone present heard *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt…* The owner of the trophy was overjoyed and loudly expressed his satisfaction with the fine quality of the sound and the music. However, the regiment's commanding officer was of a different mind. No wonder, because the song that proudly resounded from the captured machine was the German anthem.

The next stop was at the railway station of Grossdau, west of Soldau. The troops rested there before going to the front. The point of engagement with the German forces was four kilometres away and the battle had already lasted for five days. After a few days of fighting, only 700 of the regiment's 4000 men remained fit to bear arms[47]. Jakob Tamm mentions that a large number of prisoners was taken by the Germans on 12 October 1914, while according to Eduard Grosschmidt the Krasnoyarsk regiment was destroyed almost completely already in August[48]. According to the archives, the regiment's status was changed to "reserve" in September 1914 and it was reformed as a battle unit again in March 1915[49].

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46 Regarding the formation of the Krasnoyarsk regiment, see: Mati Kröönström, Reservväelaste mobilisatsioon Eesti- ja Liivimaal 31. juulil 1914 [Drafts of reservists in Estonia and Livonia on 31 July 1914], in: Verbum Habet Sakala, ed. by Rein Helme / Ivar Jõesaar / Kalev Muru / Alar Sepp / Villu Tamul, Tartu: Sakala 1994, pp. 184–195.

47 Jakob Tamm, Krasnojarski polk Soldau lahingus. Tartu meeste saatus Ida-Preisimaal. Ajast, mil inimelu ei maksnud midagi [Krasnoyarsk regiment in the battle of Soldau. The fate of men from Tartu in Eastern Prussia. Of times when human life had no value at all], in: Postimees, 28 July 1935, no. 202, p. 3.

48 Jakob Tamm, Krasnojarski polgu kurbmäng [Sad fate of the Krasnoyarsk regiment], in: Postimees, 13 June 1935, no. 158, p. 5; Eduard Grosschmidt, Suures heitluses (see footnote 43), pp. 86–96. As a rule, such discrepancies are common in descriptions of events of the Great War, and are often the result of confusion caused by dates which are given in either "old style" or "new style" without indicating which one is used.

49 Kröönström, Reservväelaste mobilisatsioon (see footnote 46), p. 188.

Informants and their places of residence: an onomastic view

Most likely, the choice of informants was not completely random. There certainly existed some form of pre-selection (there is always competition among prisoners when an opportunity to escape the prison camp routine arises). It seems that the researchers also tried to some extent to assess the quality of the material that potential informants were likely to contribute. But this is all no more than expected.

Folklorists and language historians know well that a language informant's home region and his or her "ancestral roots" in that region exert a considerable impact on the information obtained from the informant. The material to be contributed by the informant is partly pre-determined by the informant's ancestors. Aino Valmet[50] once described a curious case of a dialect informant from Saarde municipality, whose vocabulary harmoniously combined elements from both the Lääne and the Mulgi dialect. In spite of the initial perplexity that this generated in the researcher, the case turned out to have a perfectly straightforward explanation: the language informant's father came from Vigala (Lääne county) and the mother from Karksi (Viljandi county). The family lived in a big outlying homestead far from the village and did not communicate much with the outside world. It is no wonder then that the idiom spoken by them developed from the dialects of the mother and the father. It was precisely in order to be able to understand the background of such cases that the Germans started by determining the area of origin of the informant's mother and father when describing the linguistic provenance of the language informants.

Of course, theoretically it is possible to research the family history of each informant separately. Unfortunately, such research requires too much resources. To determine how far back a person's ancestral roots go in one or the other region, the onomastic method is often used. Estonians received their surnames in 1822–1835 – there were approximately 41,000 different names, of which 29,000 are unique, i.e. they were given to one family only. This means that the original homes of the bearers of those names can be easily determined with the help of the corresponding database. Thus, we would be able say whether a particular family lived in a specific region of Estonia already in 1830s or only arrived there at a subsequent point in time.

As was to be expected, there were several informants who had a unique surname and whose ancestors also lived in the same region for more than three generations: Jaan Hirv from Vastseliina, Adolf Reiners from Kullamaa,

50 Senior Lecturer in Estonian Dialects, University of Tartu, personal communication to the elder author, 1975.

Hans Uibopuu from Sangaste. The same applies to the surname of Jaan Pome which, although it may seem strange and malformed at the first glance turns out to be a unique name encountered only in Pada municipality of Viru-Nigula parish (Viru county). The same municipality is recorded as the birthplace of the informant Pome in the Berlin project documents.

Among the informants there were also a few whose father had lived in the family's original home, but who had themselves since moved out. Thus, the father of the Urvaste man Reinhold Wellner was brought up in the parish of Sangaste, which was also the original home of his unique surname. Eduard Siitam also had a unique Pärnu-Jaagupi name, but himself lived in Häädemeeste. It seems that the general migration route in the area ran from North-West to South-East. According to the Berlin project documents, Peeter Truusa's father was raised in Kursi parish, whence his unique surname. Of course, the onomastic method has its limitations – it has no way of telling us whether and to what extent the ancestors of a bearer of a unique surname travelled (as is shown below with respect to Peeter Truusa's father) or changed residence in the course of their lives.

In addition to unique names, we also have region-specific names. A case in point is Friedrich Sikk from Võru county. His surname was one of the most popular in South-East Estonia. In all likelihood, he was also a descendant of the region's original inhabitants.

Peeter Mutra from Tartu county also has a very distinctive and telling name – it originates from the shores of Lake Peipus, where it was used in three parishes – Kodavere, Tartu-Maarja and Võnnu.

Aleksander Birkwald was one of those whose family appeared to have moved slightly compared to the original home of their name. His surname was unique to the Aruküla municipality of Koeru parish (Järva county). The man himself, however, was born in the same county, but in Koigi municipality of Ambla parish.

The name Klemmer (represented among our informants by Jakob Klemmer of Vara municipality, Tartu county) was also used elsewhere in Estonia. However, in Tartu county, it was only used in Äksi church manor.

In the case of Bernhard Sal from Võru county, one cannot help but wonder whether his name has not been misspelt in the records at some point. It could ostensibly be either Sall or Saal. Yet, in Võru county (in the neigbouring parishes of Kanepi and Urvaste) only the second version was used. Since Kärgula (his birthplace as stated in the Berlin records) was a settlement in Urvaste and Bernhard's ancestors had probably lived there at least for 80 years, the second version appears highly plausible.

Hans Vander from Märjamaa had a surname which was also used in certain eastern areas of the country. However, in all likelihood, his ancestral roots tie him to the Märjamaa parish, in which he was born.

Yet, as it often happens in Estonia, the surnames of the majority of the informants were common names which can be found all over Estonia and are consequently of little use in helping us to pinpoint their bearers. These names were simply used in too many places. Thus, a surname such as Tamm [oak] is completely useless because it has a distribution coterminous with the territory of Estonia (leaving aside an occasional blank spot) – it is found in 88 different Estonian parishes. The same applies to Lepik [copse of aspens] (78 parishes). Common names are also Raudsepp [blacksmith] (42), Soo [mire] (29), Laane [big forest (*gen.*)] (18) and Hermann (14).

Biographical details of the informants in the forms of the Berlin project are given with sufficient precision. In addition to the birthplace, we are provided with information regarding the informants' formative years – from 6 to 20 years of age. Indeed, this is interesting information. Although the sample is small, it still gives one a distinct impression that Estonians during that period were more mobile than we are used to believe. For instance, Jaan Hirv, one of the informants, was an Estonian from Russia who had moved from Estonia to the Vologda province[51].

In terms of social status, all 23 informants were peasants, which was to be expected. Pursuant to the laws of the Russian Empire, peasants were bound to an agricultural community, i.e. the local municipality and were required to be registered in the municipality's roll of inhabitants. A man could annually obtain a pass to live in a city, he could even live his entire life in the city and to engage in various trades there, and yet he would always remain registered in his home municipality. By the time WWI broke out, this system was seen a significant problem which was felt the most acutely in Tallinn. Jaan Poska, mayor of Tallinn (and in 1917, governor of Estonia), paid much attention to the issue and criticised the obsolete imperial decree that forced dozens of thousands of peasants who had lost all contact with their rural home community to live in Tallinn without registration. These people remained on the rolls of their municipality and also paid taxes to the municipality, since becoming a registered city dweller involved rigid formalities and significant expense[52]. Luckily, the German researchers were thorough and took the trouble to find out the informants' actual trades in addition to their social status.

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51 One should bear in mind that at the time when Estonia proclaimed its independence, one fifth of the Estonian population lived to the east of Lake Peipus.

52 EAA 4699-1-10, p. 34 See also: Tooming / Must, Kubermangukomissar Jaan Poska (footnote 13), p. 253.

Of the Berlin project informants, less than a quarter (5) actually identified themselves as "farmers" (one informant has also described himself as a "farm worker"). Six of the informants were craftsmen (carpenter, mason, mechanic, locksmith). There was also a representative of a novel "learned workman" profession – that of electricians. Another informant was a teacher. Reinhold Vellner, a 28-year-old who was born in Urvaste and had lived in Valga, Võru, St. Petersburg and Tallinn, and who had a large wind instrument at home (a bass tuba), has described himself as a writer. Indeed, a prose and poetry collection published in 1913 included four stories by somebody called Reinhold Vellner[53]. Yet our merry company includes someone who had enjoyed an even more remarkable career. That man was Peeter Truusa, 25 years old, born at Tähtvere manor in Tartu county. Truusa said he had attended Tartu Upper Secondary School and even been a university student. When he was drafted, he was the owner of Vorbuse manor in Tartu county. His father was from Kursi parish and his mother from St. Petersburg.

Did the informants lie?

The first significant embellishment of personal particulars on the part of our informants that caught our attention concerned their faith. All claimed to be Lutherans, although probabilistic assessment would have the group include a few Orthodox Christians.

We chose the "Lutheran" Peeter Truusa to test the truth of his professed religious affiliation. The choice was not quite random, since the name of his father – Georg – is indicative of an Orthodox background. A closer investigation revealed the colourful career of his father (described as "manor owner" in the Berlin project documents). As a young man of 24 he was drafted into the army in January 1865. He soon became an orderly for Captain Scharnhorst, who had been assigned to the topography department of Turkestan military district, and participated with the captain in General Kaulbars's expedition to Kashgar. His main job was determining astronomical fixed points. For his excellent service in that expedition, he was awarded a silver pocket watch in 1872. In 1874 he was assigned to topographical work in Siberia, achieved the rank of petty officer, and then became a staff writer (3rd grade). He was praised for "having crossed the River Amur several times" (Amur was the border river between Russia and China), and he also assisted the military astronomers (i.e., surveyors) in their work, which was strictly speaking

53 Marie Heiberg / Richard Roht / Reinhold Vellner / Henrik Visnapuu, Moment: esimene [Moment: one], Tartu: E. Bergmann 1913.

beyond the terms of reference of his position. In South Ussuriland the brave soldier was compelled to put his life on the line to save valuable surveying equipment. He swam five times across the River Mo which had flooded its banks and threatened to engulf the equipment. Each time he had a string in his teeth, the other end of which was tied to a raft bearing valuable instruments, allowing the raft to be pulled over safely. His commanding officer Konstantin Scharnhorst eventually made the rank of general. Truusa's service also brought him into contact with Lieutenant General Paul Wilhelm Kuhlberg, head of the topography department of the Caucasus military district, and with Alexander von Kaulbars, owner of Mõdriku manor and cavalry general who was also among the founders of the Russian air force[54]. After his retirement from the army, Truusa the senior was given a nice job in the police force. The mother of our informant, Yelizaveta, maiden name Samuilova, was an Orthodox Russian[55], and his two brothers studied at a seminary in Riga[56]. By an administrative decree of 15 October 1914 of the Livonian provincial treasury, that is, when Truusa the junior had already gone to the front and been captured, Truusa the senior together with his family was made an hereditary honorary citizen of Tartu[57]. A son who had a father with such a stellar career had ample justification to refer to him as a "farm manager" when questioned by the German captors. And, to come back to the starting point of our investigation – of course, in reality Truusa was an Orthodox Christian[58]. The same, according to the records in Estonian archives, applies to Johann Tamm of Polli municipality[59].

We decided not to dedicate any more resources to testing the veracity of the informants claims of being Lutherans – the situation was perfectly clear. It was a practical step for prisoners in a German POW camp to identify themselves so. Indeed, it would have been rather extraordinary if an Orthodox Estonian had done otherwise. In fact, Estonians appear always to have been rather practical in talking about their faith or ethnicity when far away from their home country. When we browsed Siberian archives for information concerning Estonians, we discovered a curious fact – when WWI broke

54 EAA 330-1-651 (unpaginated).
55 EAA 3211-1-176, p. 286.
56 EAA 3211-1-182, pp. 255v–256.
57 EAA 3211-1-186, pp. 383–384. Most likely, the procedure of conferring hereditary honorary citizenship had already been initiated earlier, since Truusa had descbribed himself as an "honorary citizen" already in the list of men eligible to be drafted (see EAA 314-1-573, pp. 364v–365).
58 EAA 314-1-577, pp. 45v–46.
59 EAA 316-1-323, pp. 182v–183.

out, the number of Estonians in Siberia registered a sharp increase as if by a sweep of the magic wand (there had been no fresh immigration waves into the region). It turned out that several Estonians who had made a successful career (such as becoming a teacher of German at the upper secondary school of Tomsk), suddenly announced after the outbreak of the war that they were not Germans, but Estonians. Up to that moment, being a German had been prestigious, which was no longer the case. No one went to Lutheran church anymore, because it was perceived in Russia as a German church. And Germans, as it was universally known (among Russians), had made unjust war on Russia as personified by its Emperor, the ultimate authority of the nation. A similar behaviour can be also be detected on the part of the informants of the Berlin project. They, too, tried to keep silent about personal details or affiliations that could be perceived as overly Russian. Thus, men who were Orthodox in Estonia professed to be Lutherans in Germany.

In addition to a desire to distance themselves from everything Russian – which, in a situation of war between Russia and Germany, would understandably arouse negative feelings in Germans – the sudden change of denomination can be explained by the fact that fellow Lutherans were perceived in Germany as brothers in faith and Lutheran POWs were even provided with some Lutheran Christian literature in their mother tongue. Since it was not possible to arrange separate Lutheran services at the POW camps, the POWs were even allowed to attend a Lutheran church in the neighbourhood, together with local civilians[60]. That was a huge privilege, since generally any contacts between Russian POWs and the local inhabitants were kept to a minimum in order to avoid potential trouble (German authorities were afraid of Russian spies, there were many incidents with German women's "Russian lovers", etc.).

Of course, such "rectification" of one's faith or nationality according to the needs of a particular situation was by no means a trait exclusive to Estonians. Some time later, after the Russian empire had collapsed, stories started to spread in the same German POW camps that Germany and the Ukraine were about to sign a peace treaty and that Ukrainian POWs would be sent home while Russians would not. At the drop of a hat, a large number of Russians admitted to really being Ukrainians[61].

Some of our informants also tried to appear more important than they actually were. According to the records of the Berlin project, Peeter Truusa, whom we already know, had been a student (*Student*). While in the German

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60 Нагорная, Другой военный опыт (see footnote 4), pp. 172, 287.

61 Нагорная, Другой военный опыт (see footnote 4), p. 181.

language this established a clear connotation of university studies, the reality of his affiliation to the educational system in Estonia was decidedly lower – when volunteering for the 95th Krasnoyarsk infantry regiment at the outbreak of the war, he had not actually completed his upper secondary level studies[62].

Return of Estonian POWs

The stay of captured Russian troops behind barbed wire fences of German POW camps lasted from a few months to a maximum of eight years. Estonians were relatively lucky in that they were allowed to return home immediately after the end of WWI in 1918. Although the German empire, too, collapsed as the Russian empire had, and the prisoners were watched by guards who were no longer issued live ammunition, most of the Russians remained in the camps until 1922[63].

Estonian POWs started arriving home in considerable numbers at the end of November 1918[64]. At the initiative of social democrats, their situation was discussed by the Estonian Provincial Assembly on 21 November 1918. The problem was that the prisoners were being released in Germany without providing them with any clothes, footwear, food or travel allowance. Their health was poor and hunger compelled many to beg in the streets. The Provincial Assembly ordered the Provisional Government's Ministry of Employment and Social Care to provide material and medical assistance to returning POWs[65]. The Provisional Government also demanded from the representatives of German authorities that all Estonian prisoners kept by those authorities in any jail, prison camp, infirmary or other institution, be immediately released and returned to their home country[66]. The Government also decided to wire a note of protest to the German Commissioner Winnig in Riga – albeit the note was primarily concerned with political prisoners, not POWs[67].

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62 EAA 405-1-3848 (unpaginated); EAA 314-1-573, pp. 364v–365.

63 Нагорная, Другой военный опыт (see footnote 5), p. 127.

64 Postimees, 20 November 1918, no. 220, p. 1.

65 Eesti Maapäevalt. Koosolek 21. novembril [Report from Estonian Provincial Assembly. Meeting on 21 November], in: Postimees, 23 November 1918, no. 223, p. 1.

66 Eesti Ajutise Valitsuse korraldused ja käsud [Directives and orders of Estonian Provisional Government], in: Postimees, 26 November 1918, no. 225, p. 1.

67 Vangide vabastamisest [Of release of prisoners], in: Postimees, 4 December 1918, no. 232, p. 3.

From time to time, Estonian newspapers published brief reports regarding returning POWs. On 5 December 1918, *Postimees* announced that the lawyer Karl Luud, who had joined the Krasnoyarsk regiment at the outbreak of the war as a non-commissioned officer and had been captured by Germans in October 1914 at Warsaw, had returned to Tartu from the prison camp in Germany[68].

On 13 December 1918, *Postimees* wrote that due to problems on railroads, the return of POWs from Germany would be delayed. The news article also mentioned that only 55 returning POWs had registered with the POW Committee of the Executive Board of Tartu Council. The committee was prepared to offer them free food, but that was often not enough – many returnees could quite literally be described as having nothing. Some, however, had already joined the Estonian Defence League or the national defence forces[69].

By 17 December 1918, the number of former POWs who had registered with the committee amounted to 77. It was thought that many returnees from Germany went straight to their home municipality, reluctant to waste any time on registration formalities in Tartu. The committee's work was turned over to the volunteer organisation *Ühistöö* [Teamwork][70].

Back in Estonia

Some of the informants of the Berlin project later became well-known in their home country. The possible fate of Aleksander Birkwald is perhaps the most intriguing of these. The name Birkwald was Estonianised to Sillat in January 1936[71]. An Aleksander Sillat worked after World War II in 1951 in the Broadcasting Corporation of Estonia[72]. Whether it is the same person still needs to be verified. The hypothesis that someone who, having gained first-hand experience of the fine art of audio recording while being interned in a POW camp, later became a professional in that area, is appealing, but remains so far unproved.

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68 Sõjavangist tagasi [Back from POW camps], in: Postimees, 5 December 1918, no. 233, p. 2.

69 Postimees, 13 December 1918, no. 240, p. 3.

70 Postimees, 17 December 1918, no. 243, p. 2.

71 Aadu Must, Onomastika-net [Onomastics network], http://www.history.ee/ono, accessed 4 October 2010.

72 Heino Mõru, Mälestusi vanast raadiomajast [Memoirs of the old radio broadcasting building], in: Maaleht, 12 December 2002.

Jakob Klemmer, too, was a respected and well-known man. On 19 August 1920, he became Senior Accountant for the City of Tartu. In 1930, he celebrated his tenth anniversary in that position[73].

Although Oskar Laane's registered domicile was Kirepi, he had been living in Tartu already before WWI. After being released, he joined the Estonian War of Independence and was killed in battle at Pechory at the end of April 1919. He is buried in Tartu at St. Peter's cemetery[74]. His name was also included among the names of soldiers inscribed on the monument in Rõngu dedicated to those who fell in the War of Independence. The monument was initially unveiled in 1934, then removed for the first time by the Soviet authorities in 1940, consecrated again in 1941 and once again removed in 1944. A new monument was inaugurated in 1995, which also includes the name of Oskar Laane[75]. The name of Hans Wander, another soldier who fell in the War of Independence, is inscribed on the War of Independence monument in Märjamaa[76].

Jaan Raudsepp married Minna Udras, eight years his junior, at Laatre (Sangaste municipality) in 1925. They had three daughters. Raudsepp died in March 1940, being 48 years old, at a time when guns were once again talking in Europe and Estonia was on the brink of Soviet occupation. He is buried at Sangaste, where he was born and where he lived[77].

Silvester Kesselmann did not have the best of luck after returning to Estonia. In all probability, he was the same "S. Kesselmann", who in 1921 was charged with drunk and disorderly conduct in Võru District Court[78]. Eight years later, he was up on more serious charges involving counterfeit of money. He was convicted and received a prison sentence[79]. His prison file for 1929–1931 has been preserved[80], as well as the file regarding the divorce of Silvester and Johanna Kesselmann in 1937[81].

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73 Postimees, 22 August 1930, no. 226, p. 5.

74 EAA 3150-1-679, p. 15; EAA 3150-1-753, p. 544.

75 Vald tasus oma auvõla võitlejatele [Municipality repays its honour debt to fighters], in: *Rõngulane*, no. 5 (133), May 2010, http://www.rongu.ee/pages/files/infolehed/infoleht133.pdf, accessed on 8 March 2011.

76 http://et.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C3%A4rjamaa_Vabaduss%C3%B5ja_monument, accessed on 2 September 2011.

77 EAA 1298-1-208, p. 273v–274.

78 ERA, 4458-1-3513. Here and below in this chapter, the acronym ERA stands for *Riigiarhiiv* [Estonian State Archives].

79 ERA 1357-3-1544.

80 ERA 1868-1-3695.

81 ERA 1947-1-6277.

Undoubtedly, a considerable body of additional information on the Berlin informants remains to be found in various reference works and archive files. At the moment, however, we did not look any further. The former POWs who had participated in the Berlin project and their later lives appear a representative sample of Estonian men born at the end of the 19th century and of the lives that they led.

To sum up – the Estonian collection of the Berlin project is an interesting and unique find. It fits with the system of sources of Estonian history, while its disinterested approach opens up new aspects of research that have so far eluded insiders. It demonstrates the excitement of implementing state-of-the-art research methods and revives the situation of WWI POWs as a subject for historical research. It has already made a significant contribution to the richness and diversity of the knowledge we have of Estonian history.

5. Acoustic features of quantity in early recordings of Estonian[1]

Pärtel Lippus

5.1. Introduction

Starting with the early work of Ilse Lehiste[2] and Georg Liiv[3], for the past 60 years the three-way quantity system of Estonian has been the most extensively studied prosodic feature of the language. On a general level the issue that continues to attract researchers' interest is whether three-way oppositions are possible in human languages at all[4]. There has been a discussion among Estonian linguists of whether the three-way quantity system of Estonian should be regarded as a feature of phonemes, syllables, or feet[5]. Numerous experiments[6] have indicated that quantity is a property of the disyllabic foot. In Estonian, lexical stress is fixed on the first syllable and disyllabic feet can occur in short, long or overlong quantity degree (below, respectively Q1, Q2 and Q3). Phonologically, it is the stressed vowel (cf. [vilu] 'chilly, sg. nom.' – [vi:lu] 'slice, sg. gen.' – [vi::lu] 'slice, sg. part.'), syllable-medial consonants (e.g. [kalʲi] 'kvass, sg. nom.' – [kalʲli] 'hug, sg. nom.' – [kalʲ:li] 'precious, sg. gen.'), or a combination of a stressed vowel and the following consonant (e.g. [sate] 'fallout, sg. nom.' – [sa:tte] 'get, 2nd pers. pl.' – [sa:t:te] 'broadcast, sg. gen.') that carries quantity – unstressed syllables do not have length opposition[7].

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1 The research underlying this chapter was partly funded from grant 7904 of the Estonian Science Foundation.

2 Ilse Lehiste, Segmental and syllabic quantity in Estonian, in: American Studies in Uralic Linguistics, Bloomington, vol. 1 (1960), pp. 21–82.

3 Georg Liiv, Eesti keele kolme vältusastme vokaalide kestus ja meloodiatüübid [Duration and melodic types of vowels in the three quantity degrees of Estonian], in: Keel ja Kirjandus, no. 7 (1961), pp. 412–424, and no. 8 (1961), pp. 480–490.

4 Cf. Bert Remijsen / Leoma Gilley, Why are three-level vowel length systems rare? Insights from Dinka (Luanyjang dialect), in: Journal of Phonetics, vol. 36 (2008), pp. 318–344.

5 Cf. Arvo Eek / Einar Meister, Foneetilisi katseid ja arutlusi kvantiteedi alalt (I). Häälikukestusi muutvad kontekstid ja välde [Phonetics experiments and reflections regarding quantity (I). Contexts and quantity degrees that change the duration of sounds], in: Keel ja Kirjandus, no. 11 (2003), pp. 815–837 and no. 12 (2003), pp. 904–918.

6 See overview in Eek / Meister, Foneetilisi katseid (see previous footnote).

7 Tiit-Rein Viitso, Phonology, morphology and word formation, in: Estonian language, ed. by Mati Erelt, Tallinn: Esto 2003, pp. 9–92.

Due to a certain amount of foot isochrony[8], the duration of the second syllable (S2) compensates for the variation of the first syllable (S1) such that the unstressed syllable is the longest in Q1 and the shortest in Q3. There is no quantity opposition in monosyllabic words and, although the variation of length in unstressed syllables is not phonological, it is vital for perceiving quantity – perception tests have shown that quantity opposition is not perceived if the second syllable of a disyllabic word is not presented[9]. The duration of syllable onset consonants is mainly dependent on the local speech rate, while quantity can be described as the ratio of the duration of the rhyme of S1 and S2[10], or by comparing the duration of the nucleus of the stressed syllable with the weighted sum of segment durations within the foot[11].

In addition to the temporal structure of the disyllabic foot (the primary feature of quantity), variation of the pitch contour has also been studied extensively. As a rule, pitch in Q1 and Q2 is rising-falling with the peak at the end of S1, while in Q3 the peak occurs early in S1[12], or as relatively flat in

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8 Ilse Lehiste, Prosodic change in progress: from quantity language to accent language, in: Development in prosodic systems, ed. by Paula Fikkert / Haike Jacobs, Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter 2003, pp. 47–66; Francis Nolan / Eva Liina Asu, The pairwise variability index and coexisting rhythms in language, in: Phonetica, vol. 66 (2009), pp. 64–77.

9 Eek / Meister, Foneetilisi katseid (see footnote 5).

10 Eva Liina Asu / Pärtel Lippus / Pire Teras / Tuuli Tuisk, The realization of Estonian quantity characteristics in spontaneous speech, in: Nordic prosody. Proceedings of the 10th conference, Helsinki 2008, ed. by Martti Vainio / Reijo Aulanko / Olli Aaltonen, Frankfurt: Peter Lang 2009, pp. 49–56; Eek / Meister, Foneetilisi katseid (see footnote 4); Arvo Eek / Einar Meister, Foneetilisi katseid ja arutlusi kvantiteedi alalt (II). Takt, silp ja välde [Phonetics experiments and reflections regarding quantity (II). Foot, syllable, quantity degree], in: Keel ja Kirjandus, no. 4 (2004), pp. 251–271, and no. 5 (2004), pp. 336–357; Lehiste, Segmental and syllabic quantity (see footnote 2); Ilse Lehiste, Search for phonetic correlates in Estonian prosody, in: Estonian prosody: papers from a symposium, ed. by Ilse Lehiste / Jaan Ross, Tallinn: Institute of Estonian Language 1997, pp. 11–35; Lehiste, Prosodic change (see footnote 8); Liiv, Eesti keele kolme vältusastme (see footnote 3); Pärtel Lippus, Variation in vowel quality as a feature of Estonian quantity, in: Speech prosody 2010, 100877: 1–4 [Proceedings of the 2010 speech prosody conference (Chicago, USA, 11–14 May 2010) – techn. ed.], http://www.speechprosody2010.illinois.edu/papers/100877.pdf, accessed 26 May 2010.

11 For instance, see: Hartmund Traunmüller / Diana Krull, The effect of local speaking rate on the perception of quantity in Estonian, in: Phonetica, vol. 60 (2003), pp. 187–207; Diana Krull / Hartmund Traunmüller / Pier Marco Bertinetto, Local speaking rate and perceived quantity: an experiment with Italian listeners, in: Lund University, Centre for Languages & Literature, Dept. of Linguistics & Phonetics Working Papers, vol. 52 (2006), pp. 81–84.

12 Lehiste, Segmental and syllabic quantity (see footnote 2); Lehiste, Search for phonetic correlates (see footnote 10); Lehiste, Prosodic change (see footnote 8); Liiv, *Eesti keele kolme vältusastme* (see footnote 3); Mart Remmel, The phonetic scope of Estonian: some specifications, Preprint KKI-5, Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Institute of Language and Literature 1975.

S1 and falling at the syllable boundary in the case of Q1 and Q2, and falling from the beginning of S1 in the case of Q3[13].

It is thought that the pitch cue is of vital importance for making the distinction between Q2 and Q3[14]. Some researchers, however, disagree with this view, pointing out that there are many cases where there is a voiceless consonant in the stressed syllable coda, due to which the possible locations of an early or a late peak are unvoiced (e.g. [kat:ta])[15]. Nevertheless, recent perception studies[16] show that although discrimination between Q2 and Q3 may be affected in the case of conflicting temporal and pitch cues, it cannot be ruled out simply because the pitch cue is absent. The weight of the pitch cue appears to vary in accordance with the dialectal background of the speaker – Estonian speakers from North and West Estonia rely more on the pitch cue than those from South and East Estonia[17].

The development of the Estonian quantity system from a typical Finnic short-long opposition to the modern three-way system is thought to have resulted from a number of sound changes including apocopations and syncopations that took place between the 13th and 16th century[18]. The

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13 Asu / Lippus / Teras / Tuisk, The realization (see footnote 10).

14 Arvo Eek, Estonian quantity: notes on the perception of duration, in: Estonian Papers in Phonetics 1979, ed. by Arvo Eek, Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, Institute of Language and Literature 1980, pp. 5–29; Ilse Lehiste, Experiments with synthetic speech concerning quantity in Estonian, in: Congressus tertius internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Tallinae habitus, 17–23 August 1970, pars I: Acta Linguistica, ed. by Valmen Hallap, Tallinn: Valgus 1975, pp. 254–269; Lehiste, Search for phonetic correlates (see footnote 10); Lehiste, Prosodic change (see footnote 8); Ilse Lehiste / Douglas G. Danforth, Foneettisten vihjeiden hierarkia viron kvantiteetin havaitsemisessa [The hierarchy of phonetic cues in the perception of Estonian quantity], in: Virittäjä, no. 4 (1977), pp. 404–411.

15 Traunmüller / Krull, The effect (see footnote 11).

16 Pärtel Lippus / Karl Pajusalu, Regional variation in the perception of Estonian quantity, in: Nordic prosody. Proceedings of the 10th conference, Helsinki 2008, ed. by Martti Vainio / Reijo Aulanko / Olli Aaltonen, Frankfurt: Peter Lang 2009, pp. 151–157; Pärtel Lippus / Karl Pajusalu / Jüri Allik, The tonal component in perception of the Estonian quantity, in: Proceedings of the 16th international congress of phonetic sciences in Saarbrücken, Germany, 6–10 August 2007, ID: 1029, http://www.icphs2007.de, accessed 30 September 2007; Pärtel Lippus / Karl Pajusalu / Jüri Allik, The tonal component of Estonian quantity in native and non-native perception, in: Journal of Phonetics, vol. 37 (2009), pp. 388–396; Pärtel Lippus / Karl Pajusalu / Jüri Allik, The role of pitch cue in the perception of the Estonian long quantity, in: Prosodic categories: production, perception and comprehension, ed. by Sónia Frota / Gorka Elordieta / Pilar Prieto, Studies in natural language and linguistic theory, Dordrecht / Heidelberg / London / New York: Springer 2011, pp. 231–242.

17 Lippus / Pajusalu, Regional variation (see footnote 16).

18 Arnold Kask, Eesti keele ajalooline grammatika [Historical grammar of Estonian], Tartu: Tartu Riiklik Ülikool 1972.

over-length of Q3 arose due to compensatory lengthening when trisyllabic words lost one of their unstressed syllables and their stressed syllables acquired the properties of what was previously a disyllabic sequence. Lehiste[19] claims that Estonian is still undergoing a prosodic change from a quantity language to an accent language: its short/long opposition is manifested by durational means only, whereas for the long/overlong opposition, pitch accent is brought into play as an additional marker. The recordings from the Berlin archives give us a unique opportunity to see whether there have been developments in Estonian word prosody during the past century. This chapter analyses the segmental duration and pitch patterns of disyllabic words used by informants in the Berlin recordings and compares the results to those of present-day speakers.

5.2. Materials and methods

From the Estonian material in the Berlin archives, the present analysis focuses on the recordings of eight informants who were asked to read a fairy-tale or a story from the Bible. The reason for choosing these particular recordings and disregarding others lies in the fact that, from the different types of material recorded, they represented the most natural speech pattern. The Berlin material also includes recordings of word-lists which could be considered as "data for linguistic purposes", many of which took the form of triplets consisting of the three principal case forms of nouns whose nominative was a monosyllabic foot and whose genitive and partitive represented a disyllabic opposition of Q2 and Q3. Most of the triplets, however, do not include a word in Q1 and cannot thus be considered a minimal triplet showing three-way quantity opposition. Even more serious, however, is the difficulty that consists in the high signal-to-noise level of phonograph recordings, which makes unstressed syllables of words uttered in isolation nearly undetectable. Detection of unstressed syllables is considerably easier in a recording consisting of fluent speech, in which such syllables are bounded by stressed ones.

The Berlin data selected for analysis in this chapter features eight male speakers (below referred to as "the Berlin group"): one from Saaremaa, three from Võrumaa and four from Tartumaa. The texts that the speakers from Saaremaa and Tartumaa were asked to read were probably written in standard (North) Estonian whereas the text read by the Võrumaa speakers was in South Estonian. The speaker from Saaremaa had a strong Saaremaa accent, while the speakers from Tartumaa exhibited no significant prosodic features that could be linked to a specific dialect.

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19 Lehiste, Prosodic change (see footnote 8).

To compare the Berlin data with contemporary Estonian, contemporary recordings of informants of a similar dialectal background were chosen from the material in the Phonetic Corpus of Estonian Spontaneous Speech. As a side project, the informants whose spontaneous conversations had been recorded for the corpus were also asked to read the story *Põhjatuul ja päike* [The north wind and the sun] in Standard Estonian. The recordings were made in 2006–2009. In total there are 90 recordings from 45 speakers, since every subject was asked to read the story twice. For the study reported here, eight male speakers with a dialectal background similar to that of the informants in the Berlin group were selected (below: "the contemporary group"): three from Saaremaa, three from Võrumaa and two from Tartu.

A total of 1110 disyllabic words were extracted from the data. The pitch accent and the quantity characterising the words were assessed on an auditory basis by the author of this chapter. In the Berlin data the number of disyllabic words was 653. Of these, 551 had an H*+L pitch accent, 31 an L*+H pitch accent and 71 were deaccented (i.e., there was no marked pitch movement, the word was usually unstressed and preceded by a stressed word that carried a pitch accent). In the contemporary data there were 457 words: 288 H*+L, 59 L*+H, and 110 deaccented. Only words with an H*+L accent are analysed below: the samples of the other types were insufficient for a valid statistical analysis. The words with a long vowel in a closed S1 were not included in the analysis, because the number of tokens was insufficient. For the same reason, the words with an open S2 have been included in the group of words whose S2 is closed. For a detailed classification of the data selected for analysis, see Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Number of analysed tokens.

		Number of speakers	Q1	Q2	Q2	Q3	Q3
			CVCV(C)	CV:CV(C)	CVCCV(C)	CV::CV(C)	CVC:CV(C)
Berlin	Saaremaa	1	20	5	8	8	17
	Võru	3	70	16	56	21	56
	Tartu	4	35	23	48	23	43
Contemp.	Saaremaa	3	16	6	29	9	29
	Võru	3	11	8	24	10	19
	Tartu	2	5	8	21	8	18

The selected data were analyzed in Praat[20]. Phoneme boundaries were tagged manually, after which segment durations and pitch contours were extracted with a script created by the author. Finally, five pitch points were selected: the beginning of the S1 nucleus, the end of S1, the beginning and end of the S2 nucleus, and the overall peak. The pitch in the selected points was checked manually. To facilitate the comparison of speakers, pitch values were converted from the logarithmic Hertz scale to a linear semitone (st) scale whose zero point lies at 50 Hz.

5.3. Results

5.3.1 Temporal characteristics

First of all, the analysis showed that the speech rate in the Berlin group was approximately 20% slower than in the contemporary group. This is demonstrated by comparing the mean duration of the words, which is 450 ms for the Berlin group and 370 ms for the contemporary group. Naturally, there is a certain degree of inaccuracy in this calculation due to the difference of distribution of the quantity degree in the Berlin and the contemporary group. Yet, the ANOVA test shows that the variation between the two groups is significant – $F(1, 668) = 114.00$, $p < 0.001$, while the difference between the dialects is not – $F(2, 667) = 2.80$, $p = 0.06$.

For both groups, the extracted words were divided into four groups according to their position within the phrase: phrase-initial, phrase-internal, phrase-final, and single-word phrases. The single-word phrases were left out of the analysis because they are highly focused and widely different in terms of word duration. The duration of the words appearing in different positions within the phrase (initial, internal, final) was compared to check whether word position had an effect on duration. In the Berlin group, the analysis did not reveal any positional effects – $F(2, 446) = 2.63$, $p = 0.076$. In the contemporary group, however, a significant phrase-final lengthening was demonstrated – $F(2, 218) = 51.99$, $p < 0.001$. The mean duration values in the contemporary group were 340 ms for words in phrase-initial and phrase-internal positions and 450 ms for words in phrase-final positions.

Syllable onset consonants are known to vary mainly in accordance with the speech rate and less with quantity. It was surprising to find a small variation in the duration of onset consonants (C1) between the quantity degrees. The difference was especially marked in the contemporary group: in Q1, Q2

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20 Paul Boersma / David Weenink, Praat: doing phonetics by computer (Version 5.1.34), http://www.praat.org, accessed 31 May 2010.

Table 5.2. Mean segment durations and standard deviations for the dialects in the Berlin and the contemporary group.

		Berlin						Contemporary					
		Saaremaa mean	s.d.	Tartu mean	s.d.	Võru mean	s.d.	Saaremaa mean	s.d.	Tartu mean	s.d.	Võru mean	s.d.
S1 onset	Q1	73	17	64	18	82	22	75	19	71	6	81	43
	Q2 V	51	8	78	28	78	19	49	12	58	16	67	16
	Q2 C	62	12	69	24	75	18	55	25	62	22	62	18
	Q3 V	62	22	71	21	74	12	72	12	66	10	60	16
	Q3 C	74	18	66	17	70	20	53	24	56	17	51	20
S1 rhyme	Q1	90	21	86	26	94	26	66	17	57	12	67	25
	Q2 V	170	15	161	39	166	25	116	10	114	14	107	13
	Q2 C	161	27	153	33	165	33	129	15	119	21	126	21
		(100 + 62)		(96 + 57)		(101 + 63)		(77 + 51)		(67 + 53)		(75 + 51)	
	Q3 V	199	40	218	50	211	36	124	12	132	28	135	18
	Q3 C	225	33	226	50	246	43	184	38	188	44	176	47
		(110 + 116)		(95 + 130)		(113 + 133)		(80 + 103)		(74 + 114)		(66 + 111)	
S2 onset	Q1	58	14	51	16	65	13	47	14	49	6	50	14
	Q2 V	58	11	52	11	68	19	42	11	47	10	34	2
	Q2 C	56	11	51	15	59	13	40	15	44	14	42	14
	Q3 V	81	24	54	10	71	17	62	13	57	17	62	16
	Q3 C	58	13	63	16	63	14	58	18	60	17	57	13
S2 nucleus	Q1	119	34	109	29	131	30	103	27	85	27	84	31
	Q2 V	101	12	79	18	96	32	68	8	61	16	52	7
	Q2 C	99	26	75	18	97	33	73	20	61	20	65	24
	Q3 V	74	23	69	15	84	14	55	13	62	13	55	15
	Q3 C	63	18	70	22	81	22	58	18	55	22	46	14
S2 coda	Q1	98	29	70	19	64	14	100	19	98	13	100	48
	Q2 V	78	-	72	21	87	26	54	26	60	22	61	12
	Q2 C	88	9	75	17	81	23	57	22	70	16	75	33
	Q3 V	79	11	78	19	86	21	54	6	55	7	65	10
	Q3 C	84	15	80	18	68	15	64	19	64	23	72	34

and Q3 words, C1 was 77 ms, 59 ms and 57 ms respectively. The difference is smaller in the Berlin group – 75 ms, 73 ms and 70 ms respectively. Variation was more limited in the onset consonant of the unstressed syllable (C2). In the Berlin group, the mean C2 was 60 ms while in the contemporary group was is 50 ms. The duration of all segments is presented in Table 5.2.

V1 is phonologically short in Q1 words as well as in those Q2 and Q3 words which start with a closed syllable. V1 is long in Q2 and Q3 words which have an open S1. In the Berlin group, the mean duration of a short, long and overlong V1 is 98 ms, 164 ms and 213 ms respectively. Thus, long vowels in the Berlin group tend to be 66 ms longer than short ones (Q2/Q1 ratio is 1.67) and the duration of overlong vowels exceeds that of long ones by 49 ms (Q3/Q1 ratio is 2.17). In the contemporary group the mean duration of short, long, and overlong first vowels is 72 ms, 112 ms and 131 ms respectively. This means that a long first vowel in that group is on average by 40 ms longer than a short one (Q2/Q1 ratio is 1.55), while the duration of an overlong V1 exceeds that of a long one by only 19 ms (Q3/Q1 ratio is 1.82).

In the words with a closed S1, the coda consonant of the syllable is phonologically short in Q2 words and long in Q3 words. The duration of S1 offset consonants in Q2 and Q3 words should be comparable to that of short and long vowels in Q1 and Q2 words, respectively. In the Berlin group the mean duration of short consonants in that position in Q2 words is 57 ms and of corresponding long consonants in Q3 words 130 ms, while in the contemporary group the corresponding values are 49 ms and 88 ms, respectively.

The rhyme of open S1 and closed S1 in Q2 words in both groups is almost equal in length: the respective figures for the Berlin group are 164 ms and 159 ms and for the contemporary group, 112 ms and 123 ms. The difference between open and closed syllables is not significant – $F(1, 250) = 0.168$, $p = 0.682$. In Q3 the S1 rhyme is significantly longer in words with a short V1 and a closed S1 than in words with an overlong V1 and an open S1 – ANOVA shows a significant difference $F(1, 259) = 34.16$, $p < 0.001$. The corresponding figures for the Berlin group are 213 ms in the case of open S1 vs. 236 ms in the case of closed S1, and for the contemporary group, 131 ms vs. 161 ms, respectively.

Although the S2 vowel does not carry any phonological length, foot isochrony requires it to compensate the length of S1, such that V2 is half-long in Q1 words, short in Q2 words and extra-short in Q3 words. The mean duration of V2 in Q1, Q2 and Q3 words in the Berlin group is 123 ms, 88 ms and 75 ms respectively. The corresponding figures for the contemporary group are 87 ms, 62 ms and 49 ms. A significant effect ($F(1, 668) = 58.38$,

$p < 0.001$) on the duration of V2 is also exerted by the type of S2: V2 duration is almost 20% less when S2 is closed. Regardless of this and due to the limited sample of this study, for the purposes of analysis, words with a closed S2 were grouped with those that have an open S2. Furthermore, the existence or absence of a final consonant in S2 affects the preceding vowels similarly in all quantity degrees.

The S2 final consonant is phonologically short (as are syllable-initial ones) and is not affected by the quantity degree. In the Berlin group, the mean C3 duration is 79 ms and there is no significant variation due to the quantity of the word ($F(2, 446) = 0.81$, $p = 0.372$) or the position of the word in the phrase ($F(2, 446) = 0.20$, $p = 0.819$). In the contemporary group, the effect of word position is significant ($F(2, 218) = 19.36$, $p < 0.001$): the mean duration of C3 in phrase-initial, phrase-internal and phrase-final position is, respectively, 75 ms, 60 ms and 100 ms. Quantity does not affect the duration of C3 in the contemporary group either ($F(2, 218) = 1.21$, $p = 0.276$).

The ratio of S1 and S2 rhyme duration (S1/S2 ratio, see Figure 5.1) is the most commonly used characteristic for comparing quantity degrees of disyllabic feet. In both the Berlin and the contemporary group the mean S1/S2 ratio for Q1 and Q2 was 0.77 and 1.98 respectively. The difference between the degrees is significant ($F(1, 407) = 566.22$, $p < 0.001$), while that between the Berlin and the contemporary group is not ($F(1, 407) = 0.005$, $p = 0.947$). No significant difference was found between words with an open S1 and those with a closed one ($F(1, 250) = 0.441$, $p = 0.507$). The S1/S2 ratio for Q3 in words with an open S1 is different from that of words with a closed S1 ($F(1, 259) = 30.33$, $p < 0.001$) – the respective figures are 2.76 and 3.47.

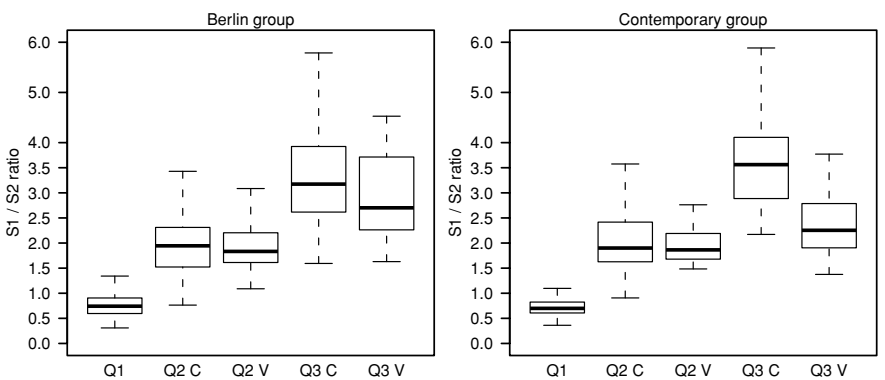

Figure 5.1. S1/S2 ratio in the Berlin (left) and the contemporary (right) group. The letter C is added to the quantity reference of groups of words with a closed S1, while V is used to denote an open S1. The fat line corresponds to the median, the box to the first and third quartiles, and the whiskers to the 95% confidence intervals.

5.3.2 Tonal characteristics

A comparison of the mean pitch of the two groups showed that in the Berlin group the mean pitch was 25 st or 214 Hz, while in the contemporary group it was only 16 st or 128 Hz (standard deviation in both groups was 4 st). This suggests that 100 years ago Estonian was spoken or at least read with a considerably higher pitch than today.

The pitch in the Berlin group is rising-falling, with the F0 in all quantity degrees peaking in the second half of S1 or later. In the contemporary group the speakers seemed to produce two patterns: in some words the F0 peak is in the very beginning of V1 and in others, in the middle of the word. At first sight it seemed that the peak alignment does not depend on the quantity degree of the word. To see the regularities, the pitch patterns in the contemporary group were divided into two sets: words where the peak was in the first half of S1 and those where the peak occurs later. When we look at the data in Table 5.3, we can see that each dialect group has its own particular pattern. In the Saaremaa dialect, the peak in most Q1 and Q2 words occurs later in the word while the peak in most Q3 words is in the first half of the first syllable (the chi-square test shows a significant difference between the quantity degrees: $\chi^2(2, N = 89) = 15.95$, $p < 0.001$). In the Tartu dialect, the peak usually appears in the beginning of the word and there are no significant differences between quantity degrees ($\chi^2(2, N = 60) = 3.63$, $p = 0.163$). In the Võru dialect, words with Q1 and Q2 showed a random distribution of early and late peaks (the peaks in Q1 and Q2 words do not exhibit a regular pattern: $\chi^2(1, N = 43) = 0.07$, $p = 0.795$), whereas in Q3 the peak tended to appear in the beginning of the word (the distribution difference between peaks in Q2 and Q3 words was significant: $\chi^2(1, N = 29) = 4.33$, $p < 0.05$).

Table 5.3. The contemporary group: number of words with an early (first half of S1) or late pitch peak

Location of peak	Saaremaa			Tartu			Võru		
	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q1	Q2	Q3
Early	6	10	28	2	20	21	5	16	22
Late	10	25	10	3	9	5	6	16	7

In the Berlin group the pitch is always rising-falling. On the average, the peak is the latest in the Saaremaa dialect and the earliest in the Tartu dialect (respectively, 110 ms and 77 ms from the beginning of V1), with the Võru dialect falling in the middle (95 ms from the beginning of V1). The difference between all dialects is significant ($F(2, 446) = 11.14$, $p < 0.001$), whereas that between the quantity degrees it is not ($F(2, 446) = 3.41$, $p = 0.066$).

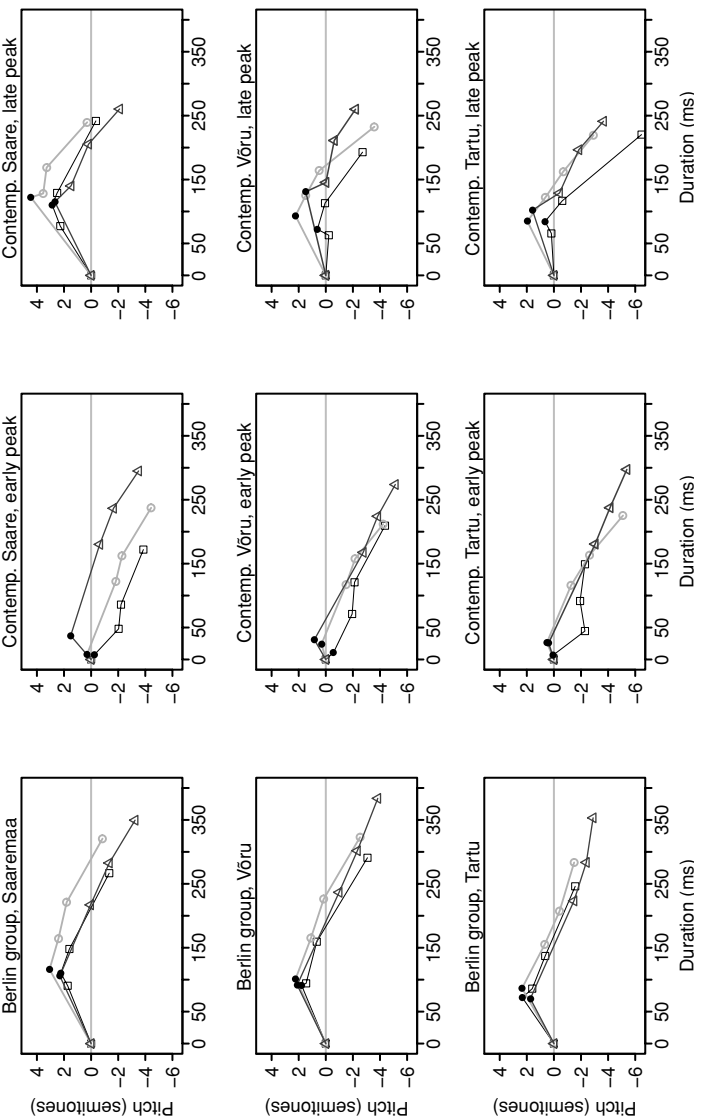

Figure 5.2. Pitch curves for the Berlin and the contemporary group. The zero point on both axes corresponds to the beginning of V1 (squares Q1, circles Q2, and triangles Q3). Peaks are marked with black filled circles. The left column represents data from the Berlin group, the middle column data from the contemporary group (words whose F0 peaks at the beginning of V1) and the right column data from the contemporary group (words with the F0 peak in the beginning and with the F0 peak in the middle of the word).

In the contemporary Saaremaa dialect the pitch is usually rising-falling, with the peak at approximately 118 ms from the beginning of V1. There is no difference between quantity degrees ($F(2, 218) = 0.37$, $p = 0.693$). In the Tartu and Võru dialect the peak is at 95 ms from the beginning of V1 and there is no significant difference between the two dialects ($F(1, 159) = 0.50$, $p = 0.484$). The difference between the contemporary Saaremaa dialect on one hand and the Tartu and Võru dialects on the other is significant ($F(2, 218) = 3.39$, $p < 0.05$).

Data from the contemporary group showed that when the pitch in a word was falling from the beginning of V1, there was no significant difference between the dialect groups ($F(2, 127) = 0.69$, $p = 0.507$). At the same time, these cases demonstrated a significant difference between Q1 and Q3 and between Q2 and Q3 ($F(2, 127) = 6.88$, $p < 0.005$) – on the average the peak occurs 8 ms after the beginning of V1 in Q1 and Q2, while the corresponding value in the case of Q3 was 26 ms.

In the Berlin group, the pitch rises about 2 st from 25 st at the beginning of V1 to achieve a peak of 27 st. There is no dialect difference in pitch rise ($F(2, 446) = 1.91$, $p = 0.149$). In the contemporary group, pitch rises by about 3.7 st (from 16.3 st to 20 st) in the Saaremaa dialect, while the corresponding increase in the Tartu and Võru dialect is 1.7 st (from 17.5 st to 19.2 st). The difference between Saaremaa dialect on one hand and the Tartu and Võru dialect on the other is significant ($F(2, 218) = 15.67$, $p < 0.001$). The difference between the Berlin group and the Tartu and Võru dialects of the contemporary group is also significant ($F(1, 493) = 4.20$, $p < 0.05$).

In both the Berlin and the contemporary group, the pitch fall from the peak to the end of the foot seems to vary in accordance with foot quantity ($F(2, 667) = 10.84$, $p < 0.001$) and the position of the word in the phrase ($F(2, 667) = 47.87$, $p < 0.001$). In phrase-initial and phrase-internal positions, the pitch in Q1, Q2 and Q3 words falls by 3.6, 4.3 and 4.8 st respectively. In the phrase-final position, pitch fall amounts to 7 st in all quantities and there is no significant difference between the quantity degrees ($F(2, 165) = 1.29$, $p = 0.278$).

5.4. Discussion

It is hard to say whether the reading style or the prosody itself has changed during the past hundred years. What is clear is that the speakers in the hundred-year-old recordings spoke more slowly and with a higher pitch than contemporary speakers do. Of course some of the differences can to a certain extent be ascribed to developments in technology, namely the recording devices. We can assume that for the speakers in the Berlin group the situation

of being recorded with a phonograph device was a first-time experience, causing anxiety and stress, whereas to be recorded today in various media and by means of a variety of devices is very much part of our everyday lives. On the other hand, according to the author's impression, the reading style in the Berlin data reminds one of the narrating style used in early broadcasts from the 1930s–1960s by trained broadcast reporters. Unfortunately the prosody of broadcast speech has not been studied in Estonian and we do not know what distinguishes the prosody of everyday usage from that of a media broadcast.

The temporal characteristics of word prosody are relatively similar in the two groups. Due to the difference in speech rate between the Berlin and the contemporary group it is difficult to compare the absolute values of the segments. It can be affirmed, however, that both groups share a series of prosodic patterns. For instance, in both groups the syllable onsets are short consonants and their duration is comparable to the duration of short vowels, while long vowels in Q2 words are about 1.5 times longer than short ones. The groups diverge in that in the Berlin group the long vowels in Q3 are more than twice as long as short vowels, whereas in the contemporary group they are only about 1.8 times longer, which means that the difference between long vowels in Q2 words and their counterparts in Q3 words is much smaller in the contemporary group. As for the S1/S2 ratio, which in most cases was surprisingly similar in the two groups, decreases considerably in the contemporary group in the case of Q3 words with a long open S1. This means that the distinction between Q2 and Q3 in the contemporary group is less marked and additional characteristics (such as pitch) may be needed to establish the difference.

In the Berlin group the pitch contour is linked to the absolute time scale: in all quantity degrees, the pitch rises by 2 st during approximately a hundred milliseconds starting from the beginning of the word, and then starts to fall. Of course, as the duration of the stressed syllable varies between the quantity degrees, this also affects the location of the F0 peak within the stressed syllable boundaries. Thus, when we examine the F0 peak location in the stressed syllable, it matches the descriptions discussed in the introductory section of this chapter. In the contemporary group, the situation is different. There are two types of pitch patterns: the pitch either starts as a falling one from the beginning of the word or it may rise and fall similarly to the pattern in the Berlin data. Neither of these patterns is linked to a particular quantity degree, yet there is a tendency to use the rising-falling pattern in Q1 and Q2 words and a falling pattern in Q3 words.

Apparently, the differences in quantity realisation between the dialects are rather small. In the Berlin group the only difference is that the peak occurs the latest in Saaremaa dialect and the earliest in the Tartu dialect, with the Võru dialect falling in the middle. In the contemporary group, the late peak

in the Saaremaa dialect also stands out clearly, although the rising-falling pattern now appears to be regularly used in Q1 and Q2 words, while Q3 words tend to be frequently produced with the falling pattern. In the Võru dialect the two patterns are equally used with Q1 and Q2 words, whereas the falling pattern is more frequent in Q3 words. Only in the Tartu dialect is the falling pattern preferred with all quantity degrees, making the rising-falling pattern the less frequently used one. These results support the conclusions drawn on the basis of a series of perception tests conducted by Lippus and Pajusalu[21], which showed that Estonian listeners from North and West Estonia preferred to judge quantity by reference to the pitch cue while speakers from East and South Estonia based their decisions mainly on temporal cues.

5.5. Conclusion

The syllable duration ratio introduced by Ilse Lehiste in the early 1960s for describing the Estonian three-way quantity system has turned out to be the most stable characteristic of the Estonian quantity system. The similarity of the syllable ratios derived from the Berlin data collected in the beginning of the 20th century and from the contemporary data is simply surprising. At the same time the reading style has changed – in the contemporary data, the speech rate is considerably faster and the pitch lower than in the Berlin data.

Since the first experimental studies of Estonian quantity in the early 1960s, pitch contour has been claimed to be a descriptive feature which, in terms of discriminating between Q3 and Q2, was second in importance only to the syllable duration ratio mentioned above. Yet, in the Berlin data, the contrastive power of the pitch contour was less marked, because pitch was linked to the absolute time scale. The pitch in the Berlin data analysed was always rising-falling, peaking in the middle of the word. In the contemporary data, on the other hand, the differences between the temporal structure of Q2 and Q3 are smaller, and different pitch patterns are often used to emphasise the opposition. The two different pitch patterns are used with all quantity degrees, although the contour with the peak in the beginning of the word is more frequently used with Q3 words.

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21 Lippus / Pajusalu, Regional variation (see footnote 16).

6. Dialectal features in recordings of Estonian speech in the Berlin archives

Karl Pajusalu

Systematic study of Estonian dialects started in the 1920s in the University of Tartu. Before that, only a few Estonian dialects had received detailed attention, among these the eastern or Kodavere dialect in a study by Kettunen[1] and the western dialect in one by Saareste[2]. Only Lauri Kettunen had carried out his analysis on the basis of recordings of relevant dialectal material. In this context, the sound recordings held in the Berlin archives are extremely valuable as early material documenting old regional varieties of Estonian. The informants of these recordings belong to the generation whose language usage formed the basis for the traditional division of Estonian dialects agreed upon in the 1920s and 1930s. The informants' birthplaces indicate that they represented all the main dialectal areas of Estonia[3].

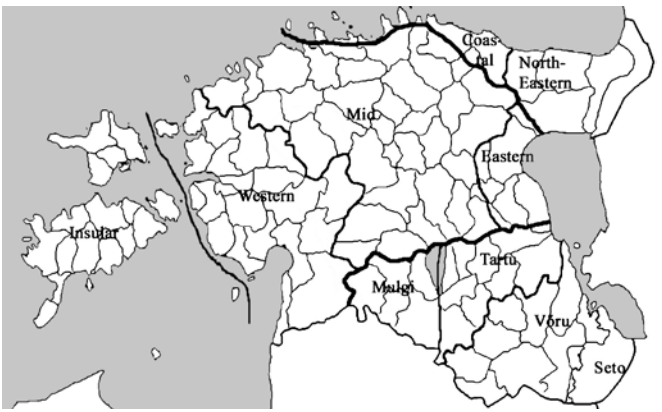

Figure 6.1. An area map of Estonian dialects (compiled by the author).

1 Lauri Kettunen, Lautgeschichtliche Untersuchung über den Kodaferschen Dialekt, Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran toimituksia XXXIII, Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura, 1913; Lauri Kettunen, Lautgeschichtliche Darstellung über den Vokalismus des Kodaferschen Dialekts mit Berücksichtingung anderer estnischer Mundarten, Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura 1914.

2 Albert Saareste (Saaberk), Vigala murde peajooned [Central features of the Vigala dialect], Tartu 1917.

3 See Figure 6.1 in the present chapter and Figure 3.2 in the chapter by Jaan Ross in this volume.

The recordings of Estonian speech held in the Berlin archives are largely based on written texts. In the following, the pronunciation differences found in the speech of the seven informants will be discussed on the basis of auditory analysis. The informants represent the eastern and the insular dialect of the North Estonian dialect group, and the Tartu and Võru dialect of the South Estonian dialect group. The present volume also includes an acoustic analysis by Pärtel Lippus of the prosodic traits in the speech produced by the same speakers, and a morphological analysis of certain characteristics of South Estonian dialects by Kristiina Ross. Before proceeding to discuss the recordings, an overview will be given of the division of Estonian dialects and of regional pronunciation features.

Division of Estonian dialects

The Estonian language is usually divided into two main groups of dialects[4]: North Estonian and South Estonian. Historically, these originated from different Finnic tribal languages[5]. Starting from the 16th century, North Estonian and South Estonian each had their own literary language[6]. Often, the north-eastern coastal dialect is identified as the third main dialect group and some studies divided it into the northern coastal and northeastern dialects[7]. The North Estonian dialect group consists of the mid-Estonian, eastern, insular, and western dialects, whereas the South Estonian dialect group includes the Mulgi, Tartu, and Võru dialect (see Figure 6.1 above). Some researchers draw a further distinction, regarding the Seto as a separate dialect (others approach it as a part of the Võru dialect). There is a tradition to further subdivide the dialects into sub-dialects whose area is usually coterminous with the borders of historical parishes. Thus, in most studies, the Estonian dialect area is divided into three dialect groups, 8–10 dialects, and 105–120 sub-dialects. This division reflects Estonian usage at the beginning of the 20th century.

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4 Arnold Kask, Eesti murrete kujunemisest ja rühmitumisest [Development and clustering of Estonian dialects], in: Eesti rahva etnilisest ajaloost, ed. by Harri Moora, Tallinn 1956, pp. 24–40; Karl Pajusalu, Estonian dialects, in: Estonian Language, ed. by Mati Erelt, Linguistica Uralica Supplementary Series, vol. 1, 2nd edition (2007), pp. 231–272; Valdek Pall, Sissejuhatus [Introduction], in: Eesti murrete sõnaraamat I, Tallinn: Eesti Keele Instituut 1994, pp. 5–16.

5 Tiit-Rein Viitso, Liivi keel ja läänemeresoome keelemaastikud [Livonian and the Balto-Finnic linguistic landscapes], Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus 2008.

6 See the chapter by Kristiina Ross in this volume.

7 See Pajusalu, Estonian dialects (footnote 4), pp. 249–251.

Table 6.1. Distribution of selected phonological features in Estonian dialects[8].

Feature	North Coast	North East	Insular	West-Est.	Mid-Est.	East-Est.	SE Mulgi	SE Tartu	SE Võru	SE Seto
Q3	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
mid *õ*	–	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
high *õ*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	+	+
ä-harmony	+	+	*	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
ü-harmony	+	*	*	–	–	*	*	*	+	+
ö-harmony	*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	*
õ-harmony	–	–	*	–	–	–	–	*	+	+
üü	+	+	–	–	–	–	*	–	+	+
non-init. *o*	+	+	*	*	–	+	*	*	+	+
palatalisation	–	–	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
word-init. *h*	*	*	*	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
VV*h*	*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	+
word-final *h*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	+
word-in.CC	*	*	–	–	*	+	–	*	*	+
affricates	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	*	+	+
voiced stops	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	+
syncope	*	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
apocope	*	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

\+ occurrence of the feature; – absence of the feature; * limited occurrence of the feature

It should be mentioned that Contemporary Standard Estonian is distinct from all historical Estonian dialects, including those spoken by people who were born in the second half of the 19th century[9]. Standard Estonian is mostly based on the historical dialect usage of mid North Estonian. Several phonetic traits of Standard Estonian, such as the three distinctive phonological quantities, the unrounded central vowel /*õ*/, and the absence of *ä, ö, ü, õ* from non-initial syllables, are characteristic of this usage. Mid North Estonian has also served as the basis for the main grammatical structure and core vocabulary of Standard Estonian. However, Standard Estonian is not a descendant of one dialect, but involves features of various dialects, as well as

8 Cf. Pajusalu, Dynamics of Estonian phonology, in: STUF. Language Typology and Universals, vol. 62, no. 1/2 (2009), pp. 109–121, here: Table 6.1.

9 Karl Pajusalu / Tiit Hennoste / Ellen Niit / Peeter Päll / Jüri Viikberg, Eesti murded ja kohanimed [Estonian dialects and place names], ed. by Tiit Hennoste, 2nd revised edition, Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus 2009.

influences of deliberate language planning and foreign languages. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the North Estonian dialects have much more in common with Standard Estonian than South Estonian dialects do. For instance, the insular dialect, which is the remotest North Estonian dialect, reveals more similarities with Standard Estonian than the Tartu dialect, which is the closest South Estonian dialect to contemporary Standard Estonian. The South Estonian Võru and Seto dialects are only partly understandable for speakers of Standard Estonian.

The history of Estonian as a standardised language is rather brief, especially regarding its system of sounds[10]. The phonetic norms of Estonian have not been completely fixed as yet. Estonian spelling fails to reflect such important phonological features as word stress, palatalisation of consonants, the difference between the long and the overlong quantity degree, etc. Even nowadays the pronunciation of a speaker of Standard Estonian may reveal some regional accent[11]. An overview of the main phonological features of Estonian dialects is provided in Table 6.1 above.

As can be seen from Table 6.1, even such distinct features of Estonian that set it apart from other Finnic languages – the three quantity degrees, the absence of vowel harmony, the central vowel /õ/ – are not found in all dialects. There are considerable differences between the North and South Estonian dialects, and there are features that distinguish West Estonian from East Estonian dialects[12]. The following analysis of the Berlin recordings of Estonian speech will focus on regional pronunciation features.

Dialectal features in the pronunciation of the informants from the Tartu area

It is possible that the planners of the recordings of Estonian POWs selected Jakob Klemmer to represent the pronunciation of educated townsfolk. He read the Parable of the Prodigal Son from the New Testament in North Estonian. Klemmer was a merchant and accountant by profession, and lived in Tartu (although he had also lived in Moscow). Like most of Estonian merchants of his time he was born on a farm – his birthplace is in Vara village in the northern part of Tartu county, in the parish of Mary Magdalene. Thus, although his birthplace lay in the territory of the East dialect of the North Estonian group of dialects, it was also quite close to the border of the South

10 See Karl Pajusalu, Dynamics of Estonian phonology (in footnote 8) for more details.

11 Karl Pajusalu, What has changed in Estonian pronunciation: The making of Estonian accents, in: Language in Development, München: Lincom Europa 2003, pp. 107–114.

12 See Pajusalu, Estonian dialects (footnote 4) for a more detailed overview.

Estonian dialect area. Klemmer had nine years of school education: three in his home parish followed by six in the town of Tartu. In addition to Estonian he was also fluent in Russian and German.

The pronunciation of Klemmer is broadly reminiscent of North Estonian, i.e. the standard Estonian of the period as it was probably commonly spoken in Tartu and its surroundings. Yet, certain features typical of South Estonian are also present. These include the lengthening of short word-final consonants and sibilants, e.g. *tulep* [comes] instead of *tuleb*; *olet* [you (sg.) are] instead of *oled*; *vastass* [(s/he) answered] instead of *vastas*, and moderate raising of mid--high overlong vowels in words such as *rõõmus* [glad] and *söögem* [let us eat]. At the same time several regional features characteristic of colloquial North Estonian occur in his speech, e.g. the pronunciation of long *üü* as the diphthong *üi*: *püidis* [(s/he) tried], cf. Standard Estonian (StE) *püüdis*; *(h)üitakse* [is/are called], cf. StE *hüütakse*; word-initial *h* is weak or is not pronounced at all as in the previous example or in the word (*minema*) *ukka* [to perish] pro *hukka* . The pronunciation of quantities is varied, which is partly due to morphological differences, e.g. some forms with *de*-plural are in the second quantity degree (Q2) i.e. most probably formed in the weak grade: *sõbradega* [with friends] pro *sõpradega*, Q2 *hooradega* [with whores]. It is noteworthy that Klemmer's speech shows widespread use of such specific dialectal features as the abundant use of /o/ in non-initial syllables, which is typical of the Eastern dialect, e.g. *kojo* pro *koju* [home (lative meaning)], *kogo* pro *kogu* [entire], *kokko* pro *kokku* [together]. Klemmer's pronunciation shows that in the beginning of the 20th century, the speech of an educated Estonian who was born in a rural area but lived in town, contained broad regional pronunciation features as well as some features characteristic of the dialect spoken in the area of his birthplace.

Besides Jakob Klemmer, standard Estonian pronunciation is represented in the Berlin materials by Christian Hermann and Oskar Laane. Laane comes from Tartu, and Hermann from the southwestern part of Tartu County. Both have been described as informants demonstrating a standardised version of Estonian and representing refined Estonian pronunciation.

Christian Hermann was born in Puka in the Sangaste parish, which lies in the South Estonian dialect area. He studied in the Puka village school, in the Sangaste parish school, and in the Teacher Training Seminary in Tartu. His knowledge of languages was extensive – the list of his linguistic skills includes German, Russian, French and Latin. He was a teacher by profession, and had lived in Puka, Rannu and St. Petersburg. He recorded an excerpt from a short story by Juhan Liiv called *Peipsi pääl* [On Lake Peipus] and a list of words to exemplify the three quantities and palatalisation in Estonian.

It is apparent that Hermann was trying his best to achieve a North Estonian pronunciation. For instance, already in the title of the story *Peipsi pääl*, he pronounces the word *pääl* [on] with the diphthong *ia*, which corresponds to colloquial North Estonian pronunciation. Also, later in the text the word *pääle* [on to] is pronounced as *piale*. Similarily, he pronounces the long *õõ* as *õe* following the tradition of the mid-Estonian and eastern dialect of the North Estonian dialect group, e.g. *mõetmata* [unmeasured] instead of *mõõtmata*, *võeras* [strange (adj.) / stranger (n.)] instead of *võõras*. Likewise, most probably following the North Estonian tradition, his pronunciation of the diphthong *ao* is *au*, e.g. *kaub* [gets lost] pro *kaob* and *praud* [cracks (n. pl.)] pro *praod*. Like Klemmer, Hermann does not normally pronounce word-initial *h*. Nevertheless, his South Estonian roots are betrayed by other features, the most striking of which is palatalisation in words which have an *e* in the stem, e.g. *jooń (: joone)* [line] and *tal´v (: talve)* [winter], and in example words with a palatalised *r*, e.g. *paŕv* [swarm] and *päŕg* [wreath]. At the time, palatalised *r* was most probably also common in North Estonian pronunciation, at least in the eastern dialects of the group. A distinctly South Estonian feature in Hermann's speech is the lengthening of word-final stops and sibilants, e.g. *lähep* [s/he goes] pro *läheb*, *neelanut* [swallowed] pro *neelanud*. A more specific influence of the accent of his birthplace is the pronunciation of some Q2 words and forms in the third quantity degree (Q3), e.g. Q3 *pannut* [put (past participle)], *üsna* [quite], *(h)alli* [gray (gen.)]. This shift in quantity pronunciation, which also becomes apparent in some example words, is typical of the western parts of the Tartu dialect area[13].

Oskar Laane had only had three winters of tuition at the preliminary school in Tartu. He was born in Tartu, although his parents were from the countryside, his father from the parish of Rõngu in the Tartu dialect area and his mother from Pala in the northern part of Tartu county, which belonged to the parish of Kodavere in the eastern dialect area. Laane's recording is limited to a joke in North Estonian which unfortunately remains unfinished. This short recording nevertheless contains some pronunciation features typical of the Tartu dialect: the gemination of *l* in the forms *tulli* [(s/he) came] pro *tuli* and *ollivad* [(they) were] pro *olivad*, the absence of palatalisation of consonants preceding an *i*, and the lengthening of word-final stops, which was also found in the case of the speakers discussed above. At the same time it cannot be said that Laane's pronunciation is more dialectal than that of the other,

13 See Merike Parve, Välted lõunaeesti murretes [Quantity in South Estonian dialects]. Dissertationes philologiae Estonicae Universitatis Tartuensis 12, Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus 2003.

better educated informants. Unlike Klemmer, he pronounces the vowel in the second syllable in the forms *kokku* [together] and *kodu* [home (locative meaning)], as *u* although his mother was from a region where non-initial syllables are characterised by the vowel change *u* > *o*. All three speakers appear to represent the so-called standard Estonian pronunciation tradition of Tartu of the early 20th century. In addition to that common basis, their speech exhibits certain South Estonian traits and some specific pronunciation features depending on the dialectal background of the speaker.

Pronunciation features of informants with South Estonian dialectal background

The personnel who implemented the recordings of Estonian speech were aware of the regional differences of South Estonian, and therefore asked some of the South Estonian informants to translate excerpts from the North Estonian version of the Bible into their home dialect. The morphology of these *ad hoc* translations by Jan Raudseb, Friedrich Sik and Jan Hirw is analysed in closer detail in this volume by Kristiina Ross. This section will focus on certain pronunciation features in the recordings.

Jan Raudseb (i.e., the South Estonian for *raudsepp* [blacksmith]), whose name has mistakenly been given in the information sheet as 'Randseb', came from the parish of Sangaste, just like Christian Hermann. His education is specified as secondary (*Mittelschule*), obtained close to his home in the town of Valga (printed mistakenly on the sheet as 'Dalk', handwritten as 'Walk'). Raudseb too was an educated merchant who spoke four languages: Russian, German, Latvian and Estonian. The material recorded from him contains what effectively is a sight translation into his home dialect of the Parable of the Prodigal Son from the New Testament in North Estonian. The recording has been transcribed somewhat imprecisely[14]. As shown by Kristiina Ross, Raudseb's translation contains a number of North Estonian features. This is particularly true with respect to derivational morphology, yet his pronunciation remains largely South Estonian.

Raudseb's pronunciation exemplifies all main types of South Estonian vowel harmony: the *ä* harmony, e.g. *inämp* [(any) more] (cf. *aga* [but]), the *ü*-harmony, e.g. *tennü* [done] (cf. *manu* [at (ill.)]), and the velaric *õ* or back-*e*-harmony: *tulõma* [to come] (cf. *ütel* [(s/he) said]). In the Berlin transcription, *õ*-harmony has not been marked at all, instead using the symbol ɛ in most cases, e.g. *mullɛ* [to me] pro *mullõ*, or once also as *a*, e.g. *parabat*

14 See p. 119–120 in the chapter by Kristiina Ross in this volume.

[better (part.)] pro *parõbat*. In the last form as well as in the form *noorõp* [younger] (transcribed as *no:rɛp*) the *p- ~ b*-feature of the comparative degree appears. This is normally encountered only at the southern periphery of the South Estonian dialect area and may thus reflect the characteristics of the home accent of the informant more precisely. Several examples of the *mp* feature common in South Estonia can also be found, as in the form *inämp* [more]. On the whole, Raudseb's word prosody and segmentation, including his affricates, is characteristic of South Estonian, at times even exhibiting a likeness to the present-day Seto, the easternmost South Estonian dialect (for instance in the quality of *l* in words with back vowels). This could probably be regarded as an archaic pronunciation feature. Raudseb's palatalisation varies to a certain degree, exhibiting epentheses typical of the Tartu dialect as well as consonantal palatalisation typical of the Võru dialect (*läits* [s/he went] as well as *lät ´s*, *kaits* [two] as well as *kat ´s*). Affricates preceding the vowel *i* are fully palatalised, which is marked in the Berlin transcription with *tš* as in *tšiat* [pigs]. This feature has been regarded as a Latvian influenced innovation and is restricted to the southernmost part of Estonia[15].

Friedrich Sik came from the village of Sika in the parish of Rõuge in the southeastern part of the Võru dialect area, i.e. from an area where even nowadays a form of the South Estonian dialect is relatively well preserved. He studied three years in the local school and worked as a farmer before being recruited into the army. Sik recorded two versions of the Parable of the Prodigal Son and an excerpt from the Second Book of Moses in the Old Testament[16]. Sik's speech remains consistent with the Võru dialect throughout his recordings. These reveal all main pronunciation features of South Estonian including the laryngeal stop, e.g. *käng*ä' [shoes], *aga'* [but], and other related coarticulations on word boundaries. Sik consistently pronounces the *h* both in word-initial and non-initial syllables, e.g. *hoitma* [to hold], *kavvõdahe* [far]. The fact that the *o* in Sik's material occurs in non-initial syllables in forms such as *tsiko* [pigs (part.)], *mano* [at (ill.)] points to the presence in his speech of an East-Võru feature. Due to the frequent palatalisation of consonants in syllables containing front vowels, the abundance of central vowels, varied intonation and other such features Sik's pronunciation on the whole give the impression of old-fashioned Southeast Estonian speech.

Jan Hirw is another informant whose material is consistent with the Võru dialect. His birthplace – the village of Lauri in Vastseliina parish in the East Võru area lies even further southeast than Sik's. Hirw went to school for three winters in Tabina, near his home. A the age of 17 he moved to Russia to

15 Cf. Pajusalu / Hennoste / Niit / Päll / Viikberg, Eesti murded ja kohanimed (see footnote 9).
16 For details see pp. 117–118 in the chapter by Kristiina Ross in this volume.

the province of Vologda where he earned his living as a farmer. In addition to Estonian, Hirw also spoke Russian. His material is limited to the Call of Moses from the Old Testament (Exodus 3:10–4:3).

Jan Hirw's pronunciation is consistently typical of the East Võru linguistic area. His speech contains an abundance of laryngeal stops, which occur in addition to grammatically determined places also in sentence-final pre-pausal positions, e.g. in particles *ja'* [and (so)] and *aga'* [but]. He also pronounces the *h* in all positions, including word-final ones. Vowel harmony is regularly present, and in addition to back harmony his speech also occasionally demonstrates syllable harmony. Hirw's pronunciation, too, could be considered similar to the present-day Seto accent.

An example of insular pronunciation

The only informant with an insular accent in the Berlin materials is Alexander Tatter. He was born in the village of Asuke in the parish of Karja in Saaremaa and attended the village school in Mustjala for three years. He was a shoemaker by occupation. Tatter's pronunciation reveals the central features of the Saaremaa dialect – the so-called 'singing' intonation, the rounding of the central vowel, e.g. *söitis* instead of *sõitis* [(s/he) drove/rode], the absence of palatalisation before *i*, an open realisation of *e*, e.g. *äi ~ ɛi* [no/not] instead of *ei*. Overlong middle vowels in his speech are sametimes raised, e.g. *sii* pro *see* [this], *miis* pro *mees* [man].

The insular accent with its weak pronunciation of non-initial syllables has caused changes in derivational morphology in the corresponding dialect. Derivational suffixes are shortened, which results in homonymy between several noun forms, e.g. those of the adessive and the allative case (both ending in *l*: *naisel* [on a woman; to a woman]). The ending of the inessive is *-se*: *koduse* [to home], *piuse* [to the palm of the hand], cf. StE *kodusse*, *peosse*. Word quantity, which is different from that of Standard Estonian, becomes apparent in certain groups of forms such as, for instance, in Q2 infinitive forms of disyllabic words, e.g. *tääda*, cf. StE *`teada* [to know], and *anda*, cf. StE *`anda* [to give]. It can be said that Tatter's accent corresponds quite well to the pronunciation tradition of Mid-Saaremaa as it has become fixed in the subsequent decades.

Conclusions

Although there are no recordings of spontaneous dialectal speech among the Berlin materials (which are based on written text and should thus be regarded

as scripted speech or sight translations), they nevertheless allow us to draw some conclusions about Estonian accents in the second decade of the 20th century. Firstly, it is intriguing that the recordings made for the purposes of exemplifying written Estonian contain a certain degree of dialectal features in the case of all informants. As the informants came from Tartu county and had also lived in Tartu, it is possible to conclude that the North Estonian standardised language then spoken in Tartu was not entirely similar to the present-day Written Estonian, but contained certain features of South Estonian accent as well as some features of the Eastern dialect in the case of those informants who came from that area.

Of particular interest are those recordings by South Estonian informants where they were asked to translate excerpts from the North Estonian version of the Bible into their home dialect. The recording of the informant from Sangaste in the Tartu dialect area shows a much larger degree of influence of the North Estonian literary language than was the case with the informants from Võrumaa. This appears to highlight the shaky status of the local dialect in the Tartu area already in those days. On the other hand, his speech still contained specific features characteristic of Tartu dialect and narrow regional pronunciation traits. The pronunciation of speakers from the Võru dialect area, however, was more dissimilar to North Estonian pronunciation than that of contemporary speakers of Võru. Prosodic features as well as the pronunciation of segments such as *h* or *l* in words containing back vowels corresponded to the archaic South Estonian usage in their speech, that might give the impression of Seto dialect to the present-day inhabitants of Võrumaa, as such pronunciation has only been preserved in Setomaa.

The recording of the informant from Saaremaa reavealed mainly features of the insular dialect, which correspond quite well to the modern insular accent. Therefore, it could be argued that the insular pronunciation has been preserved better to date than South Estonian pronunciation, although South Estonians in Võrumaa and Setomaa have maintained their dialectal grammar and vocabulary.

This short analysis of the recordings from Berlin archives shows that despite the limited number and specifics of the recorded texts it is still possible to draw some conclusions about the pronunciation of Estonian nearly a hundred years ago and to use this knowledge for diachronic comparisons.

7. Recordings of Bible texts in South Estonian: observations of a translation historian[1]

Kristiina Ross

Among the Estonian materials of the *Lautarchiv* of the Department of Musicology and Media Science of *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* there are recordings of some excerpts of Bible texts which have apparently been produced to document the native dialect of three South Estonian informants. The texts involved are the New Testament story of the Prodigal Son, recorded by two informants – one from Sangaste in the Tartu dialect area, and the other from Rõuge in the Võru dialect area – and two fragments from the Old Testament, one recorded by the informant from Rõuge and the other by an informant from Vastseliina, also in the Võru dialect area. In the information sheet that accompanies the Old Testament stories, the description of the recorded text is followed by a parenthesised note *abgelesen* [read (past participle) back]. This is curious in itself, even without going any further either into the circumstances or into the excerpts concerned – as far as we know, no South Estonian translation of the Old Testament has ever been published. This means that the informants could not have had access to any corresponding and commonly used written text in that language variant. The information sheets compiled in respect of the recording of the New Testament story of the Prodigal Son do not contain that note, yet it is obvious from listening to the recordings that those texts too were read back and not related spontaneously. It is true that a translation of the New Testament had been published in South Estonian, but this was based on the Tartu dialect, which means it could not have contributed any information on the Võru dialect. Thus, in relation to each of the fragments, the question is: What text was the informant using and what were the instructions that he had been given?

The first part of the article will provide some translation history background for the biblical passages recorded in the Tartu and Võru dialects in the German POW camps in early 20th century. The second part will take a closer look at the text fragments recorded and analyse them as translations, comparing their vocabulary and morphology to those of their probable source texts.

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1 Research for this chapter was supported from the Estonian Science Foundation grant 7896 and from the funds of the targeted financing project SF0050037s10 by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research.

Translation historical background of the Bible excerpts recorded in the Tartu and Võru dialect

Written Estonian was born in the 16th century as a result of translation efforts seeking to make ecclesiastical texts accessible in Estonian. Two versions – North Estonian and South Estonian – were developed in parallel on the basis of the two main groups of dialects spoken in the country. To a considerable extent, the parallel development of two literary languages resulted from the corresponding administrative division of territories inhabited by Estonian speakers at the time. The boundary between the northern and southern parts of continental Estonia was established already in the 13th century as a result of a series of colonial conquests. Until the early 20th century, that boundary remained largely unchanged. Regardless of changing rulers and governments, it continued to separate the powers (some secular and some ecclesiastical) that succeeded one another on each side of the line. The centre of the northern part was Tallinn and of the southern, Tartu. North Estonian dialects were spoken throughout the northern part and also in the western and northern areas of South Estonia. As a result of the Livonian War (1558–1583), which from the point of view of the emerging Written Estonian took place during a critical period, i.e. in the second half of the 16th century, the northern territory, under the name of *Estland* (Estonia) was annexed to Sweden, while Poland claimed the southern part, which together with northern Latvia made up the province of *Livland* (Livonia). The Truce of Altmark (1629) included an arrangement according to which the whole mainland part of the present day Estonia was recognised as Swedish territory. Nevertheless, the north-south dividing line was maintained as a provincial border. As a result of the Great Northern War (1700–1710) the whole territory was annexed to the Czardom of Russia. Although the Swedish administrative division of the territory was initially abrogated, it was soon reinstated[2].

This two-part administrative division of the Estonian area had an important impact on the development of Written Estonian. It is considered one of the reasons why a complete Estonian translation of the Bible was only published in 1739 – a long time after first vernacular editions of the Bible had appeared in the neighbouring Lutheran countries Sweden, Finland and Latvia. Instead of joining forces, the clerical authorities of Estonia and Livonia were each keen to claim the honour of publishing the first Estonian

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2 Mati Laur / Tõnu Tannberg / Helmut Piirimäe, Eesti ajalugu IV. Põhjasõjast pärisorjuse kaotamiseni [Estonian history IV. From the Great Northern War to the abolition of serfdom], Tartu: Ilmamaa 2003, pp. 64–65.

version of the Bible, which meant that two versions, one based on South Estonian and the other on North Estonian dialects, were being prepared in parallel.

In the first half of the 17th century North Estonia was the more active party in the translation effort. The first serious attempt to organise a translation of the Bible into Estonian was made by the Bishop of Estonia Joachim Jhering. He is reported to have prepared a complete translation of the New Testament by 1643. Unfortunately it was never printed and the manuscript has not survived, although it probably served as the basis for a few subsequent manuscript translations[3]. The next major effort was undertaken in South Estonia. The translator was the pastor Johannes Gutslaff, a local minister who served at Urvaste (in the Võru dialect area) and was also the author of the first South Estonian grammar. Gutslaff's translation (part of the Old Testament and practically the entire New Testament) was probably prepared over the period of 1647–1656 and has been preserved. Although the New Testament part has only survived as a copy transcribed by someone else, a comparative linguistic and translation analysis[4] suggests that the Estonian text of both testaments has the same author, and that the person in question is Johannes Gutslaff, the author of the first South Estonian Grammar. As far as we know, Gutslaff undertook the work on his own initiative and the results were not used in the following translation efforts. In the early 18th century his version of the Old Testament was mentioned as a possible basis for a North Estonian translation, but this appears to have remained just an idea[5]. Gutslaff's translation re-emerged in the late 19th century as an object of scientific interest, completely outside the living language and lacking any influence on it.

In the 1670s the post of helmsman in Livonian church life was assumed by Johann Fischer, an energetic arrival from Lübeck. On his initiative, several vernacular translations of the Bible were published in the next decade – a Latvian version of the New Testament in 1685 and of the full Bible in 1689/94, and an Estonian version of the New Testament in 1686. A translation of the

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3 Kai Tafenau, Heinrich Gösekeni käsikirja kohast 17. sajandi eesti piiblitõlke traditsioonis [The role of the Heinrich Göseken manuscript in the Estonian tradition of biblical translation of 17th century], in: Emakeele Seltsi aastaraamat, vol. 55 (2010), pp. 176–199, here p. 178.

4 Kristiina Ross, Kõige vanemast tartukeelsest piiblitõlkest [On the earliest translation of the Bible into the language of Tartu], in: Tartu Ülikooli Lõuna-Eesti keele ja kultuuriuuringute keskuse aastaraamat VIII, Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus 2009, pp. 11–26.

5 Kai Tafenau, Veel täiendusi Vana Testamendi tõlkeloole [Further observations on the history of translating the Old Testament into Estonian], in: Keel ja Kirjandus, no. 8/9 (2009), pp. 688–708, here pp. 691–692.

latter (into South Estonian) was prepared by Andreas Virginius, the pastor of Kambja. Because a part of the inhabitants of Livonia were speakers of North Estonian dialects, Fischer also took steps to organise a translation into a standardised form of North Estonian. Most likely, he believed that standardised North Estonian had better prospects as a written language than South Estonian. After all, in the whole Estonian area there were about twice as many speakers of North Estonian dialects as there were those of South Estonian ones. Moreover, a number of South Estonian speakers were already used to reading North Estonian texts. Thus, in Mulgimaa, the area of the Mulgi dialect (one of the three main South Estonian dialects – the other two being those of Tartu and Võru), North Estonian printed matter was current already in the 17th century[6]. Thus, we may conclude that writings in standardised South Estonian were only read by the speakers of Tartu and Võru dialects, which means that the estimated reader potential of South Estonian must have amounted only to about a quarter of all speakers of Estonian[7]. Be that as it may, there are no records of Fischer ever having tried to arrange a translation of the Old Testament into South Estonian, while he is certainly known to have commissioned a translation of both the New and the Old Testament into standardised North Estonian. However, the result of the respective initiatives did not make it to the printing press in the 17th century. A North Estonian translation of the New Testament was eventually published (in slightly revised form) in 1715. After the Great Northern War the initiative of biblical translation was seized by a Pietist group which had emerged in the Tallinn area. Under the leadership of Anton Thor Helle, the pastor of Jüri, the 1715 version of the New Testament, subjected to a thorough revision, was published in 1729, and a translation of the Old Testament was prepared. This effort resulted in the publication, in the Pietist North Estonian version, of the first full Estonian translation of the Bible in 1739.

The translation of 1739 was used in the original form up to the early 19th century when, gradually, linguistic improvements to its text started to be introduced[8]. The revised and partly rewritten new version remained in

6 Heli Laanekask, Tartu ja Tallinna keel 17. sajandi Liivimaal [The language of Tartu and the language of Tallinn in 17th-century Livonia], in: Õdagumeresoomõ hummogupiiŕ. Läänemeresoome idapiir, ed. by Karl Pajusalu / Jan Rahman, Võro instituudi toimõndusõq 15, Võru: Võru Instituut 2003, pp. 112–128, here p. 117.

7 Heli Laanekask / Kristiina Ross, The language of Tartu and Tallinn in 17th-century Livonia, in: Common roots of the Latvian and Estonian written languages, ed. by Kristiina Ross / Pēteris Vanags, Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang 2008, pp. 199–210, here p. 204.

8 Toomas Paul, Eesti piiblitõlke ajalugu. Esimestest katsetest kuni 1999. aastani [History of Bible translation in Estonia. From initial endeavours to 1999], Emakeele Seltsi toimetised 72, Tallinn: Emakeele Selts 1999, pp. 477–626.

use until the middle of the 20th century. The publication of (partly) new translations did not happen before the 1930s; a totally new translation succeeded the old one in 1968. Thus, at the time the Berlin recordings were made the official Estonian text of the Bible consisted in a slightly modernised version of the North Estonian translation of 1739 – one whose publication history by 1917 counted 32 editions, plus 46 separate editions of the New Testament[9].

The only South Estonian translation available in printed form was the 1686 translation of the New Testament. Slightly revised, it had been reproduced in 20 editions, the last of these in 1905[10]. In the present context it should be pointed out that the South Estonian and North Estonian versions of the New Testament are rather different, since the two translations had been prepared relatively independently of one another (although the South Estonian printed version, which was published earlier, appears to have had a slight influence on the ongoing editing process of the North Estonian text). A full translation of the Old Testament into South Estonian was never made. In 1796 the pastor of Kambja H. A. Erxleben published an abridged version of the Old Testament in South Estonian[11]. Its first part (Genesis-Joshua) seems to have been compiled on the basis of a late 17th-century North Estonian manuscript, while the final part seems to be based on the North Estonian translation printed in 1739. There is no information on the number of copies that were printed of this abridged version. However, since later references to the edition are very rare it can hardly have circulated widely. Be that as it may, the pastor Jakob Hurt, a towering figure in the 19th-century movement to develop a written standard for Estonian, claimed in one of his sermons of 1865 that there is no South Estonian Old Testament and it is just as well that this should be so, because every nation should have but one written standard for its language[12].

While the dialectal background of a biblical translation can with considerable certainty be determined by reference to surviving publications and manuscripts, the question what dialects were actually used in preaching to a

9 Paul, Eesti piiblitõlke ajalugu (see previous footnote), pp. 840–845.

10 Paul, Eesti piiblitõlke ajalugu (see footnote 8), pp. 525, 839–840.

11 Heinrich Andreas Erxleben, Lühhikenne Wanna Piibli-Ramat ehk Wanna Testament nink Jummala Sädusse Sönna. Meije Tarto- nink Werro-Ma Rahwa hääs nink Jummala Tundmisse kaswatamisses neide omman Keelen lühhidelt kokkosäetu. Tarto-Linnan trükkitu nink müwwa Grentsiusse man [A short version of the Old Book of the Bible, or the Old Testament and God's law. A brief summary to teach our Tartu and Võru county folk good ways and the knowledge of God. Printed in the town of Tartu and sold at Grentsius'] 1796.

12 Jakob Hurt, Looja ees [Facing the Creator], ed. Hando Runnel, Tartu: Ilmamaa 2005, p. 40..

particular congregation is far more complicated. According to Mati Hint[13], in the parishes of Tartu county the choice of the language to be used for the service and sermons (local vernacular, the language of Tallinn, or a mixture of German and Estonian) depended largely on the personal background of the pastor. No studies appear to have been undertaken of the situation in Võru county, but it seems likely that there, too, the choice of the dialect to be used for religious services was the discretion of the pastor[14].

Up to the early 20th century the Lutheran Church in the Estonian territory was a colonial church with native German clerics preaching Christian doctrine to the locals in the local vernacular. Most of those preachers did not have a good knowledge of that local vernacular, because for many of them the time spent in Estonia was just a short period in their professional life. Most probably some of the German pastors could manage no more than a primitive mixture of German and Estonian[15]. A native Estonian pastorate gradually formed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with considerable differences across parishes. As for the parishes relevant in the context of this chapter as home parishes of the three South Estonian informants, in Rõuge, for example, a native Estonian Rudolf Gottfried Kallas served from 1887 to 1901[16]. Pastor Kallas (brother of the well-known folklore collector Oskar Philipp Kallas) was a figure of the Estonian national awakening movement who had a keen sense of the Estonian language and who was active also as a writer. Sangaste and Vastseliina, however, did not have a native Estonian pastor up to 1917[17]. Moreover, although the level of Estonian skills was certainly dependent on the pastors' ethnic background, their choice of dialect for use in their work was a different matter. It is almost impossible – even in the case of a native Estonian pastor – to decide without closer investigation whether he preached and served using the standardised version of North Estonian or a local dialect. As long as there is no survey available we can only cite particular examples. In the South Estonian area there certainly were some pastors, German as well as Estonian natives, who had a good command of

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13 Mati HINT, Tartu keele avaliku kasutamise taandareng vajab täpset dokumenteerimist [We need to document exactly the gradual fall from public use of the language of Tartu], in: Tartu Ülikooli Lõuna-Eesti keele- ja kultuuriuuringute keskuse aastaraamat VIII, Tartu: Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus 2009, pp. 89–94, here p. 91.

14 Triin IVA, e-mail message to the author, dated 11 March 2010.

15 Riho SAARD, Eesti rahvusest luterliku pastorkonna väljakujunemine ja vaba rahvakiriku projekti loomine 1870–1917 [Formation of a native Estonian body of Lutheran pastors and initiation of the project of a free popular church 1870-1917], Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura 2000, pp. 119–125.

16 SAARD, Eesti rahvusest (see previous footnote), p. 369.

17 SAARD, Eesti rahvusest (see footnote 15), pp. 368–372.

the local vernacular and used to preach in it, but who would also read from the standard Estonian Bible. This is certainly true for Andreas and Adrian Virginius, father and son, who in the second half of the 17th century were prominent developers of a written standard for Estonian. They were native Germans who worked at Kambja, Puhja and Otepää and had an excellent command of South Estonian into which they translated the New Testament. However, when the Consistory of Livonia decided to prioritise the development of North Estonian church literature, the two Virginiuses took an active part in the effort, although it is hard to assess their actual command of that language variant. As for Heinrich Andreas Erxleben, who worked at Kambja in the late 18th century, he arrived in Livonia only after graduation from university. Judging by his South Estonian publications, he managed to master the vernacular well enough to be able to use it in religious service. In addition, as can be seen from his preface to the abridged version of Old Testament of 1796, he must have been familiar with the North Estonian version, as well as with the issue of two written standards of Estonian. Thus, Erxleben claims that although the older generation can understand the Tallinn version of the Old Testament, the younger people may have some difficulty with that and thus his book is meant for the latter[18]. The list can be continued by referring to the above-mentioned Jakob Hurt, one of the first native Estonian pastors, who worked at Otepää in the late 19th century, preaching in the local South Estonian dialect, yet firmly believing that there was no need for the Old Testament to be translated into South Estonian as there should be just one literary standard. As for the parish of Rõngu, it has been speculated that since the 1850s up to 1880 the congregation was addressed by their native German pastor in South Estonian, while his successor, also a native German, probably used to preach in North Estonian[19]. However, there are also records of several German clerics whose command of Estonian was poor. As late as in 1915, a pastoral applicant by the name of von Falck is reported to have given a test sermon to Estonians using a mixture of the dialects of Võru, Tartu and Tallinn, which was found strange indeed by the audience[20].

It is even harder to say which language variant was used to quote the Bible by those pastors who served in the Tartu and Võru dialect area and had a linguistic or dialectal background which was different from that of their congregation. As for the New Testament they could, after all, choose between

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18 Erxleben, Lühhikenne Wanna (see footnote 11), p. 2 (unnumbered).

19 Hint, Tartu keele (see footnote 13), p. 91.

20 Saard, Eesti rahvusest (see footnote 15), p. 121.

the North Estonian and South Estonian versions. In fact, with respect to pastors who did not speak South Estonian, and who thus held their sermons in North Estonian (or a mixture of German and Estonian), one cannot rule out the possibility that they may have cited the New Testament according to the South Estonian edition. Quite likely, the South Estonian printed text was used by those pastors in the Tartu and Võru dialect area who were able to address their congregations in the local vernacular. The Old Testament appears for the most part to have been cited according to the standard edition[21], but it looks likely that the pastors who were competent enough in South Estonian to use it in their sermons adapted their quotes to the local vernacular. A good example can be found in the published sermons of Jakob Hurt[22], in which the New Testament is cited from its printed South Estonian version, whereas citations of the Old Testament are recognisably based on the North Estonian edition, but have been adapted to South Estonian both in terms of morphology and lexis.

In view of the above, the current state of research in the subject does not allow us to determine exactly the degree of previous exposure of our three informants from the Tartu and Võru dialect area to biblical texts in the South Estonian or North Estonian language variants. We can only surmise that in their local church they may well have heard the New Testament being quoted from a printed South Estonian version and the Old Testament from a printed version in standardised North Estonian (although in many cases the quotes were probably given in a slightly adapted form)[23].

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21 Certain pastors may have possessed manuscripts of earlier translations into South Estonian. For instance, the pastor H. A. Erxleben is highly likely to have availed himself of an earlier unpublished translation of the Old Testament.

22 Hurt, Looja ees (see footnote 12), pp. 345–455.

23 In the following analysis the recordings have been compared with translations whose publication precedes the recordings as closely as possible, i.e. the South Estonian New Testament of 1905 (below referred to as "WT 1905"): Meie Issanda Jesuse Kristuse Wastne Testament ehk Wastse Lepingo Raamat nink Kuninga Tawida Laulu-Raamat [The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ, or the Book of the New Covenant, and the Book of Psalms], Pritti- nink wõõra-maa Piibli seldsi poolt trükki antu, Jurjew (Tartu) 1905; and the North Estonian Bible of 1914 (below referred to as "P 1914"): Piibli raamat, see on kõik Jumala sõna, mis pühad Jumala mehed, kes Püha Waimu läbi juhatatud, Wana Seaduse raamatusse Ebrea keele, ja Uue Seaduse raamatusse Kreeka keele on kirjutanud, aga mis Jumala armu läbi ka meie Eestimaa keele on üles pandud, ja nüüd wiietteistkümnet korda trükki antud [The Bible, or the Word of God which Holy Men of God, guided by the Holy Spirit, have written in Hebrew in the Old Testament, and in Greek in the New Testament, and which has by the grace of God been rendered into our Estonian language, and is now printed for the fifteenth time], Tallinn: Aug. Mickwitz 1914.

Analysis of recorded excerpts of the Bible

Altogether the Estonian materials of the *Lautarchiv* contain Bible excerpts read by five informants: five versions recorded from four informants represent the story of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11ff.), while two informants have read more or less consecutive texts describing the birth of Moses and his call to prophethood (Exodus 2:1–3:6 and 3:10–4:3). Two of the prodigal son stories, recorded in May and November 1916, are of no particular interest from the point of view of the history of Estonian biblical translation – in one, the informant Jakob Klemmer reads a standard Estonian text and in the other, the informant Jan Pome reads a Russian translation. The former informant has obviously been chosen as a representative of the pronunciation of an educated urban Estonian, because the information sheet describing him says: *hat eine gute, ge[bil]dete städtische Aussprache* [possesses a good, educated urban pronunciation]. The latter of the two recordings has been made to document an Estonian speaker's accent in Russian. The information sheet says: *Spricht russisch mit einer sehr charakteristischen, teilweise estnischen Aussprache* [speaks Russian with a highly characteristic, partly Estonian accent], while the *Besondere Bemerkungen* [Observations] section includes a special note from Hermann Jacobsohn: *Es ist wichtig, die russische Aussprache eines Esten festzuhalten, der in russischen Bezirken lebt und den russischen Lauten seine eigenen substituiert.* [It is important to record the pronunciation of an Estonian who lives in a Russian-speaking area and substitutes the sounds of his native language for Russian sounds.] The remaining three informants reading biblical texts represent the South Estonian area: Jan Raudseb comes from Sangaste (Tartu dialect area), Friedrich Sik from Sika village in the parish of Rõuge (Võru dialect area) and Jan Hirw from Lauri village in the parish of Vastseliina (Võru dialect area). Judging by the information sheets all three have been picked to represent their home dialect. The transcript sheet of Jan Raudseb's recording places his speech as *südestnisch aus Sagnitz* [South Estonian from Sangaste], supplemented in the information sheet by the observation *wertvoller Dialekt* [valuable dialect]. About Friedrich Sik the respective notes are: *Werroestnisch* [Estonian from Võru] and *Dialekt sehr wertvoll* [very valuable dialect]. The information sheet for Jan Hirw does not reflect his proficiency in the vernacular, yet his speech is described with a reference beyond the generic "Estonian": *Estnisch (Süden aus Werro)* [Estonian (southern part, from Võru)].

Jan Raudseb read the story of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15: 11–22a). Friedrich Sik has recorded the same story twice (Luke 15:11–22 and Luke 15:11–27), plus a lengthy passage from the Old Testament about the birth of Moses

and his flight to Midian (Exodus 2:1–3:6). Jan Hirw read the Old Testament passage about how God called Moses (Exodus 3:10–4:3). All recordings were made in the POW camp at Giessen. All three versions of the Prodigal Son were recorded on 27 September 1917: Jan Raudseb's at 11:45 am, Friedrich Sik's first version at 12:05 pm, the second at 12:20 pm. The recordings of both of Sik's renditions have survived, plus a transcript which is coded with the registration number of the first version. As for the excerpts of the Old Testament, they have been recorded on 20 March 1918. Friedrich Sik's contribution (whose transcript has survived while the sound recording has not) has been registered under two numbers (PK 1255 for Exodus 2:1–15 and PK 1256 for Exodus 2:16–3:6); the first excerpt recorded at 4 pm, the second at 5:30 pm. The Old Testament passage read by Jan Hirw (whose recording has survived but without the corresponding transcript) was recorded at 5:45 pm.

As was mentioned above, the information sheets accompanying the Old Testament excerpts carry the observation *abgelesen*. The sheets attached to the recordings of the New Testament story of the Prodigal Son lack such an observation, yet it is obvious that the informants had a written text at their disposal. Since the surviving recordings (or transcripts) of passages from the Estonian version of the Old Testament cover 47 verses (Exodus 2:1–3:6, 3:10–4:3), while only 25 of these can be found in the sole printed (abridged) South Estonian edition available (published in 1796), it is obvious even without a closer investigation that the text that the informants were instructed to read must have come from the North Estonian Bible. Surprisingly enough, already a cursory comparison of the recorded Estonian versions of the New Testament story of the Prodigal Son to the complete North Estonian edition of the Bible and the South Estonian edition of the New Testament shows quite clearly that here, too, the informants have availed themselves of the North Estonian text[24]. Unfortunately we have no information on what

24 As mentioned above, the North and South Estonian translations are rather different. The claim that the source text was in North Estonian is founded on the match in word order between the recordings and the North Estonian text, as well as on the informant's way of rendering the phrases whose vernacular translations diverged in the two versions. For instance, the final phrase of Luke 15:13 – KJV (The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated out of the original tongues and with the former translations diligently compared and revised by His Majesty's special command. Authorised King James Version. London and New York [s. a.]): "with riotous living" – has been worded as *ja elas õnnetumas elus* [lit.: and lived an unhappy life] in P 1914, whereas the same phrase has been expressed as *wallatul Kombel ellen* [lit.: living in a wanton way] in WT 1905. Similarly, the initial phrase of Luke 15:17 (KJV: and when he came to himself), reads *Aga kui ta paremad mõtted saanud* [lit.: but when he had got better thoughts) in P 1914, compared to *Ent kui temä jälle hendä tundma nakas* [lit.: but when he began to feel himself again] in WT 1905. In the recordings at issue those phrases are undoubtedly based on the wording of P 1914.

specific instructions the informants were actually given. We can only presume that they were handed a copy of the then official edition of the Bible in standard North Estonian and instructed to produce a certain passage in their home dialect. Thus the contributions of Jan Raudseb, Friedrich Sik and Jan Hirw should not strictly speaking be regarded as recordings of a preformulated text (as was the case with Jakob Klemmer's and Jan Pome's recordings of excerpts of Bible texts), but rather as sight translations of a written text.

During the sight translation process, the written text has been adapted to South Estonian dialects both phonetically and morphologically. Moreover, some North Estonian and/or standard Estonian words have been replaced by their dialectal counterparts. In what follows the recordings will be analysed from three aspects – the overall fluency of translation, the nature of lexical replacements and morphological modifications[25] – in order to decide to what extent such recordings could be regarded as authentic dialectal material. For morphological analysis we have selected three grammatical items which occur at least once in each recording and whose realisation distinguishes South Estonian dialects from the Written Estonian based on North Estonian dialects, viz. the preterite and the first person singular forms of verbs and the inessive case forms of nouns. Whereas in North Estonian dialects and in Written Estonian the preterite mostly ends in *s*, in South Estonian dialects that function is normally performed by the (historical) marker *i* (which to date has been lost in many verb types). In North Estonian dialects and in standard Estonian (as well as in most variants of the Tartu dialect) the first person singular ends in *n*, which has, however, been dropped in the Võru dialect. The inessive case form is marked by the ending *s* in North Estonian dialects and in Written Estonian, whereas in South Estonian dialects it takes the form of either *n* (in the Tartu dialect), *h* or *hn* (in the Võru dialect)[26].

The story of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11–22a) presented by Jan Raudseb makes a compact and coherent recording. Despite the pauses between words and phrases, the pace is relatively brisk. The informant obviously misreads some words and hesitates when producing a couple of phrases. In the transcript, however, these (slight) mistakes have been corrected. For instance, in Luke 15:12 the recording shows that the informant used *meile* [to us] instead of *mulle* [to me], but in the transcript we find *mulle*. In verse 16 the

25 The phonetic aspect will not be discussed here because it only has limited relevance to the present discussion. Examples from the recordings analysed will be presented in broad transcription which suffices for describing the morphological features dealt with below.

26 Valdek Pall, Sissejuhatus [Introduction], in: Eesti murrete sõnaraamat I (A-J), Tallinn: Eesti Keele Instituut 1994, pp. 6, 11.

informant hesitates at the phrase (P 1914) *tühjest lestadest, mis sead söid* (KJV: with the husks that the swine did eat). He apparently misses the meaning of the phrase and fails to translate its second part altogether, yet the transcript provides an accurate translation: *tühjast laizudest miq tsiat seivat*. In the process of performing the translation the informant made the following lexical replacements: *hüüdma* [exclaim] > *ütlema* [say] (19, 21)[27]; *hakkama* > *nakkama* [begin] (14, 20); *juure*, *juures* > *manu*, *man* [to; at] (15, 18, 20); *kange* > *kõva* [mighty] (14); *läkitama* > *saatma* [send] (15); *osaks tulema* > *peräst olema* [fall to] (12); *pillama* > *raiskama* [squander] (13); *püüdma* > *katsuma* [try] (16).

As to morphology, most of Raudseb's preterite forms use the *-s* marker, e.g. *seisis* [stood] (15), *saatis* [sent] (15), *katsus* [tried] (16), etc. The only exception is the verb *ütlema* [to say], the preterite of which appears in the recording twice in the form *ütel* (11, 12) and twice in the form *ütles* (17, 21), i.e. in the latter case with the preterite marker *-s* – again, the transcript shows only the dialectal form *ütel*. The first person singular always has an *-n*, e.g. *lähen* [(I) go] (17), *tahan* [(I) want] (18), *olen* [(I) am] (18, 21). The inessive ending is *s*: *õnnetumas elus* [in miserable life] (13), *iis* [in front of] (18, 21).

The informant Friedrich Sik contributed two versions (PK 1077 and 1078) of the parable of the Prodigal Son. The first covers Luke 15:11–15:22 and has been recorded in three parts (verses 11–13, 13b–18 and 19–22), the second part repeating the second half of verse 13. The second version covers Luke 15:17–15:27 and has been recorded in two parts (verses 17–25 and 25–27), the first part ending halfway through verse 25 and the second part repeating the beginning of that verse. The first version has pauses, hesitations and one instance of self-correction: in the beginning of verse 22 the informant first uses the word *inemis* [people] in the phrase *aga esä ütel – inemis* [but the father said to the people], then corrects himself by saying, *esä ütel umile sulasille* (KJV: But the father said to his servants). The existing transcript, whose numeration and text length corresponds to the first version, is not an exact match to the recording, but has been edited to eliminate the informant's errors. In the second recording the entire passage (including verse 22) is read fluently and confidently, while breaks and thinking pauses reappear starting with verse 23. In recording the passage, the informant made the following lexical replacements: *hüüdma* > *kutsuma* [to call]) (19, 21); *hakkama* >

[27] Standard Estonian words are henceforth presented in their modern form, while South Estonian words are shown in the form in which they appear in the VMS (Väike murdesõnastik [Concise dictionary of Estonian dialects], ed. by Valdek Pall, vol. 1, Tallinn: Valgus 1982; vol. 2, Tallinn: Valgus 1989), followed by a list of references to the relevant verses in parentheses.

nakkama [to begin] (20, 24); *juure*, *juures* > *manu*, *man* [to; at] (15, 18, 20); *hukkama* > *raiskama* [to squander] (14), *kange* > *kõva* [mighty] (14); *koguma* > *korjama* [to gather] (13); *kuub* > *särk* [shirt] (22); *ligi* > *manu* [near to] (25); *läkitama* > *saatma* [to send] (15); *nuum* > *toit* [food] (23, 27); *osa* > *jagu* [part] (12); *sinane* > *sama* [the same] (24); *surema* > *koolma* [to die] (24). As can be seen from comparing the corresponding parts of Sik's and Raudseb's contributions (i.e. up to 22a) most of the replacements are the same (*hüüdma* > *ütelma*, *hakkama* > *nakkama*, *juurde ~ juures* > *manu ~ man*; *kange* > *kõva*; *läkitama* > *saatma*, *osaks* > *perästl/jaoss*). Apart from those, both informants have made two replacements (Raudseb: *pillama* > *raiskama* [to squander]; *püüdma* > *katsuma* [to try]; Sik: *hukkama* > *raiskama* [to squander]; *koguma* > *korjama* [to collect/gather]) that the other has not considered necessary. Of morphological forms Sik almost invariably uses the *i*-preterite, e.g. *sais* [stood], *saat* [sent] (15), *näkk* [saw], *juusk* [ran], *ant* [gave] (20), *ütel* [said] (11, 12), etc., while the *s*-preterite remains a rare occurrence (*koras* [gathered], *pillas* [squandered], *ilas* [lived] (13), *nakas* [began] (14)). Sik's use of the first person singular consistently lacks the *n* ending, e.g. *lää* [(I) go] (17), *taha* [(I) want], *ole* [(I) am] (18). The inessive has a clear *-s* in verse 13: *ünnitumas ilos* [in miserable life], but the word *iis* [in front of] heard in both readings of verse 18 has been transcribed as *iih* and *ii* respectively.

The considerable overlap in the words substituted by the two informants, plus a consideration of their respective reading speed and pauses as well as the hour that the recordings were made – all this allows one to surmise that the informants had not been given the text for individual preparation beforehand, and that Sik was present when Raudseb's first reading was recorded. After that, Sik recorded his first version. For some reason he was allowed (or made) to have another go at it and this time he was sure of his text indeed, but only up to verse 23, which is where Raudseb's recording ended. From this point on, Sik's smooth presentation of the text becomes less fluent, and starts exhibiting considerable hesitation because the informant apparently has to search for translation equivalents while reading. In the transcription, both presentations have been stylised and slightly dialectised.

Of the Old Testament stories recorded on 20 March 1918 the recording of the story of the birth of Moses (Exodus 2:1–3:6) by Friedrich Sik has survived in transcribed form only. According to this transcription, Sik has made the following word substitutions: *eemale* > *kauõmbahe* [farther] (4); *hüüdma* [to exclaim] > *ütlema* [to say] (3:4); *juure* > *manu* [to] (11, 18, 21, 3:1); *kartma* > *pelgama* [to be afraid] (14, 3:6); *kõndima* > *käima* [to walk] (5); *laegas* [box] > *korv* [basket] (5); *lahti* > *vallale* [open] (6); *ligimene* > *lähemäne* [neighbour] (13); *lojus* > *loom* [animal] (16, 17, 19, 3:1); *nutma* > *itkema*

[to weep] (6); *peitma* > *käkkima* [to hide] (2, 3); *pesema* > *mõskma* [to wash] (5); *tõeste* > *oigohe* [surely] (14); *vaatama* > *kaema* [to look] (6, 12, 13, 14, 25, 3:1, 3, 4, 6); *vend* > *veli* [brother] (11); *õde* > *sõsar* [sister] (7); *hõel* > *kõhn* [evil] (13); *ääre, ääres* > *viirde*, *väre* [near (lative and locative meaning)] (3, 5). Apart from that, there were a few particles that went missing in the recording compared to the text, and on two occasions the word order was changed: *on sind* > *sinno um* [has (made) you] (14); *kartis ja mõtles* [feared and thought] > *mõtel ja peliss* [thought and feared] (14). Morphologically, the recording of the excerpt from the Old Testament resembles the presentation that the same informant recorded of the New Testament passage discussed above. The preterite marker that the informant uses in most cases is the (historical) *-i*, e.g. *võett* [took] (1), *näkk* [saw], *käkk* [hid] (2), etc., and only seldom *-s*, e.g., in *läkitas* [sent] (5). The first person singular is invariably produced with zero ending, e.g. *pia* [(I) must] (7), *taha* [(I) want] (9). The adverb forms with an inessive marker, such as *ääres* [near (locative meaning)] and *sees* [inside] are used without the ending: *väre*, *sise* (5).

Jan Hirw's presentation of the Old Testament excerpt (Exod. 3:10–4:3) has survived as a sound recording in two parts. The first fragment ends at verse 17 (Chapter 3), unfinished, while the second starts with verse 18, such that there is no recording of the end of verse 17. At first Hirw reads the text word by word or phrase by phrase, but relatively fluently. In verse 15 he has a problem with the phrase (P 1914) *Jehowa teie wanemate Jumal, Abraami Jumal* (KJV: The LORD God of your fathers, the God of Abraham). In verses 18 and 22 the informant probably did not understand the text and thus left certain phrases untranslated. In verse 19 he begins to say, *Iisaki jum*[*al*] [*God of Isaac*] instead of *Egiptuse kuningas* (KJV: king of Egypt), but then corrects the last word into *kuningas*. The words substituted by Hirw while reading are the following: *hüüdma* > *kutsuma* [to call] (15); *juure* > *manu* [to] (10, 11, 13, 14, 15); *juure* > *poole* [towards] (18); *juures* [near (locative meaning)] > *otsas* [on top of] (12); *katsuma* > *kaema* [to see] (16); *koguma* > *korjama* [to collect/gather] (16); *läkitama* > *saatma* [to send] (10, 12, 13, 14, 15); *riided* > *rõivad* [clothes] (22); *teenima* > *pallema* [to serve] (12); *vaatama* > *kaema* [to look] (13). Of the morphological forms at issue, the only preterite in Hirw's text is that of the verb *ütlema* [to say], which is mostly the historically *i*-marked *ütel* (11, 12, 14), and only once the *s*-marked *ütles* (14). The first person singular has regularly no ending, e.g. *taha* [(I) want] (10), *ole* [(I) am], *pea* [(I) must] (11), *ütle* [(I) say] (13). Hirw's equivalents to the adverbs *juures* [at] and *sealsamas* [in the same place], which end with the inessive marker -s also have an *s*-ending: *otsas* [on top of] (12), *sälsammas* [in the very same place] (20). The potential inessive form *majas* [in the house] (20) has been

pronounced *maja* without the ending *s*, but obviously the informant has not really grasped the meaning of the phrase and therefore he has not been able to translate it properly.

In conclusion we can say that all three informants performed the task rather similarly: they left the word order practically untouched, probably because it would have been too complicated to change it while reading and translating simultaneously, yet replaced the words alien to the South Estonian dialects by more familiar ones, and also adapted the morphology to the South Estonian tradition. As expected, most of the lexical replacements concern words with a North Estonian background such as *hüüdma* [to exclaim/call out], *juures* [at], *nutma* [to weep], *peitma* [to hide], *pesema* [to wash] (see the areal distribution maps in the electronic version of the VMS[28]) in whose stead the informants have used South Estonian equivalents originating from different stems. The verb *läkitama* [to send] has probably been replaced because it appeared unfamiliar and too literary – according to the VMS this verb is encountered throughout Estonia but its use remains universally rare. However, occasionally replacements have also been applied in the case of some rather ordinary words well known in South Estonian dialects such as, e.g., *kõndima* [to walk], *kange* [mighty].

As for the three morphological features analysed, the use of the verb forms by the informants by and large follows their vernacular background. Raudseb, who comes from the Tartu dialect area, mostly uses the *s*-preterite (yet in the case of the verb *ütlema* [to say] he also employs the *i*-marker]. Sik, from the Võru dialect area, consistently uses the *i*-preterite. In the passage recorded by Hirw, who too is from the Võru dialect area, the only verb employed in the preterite is *ütlema*, mostly used with the (historical) marker *-i* (in one case only does Hirw employ the *-s* marker). The first person singular ending *n* has survived in the usage exhibited by Raudseb (Tartu dialect area), but has been lost in the speech of the informants Sik and Hirw (Võru dialect area). Morphological analysis of the nouns used by the informants yields a slight surprise: all three informants use *s*-marked inessive forms, which is unexpected for South Estonian dialects. It may be that the inessive form *õnnetumas elus* (Luke 15:13) remained contextually unintelligible to the informants and did not receive an inessive interpretation (the equivalent phrase in KJV is "with riotous living" – using the preposition *with* instead of the inessive *in*). The same reason (contextual unintelligibility) may account for Hirw's *s*-marked inessive forms. Raudseb, however, uses the particle *ees* with a clear *-s*, while Sik has *-s* in his recorded text, but *-h* or zero ending in the transcript.

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28 http://portaal.eki.ee/dict/vms, accessed 4 September 2011.

In sum, the recordings obviously represent an *ad hoc* sight translation of a literary text into each informant's home dialect. No time seems to have been spent on preparatory reading. The researchers may have supposed that the text was familiar to the informants, yet the latter appear to have missed the meaning of a number of phrases. In particular the excerpt given to Jan Hirw (Exodus 3:10–3:17) can be said to include some sentences that are too abstract and too complicated for sight translation. During transcription, the recorded translation has been improved. Raudseb was probably given an opportunity to explain certain issues and correct certain slips in the final text of the transcript. Friedrich Sik was allowed to record his text twice.

Although the dialectal background of the informants is clearly revealed in the recordings, it remains questionable whether the method used is suitable for collecting dialectal material. While the Bible may certainly be used as a source of standard texts convenient for comparing different sublanguages, researchers conducting such comparisons should take it into account that giving informants a text in the written language and asking them to sight translate it into their vernacular dialect will unavoidably generate some translation noise. Therefore it is the view of this author that sight translation of a written text is not the best way to reveal an informant's actual vernacular usage.

8. Observations on traditional or folk tales appearing in the Berlin recordings of Estonian speech

Arvo Krikmann

The recordings of Estonian speech that Professor Jaan Ross has brought to our attention include several literary texts. As for the biblical passages, they have been dealt with in this volume by Kristiina Ross. In the following I propose to discuss the remaining five texts, of which four happen to be included in the classification of folk tales compiled by Aarne and revised and expanded by Thompson and by Uther (ATU)[1].

The texts are provided with general background information in the form of type reference and type description and other eventual notes according to the ATU system of classification of folktales and with distribution maps generated in respect of the ATU types of tales by the application[2] developed by Artyom Kozmin of the Russian National University of the Humanities on the basis of Google Map software.

A further section of local background information is included in order to give the reader information concerning the occurrence of the tale type in Estonian printed texts and archival sources. In relation to this information, the following reservations should be kept in mind:

1. Kozmin's distribution maps show the folk tales referred to in the AT classification to be drastically Eurocentric: most distributions are dominated by European and Near-Eastern tales.
2. The organisation of our archives in respect of Estonian texts leaves a lot to be desired – by far not all documents existing in the archives are reflected in the "visible" genre catalogues and typed-up copies. For want of reliable and systematic information regarding Estonian jokes that have appeared

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1 The classification compiled by Hans-Jörg Uther (Hans-Jörg Uther, The types of international folktales: a classification and bibliography. Based on the system of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson, FF Communications no. 284–286, Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia 2004, vol. 1–3) on the basis of the 1910 classification of Antti Aarne as subsequently translated and supplemented by Stith Thompson. Uther's classification will be referred to below as "ATU", while the classification of Aarne as modified by Thompson will be denoted by "AT".

2 http://starling.rinet.ru/kozmin/tales/, accessed 16 February 2011.

in print, it has not been possible to verify the authenticity of handwritten source texts.

3. The distributions of various types of Estonian folk tales (other than non-prose types and types belonging to certain short genres such as runosongs, riddles and adages) show clear localisations to be the exception rather than a rule. No attempts have been made so far to account for this empirically indisputable fact.

8.1. An excerpt from the beginning of the short story Peipsi peal *[On Lake Peipus] by the Estonian writer Juhan Liiv (PK 733)*

The excerpt was read by Christian Hermann, born 1887 in Puka (Sangaste parish), a schoolteacher by profession, who has also lived in Rannu and St. Petersburg. The story represents a literary adaptation of the folk tale type classified as ATU 778 (earlier AT 1553A*).

8.1.1. Global background

In respect of this tale type, Hans-Jörg Uther gives the following description:

> *"778. To Sacrifice a Giant Candle.* […] A sailor (farmer, Gypsy) in distress at sea (in a difficult situation) promises to sacrifice a giant candle (as high as a mast, as long as a pole) more expensive than he can afford. When he is asked to produce it, he replies that the candle would become smaller by itself, or he discharges his promise by offering a small light, or does not fulfill the promise at all […].
>
> The tale has a version that dates from the Middle Ages:
>
> A farmer leading a cow and a calf to St. Michael fears the sea and calls on the saint for help, promising to sacrifice the calf. When free from danger, he says that St. Michael was foolish to expect him to give the calf. Again the sea rises, again the farmer calls for help, and St. Michael appears. Now the farmer promises to sacrifice both the cow and the calf, but again he does not discharge his promise. The third time the sea swallows him up together with the animals."

Sources[3] for this type of tale can be traced back to the Antiquity, including

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3 William Hansen, Ariadne's thread: a guide to international tales found in classical literature, Ithaca / London: Cornell University Press 2002, pp. 435–438.

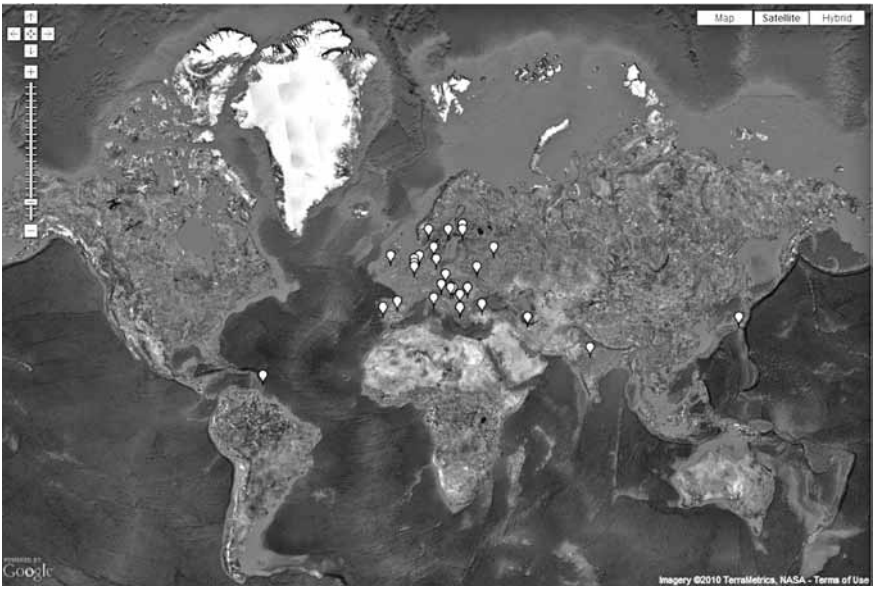

Figure 8.1. A distribution map generated by Kozmin's application in respect of the tale type ATU 778.

fable 34, The sick man and his wife, of the principal collection of Aesop's fables. Of the various translations[4] that exist of this fable, we will reproduce a relatively recent English one by Gibbs[5]:

> "A poor man had taken ill and was in very bad shape. When the doctors had given up hope, since he didn't have anything he could pay with, the man called upon the gods and vowed "O you great and radiant divinities, if you restore my health, I will bring a hundred oxen to you as a sacrifice." His wife then asked him, "Where are you going to get a hundred oxen from, if you get well?" The man said to her, "And do you suppose I am going to ever get out of this bed so that the gods will be able to demand payment?" The story shows that people are often quick to make promises, but they do not really expect to have to fulfill them."

4 For instance, there is a Russian translation made by M. L. Gasparov (Басни Эзопа. Перевод, статья и комментарии М. Л. Гаспарова [Aesop's fables. Translated, introduced and commented by Mikhail L. Gasparov], Москва: Наука 1968, p. 73).

5 Aesop's fables. A new translation by Laura Gibbs, Oxford: Oxford University Press (World's Classics) 2002, p. 221.

8.1.2. Local background

An early version of the story appears (in the mixture of German and Estonian shown in the left panel of Fig. 8.2) in the 30th sermon of Georg Müller, which he held on 1 November 1605 in the Church of the Holy Spirit in Tallinn:

Promißio seu Votum nautæ cuiusdam

Wir sollen nicht thuen wie ieñer Schiffman, da er auff dem Meer in großer gefahr war, nĭck motlis, eth tæma oma Laiwa nĭck keickede kz, ke Laÿwa siddes ollit, piddÿ hucka meñema, fiel {er} nieder auff seine Knie, rieff S. Nicolaum an, nĭck palwus, Ach sina Iumal Nicolae, Kuÿ sina mind sesinatze Laiwa, Hüide, ninck keick nedtsamat, ke minu kz Laiwa sid: omat, hæsti ninck terwe vlleawitat, Nÿ pea kudt mina Maa pæle tulle, sÿß taha mina sinu auwux vx sesarn suhr Mechewaa Küÿnla lascke teha, kudt sesinane Mastpuh on. Wie solchs sein Sohn, d' hind' ihm kniete, höret, paiatis tæma halleda Süddame kz: Eÿ lieber Vater, wor wollen wir souiel wachs nemen? Dem antwortet d' Vater: Olle rahwul minu mein Sohn, komen wir nur zu Lande, wir wollen die Wachskertze klein genug machen. Schimpff vnd ernst.

Me ei tohi teha nii nagu too meremees, kes siis, kui ta mere peal suures ohus oli ning mõtles, et ta saab hukka koos oma laeva ning kõikidega, kes olid laevas. Ta länges põlvili, hüüdis püha Nikolaust ning palus: "Ah, sina Jumal Nikolaus, kui sa mind, seesinase laeva, varanduse ning kõik need, kes on minuga laevas, hästi ning tervena üle aitad, siis niipea kui ma maale jõuan, tahan ma sinu auks lasta teha ühe nii suure meevahast küünla, nagu on see mastipuu." Kui tema poeg, kes tema taga põlvitas, seda kuulis, pajatas ta haleda südamega: "Oh armas isa, kust me küll nii palju vaha võtame?" Isa vastab talle: "Ole rahulik, mu poeg, kui me ainult maale jõuame, teeme vahaküünla küllalt pisikese." Teotus ja tõsidus.

NB! Kellegi meremehe lubadus ehk tõotus

Figure 8.2. A partial view of Sermon 30 in Georg Müller's *Jutluseraamat*[6]. The upper panel shows the text of the sermon in a mixture of German and Estonian, the lower panel provides an Estonian-only translation.

Müller's knowledge of the story probably stems from German rather than Estonian sources. Tales of the type ATU 778 are also represented in the archive of manuscript folklore material by at least two texts originating from the collection of Matthias Johann Eisen, of which one has been obtained from Mihkel Leppik of Ambla village and the second from Anton Suurkask[7]

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6 Georg Müller, *Jutluseraamat* [Book of sermons], Tartu: Ilmamaa 2007, pp. 652–653.

7 Suurkask is reported by the collector to be a secondary source (original source is unknown). See next footnote for reference.

of the town of Viljandi. These texts are not reflected in the Estonian Folklore Archives' catalogue of fairytales, yet they have been published in Eisen's *Eesti rahvanali*[8] as items 823 and 824[9].

In his monograph *Juhan Liiv*[10], the Estonian writer Friedebert Tuglas refers to a publication by Eisen, and to the occurrence of ATU 778 in a sermon by Müller. He discusses the general international background of the story as well as the possible immediate sources for Liiv's adaptation and finds the latter to involve two principal components: (1) a true event that involved Juhan and Jakob Liiv's father Benjamin together with another local man Juhan Brinkfeldt returning from Russia to Lohusuu over Lake Peipus during the spring break-up of the lake's ice cover and nearly drowning on the way; (2) the motif of a promise of a large hanging candelabra to the church, known from folklore.

Tuglas does not believe Liiv to have modelled his story on the example from Müller, nor on the typologically similar passage from the story *Loigu perenaine* [The matron of Loigu farm] by Lydia Koidula. Instead, he deems the motif to have reached Liiv by way of the tale explaining the origin of the hanging candelabra in the church of Väike-Maarja. The candelabra is said to have been donated to the church by a local farmhand by the name of Palmberg who had been herding cattle together with the 13-year-old cowherd girl Mai Kaber when they were attacked by a rabid wolf. Tuglas writes[11] (English translation[12] follows the original excerpt):

> "Mõne aja pärast jäid puretud loomad ja väike Mai marutõppe. Viimane lämmatati haagikohtuniku käsul ühes saunas karmu abil surnuks, kuna muud pääsemist ei teatud. Mai matustel tõotanud Palmberg, et kui ta terveks jääb, siis kingib kirikule kroonlühtri. Ta jäänud terveks, kuid viivitanud ometi oma tõotusega ja täitnud selle alles oma surma eel. Selle loo jutustanud vana kirikuvöörmünder Pärtli Kaarel Juhan ja Jakob Liivile viimase haigevoodi ees. Ning hiljem meenutanud Jakob seda veelgi Juhanile, soovitades seda siduda isa üle Peipsi käigu looga."

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8 Matthias Johann Eisen, Eesti rahvanali [Popular Estonian jokes], Tallinn: G. Pihlakas 1909, pp. 417–418.

9 Published on the Internet respectively at http://www.folklore.ee/rl/pubte/ee/vanad/eisen/ernali/823.html and http://www.folklore.ee/rl/pubte/ee/vanad/eisen/ernali/824.html (in Estonian), accessed 16 February 2011.

10 Friedebert Tuglas, Juhan Liiv, Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus 1958, pp. 247–254.

11 Tuglas, Juhan Liiv (see previous footnote), p. 253.

12 This, as well as other translations whose authors have not been specifically indicated, has been made by the technical editor – techn. ed.

[A while later the bitten animals and the girl Mai became ill with rabies. The local district magistrate ordered Mai to be asphyxiated by smoke in a sauna since there was no way to save her. At her funeral Palmberg is said to have vowed to give the church a large candelabra if he was to miss that fate. He was spared the illness, yet delayed fulfilling his promise and only did it shortly before his death. The story is reported to have been related to Juhan and Jakob Liiv by the local dean's assistant, the old Kaarel of Pärtli, when Jakob was sick in his bed. Later, Jakob is said to have mentioned that to Juhan Liiv, advising him to link that story to the story of their father's close escape from Lake Peipus.]

This theory does not rule out the alternative possibility that the tale ATU 778 may have circulated in the local folklore of Kodavere in another form. A printed source for the texts preserved by the Berlin recordings was Neumann's *Praktisches Lehrbuch der Estnischen Sprache für den Selbstunterricht*[13]. The final section of the textbook contains a selection of Estonian literary texts, in particular a number of "local legends" collected by Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, as well as short stories and poems by other authors (Jakob Mändmets, Jüri Remmelg, Peeter Jakobson, Jakob Liiv). The excerpt recorded by Hermann can be found on pp. 145–146 of the textbook.

8.2. The tale recorded under the title Der König und sein Feldherr *[The King and His General] (PK 1080)*

The tale was recorded by Alexander Tatter, aged 33, residence at Asuka (Karja parish) and Tõrise (Kaarma parish) village in Saaremaa, shoemaker by occupation. The tale corresponds to the type AT/ATU 921C. A transcript of the recording is reproduced below, followed by an English translation.

"Kord elas vanal aal üks kuningas, kes ilmast ilma rändas ühest linnast teise ja ühest külast teise. Korraga nägi täma ühe vanamehe, kel mustad… must habe ja valged juuksed olid. Täma kutsus vanamehe enese juurde ja küsis, et „Seleta mulle see ülesanne, mikspärast on sul must habe ja valged juuksed." Vanamees seletas kunigale ja ütles: „Habe on ju kakskümmend aastad nooreb juustest, sellepärast on ta tükkis must." Kunigas ütles vanamehele, et „Seda ülesannet äi tohi sa mitte kellelgile rääkida, enne kui sa viissada korda minu palet oled näind." Kuningas

13 Mihkel Neumann, Praktisches Lehrbuch der Estnischen Sprache für den Selbstunterricht, Reval: M. Neumann 1903?/1910?.

pööris hobused ümber ja söitis kodu. Ja kutsus enese juure keneralli ja andis tämale see ülesandeks, et „Kui sa seda ülesannet tunned, mitte ära äi seleta, siis teen mina sind ametist lahti." Kenerall läks koduse ja oli väga kurb selle üle. Ja kodus tuli naine tämale vastu ja küsis: "Minu armas mees, miks sa nenda mures oled?" Keneral jutustas oma naisele, mes kunigas tämale oli ette pannud. Siis naeratas naine ja ütles: seda on ta külas kuskilt kuuld. Ja pani hobused ette ja söitis ka ühest külast teise, kunni täma viimaks selle vanamehe nägi, kel must habe ja valged juuksed olid. Naine kutsub vanameest enese juurde ja küsib vanamehe kääst, et „Seleta minule see ära, mikspärast on sul must habe ja valged juuksed." Vanamees mötleb ja ütleb: „Seda ei tohi mina mitte sulle rääkida." Naine mötles ja palus vanameest ja lubas tämale viissada rubla anda. Siis ütles vanamees: „Seda vein ma sulle küll rääkida nii. Loe esiteks mulle viissada rubla pöuse, siis ma hakkan sulle seda jutustama." Vanamees… Naine luges vanamehele viissada rublatükki pöuse ja iga rublatüki peal oli kuniga pale. Siis hakkas vanamees seletama tämale ja ütles, et habe on kakskümmend aastat juustest noorem. Siis läks kunigas jälle ära oma kottu ja andis kinneraalil seda tääda, mismoodi täma oli sii üles uurin. Siis läks kinneraal kuniga juure ja rääkis tämale seda keik ära."

[Once upon a time there lived a king who was constantly travelling from one town to the other and from one village to the next. One day he met an old man who had a black… beard and white hair. He summoned the old man and asked him, "Explain to me this puzzle, why you have a black beard but white hair." The old man explained to the king, "My beard, after all, is twenty tears younger than my hair – that's why it is all black." The king told the old man – "Do not tell this puzzle to anybody before you have seen my face five hundred times." The king then turned his horse around and rode home. There he summoned his general and ordered him to solve the puzzle – "If you feel you cannot solve this puzzle, I will dismiss you from your post." The general went home in a dejected mood. At home, he was met by his wife who asked him, "My beloved husband, what makes you so worried?" The general told his wife about the puzzle that the king had ordered him to solve. The wife smiled and said that she had heard about the puzzle from someone in the village. She harnessed the horses and rode from one village to the next until she at last saw the old man with a black beard amd white hair. She told the old man to approach her and asked him, "Explain to me why you have a black beard but white hair?" The old man reflected for a moment and said then: "This I may not tell you." Having considered the matter for a moment, the wife promised the old man five hundred

roubles. The old man then said, "I can tell you this in the following way. First you have to count five hundred rouble coins into the palm of my hand, then I will tell you what you want to know." The old man… the wife counted five hundred roubles into the old man's hand, and on each coin there was the face of the king. The old man then started his explanation and said that his beard was twenty years younger than his hair. Then the king[14] went home again told the general what he had found out. Then the general went to the king and told him what had happened.]

8.2.1. Global background. Type notes by Uther

"921C. *Why Hair of Head is Gray before the Beard.*
A man (clergyman. barber) answers the question why the hair of his head is grey (white) and the hair of his beard is black, "The hair of the head is twenty years older than the beard.""

As Uther's entry further shows, literary adaptations of this motif seem to have appeared in collections of jokes published in Europe since the 16th century.

8.2.2. Local background

A search of the Estonian archives did not reveal any materials representing the tale type ATU 921C.

8.3. The tale recorded under the title Dummheit ist Klugheit *[Stupidity is Wisdom] (PK 1079)*

The tale was recorded by Karl Leppik, 35 years of age, born and residing in Tartu, father from Luunja (Tartu-Maarja parish), cabinet-maker by occupation. The tale corresponds to folktale (humorous story) type AT/ATU 1642. A transcript of the recording is reproduced below, followed by an English translation.

"Kord vanal ajal elas üks kehva mees oma naisega üksikus kohas ilma lasteta. Muud varandust neil ei olnud, kui ainult oma kätetöö läbi toitsivad endid. Siis peale selle oli ka neil veel üks lehm ja siga. Kooliharidust ja muud ilmatarkust ei teadnud nad midagi. Oli ilus suvine päev, kui

14 Apparently, this is a mistake by the informant – the logic of the story dictates that "king" should be replaced by "woman".

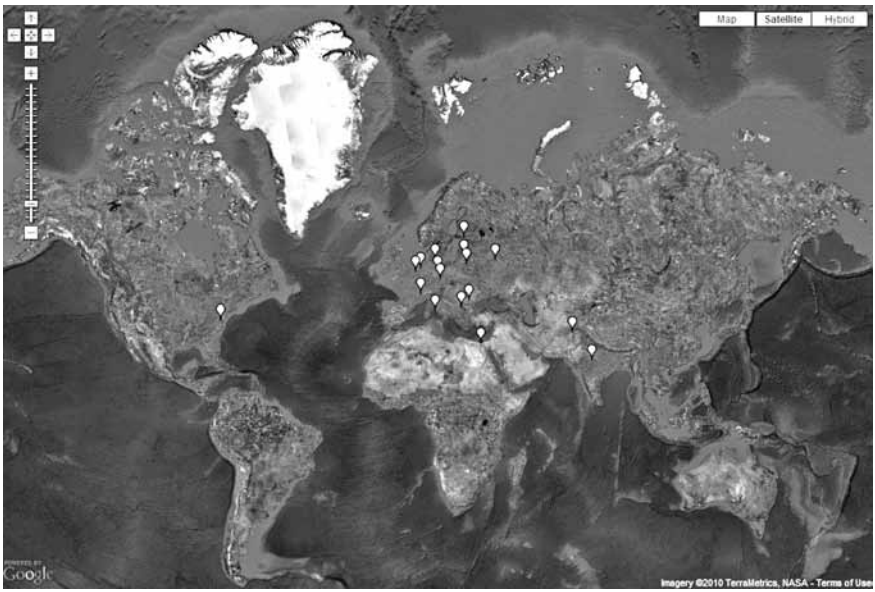

Figure 8.3. A distribution map generated by Kozmin's application in respect of the tale type ATU 921C.

mees oma naesele ütles: „Kuule, naene, mispärast meie puudust kannatame? Mina tapan sea ära ja viin linna ja müin ära, saan viiskümmend rubla." Naene mõtles ja ütles: „Hea küll, tapa siga ära ja vii linna." Kuida üteldud, nõnda tehtud: mees tappis sea ära ja hommiku vara hakkasid linna minema. Umbes poole tee peal oli üle jõe sild. Kui ta juba silla pääle jõudis, karjusivad konnad: „Kuhu sa lähed, miis?" – „Mina lähen linna, tapan sea ära, müin sea ära ja raha on tarvis." Siis karjusivad konnad kooris: „Kui sea ära müid, siis laina meile see raha, viiskümmend rubla, meie maksame sulle protsenti – poole." Mees mõtles ja ütles: „Hea küll, kui linnast tagasi tulen, siis lainan selle raha teile: viiskümmend rubla tagasimaksuga sada rubla." Siis karjusivad konnad kooris kõik: „Sina saad, sina saad!" Kaup oli tehtud ja mees läks linna. Õhtuks enne päeva loojaminekud jõudis ta tagasi. Silla pääle jõudes karjusivad jälle konnad kooris: „Kas raha tõid?" – „Tõin. " – „Aga kui pal'lu?" – „Viiskümmend rubla." Siis karjusivad konnad: „See on hea, see on hea, saad sada rubla!" Siis ütles mees: „Aga kahe nädali pääle, maksate mulle ära!" – „Jajah!" karjusid konnad. Mees näidas ühe suure konna peale sõrmega: „Aga sinu vastutuse peale!" Siis vastasivad konnad kooris: „Jah, tema peale!" Siis võttis mees raha taskust ja viskas jõkke. Aga kui raha jõkke kukkus, kadusivad konnad kõik vee alla ära. Mees naeris ja ütles:

„Küll oli aga neil raha hädaste tarvis, rohkem ei rääkinud minuga!" Ja mees läks kodu. Naene tuleb suure rõemuga vastu ja ütleb: „Raha tõid?" – „Laenasin raha kahe nädali pääle suure protsendiga, saame korraga rikkaks inimesteks. Ega inime ei tohi nii palju puuduses kannatada, ommeti päälegi siis nüüd. Oleme rikkad, kui raha kätte saame!"

[Once upon a time there was a poor man who lived with his wife in a lonely place. They did not have any children. They did not possess much and had to earn their living by daily work. Still, they had a cow and a pig. They had not had any schooling and did not have much worldly wisdom. It was on a beautiful summer day that he man said to his wife, "Listen, woman – why is it that we have to suffer such need? I'm going to slaughter the pig and take the meat to town, I'll get fifty roubles for it." The wife thought about it for a moment and said, "Well, indeed – slaughter the pig and take the meat to town." As it was said, so it was done: the man slaughtered the pig and, early in the morning, started out on the way to the town. Half-way to the town, the road came to a river and a bridge across it. When the man was on the bridge, he heard the frogs croaking to him, "Hey, where are you going?" – "I'm going to town, I'll slaughter the pig, sell the meat and I need the money." The frogs then croaked all together, "When you sell the meat, lend the money, fifty roubles, to us, we will pay you interest – half as much." The man thought about it and said, "Well, indeed, frogs, when I'm back from town, I'll lend you the money: fifty roubles, to be repaid as a hundred." The frogs then croaked all together, "You'll get it, you'll get it." The deal was made and the man continued on his way to the town. In the evening, before sunset, he was back. When he came to the bridge, the frogs, again, croaked in a single voice, "Did you bring the money?" – "I did." – "How much?" – "Fifty roubles." The frogs then croaked, "Well done, well done, you'll get a hundred!" The man then said, "And you'll pay it back to me in two weeks' time!" – "Yeah, yeah!" croaked the frogs. The man pointed his finger at a big frog and said, "I'll hold you to that!" The frogs replied, all as one, "Yes, he'll be responsible!" The man then took the money from his pocket and threw it into the river. When the money hit the water, the frogs all dived in and were no longer to be seen. The man laughed and said, "Well, didn't they need it badly, afterwards they didn't say another word to me!" And he went home. His wife came out to meet him, overjoyed, asking, "Did you bring the money?" – "I lent it out for two weeks at steep interest, we'll be rich before we know it. A man shouldn't suffer so much need, especially now. We'll be rich when we get the money back."]

8.3.1. Global background. Type notes by Uther

"1642. *The Good Bargain*. This anecdote is comprised of various motifs and episodes from other humorous tales.

A foolish farmer performs various senseless actions that turn out to be to his advantage:

Because he misunderstands the croaking of frogs, he throws money into the pond for them to count […]. He sells the meat to a dog, expecting it to carry it to the butcher […]. Or, he puts goods to be sold to a signpost […]. When he returns for his money and does not receive it, he complains to the king (takes the dog to court) and thus causes the melancholy princess to laugh […]. He declines to marry her and is offered a different reward, which he promises to a guard (soldier) and a Jew. The king orders a beating instead of money, and the Jew receives the blows […]. The Jew takes the farmer to court, loaning him his coat (boots). At the trial, the farmer denies that he has borrowed the coat and thus renders the Jew's testimony unbelievable (makes the Jew appear to be insane) […]."

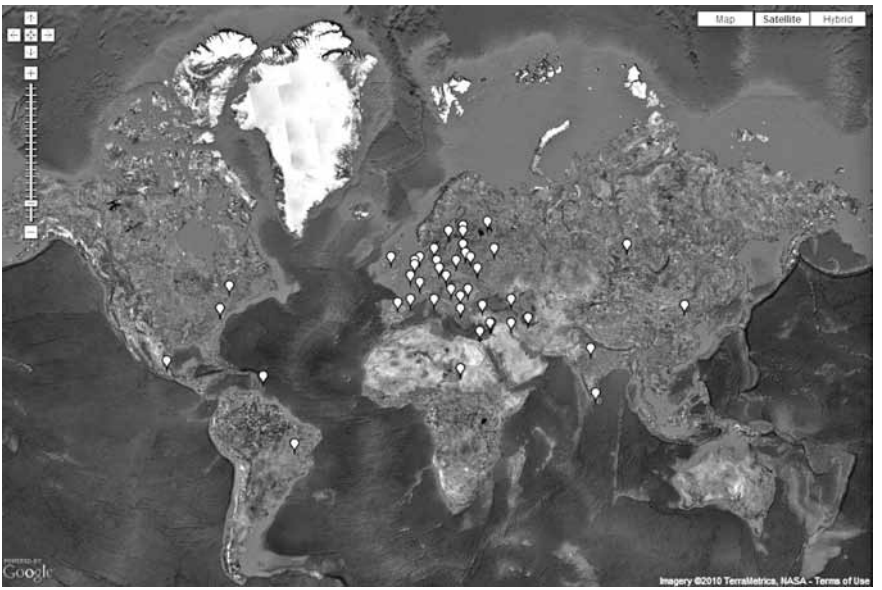

Figure 8.4. A distribution map generated by Kozmin's application in respect of the tale type ATU 1642.

8.3.2. Local background

The tale type ATU 1642 has been recorded in Estonian sources on at least four occasions (from Väike-Maarja, Pärnu-Jaagupi, Halliste, Palamuse), showing a scattered and haphazard geographical distribution.

8.4. The excerpt recorded under the title Estnisches Märchen [Estonian fairytale] (PK 733)

The excerpt was recorded by Oskar Laane (born in 1892 in Tartu?; father and/or mother possibly from Pala (Kodavere parish), stonecutter by occupation). The tale (humorous story) matches the type AT/ATU 1643 in the classification of folk tales. A transcript of the recording is reproduced below, followed by an English translation.

> "Ühel isal oli kaks poega. Vanem oli tark, noorem oli lollagas. Pärast isa surma pärandas vanem poeg kõik isa päranduse. Oma noorema vennale jättis ta ainult ühe lehma. Nooremal vennal ei jäänud muud üle kui lehma turule viia, sial ära müia. Mööda teed minnes tuli tal ühest lepasalgust läbi minna, kus mõned üksigud kännud olivad. Lollagas vend jäi sinna piatama, et vaadada, kas mõnda ostjad ei ole, kes sinu kaupa ära ostaks. Äkki kõigudas tuul ühte puud. Lollagas vend kuulis puu kõikumist ja arvas, et mõni tahab tema kaupa ära osta, ja hakkas kauplema. Jälle kõigudas tuul puud. Lollagas vend arvas, et juba lepiti hinnaga kokku, ja sidus lehma ühe kännu külge, ise läks kodu. Kodus ei rääkind ta kellegile, kuidas ta oma kaupa ära müüs. Teisel päival tuli ta jälle sinna paika, kuhu ta lehma jättis. Kuid lehma enam [---]."

> [Once upon a time, a father had two sons. The older son was smart, the younger stupid. After the father died, the older son inherited everything. He only gave a cow to his younger brother. There was nothing else for the younger brother to do but to go and sell the cow in the market. On the way to the market he had to go through a copse of aspens that had a few stumps as well. The stupid brother stopped to see whether there was a buyer there who could take the cow off him. Suddenly the wind moved one of the trees. The stupid brother heard the movement of the tree and thought that there was somebody there interested in what he had to sell and started to bargain. The wind moved the tree again. The stupid brother thought that the price was already agreed, tied the cow

to a stump and went home. At home he did not tell anyone how he had sold his cow. On the next day, he went to the same place where he had left the cow. But the cow was no longer [---].]

8.4.1. Global background

The title of the type of tale in the Russian classification of folktales by N. P. Andreyev[15] is *Дурак и берёза* [The stupid man and the birch-tree]. In classifications predating that of Andreyev (such as the classification of Estonian fairytale plots FFC 25[16]) all instances of the type ATU 1643 are classified under type 1642, because type 1643 had not been created yet as a separate entry.

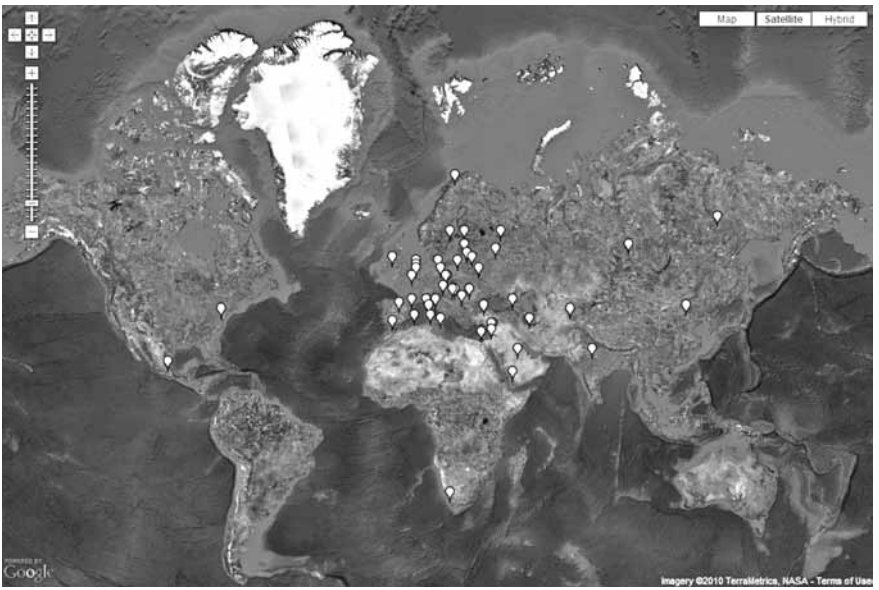

Figure 8.5. A distribution map generated by Kozmin's application in respect of the tale type ATU 1643.

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15 Николай Петрович Андреев, Указатель сказочных сюжетов по системе Аарне [A classification of fairytale plots according to Aarne], Ленинград: Государственное русское географическое общество 1929.

16 Estnische Märchen- und Sagenvarianten. Verzeichnis der zu den Hurt'schen Handschriftsammlungen gehörenden Aufzeichnungen, mit der Unterstützung der Finnisch-ugrischen Gesellschaft, ausgearbeitet von Antti Aarne, Hamina: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia 1918, 160 pp.

8.4.2. Type notes by Uther

> "1643. *Money Inside the Statue* (previously *The Broken Image*). A woman sends her foolish son to sell some linen (cow, other wares), telling him not to deal with people who talk too much. The son takes this literally and and refuses to sell to anyone who asks the price of the cloth. He selles the cloth (cow, other goods) to a statue (crucifix) because it does not speak, and says he will come back the next day for the money. His mother dismayed when being told at her son's stupid bargain. When he goes back to get the money, the cloth has been stolen and the statue will not speak. Angry, the son throws a stone at the statue. It breaks and inside is a pot of money (treasure) which he mistakes for beans […]."

8.4.3. Local background

Printed instances of ATU 1643 can be found in collections of folktales by F. R. Kreutzwald[17] and M. J. Eisen[18]. Most Estonian manuscript sources containing the tale are amalgamations of the types ATU 1643 ja ATU 1600 (*The Fool as Murderer*). The distribution map shown in Figure 8.6 does not include the manuscript by Ernst Tetsmann (Vändra parish) and Gustav Anniko (Tõstamaa parish), which are considered to be inauthentic. There are certain doubts regarding the genuinely popular provenance of certain other sources as well. Most of the manuscripts originate from the areas east of the Kuusalu-Halliste line. No research has so far been undertaken on the possibility of the printed collections of Kreutzwald and Eisen (or of various Russian, Latvian and Finnish works) having exercised an influence on the material found in the archives.

8.5. Reinhold Wellner's short story Leinadi Leenu [Leenu of Leinadi], performed by the author (PK 408)

The story is read by Reinhold Wellner, born in 1888 in Antsla, residence in Valga, Võru and St. Petersbourg. His father was from Sangaste, his mother from Paistu. Wellner's occupation has been recorded in his information sheet as "writer". A transcript of the recording is reproduced below, followed by an English translation.

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17 Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald, Eestirahva ennemuistsed jutud [Early tales of Estonians], Helsinki: SKS 1866, pp. 290–294.

18 Matthias Johann Eisen, Rahva-raamat. Uus kogu vanu jutte [The Estonian popular book. A new collection of old stories], 2nd edition, Tartu / Riia: Schnakenburg 1893, pp. 213–216 (no. 17).

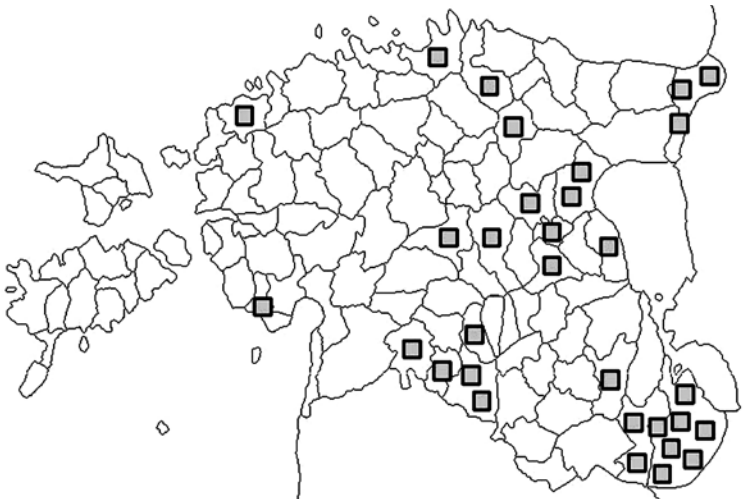

Figure 8.6. A distribution map of known Estonian instances of ATU 1643 (compiled by the author).

"Leinadi Leenu tuli, vana küürus haigete silmadega eit vaestemajast, kes meile villu ketras ja hanesulgesi kitkus. „Tere lõunat, talurahvas!" ütles Leenu ja istus. „Tere, tere! sinnu olõ-õi pal'lu aiga näta ollu. Mi mõtli joba, et oleki-ei sinno inam elus," vastas ema Leenu tervituse pääle. „Uju või siis ti mul är koolda tahade, ma ei oleki viil nii vana. Kes sul siis sulgi kitk, ku ma är koole! Kas tiiate ka, et Alasi Miil läts mehele, tuu Otsa Jaanile. Noil om küll vana lagunu talu ja Jaan om vinne usku, aga Miili om joba kah vana tütruk ja tõse pereme poja ei taha teda. Jaan olle küll säält Lutsigu külast üte kängesbä tütärd tahtnu, aga ima ole-i Jaani tahtnu. Jaan ei ole suur asi poiss. Va Lehma-Liisu kõnel' mulle, et Jaanil olla juba mitme tütruguga laits ollu. Tiä-i, kas tu jutt om õige, aga kes ilma suud jõud kinni panda!" vadistas Leenu. „Leenu, istus ka nü süümä? Hapu piim küll om, a kes no tiidse, et küläline tule," kutsus ema Leenut. Leenu istus söögilauale lähemale, kohendas oma punast päärätti ja ütles: „Uu mis sinnu küll innäst vaivass, ma koton õkva panni luidsa käest." Siiski istus Leenu söömä. „Küll om hää hapu piim teil! Ma ei olõ-i sääräst piimä inäb mitu aiga söönu. Tiidu-Juuli an'd mulle ketruse iist mineva nädali kah karratävve piima, aga siiaig, ku ma kodo sai, sõs es ole karra seen muud midägi, sinine vesi õnne. Tiä tu Tiidu-Juuli om üts kidsu inemine küll," vadistas Leenu süües. Oli suvine päälelõunat, Leenu sõi õhinaga? ja oli vähe aega vait. "Pernane, mul ei ole põrral tüüd midagina, jo annat mulle viil midägi üten, paklit või puru villu kerdata? Taha-i niisama ka istu, parem iks, kui sõrme liiguse," lõpetas Leenu söö-

mist ja pani lusika lauale. Ema tõi siis uut tööd ja Leenu säädis äraminemist. "Oh sa taivas küll, kui hää inimene pernane om – niipal'u suurmid ja rasva toonu, et ma ei jõvva tad kodu viiä! Küll iks om häid inimesi ka ilman! Minevä kõrra, kui ma ketrust tõi, sis pernane an'd mulle vastse ammõ. Suur tänu no teile, pernaasõkõnõ, küll kõige selle hää iist! Jumalaga, jumalaga, küll ma tule jälki, ku tüü valmis om." Leenu läks oma tiid vaestemaja poole."

[Leenu of Leinadi came, an old bent-over woman with sickly eyes from the poorhouse, who used to spin yarn and pluck geese for us. "Good day to the folks of this farm!" she said and sat down. "Good day to you too! Haven't seen you for ages – I had already thought you were no longer with us," mother responded to her greeting. "You don't really want me to die, do you – I'm not that old yet. And who's gonna pluck your geese when I go? Have you heard that Miili of Alatsi farm is now a married woman – she accepted that Jaan from Otsa farm. The farm is run down and Jaan himself is a Russian Orthodox believer, but then again Miili is no longer in her prime and the sons of other farmers frown upon her. They say Jaan was keen on a shoemaker's daughter from Lutsigu village, but she turned him down. Jaan is not what you'd say is your ideal match. That Lehma-Liisu told me that Jaan has already given a child to several girls. Who knows if that's true or not but you can't shut up them'all, can you," Leenu blathered on. "Leenu, won't you sit down to eat? We've only got curdled milk, but then we didn't know we'd have a visitor," mother told her. Leenu inched nearer to the table, straightened her red headscarf and said, "Oh, you really shouldn't bother, I've just laid down the spoon at my place." Still, she sat down to eat. "Well, this curdled milk is really good! It's a long time since I've had it like that. Last week, Juuli of Tiidu also gave me a bucketful of milk for yarn-spinning, but by the time I got home, there was only bluish water in the bucket. Y'know, that Juuli is really a tight-fisted lass," Leenu carried on while eating. It was a summer afternoon, Leenu was relishing her food and fell silent for a while. "Matron dear, I've got nothing work-wise going, could you give me some more, some hemp wool or lamb's wool to spin? I hate sitting around doing nothing, it's better to keep your fingers moving, isn't it," Leenu was finished eating and laid her spoon on the table. Mother brought out some new work for her and Leenu started to make herself on her way. "Heavens, you're a kind woman, you are – so much grits and lard that I can't carry it all home! Well, who said there's no more good people left! Last time when I brought back the yarn, the matron gave me a clean shirt. Thank you so much, matron dear, for all these

good things! Good-bye, good-bye, I'll be back when the work is ready." Leenu went her way to the poorhouse.]

As a writer, Reinhold Wellner appears to exist in a literary limbo. His name is not to be found in any of Estonian writers' lexicons. His printed work appears to be limited to sketches published in the collection *Moment esimene*[19]: *Ühele naisele* [To a woman], *Rannal* [On a beach], *Mis ma mõtlen* [What I think] and *Melanhooliline skizze* [A melancholy sketch]. The contemporary Estonian writer and literary scholar Jaan Undusk[20] remembers that Wellner was briefly mentioned by Henrik Visnapuu in his memoirs[21]. Wellner's name came up in the context of the story of making *Moment esimene* and as part of the section giving brief details of its authors. The information Visnapuu provides on Wellner can only be described as basic. We will below reproduce two excerpts, the first from p. 232 and the second from p. 247, each followed by an English translation.

"[P. 232] Marie Heiberg oli „Murelapse laulude" tunnustatud autor, Richard Rohust ei teadnud ma midagi. Veel vähem aimu oli mul nende ühisest tuttavast Reinhold Wellnerist, kes hiljem esines „Moment esimeses" ja keda ma üldsegi ei ole näinud. [P. 247] Aga siis saabus sõda, mida nimetatakse Esimeseks maailmasõjaks, ja kirjanduslik tegevus jäi soiku. Isegi "Noor-Eesti" kirjastusel ei ilmunud enam midagi tähelepanuväärilist. Sõda pani punkti ka "Momendi" rühma tegevusele. Reinhold Wellner tuli varsti poolsurnuna Masuuri järvede vahelt ja suri varsti. Varsti kutsuti ka Richard Roht sõjaväkke. Meie daamid saatsid ta lilledega teele."

[[P. 232] Marie Heiberg was well known as the author of *Murelapse laulud* [Songs of the problem child]. I did not know anything about Richard Roht. As for Reinhold Wellner, with whom they both were acquainted, and who later appeared as one of the authors of Moment one, I did not even know he existed. [P. 247] But then the war started – the one known as World War One, and literary activities ground to a halt. Even the *Noor-Eesti* [Young Estonia] publishers were no longer publishing anything noteworthy. The war also put an end to the work

19 Marie Heiberg / Richard Roht / Reinhold Wellner / Henrik Visnapuu, Moment: esimene [Moment: one], Tartu: E. Bergmann 1913, pp. 51–60.

20 Private communication to the author, 2010.

21 Henrik Visnapuu, Päike ja jõgi: mälestusi noorusmaalt [The sun and the river: recollections from the land of my youth], Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv 1951.

of the Moment group of writers. Reinhold Wellner soon returned, half dead, from the lakes of Masuria and died soon afterwards. Not much later, Richard Roht was conscripted as well. Our ladies came out with flowers to see him off.]

I am not an expert and would find it hard to provide an assessment of the literary quality of Wellner's pieces. As for their genre, they all appear to be "melancholy sketches" – diligently sentimental descriptions of yearnings and vicissitudes whose reasons remain unclear. Be that as it may, the style and tenor of these sketches is markedly different from the uneducated-style "Leenu the mournful" performed in a dialect – so different that one might wonder if they are really the work of the same author.

The Leenu story gives the impression of having been part of a longer piece, such as a memoir (on the basis of the deixis used by the author – we, mother, etc.). I am not in a position to advance an educated guess as to whether Wellner had the piece on him or made it up on the spot, or used the text of another author (and then, whom?), or whether he was simply using the stock character of *Pläralära Leenu* [Blabbermouth Leenu] from Estonian literature. Neither can I find in my unaided recollection many instances of the use of such a character in the work of Estonian authors of the 19th and 20th centuries, nor evaluate the productivity of this character type, or the components that it consisted of. Apparently, during the 20th century the character of a gossiping pauper on community relief or an old woman allowed to live in a farm's sauna was employed chiefly in cheap plays and vaudevilles. As a boy, in the 1940s and 1950s, I heard many similar monologues performed in speed-talk (and often, in dialect) by one or another member of the local theatre clubs of Väike-Maarja or of Simuna school. Whether these originated from written material or represented instances of improvisation by the performer, I do not know. If *Leinadi Leenu* was indeed an original piece by Wellner, it could have been inspired by the following chapter from *Nõia tütar* [22] by Juhan Liiv, which he surely knew.

"2. Kuhu ta läks?
Weel suuremas hädas kui Mihkel minnes, oliwad naabrid, kes küsisiwad, kuhu ta läks. Jah, kuhu ta läks? Üks oli kurinaid kuulnud, teine õuest waljasõitu näinud, kolmas kuulnud, et Hansu Andres Aiale läinud ja pühapäewa riided selga pannud – see ikka midagi tähendas. Kui üks noor perepoeg kosja kingi kannab, on naabritel teraw aimamine; on aga

22 Juhan Liiv, Nõia tütar [Witch's daughter], Jurjew / Riia: Schnakenburg 1895, pp. 13–17.

naisewõtja rikas on kihin kahin seda suurem. Üks loodab õnne oma tütrele, teine sugulasele, kolmas, kellel kumbagi ei ole, tahaks wähemalt teada, kuhu seesugune hää suutäis kaldub.

Ja weel need naised, need naised!

Wõibla Annusse pererahwas istusiwad tares peretule ümber. Peremees punus lehma lõõga, sulane parandas hobuseriistu, naised kedrasiwad. Wõibla peres elas ka Pläralära Leenu, oma rohke lora pärast nõnda nimetatud wanatüdruk. Leenu istus ahju pääl ja sõi lusikaga kausist suppi, mida perenaine talle praegu oli annud.

Karjapoiss tuli õuest ja ütles, et Aia õuest kaks meest pühapäewa riides täkuga, saaniga ja kurinatega wälja sõitnud.

„Ehk Mihkel läks kosja," ütles Leenu ja peatas süies.

„Wõi, wist sinna!" arwasiwad naised. „Ta käis minew nädal linnas – ehk wist kosjawiina toomas."

„Selle sääl täkku turgutati," arwas peremees.

„Küll siis läks kosja," üteldi mitmelt poolt.

Leenu pani lusika käest.

„Kuhu, kuhu? Wõi ikka kosja! Jajah, näe, läks kosja. Ei tea kas Mäe Mihkli Maiele? Wõi Puskari Anule? No kuhu ta ometi pidi minema? Wist Kirsi Wiiule, kuhu siis mujale. Wiiul suur kirst riideid täis: kolm kasukat, wiisteistkümmend seelikut, kakskümmend paari kindaid – näe tuli tahab nuusata – kolmkümmend meeste särki – riitsika raiped oma kisaga – wõi läks koguni Raismiku Leenule. Seda öeldakse ei kuulwat madalast – wõi, no kuhu ta ometi läks?"

Ja Leenul tuli meelde, et tal homme Kõgedi külasse Jalaka perenaise lõnga tarwis ära minna wiima. Kui ta nüüd ei tea ütelda, kuhu Mihkel kosja läks, siis ei ole tal pääle Ohela Peetri otsasaamise mitte ühte uudist enam kõnelda.

Leenul ei maitsenud enam toit ega ahjupäälne, Ta kobis enesele wana kasuka selga ja läks Aia peresse puhtele.

Tükk aega pärast Mihkli ära sõitu lipsaski Leenu Aia omade kambri. Ta jäi ukse kõrwale seisma ja pistis käed kasuka siilu alla.

"Tere ka, siittalu rahwas."

"Tere, Jumalime. Eks aja taga poole."

"Wai ei saa."

"No mis siis kuulub?" küsis peremees.

"Keda, nõndasama."

"Toeta ikka ka puu pääle," käskis peremees.

"Wai ei saa alati istuda," wastas Leenu, istus aga nüüd pakutud istmele.

"Tulin waatama, kas teie naistel ju kedrus otsas on," algas Leenu toas ringi waadates. Kui selle pääle keegi wastust ei annud, küsis ta nagu kogemata:

"Teie Mihklit ei olegi kodus?"

"Sõitis natukeseks wälja."

"Eks ta ole. Noortemeeste asi, kes teab kuhu läks."

"Mis teie naised teewad?" tegi perenaine teist juttu.

"Nõndasama. Perenaine kedrab willu, tüdruk wantsib takku. Laisk tüdruk. Magab rohkem kui näppusi liigutab. Kuhu Mihkel läks?"

"Läks natukeseks wälja."

"Wai wälja. Ei tea kui kaugele. Kus Leena on?"

Peremees, kes juba tüdinenud oli, läks heitis sängi pikali.

"Leena ütles pää walutawat, läks magama," wastas perenaine, kes tülikast wõerast mitte ka nõnda kergeste lahti ei pääsenud.

"Tütarlapse asi, eks waluta ka wahest päägi. Pällu Miina olla Kaabu Peetri kihlad tagasi wiinud, kas olete kuulnud? Wõi, mis ilusad teki lõngad teil! Obela Peetri hobune olla minewal öösel otsa saanud. Kas linnikud juba walmis? Wõi olemata. Juudi Juhanile tahetawat kewadel oksjoni teha, ei jõudwat wõlga jäänud renti ära maksta. Perenaine, kas annad mulle matikese tangu, ma teen suil lõikuse päewa."

Sel kombel podras Leenu weel tükk aega edasi, aga nähes, et ta Mihkli sõidust ometigi otsa kätte ei saanud, läks ta wiimaks minema.

Kodus rääkis ta, et Mihkel Kirsi Wiiule kosja läinud ja Leena selle südame waluga, et teda ei wõetawat, silmad pääst wälja tahtnud nutta ja ei tea kuhu ära jooksnud. Kirsi Wiiu muidugi aga Mihklile ei tulewat, tal olla ju rikkamaid.

Teine päew rääkisiwad küla naised: Kirsi Jaak wisanud Mihkli kättpidi kambrist wälja. Leena olla ennast pimedaks nutnud.

"Kes kõneles?"

"Pläralära Leenu."

[**2. Where did she go?**

Difficult as Mihkel may have found it to set off as he did from Aia, this was even harder for the neighbours who were consumed with the question of his destination. Indeed, where had he gone? Someone had heard harness bells, someone else had seen him leave the farm yard, and yet someone else had heard that Andres of Hansu had donned his Sunday outfit and had gone to visit the Aia farm – this must have meant something. When a young master puts on his wooing shoes, the neighbours know that something big is afoot; when the wooing scion is a wealthy one, this makes talking about it all the more exciting. Someone hopes

the good fortune to befall his or her daughter, another to a relative and a third, who has neither, is simply curious to know who the lucky one is to have attracted such a juicy mouthful.

And then those women, those women!

The folk of the Wõibla Annusse household were gathered around the hearth in their farm cabin. The master of the house was weaving a cow leash, the farmhand was mending harnesses and the womenfolk were spinning yarn. Wõibla farm was also home to Blabbermouth Leenu, a spinster so nicknamed because of her incessant chatter. Leenu was sitting on the stove and spooning up soup from the bowl that the matron had just handed her.

The cowherd boy came in and said that he'd seen two men dressed in Sunday outfits ride out of the yard at Aia on a sled decorated with harness bells and drawn by a stallion.

"It must be Mihkel goin' out to pop the question," Leenu said, stopping the spoon in its tracks.

"Well, surely that's what this is!" the women agreed. "He was to town last week – probably, to get a bottle of vodka for the suit."

"That's why they were pampering that stallion so," the master mused.

"He must've gone to suit a girl," several voices said.

Leenu laid down her spoon.

"Where to, where to? Did he go indeed! Yea', would you have thought that, he's gone out to suit a girl. Do you think it's Maie of Mihkli? Or Anu of Puskari? Where on earth would he go? Probably to Wiiu of Kirsi, where else? Wiiu's got a huge trunk full of clothes: three fur coats, fifteen skirts, twenty pairs of gloves – look, the wick needs trimmin' – thirty men's shirts– oh those bugs and their chirpin' – or maybe he even went for Leenu of Raismiku? They say she can't hear since she was a little – or, well, where could'e have gone?"

And Leenu suddenly remembered that the next day she needed to go to Kõgedi village to deliver some yarn to the matron of Jalaka. If now she doesn't know it either where Mihkel has taken his suit, then she hasn't a single news to tell after Peeter of Ohela came to his end.

All of a sudden, Leenu could no longer enjoy her food, or her cosy place on the warm stove. She got into her old winter coat and made her way to Aia for a chat.

A while after Mihkel had ridden off, Leenu slid into the cabin of Aia farm. She stood by the door and put her hands into her coat.

"Greetings to you, good folks of this farm."

"Greetings to you, too! Well, come in, don't just stand there!"

"Well, I can't."

"Why's that then?" the master of the house asked.

"Oh, just that."

"Do take a load off," the master told her.

"Just can't sit all the time," Leenu said, yet took the seat that was offered.

"I've come to see if your womenfolk still've wool to spin," Leenu started, looking around the room. When nobody responded to that, she asked, as if accidentally:

"Your Mihkel, he's not home, is he?"

"He's out for a bit."

"That's the way it is. Young fellers, who knows where he's gone."

"What are your womenfolk up to?" the matron steered the conversation in a different direction.

"Just like that. The matron is spinning yarn, the girl is... She's a lazy one. Sleeps more than she uses her fingers. Where's Mihkel gone?"

"Out for a bit."

"Oh, out. How far out? And where's Leena?"

The master, who was getting fed up with this, went and stretched himself out on the bed.

"Leena said she had a headache, she's gone to sleep," the matron said, at a loss for how to ward off the bothering visitor.

"That's how girls are, they sometimes get headaches. They say Miina of Pällu has returned the suit of Peeter of Kaabu, have you heard that? Look at that – what beautiful blanket yarn you've got! They also say the horse of Peeter of Ohela croaked last night. Are the tablecloths ready? Or maybe they're not. They say the place of Juhan of Juudi is gonna be auctioned off in the spring, he not bein' able to pay off the back rent. Kind matron, will you give me a measure of crushed wheat, I'll come and help you a day during harvest."

Like that, Leenu went on and on for a while. Seeing that she was not going to be any the wiser regarding where Mihkel went, she finally left.

Back home, she told everybody that Mihkel had gone to suit Wiiu of Kirsi and that Leena, heartbroken over her lack of suitors, had wanted to cry her eyes out and had ran off without telling anyone where she was going. Wiiu, however, would not take Mihkel because she had wealthier admirers.

The next day, village women were saying that Jaak of Kirsi had literally thrown Mihkel out of the house and that Leena had cried herself blind.

"Who told you that?"

"Blabbermouth Leenu."]

9. Recordings of songs by Estonian prisoners of war: repertoire and its representations[1]

Janika Oras

The first questions that come to mind upon hearing the recordings of songs performed by Estonian POWs relate to the special status of the singers and the conditions under which the recording took place. What songs would I sing far away from home in a prison camp to a scholar who works for my captors and wants to record folk songs from my native tradition? Why did the Estonian POWs decide to sing those particular 13 songs to the German interviewers in prison camps during World War I – or why did the Germans decide to record those particular 13 songs? These questions have at least as many answers as there were singers. Unfortunately, we do not know very much about the individual performers and the circumstances of their particular recording situations. Hence, the present article will endeavour to place these WWI recordings of songs performed by Estonian POWs in a series of more general contexts, focusing on the repertoire of songs recorded and on the extent to which the existing collections of Estonian songs dating from the beginning of the 20th century may be considered representative of the Estonian song tradition of the time.

Since the POWs in question constituted a socially homogeneous group in several respects, we can consider the material recorded by its members not only as reflecting the Estonian song repertoire at the beginning of the 20th century in general, but also as an instance of the repertoires specific to social

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1 I would like to extend my gratitude to Jaan Ross for his invaluable input into the writing of this chapter and for the literature he provided. I would also like to thank my kind consultants Victor Denisov, Gerda Lechleitner, Žanna Pärtlas and Ingrid Rüütel for their advice. In order to avoid burdening this chapter with unnecessary in-text references, I have omitted those that point to the information, ideas or thoughts regarding the Berlin song recordings gleaned from the relevant works by Jaan Ross and Maile Nairis (Maile Nairis, Vanadest eesti ainese helisalvestistest Berliini arhiivides. Seminaritöö [On recordings of early Estonian material in the Berlin archives. Seminar paper], Tallinn: Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia 2007, in manuscript; Maile Nairis and Jaan Ross, Esimese maailmasõja aegsetest eesti salvestustest Berliini arhiivides [Estonian recordings of the time of World War I in the Berlin archives], in: Keel ja Kirjandus, no. 5 (2008), pp. 353–362; see also the chapter by Jaan Ross in this volume). Research for the present chapter has benefited from Estonian Science Foundation grant 7795.

groups such as men, soldiers and POWs. At the same time, we should bear in mind that any archival collection is bound to be a selective representation, one that is informed by the goals of those who participated in its creation and by the documentation practices of the period[2]. The Berlin recordings cannot pretend to be a complete representation of the reality from which they spring – for instance, they do not tell us what other songs the informants knew or which ones they preferred in informal singing situations in the prison camp, etc. Ideological and self-preservation motives may have determined the choice of the songs recorded. Singing may have provided an opportunity for the captured soldiers to reaffirm their national identity and to mount a passive resistance to their captors. At the same time, they may have wanted to please their captors with a neutral choice of songs and a willingness to cooperate. The primary goal of the German scholars recording the songs was to assemble a collection of cultural samples from all the peoples the German army had captured and to record the traditional songs of many different peoples for purposes of comparative linguistics and musicology research. Other factors influencing the choice of what was recorded also included the time and amount of recording media that was available in respect of each informant, as well as the German interviewers' background knowledge regarding the culture concerned, and most likely the interviewers' aesthetic preferences as well.

The topic of representation is related to the social construction of cultural heritage. How do the Estonian sound recordings in the Berlin archive fit into the context of other collections of sound recordings representing song culture in the 20th-century Estonia? The most extensive of such collections include the wax cylinders and shellac records in the Estonian Folklore Archives (1936 song recordings in total[3]). Another aspect of Estonian song culture is represented by commercial recordings of Estonian music from 1901 to 1939.

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2 See, e.g. Michel Foucault, The archaeology of knowledge, London: Routledge 1992, pp. 79–131; Charles Briggs / Richard Bauman, "The foundation of all future researches": Franz Boas, George Hunt, Native American texts, and the construction of modernity, in: American Quarterly, vol. 51, no. 3 (1999), pp. 479–528; Ann Laura Stoler, Colonial archives and the arts of governance, in: Archival Science, vol. 2, no. 1–2 (March 2002), pp. 87–109.

3 Ingrid Rüütel, Eesti uuemad rahvalaulud ENSV TA Fr. R. Kreutzwaldi nim. Kirjandusmuuseumi rahvaluule osakonna kogudes [New layer of Estonian folk songs in the collections of the folklore department of the Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald Literary Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR], in: Rahvasuust kirjapanekuni. Uurimusi rahvaluule proosaloomingust ja kogumisloost, Emakeele Seltsi toimetised 17, Tallinn: Emakeele Selts 1985, pp. 50–68, here p. 52; Janika Oras / Ergo-Hart Västrik, Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum, in: The World of Music, vol. 44, no. 3 (2002), pp. 153–156.

Assembled and published by Heino Pedusaar[4], this body of recordings contains a total of 1151 items, including 987 recordings of songs[5]. In terms of vocal music, in addition to popular songs, these recordings also include choral music as well as pieces from operas and operettas. The collection that is closest in similarity to the Berlin recordings of Estonian songs is constituted by 9 wax cylinder recordings[6] of songs by Estonian POWs from 1915 and 1917. These were made by Rudolf Pöch and Leo Hajek under the supervision of Robert Lach, and they are preserved in the *Phonogrammarchiv* – the Audiovisual Research Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna[7].

4 Heino Pedusaar, Eesti heliplaadiarhiiv. Estonian gramophone records (1901–1939), Tallinn: Ilo 2005.

5 There is also a collection of recordings of Estonian music made in 1939 (Kadri Steinbach / Urve Lippus, Eesti helisalvestised. Estonian sound recordings 1939, Tallinn: Eesti Muusika- ja Teatriakadeemia 2009) which besides classical vocal music also includes several popular pieces. These, however, are relatively far removed from the WWI period and will therefore not be considered in the discussion that follows.

6 Robert Lach, Vorläufiger Bericht über die im Auftrage der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften erfolgte Aufnahme der Gesänge russischer Kriegsgefangener im August bis Oktober 1917, in: Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 189, 3, Wien 1918 (63 pp.); Robert Lach, Eesti muusika arengulooline missioon [The mission of Estonian music from a developmental perspective], in: Eesti Muusika Kuukiri 1 (1929), pp. 6–9.

7 The first wax cylinder recordings of two Estonian songs (Ph 2631–2632) were made by Rudolf Pöch, the leader of the Austrian POWs' recording project. The performers are Adolf Mitt, aged 22, mechanic by occupation, and Boris Rea, aged 21, hairdresser by occupation. Both men came from the Pärnu region (West Estonia). The wax cylinder recordings (Ph 2829–2930) made under the supervision of Robert Lach contain seven songs from two performers: Otto Õunapu (spelt *Aunap* by Lach), aged 33, and Johannes Lettermu (spelt *Lettermo* by Lach), aged 35, both farmers from the Rakvere region. A much more detailed understanding of the repertoire of Estonian POWs can be formed on the basis of the lyrics and melodies of a total of 152 songs that were transcribed from these two, and from a third man, Johannes Mick, aged 27, a bookkeeper from Viljandi. The texts were included in the Estonian Folklore Archives in 1954 (RKM [Riiklik Kirjandusmuuseum (National Literary Museum), reference to a collection within the ERA (Estonian Folklore Archives) – techn. ed.] I 2, 101–152). They have not been published, yet have served as source material for a doctoral thesis defended by Walter Graf in Vienna (Walter Graf, Über den deutschen Einfluss auf den estnischen Volksgesang. Dissertation zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades an der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Wien, 1931/32, in manuscript).

9.1. Song repertoire of Estonian POWs

9.1.1. Structure of recordings

The two Berlin archives contain 13 different songs recorded by Estonian POWs. The number of actual performances is 14, since one of the songs was performed by several informants. Different recording strategies were conceived for wax cylinders and shellac records. For the former, the original recording plan was for the informants to sing only the first verse of the song, then to read out the rest of the lyrics and finally the first verse as well. The actual recordings show considerable deviation from the plan and only one of the four song recordings conforms to it – *Nüüd ses kloostres igavusest*[8] [Now in this abbey out of boredom] performed by Bernhard Sal, a locksmith from Võru. The other two singers perhaps failed to understand the precise recording plan or forgot about it in the excitement of the live recording process. Jan Pome, a farmer from the parish of Viru-Nigula, started reading lyrics not from the second, but from the first verse, and finally sang an excerpt from a completely different song[9]. Hans Wander, a farmer from the parish of Märjamaa, was probably confused by the fact that his song lent itself to division into "verses" in more than one way – the melodic cycle of the song was equal to one period, i.e. four lines, while the lyrics consisted of rhyming line pairs, which were subject to optional repetition when sung (Figure 9.1)[10].

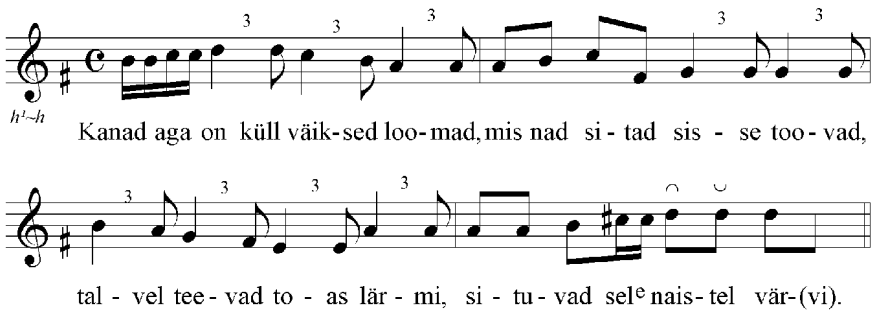

Figure 9.1. *Kanad aga on küll väiksed loomad* [Chickens are but small animals], performed by Hans Wander[11]. Translation of the text: Chickens are but small animals / they hardly make you any money / in winter they make noise in the room / their droppings are pigment for women.

8 PK 496 (3, 4, 6).
9 PK 494 (1–3).
10 PK 496 (1, 2, 5).
11 PK 496 (1).

The six wax cylinders contain 10 performances. In the case of six songs, only the first verse was recorded, and in the case of one song, two verses. Manuscript transcriptions of these songs also include further verses. In the case of three songs, the recorded part and the transcript are a near match in terms of their length, each running to two or three verses. Karl Warjun, a farm worker from the vicinity of Tartu, Karl Soo, a carpenter from Tartu, and Johann Tamm, an agronomist from the vicinity of Tartu, each performed three songs[12]. Johann Tamm also performed a duet with Peter Truusa (born in 1892), a farm manager from the vicinity of Tartu[13]. Since the duo were able to perform a song in two voices, and since, before the war, both resided in the vicinity of Tartu, one might even speculate that they were, for instance, members of the same choir.

9.1.2. Songs of popular authors

Most of the 13 songs performed by informants of the Berlin project were well-known in Estonia at the beginning of the 20th century. They can be divided into two large groups: songs of popular (contemporary) authors and traditional songs (i.e., songs whose authors are not known and which are transmitted by way of oral tradition). I will below refer to the latter as "folk songs".

Among the songs performed by the informants, there were five songs of popular authors:

1. *Kui Kungla rahvas kuldsel aal* [When the people of Kungla in the golden age] – lyrics by Friedrich Kuhlbars, music by Karl Zöllner, adapted by Karl August Hermann, 1871[14], performed by Karl Warjun[15]. The song describes a pseudomythological "golden age" of the Estonian people, and can be regarded as a manifestation of patriotic sentiment. See Figure 9.2 for a partial score and some of the lyrics.

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12 Respectively, Phon. Komm. 60–61; 87; 279–280.

13 Phon. Komm. 281.

14 The lyrics, adapted to music by Karl Zöllner, were published in 1870 (Friedrich Kuhlbars, Wanemuine ehk Neljakordne Laulu-Lõng. Laulud meeste-koorile kirjapannud Friedrich Kuhlbars [Wanemuine or a four-thread braid of songs. Songs for men's choir written down by Friedrich Kuhlbars], Tartu: H. Laakmann 1870). Zöllner's melody received a new arrangement by Karl August Hermann (Elmar Arro, Geschichte der estnischen Musik, Bd. 1, Tartu: Akadeemiline Kooperatiiv 1933, p. 167; Valter Ojakäär, Vaibunud viiside kaja [Echoes of faded melodies], Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus 2000, p. 25), which has been dated 1871 by the Estonian scholar Reino Sepp (ERA [Estonian Folklore Archives], KK 92).

15 Phon. Komm. 61 (1).

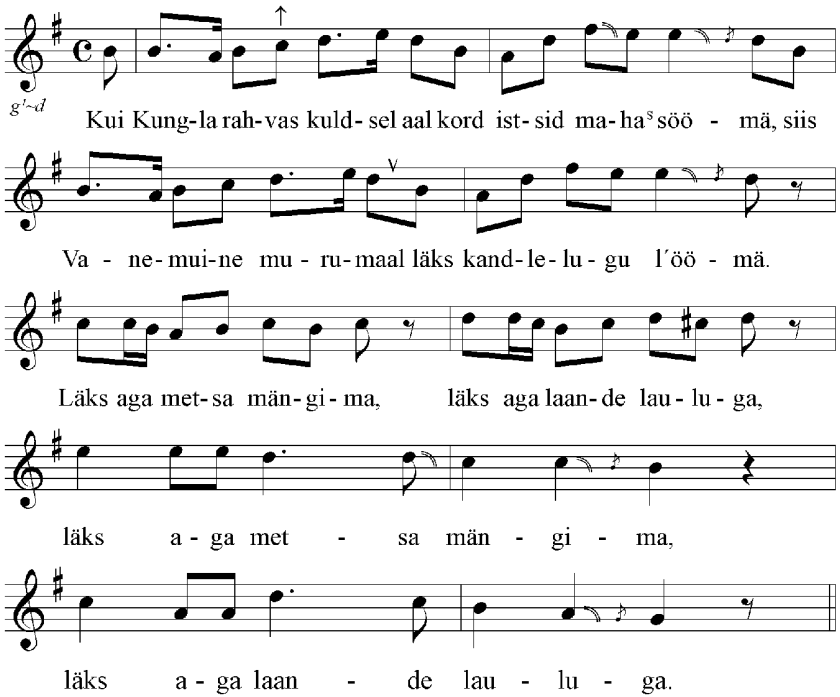

Figure 9.2. *Kui Kungla rahvas kuldsel aal* [When the people of Kungla in the golden age], performed by Karl Warjun[16]. Translation of the text: When the people of Kungla in the golden age / once sat down to eat / then Vanemuine on a meadow / went to play a song on zither / Went to play one in the forest / went to sing one in the woods.

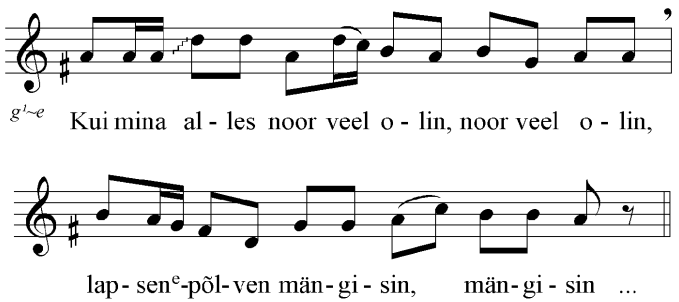

Figure 9.3. *Kui mina alles noor veel olin* [When I was still a young lad], performed by Karl Warjun[17]. Translation of the text: When I was still a young lad, when I was still young / as a child I played, and played.

16 Phon. Komm 61 (1).
17 Phon. Komm 61 (2).

2. *Kui mina alles noor veel olin* [When I was still a young lad] – lyrics by Märt Mohn, music: Estonian traditional melody, arranged by Karl August Hermann, published in 1876[18]; performed by Karl Warjun[19]. A nostalgic song reminiscing about the beauty of childhood and the fragility of human life – comparing the latter to the life "of a bird in a tree". See Figure 9.3 for a partial score and some of the lyrics.

3. *Mu isamaa armas* [My fatherland dear] – lyrics by Martin Körber, music: German traditional *Ich hab' mich ergeben mit Herz und mit Hand / Wir hatten gebauet ein stattliches Haus*, published in 1866[20]; performed by Karl Soo[21]. A patriotic song which extols the simple beauty of one's native country, the love of one's fatherland and loyalty unto death.

4. *Eestimaa, mu isamaa* [Estonia, my fatherland] – words by Friedrich Kuhlbars, music by F. A. Schultz, published in 1870; performed by Johann Tamm[22]. A patriotic song. Love for one's fatherland and memories of the boldness and courage of one's forefathers help one to persevere and remain loyal to the nation. This song held a prominent position in 19th-century songbooks and was chosen as the anthem of several Estonian organisations[23].

5. *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm* [My fatherland, my happiness and joy] – words by Johann Voldemar Jannsen, music by Fredrik (Friedrich) Pacius, published in 1869[24]; performed by Karl Warjun[25]; Johann Tamm and

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18 Eesti Postimehe Kalender ehk aasta-raamat 1877 aasta pääle [The 1877 calendar or yearbook of Eesti Postimees], Tartu: H. Laakmann 1876, p. 155; Matthias Johann Eisen, Kui mina alles noor veel olin [When I was still a young lad], in: Eesti Kirjandus 2 (1917), pp. 71–78.

19 Phon. Komm. 61 (2).

20 Martin Körber, Laulud Sörvemaalt, mitme healega. Teine jaggo [Songs from the Sõrve area, for multiple voices. Second part], Tartu: H. Laakmann 1866, p. 27; Franz Magnus Böhme, Volkstümliche Lieder der Deutschen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel 1895, p. 8; Lach, Vorläufiger Bericht (see footnote 6), p. 11; Ingrid Rüütel, Eesti uuemad laulumängud II [New layer of Estonian dance songs II], Tallinn: Eesti Raamat 1983, pp. 411–413.

21 Phon. Komm 87 (2).

22 Phon. Komm. 280 (1).

23 Kuhlbars, Wanemuine ehk (see footnote 13), pp. 10–11; Artur Taska, Eesti hümn [Estonian anthem], Tallinn: Kupar 1996, p. 30; Üliõpilaslaulik [Student songbook], ed. by Andres Parmas; commented by Kristi Aule / Andres Parmas, Tartu: Tartu Ülikool 2009, p. 33.

24 Johann Voldemar Jannsen, Eestirahwa 50-aastase Jubelipiddo-Laulud [Songs for the 50th anniversary of the freedom of Estonian people], Tartu: Wannemuine-selts 1869, p. 10; Taska, Eesti hümn (see previous footnote).

25 Phon. Komm. 60.

Peter Truusa[26] (Figure 9.4). A patriotic song which became the national anthem of the Republic of Estonia in 1918. The song expresses love for one's fatherland, the singer's gratitude and loyalty to it, and a plea that it should enjoy God's protection and blessing.

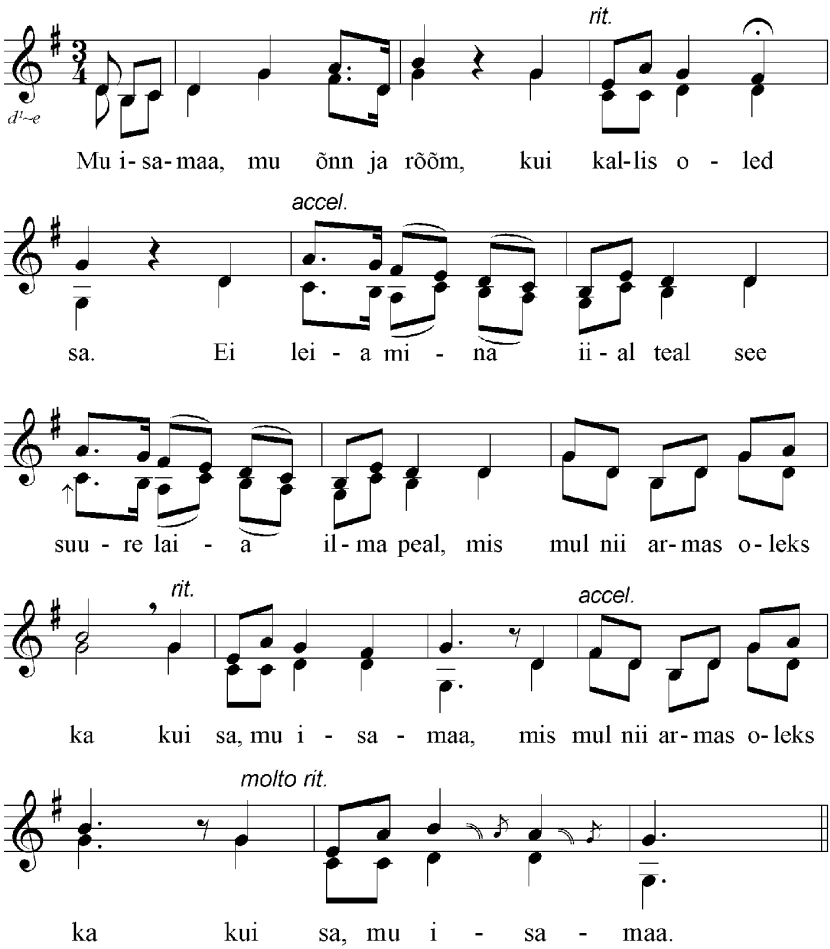

Figure 9.4. *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm* [My fatherland, my happiness and joy], performed by Johann Tamm and Peter Truusa[27]. Translation of the text: My fatherland, my happiness and joy / how precious you are to me. / I shall not find ever / in this huge wide world / anything as dear to me / as you, my fatherland.

26 Phon. Komm. 281.
27 Phon. Komm. 281.

Popular songs by Estonian authors of the second half of the 19th century were usually modelled on existing German material. Relatively new melodies from the Estonian oral tradition were also used, provided they were compatible with the principle of functional tonality. The five songs described above were often sung at schools and in choirs and quickly attained widespread popularity. We may assume that these songs – which are still known by many Estonians – were at least in fragments familiar to most of the country's inhabitants at the beginning of the 20th century, and that they were also sung spontaneously in various informal gatherings. It is no coincidence that three of the songs described here (songs 2–4) can be found among the material collected from Estonian POWs by Robert Lach, in which the proportion of popular authors' songs was comparable to that in the Berlin recordings.

Four of the five songs deal with the topic of love for one's fatherland. *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm*, the most popular Estonian patriotic song at the time, was even recorded twice. The song was based on the melody of a popular Finnish patriotic song (which subsequently became the anthem of the Republic of Finland[28]), to which Estonian lyrics were adapted. The song was first included in the programme of the first Estonian Song Festival in 1869. In 1884 it became the anthem of the Estonian Students' Society which, as the first of its kind organised by Estonian students, clearly supported the idea of Estonia's political independence. By the 1890s, the song had already acquired the significance of a national anthem – by previous arrangement or spontaneously, it was sung at various events as an expression of patriotic feelings on the part of its performers. At the Song Festival of 1894, for the first time, festival participants all rose and bared their heads to sing it. When the Republic of Estonia was proclaimed in 1918, *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm* was naturally elevated to the status of the national anthem[29]. Therefore, it is no surprise that the title of the score accompanying the 1917 recording of the song (performed by Karl Warjun) was given as *Estnische Nationalhymne*, and that the two-voice performance by Johann Tamm and Peter Truusa sounds confident and well-rehearsed.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the main focus of comparative musicology research, or of the "ethnology of music", was on early oral music

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28 Its composer Fredrik Pacius was a native German and the melody is based on a German mazourka (Vesa Kurkela, 1800-luvun sointikuva ja populaarimusiikki. Lähtökohtia varhaisen populaarimusiikin soinnin tutkimiseen [The sound of the nineteenth century and popular music. Points of departure for the study of the sound of early popular music], in Etnomusikologian Vuosikirja 11 (1999), pp. 73–90, here p. 81).

29 Taska, Eesti hümn (see footnote 20), pp. 9–93.

traditions – which was apparently what Hermann Jacobsohn and Georg Schünemann would have preferred to record[30]. Hence the question – why did they, and also Robert Lach, record a relatively large number of contemporary songs whose authors were well known? First of all, they probably had insufficient background knowledge of the Estonian song culture, and may have found it difficult to explain to the informants what it was exactly that they wanted. Yet, the more recent song repertoire, which reflected the contemporary developments in that culture, was also regarded as a material worthy of investigation. The developmental history of cultures was at the core of the evolutionary approach to culture, which is a theory that amongst others informs the writings of Robert Lach[31] and Walter Graf[32]. Both represent Austrian comparative musicology and both have published work on the songs of Estonian POWs preserved in the Austrian Audiovisual Research Archive. Moreover, the dichotomy of art song and folk song, popular during the time of Herder and the brothers Grimm, had been dealt a considerable blow by the view advanced by John Meier in 1906 in relation to German folk songs. Meier claimed that folk songs had originated as art songs (popular among the elites) and recommended that the popular art songs sung by the common people should also be collected[33].

Estonian POWs probably did not distinguish between popular authors' songs and folk songs. In Estonian print media, folk songs were understood to be any songs that enjoyed general popularity and/or whose melody was

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30 Such a preference is, for example, reflected in Georg Schünemann's (Georg Schünemann, Kurzer Abriss der Musik im östlichen Europa, in: Unter fremden Völker. Eine neue Völkerkunde. Hg. von Wilhelm Doegen in Verbindung mit Alois Brandl. Berlin: Otto Stollberg, Verlag für Politik und Wirtschaft 1925, pp. 310–317, here p. 313) assessment of the repertoire of informants from the Baltic provinces: "Unter den baltischen Völkern sind **Letten, Litauer** [boldface in the original – J. O.] musikalisch wenig ergiebig. Von den alten Liedern wissen sie kaum etwas, und was sie an neuen Liedern bringen, ist von westlichen Einflüssen durchsetzt. Eher findet man bei den **Esten** Reste älterer Volksmusik, doch ist bei ihnen eine einfache, ganz an deutsche Vorbilder – die übrigens zum Teil wörtlich übernommen sind – erinnernde Literatur die Regel." For an English translation of the excerpt, see p. 46, this volume.

31 Robert Lach, Eesti muusika (see footnote 6).

32 Walter Graf, Über den deutschen (see footnote 7).

33 John Meier, Kunstlieder im Volksmunde. Materialien und Untersuchungen von John Meier, Halle: Niemeyer, 1906; Erika Kross / Jürgen B. Wolff, Volkslied-Bücher. Kurzer Abriss über die Publikationen zum deutschen Volkslied [s. a.], http://www.volksliederarchiv.de/volksliedforschung-1.html, accessed 16 October 2010; Teresa Catarella, The study of the orally transmitted ballad: past paradigms and a new poetics, in: Oral Tradition, vol. 9, no. 2 (1994), pp. 468–478, here pp. 470–471.

borrowed from the oral tradition of the people[34]. When the informants were asked to sing folk songs, it is highly probable that what came to their mind first was a contemporary song of a known author. It is likely that at the turn of the century quite a few such songs were considerably more popular and held more importance than any folk song did at the time. After all, their message was instrumental in forging a modern "imagined community" – the Estonian nation – in what was soon to become a republic of the Estonians[35]. Because of the foregoing, the informants might have regarded popular songs as a better match to the category "folk[36] songs" than songs belonging to the diffusely distributed oral tradition. Moreover, the choice of these songs gave the POWs another chance to proclaim their national identity in front of the foreigners who were holding them captive. In an indirect fashion, the choice of patriotic pieces may also have been intended as resistance against representatives of the captors, and thereby of the German nobility as such – the historical conquerors of Estonia, who had ruled the country for many centuries[37].

Of the popular authors' songs, *Mu isamaa armas* is probably closest to the group of songs examined in the next section, which (primarily) represent the oral tradition. This simple song, adapted to a German folk melody, became a popular circle dance song throughout Estonia already in the 19th century. When singing it, dancers formed a circle, holding hands with the person next to them on either side. After each stanza/verse, the dancers sang a dance chorus and all those who were inside the circle picked a partner from the circle

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34 Vaike Sarv, Ideest teostuseni: paar aspekti eesti rahvaviiside kogumistöös [From idea to realisation: a few aspects in collecting Estonian folk melodies], in: Paar sammukest XVIII. Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi aastaraamat, Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum 2001, pp. 151–163, here p. 154; Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm, in: Postimees, no. 163, 27 July 1896, pp. 1–2.

35 Benedict Anderson, Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism, revised edition, London / New York: Verso 1995, p. 145; Kurkela, 1800-luvun sointikuva (see footnote 24), p. 81.

36 A factor that should probably not be dicounted entirely is the fact that (especially in spoken language) the Estonian expression *rahva laul* [folk song] can depending on the context be interpreted as "people's song" – cf. the German *Volkslied*.

37 Opposition to the local German elite occupied a central position in the national ideology of Estonia. "The golden age of the people of Kungla", which is the theme of the popular song performed by Karl Warjun, refers to a "golden" age that preceded the conquest of Estonia by Teutonic knights on 13th century (e.g. Jean-Jacques Subrenat (ed.), Estonia: identity and independence, Amsterdam / New York: Rodopi 2004). The special role of patriotic songs has also been highlighted in the memoirs of Estonians held in prison camps during WWII and in subsequent years (Ingrid Rüütel, Laulud Eesti elulugudes [Songs in the lives of Estonian people], in: Võim & kultuur, Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseum, Eesti kultuuriloo ja folkloristika keskus 2003, pp. 247–338, here p. 285).

to dance with. For example, Ljubov Toompuu, a 59-year-old woman from the parish of Karja on the island of Saaremaa, recalled in 1968 that the young people of her parish always used to start their summer dance nights at the village swing with the circle dance *Mu isamaa armas*[38].

9.1.3. Folk songs

The next eight songs are folk songs proper – their author is unknown and, characteristically of oral traditions, their lyrics and melodies have changed over time. At the same time, we cannot draw a fixed line between folk songs and popular authors' songs. The lyrics of several songs of this group may have originated from, or have been influenced by, verses of various quality, encountered in printed songbooks, in periodicals containing pieces by writers of different backgrounds, or in translations or adaptations of foreign-language songs or in the work of local village songwriters[39]. It is difficult to identify these sources, considering the fact that in the 1850s and 1860s alone several dozen songbooks were published in Estonia every year, and that there are precious few extensive studies on more recent folk songs. Many songs which have their origins in the oral tradition have also repeatedly been published in the print media with the result that the printed versions have influenced the sung versions[40]. The list of folk songs among the Berlin recordings starts with popular pieces such as[41]:

Nüüd ses kloostres igavusest [Now in this abbey out of boredom] – performed by Bernhard Saal[42]. A sentimental song widely popular in the

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38 RKM [Riiklik Kirjandusmuuseum (National Literary Museum), reference to a collection within the ERA (Estonian Folklore Archives) – techn. ed.] II 253, 131/2 (11). The Estonian Folklore Archives also contain a note regarding the song *Kui mina alles noor veel olin* being used as a circle dance song (ERA II 88, 533/5 (9)). Since in a circle dance the song and the dance between the verses are not related to each other, any song that consisted of identifiable verses could be used as a circle dance song. Of the Berlin collection songs, circle dance has also been mentioned in connection with *Nüüd ses kloostres igavusest, Kännu kukk tuli toast välja, Kui maru sees mässab mu rind* and *Oh mina vaene vanake*.

39 Ülo Tedre, Uusi jooni rahvaluules [New trends in Estonian folklore], in: Eesti kirjanduse ajalugu, vol. 2, XIX sajandi teine pool, Tallinn: Eesti Raamat 1966, pp. 192–216, here pp. 193–194.

40 Ingrid Rüütel, Eesti uuemad laulumängud I [New layer of Estonian singing games I], Tallinn: Eesti Raamat 1980, pp. 10–11; Ingrid Rüütel, Eesti uuema rahvalaulu kujunemine [Development of the modern layer of Estonian folk songs], Candidate of Sciences dissertation in philology, Tartu 1969, in manuscript.

41 The order of the list does not reflect the actual popularity of the songs, since it is based on the number of instances that a song has been recorded in the Estonian Folklore Archives.

42 PK 496 (3, 4, 6).

first half of the 20th century, transcribed for the first time by a folklore collector in 1899[43], published in 1905–1917 in a dozen songbooks[44]. A young girl is in an abbey and awaits her death, lamenting the passing of her parents and her fiancé's failure to keep his word; she promises to leave her pearls to her fiancé so that they would remind him of her and asks for light blue flowers to be planted on her grave[45]. See Figure 9.5.

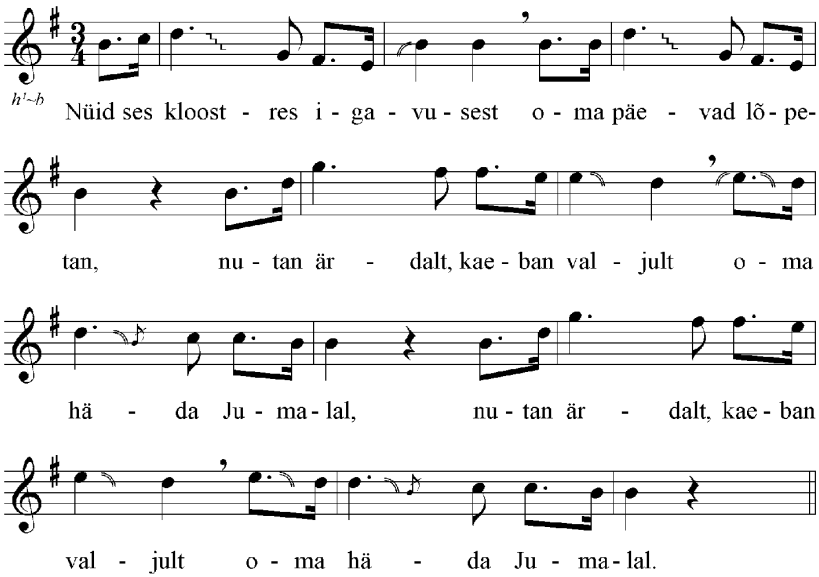

Figure 9.5. *Nüüd ses kloostres igavusest* [Now in this abbey out of boredom], performed by Bernhard Saal[46]. Translation of the text: Now in this abbey out of boredom / I shall end my days / I weep piteously, I lament loudly/ my woes in front of God.

43 As for the fact that the earliest year of collection shown for these songs is a relatively recent one, we have to consider that at the end of the 19th century new-style Estonian folk songs were collected by folklorists at best occasionally. It is only after 1904 that these songs started to attract the interest of collectors (cf Rüütel, Eesti uuemad rahvalaulud (see footnote 3), pp. 51–52).

44 Concerning publication prior to WWI, the material in the folklore archives only shows this to have been the case with one of the songs (*Nüüd ses kloostres*). However, we must also take it into account that the catalogue of folk songs in the archives does not cover all songbooks printed in Estonia and contains no information on songs published in periodicals.

45 The themes of the songs have been described to the extent possible on the basis of the lyrics that were recorded and transcribed from the POWs. In the case that additional details are provided in respect of a song's lyrics, this is indicated in the text.

46 PK 496 (3).

Kanad aga on küll väikesed loomad [Chickens are but small animals] – performed by Hans Warjun[47]. It is a village song that was very well known in the 20th century. The events of the song are always attributed to specific members of the local community. It usually starts, *Kännu kukk tuli toast välja* [The rooster of stump came out of the cabin], and was transcribed for the first time by a folklore collector in 1877. The folklorist Ülo Tedre has conjectured that the song was born in Vändra in Pärnu county[48], but it may also have originated from Saaremaa[49]. Of the *Kännu kukk* song which describes the bragging of villagers, Hans Warjun has only performed its final section, which offers a humorous take on the usefulness of chickens. He has also added an independent, less known joke song *Kui sina tuled väimes mulle* [If you become my son-in-law] which mocks the future son-in-law and the dowry offered to him. See Figure 9.1.

Oh kui süüta oli minu rind [O, how innocent was my heart] – performed by Johann Tamm[50]; a popular sentimental song from the first half of the 20th century, transcribed for the first time by a folklore collector in 1916. A young man complains that a young woman has lit the flame of love in his heart, but now her eyes betray her infidelity, and the forget-me-not flower symbolising love in the young man's heart has withered away.

Roheliste puide vilus istus kurvalt nutja neid [A weeping maid sadly sat under the shelter of green trees] – performed by Karl Soo[51]; a sentimental song, transcribed for the first time by a folklore collector at the end of the 1880s. A young maid weeps on the breast of her beloved, who must travel far away, and later keeps thinking about him in sadness. See Figure 9.6.

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47 PK 496 (1, 2, 5).

48 Ingrid Rüütel / Herbert Tampere / Erna Tampere, Eesti rahvalaule ja pillilugusid. 2. teaduslik antoloogia [Estonian folk songs and instrumental melodies. Scientific anthology II], Tallinn: Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia 1974, p. 18; Tedre, Uusi jooni (see footnote 35), p. 207.

49 Many early variants of this song have been collected from the Saaremaa island. In the earliest transcription by a folklore collector from 1877 this song is referred to as "a more recent song of the islanders" (H I 4, 62/3 (7–8)); one of its 20th century performers has recalled that he had heard the song approximately in 1875 in the parish of Kaarma in Saaremaa (ERA II 42, 339).

50 Phon. Komm. 280 (2).

51 Phon. Komm. 87 (3).

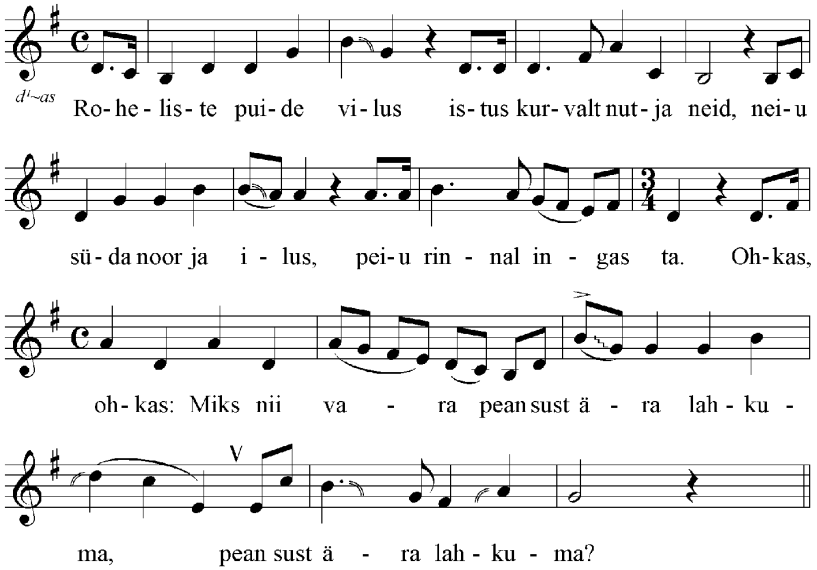

Figure 9.6. *Roheliste puide vilus* [Under the shelter of green trees], performed by Karl Soo[52]. Translation of the text: Under the shelter of green trees / a weeping maid sadly sat / the maid's heart young and fair / on the chest of her beloved she rested her head / She sighed, and sighed again: Why so early / I have to leave you / I have to leave you.

Kui maru sees mässab mu rind [My heart is caught within a tempest] – performed by Karl Soo[53]; a sentimental song, whose earliest transcriptions appear in two manuscript songbooks: one dated 1910 by its author, and the other containing material dated from 1896 to 1917 (including a number of undated pieces such as *Kui maru see mässab*). The singer describes his inner turmoil, his strong feelings, his leaving his home, and entrusts himself and his fate to God, promising not to complain.

Oh mina vaene vanake [O poor old me] – performed by Jan Pome[54]; a village song which has been used as a circle dance song. It is known only in Võru county (South Estonia), and was transcribed for the first time by a folklore collector in 1930. The song mocks a spinster who laments her sad fate, as no one wants to marry her. The longer version reveals that the reason for the lack of suitors is the woman's sharp tongue and the mocking song that the men are singing about her.

52 Phon. Komm. 87 (3).
53 Phon. Komm. 87 (1).
54 PK 494 (3).

Mina lapsepõlve sees [Me in my childhood] – performed by Jan Pome[55]; an instructive sentimental life story whose first transcription is found in the manuscript book of songs noted down during 1896–1902. The melody, as performed by Jan Pome, includes motifs characteristic of Russian songs[56]. The protagonist grows up in a tavern, does not go school and ends up in bad company which only values money – yet in spite of sadness for his decline he looks hopefully to the future.

Kellele sa kaebad oma valu [Whom do you tell about your grief] – performed by Johann Tamm[57]; a sentimental song that I was unable to find any parallel versions to from the sources used. You are unhappy, yet the world looks upon you colder than stone and laughs, and you must endure this pain like He did.

9.1.4. Recorded songs as group repertoire

Why is it that the group of recorded songs does not contain a single *regilaul* (an early type of Estonian folk song)[58]? Indeed, the body of songs collected by Robert Lach from three Estonian POWs (152 songs) does not include a single such song either. Most likely, the reason for this is that the men's active song repertoire did not include any songs of this type. It was precisely at the end of the 19th century – a period of rapid modernisation – that runic songs in Estonia were gradually supplanted by more recent rhymed folk songs. The field notes of folklore collectors indicate that during the second half of the 19th century it was still relatively easy to collect runic songs since the older generations generally remembered them. The situation changed drastically at

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55 PK 494 (1, 2).

56 Cf. Rüütel, Eesti uuemad laulumängud I (see footnote 36), p. 177.

57 Phon. Komm. 279.

58 *Regilaul*, or runic songs, represent an early singing tradition shared by most Balto-Finnic peoples. It is characterised by alliteration, set phrases, lack of strophes, verse parallelism, specific metre and melodies whose length as a rule does not exceed one or two verses (phrases) and which span less than an octave. For further information, see Lauri Honko / Senni Timonen / Michael Branch, The Great Bear: a thematic anthology of oral poetry in the Finno-Ugrian languages. Poems translated by Keith Bosley. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 533, Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society 1993; Urve Lippus, Linear musical thinking. A theory of musical thinking and the runic song tradition of Baltic-Finnish peoples. Studia Musicologica Universitatis Helsingiensis VII, Helsinki: University of Helsinki 1995; Ingrid Rüütel, Estonian folk music layers in the context of ethnic relations, in: Folklore: An Electronic Journal of Folklore, vol. 6 (1997), pp. 32–69; Jaan Ross / Ilse Lehiste, The temporal structure of Estonian runic songs, Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter 2001; Mari Sarv, Stichic and stanzaic poetic form in Estonian tradition and in Europe, in: Traditiones. Slovenian Journal of Ethnography and Folklore, vol. 38, no. 1 (2009), pp. 161–171.

the beginning of the 20th century – informants who knew runic songs were now few and far between in most parts of Estonia, because the generations who had grown up during the second part of the 19th century had no longer been exposed to this particular oral tradition[59]. Moreover, several Estonian POWs had already lived for a considerable period in cities where they could not hear any runic songs, and a number came from regions where runic song disappeared from the oral tradition relatively early – for example, such regions include the Lääne county and the vicinity of the city of Tartu[60]. However, on the basis of 20th-century folklore collections we can still assume that at least a few Estonian POWs had heard at home at least one or two older songs or parts thereof. Yet, for these songs to emerge from the back of the mind of an Estonian POW, the interviewers should probably have been aware of this older Estonian folk song tradition and should have specifically asked about it.

The absence of runic songs can also be regarded as a trait characteristic of men's repertoire in particular. In the 19th century, men were socially more active and mobile, while women tended to be more conservative and to travel less. This is one of the reasons why in the 20th century women were more familiar with runic songs than men – and why men played a dominant role in the spread of the new singing style[61]. At the same time, women's better knowledge of runic songs can also be attributed to the fact that the southern, i.e. Ingrian and Estonian, runic song tradition had in essence for centuries been kept alive and passed on by women[62].

Gender-specific factors have also been pointed out with respect to new-style songs – both in terms of the choice of song topics and the characteristics of style. Among the new layer songs, it is possible to distinguish between two large groups of themes: (1) songs describing everyday life in the village (village chronicles, songs about love, courtship, social problems) and (2) romantic/

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59 Tedre, Uusi jooni (see footnote 33), p. 213.

60 Cf. Rüütel, Eesti uuemad rahvalaulud (see footnote 3) and elsewhere in the present chapter.

61 Tedre, Uusi jooni (see footnote 35), p. 192; Ingrid Rüütel, Eesti uuema rahvalaulu varasemast arengujärgust [Of the early development stage of the new layer of Estonian folk songs] in: Paar sammukest eesti kirjanduse uurimise teed. Uurimusi ja materjale 7, Tartu: Eesti NSV Teaduste Akadeemia Fr. R. Kreutzwaldi nim. Kirjandusmuuseum 1971, p. 100.

62 Anna-Leena Siikala, Body, performance, and agency in Kalevala rune-singing, in: Oral Tradition, vol. 15, no. 2 (2000), pp. 255–278, here pp. 273–274; Ülo Tedre, Rahvaluule [Folklore], in: Eesti rahvakultuur, 2nd revised edition, ed. by Ants Viires / Elle Vunder, Tallinn: Eesti Entsüklopeediakirjastus 2008, pp. 423–445, here pp. 429–430.

sentimental songs and ballads[63]. The first group, with its characteristic ironic or mocking tone and unpolished directness, has been regarded as more typical of men's repertoire. These songs were of local origin and the known songwriters were also mostly men. On the other hand, the romantic/sentimental songs, with their focus on emotions and on unrequited love, have usually been regarded as part and parcel of women's repertoire[64]. These songs have generally been characterised as "ostentatious", "sugary", "sorrowful and lovely". They are largely based on various printed material and they also borrow from various sources – mostly from the German *volkstümliche Lieder* [folk-like songs], and at the end of the 19th century also from the Russian tradition[65].

63 The existing classification of new layer Estonian folk songs includes the following (partially overlapping) types: game and dance songs, sentimental songs and ballads, (village) songs depicting everyday life (dealing with topics such as social problems, love, village events and other villagers), military songs, sailors' songs, prisoners' songs, workers' songs, religious folk songs, exotic songs (Ülo Tedre, Riimilised rahvalaulud [Rhymed folk songs], in: Eesti rahvaluule ülevaade, ed. by Richard Viidalepp, Tallinn: Eesti Riiklik Kirjastus 1959, pp. 305–336; Tedre, Uusi jooni (see footnote 35), pp. 201–211; Rüütel, Eesti uuema rahvalaulu varasemast (see footnote 55), p. 14; Eduard Laugaste, Eesti rahvaluule [Estonian folklore], 3rd revised edition, Tallinn: Valgus 1986, pp. 238–244; Tiiu Jaago, Rahvalaul [Folk song], in: Regivärsist netinaljadeni: sissejuhatus rahvaluulesse, ed. by Mall Hiiemäe, assembled by Merili Metsvahi / Ülo Valk, Tallinn: Koolibri 2005, pp. 79–90, here p. 82; Tedre, Rahvaluule (see previous footnote), pp. 432–433).

64 Rüütel, Eesti uuema rahvalaulu varasemast (see footnote 55), p. 74; Ingrid Rüütel, Ida-Saaremaa külalauludest ja laulumeistritest [Village songs and master singers in East Saaremaa], in: Keel ja Kirjandus, no. 4 (1974), pp. 232–241, and Keel ja Kirjandus, no. 5 (1974), pp. 287–294.

65 During the Soviet period (especially in the 1950s and 1960s), for ideological reasons, the studies of new style folk songs focused on songs which dealt with various types of social conflict (cf. Marti Mereäär, Muhu olustikulised külalaulud. „Muhu lauluvara aktsiooni" materjali põhjal [Village chronicles of Muhu island in the collection of *Muhu lauluvara aktsioon* (Campaign of Muhu song heritage)], Bachelor's thesis, Tartu: Tartu Ülikool 2010, in manuscript). Sentimental songs with their tragic undertones were seen as incompatible with the Soviet social ideal of active citizens of bright disposition. The fact that these songs borrowed from written sources and often had literary origins also explains the meagre interest shown in them by folklorists. For the latter, such songs were merely a cultural manifestation of the Romantic spirit of the times and had to be kept apart from "proper folk songs" (folk songs in the narrow sense). The distinction between folk songs proper and what was in Germany termed *volkstümliche Lieder* – "folk-like songs" (a designation that Franz Magnus Böhme (Böhme, Volkstümliche Lieder (see footnote 20, p. iii) reports to have been coined in 1835), accompanied a literary/musical vogue experienced by German authors and composers in the 18th and 19th centuries. It is also natural that, once the Romantic era had passed, the old sentimental style was aesthetically difficult to accept. This could also be one of the reasons why several 20th-century treatises on Estonian folk songs expressed a favourable attitude towards the more dynamic, epic, less polished, emotionally more restrained, "strong" and "refreshing" style of men's/new songs (cf. Liina Saarlo, Stereotüüpia folkloristide keelel ja meelel [Stereotypes in folklorists' language and minds], in: Võim & kultuur 2, Tartu: Eesti Kultuuriloo ja Folkloristika Keskus 2006, pp. 291–324, here pp. 315–317; Liina Saarlo, Searching for art and history in folksongs, in: Singing the nations: Herder's legacy, ed. by Dace Bula / Sigrid Rieuwerts, Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag 2008, pp. 144–150).

Sentimental songs and ballads are dominant among the recordings of POW songs. Unrequited love, the infidelity of loved ones, forced departure from home and/or leaving loves ones behind, suffering, thoughts about death or suicide, as well as childhood nostalgia and solitude are recurrent themes in about half of the songs in both the Berlin and the Vienna collections[66]. All of these themes fit well with the general mood among soldiers and especially among prisoners – which begs the question of whether men's repertoire had become more "feminine" as a result of status changes involving considerable restrictions of personal freedoms – from free civilians to soldiers to POWs[67]. In fact, I believe that at the time sentimental songs in men's repertoire held a standing similar to that which they enjoyed in women's. These songs represented a universal genre that everyone could relate to. By the turn of the century, Estonians had become accustomed to romantic poetry and music, and in the second half of the 19th century sentimental songs became the dominant song type. The popularity of a number of songs was assured by the fact that they were used as circle dance songs[68].

To speak of specifically male repertoire, one should focus on the first of the divisions outlined above: songs describing everyday life in the village. There is a body of songs depicting everyday life situations that women mostly (or at least in public) did not sing. Of the songs described here, the one that would fit into this category is *Kanad on küll väikesed loomad (Kännu kukk)*, the jokes in which border on the grotesque and which contains a series of vulgar expressions. Hans Wander has performed the song with a village song melody in a typically monotonous rhythm, which has also been described as "men's singing style" and which is especially characteristic of Western Estonia[69]. Perhaps Georg Schünemann formed his impression that the songs of Estonians still contained some traces of early

66 In the Berlin recordings, the number of such songs is 6 out of 13 (including popular authors' songs), of Vienna recordings, 63 out of 152. Soldiers' and prisoners' songs, which can sometimes also be sentimental, are not included in these figures. There are also songs which can be classified in more than one way – therefore the numbers are approximate.

67 On the basis of autobiographies written by Estonians at the end of the 20th century, Ingrid Rüütel has also pointed out another type of songs in the repertoire of Estonian soldiers – "homesickness songs", i.e. lyrical songs about home and loved ones. In addition to those, the soldiers sang marching songs, patriotic songs and protest songs, as well as indecent songs (Rüütel, Laulud Eesti (see footnote 33), pp. 277–287).

68 Cf. Rüütel, Eesti uuema rahvalaulu varasemast (see footnote 55), p. 74.

69 Rüütel, Eesti uuema rahvalaulu varasemast (see footnote 55), pp. 65–70; Rüütel, Ida-Saaremaa külalauludest (see footnote 58).

folk music[70] while listening to this rendition – together with the melody of *Kui mina alles noor veel olin*, which is two phrases long and ends on the second step of the scale like many runic melodies did (see Figures 9.1 and 9.3).

The songs sung in Estonia at the beginning of the 20th century included a significant number of those dealing with war and imprisonment. Thus, it would be natural to expect the presence of such songs in the repertoire of our POWs. Yet the Berlin recordings do not include any songs of this type. As for the Estonian material in the Vienna archive, among the 152 recordings made by Robert Lach, we can find 5 soldiers' songs and 8 prisoners' songs. It seems that the proportion of these song types in the overall body of songs recorded from POWs would also hold in the repertoire of the average Estonian of the time. The topics of war and imprisonment were highly relevant in the entire society due to the turbulent period of wars and revolutions that started with the end of the 19th century and continued into the first decades of the 20th century. Many songs were indeed sentimental by their very nature and thus lent themselves well to women's repertoire, too. For example, Minna Kokk, a woman from Võru county, recalls how girls used to sing soldiers' songs in the days of WWI: "These songs were sung by the girls who worked as farmhands at the manor of Mõniste, pulling weeds, making hay, working in rye fields and everywhere. When Maali Käärmann's fiancé was killed in the Carpathians, Maali wept and sang[71]."

Why were the folklore collectors unable to record more prisoners' and war songs from POWs? Why does the POWs' repertoire appear to be very much akin to that of an average Estonian? As I already guessed before, the choices of the performers might have been influenced by their notion of a universal repertoire of all Estonians. Perhaps they regarded their soldiers' repertoire as too narrow to represent "Estonian folk songs" in their entirety. When we browse the soldiers' own handwritten songbooks, we can see that they contain significantly more war songs than we could expect in the repertoire of an average Estonian. And perhaps the soldiers noted down more war songs than they actually knew well enough to perform – songs were important to men, they wrote them down, but need not have had the time to learn each and every one by heart.

The everyday repertoire of soldiers also included songs which, due to their suitable rhythm, could be sung as marching songs. In principle, any song could be turned into a marching song if a suitable marching tune that fitted

70 See footnote 14 to chapter 3 in this volume.
71 RKM II 69, 386, translation by the author.

the song's rhythm was found. For example, Karl Soo uses a marching tune to render the sentimental farewell song *Roheliste puide vilus*, which was usually sung with a different melody (see Figure 9.6). Jan Pome's narrative (but still very emotional) village song *Mina lapsepõlve sees* also resembles a marching tune. Due to their patriotic message, songs about the native country (provided they had a suitable rhythm) were also popular as marching songs. Richard Roht, an Estonian writer, has recalled that the Estonian soldiers who served in the Russian army in 1916 used to sing *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm* as a marching song. Below, we will reproduce the relevant excerpt, followed by an English translation.

> *"[…] meeste tuju oli hea, laulud käisid, eesti laulud Soome pinnal vene sõdurite suust. Kurioosum igatahes. Eriti kurioosne, et mõnedki eesti laulud olid ju Soomest pärit. Praegune Eesti ja Soome hümn oli siis meie meestele veel vabaks leelutamiseks – ja põldudel töötavatel soomlastel polnud vist vähe veider kuulda oma hümni möödamarssivate vene vägede suust, keeles, mis tuletas meelde soome oma[72]."*
>
> [The men were in high spirits, singing songs – Estonian songs sung in Finland by soldiers of the Russian Empire. Indeed, a curious thing. A most curious thing, come to think of it, since quite a few of the Estonian songs were of Finnish origin. The current national anthem of both Estonia and Finland was then but a simple song to be sung whenever someone felt like it – and it must have been quite a strange feeling for the Finns working in the fields to hear their anthem from Russian troops marching by, in a language resembling their own.]

9.1.5. Repertoire and performance styles

The topic of repertoire also brings up the topic of specific performance styles of singers. It is difficult to draw firm conclusions regarding their individual styles, since recordings are few and a singer is likely to use different performance styles depending on the particular layer of his or her repertoire. In the group of POW informants, the one singer who stood out among the others was Johann Tamm. The folklore collectors have recognised his singing skills and have recorded three songs performed by him solo and one in duet with Peter Truusa. The performance style of Johann Tamm (and Peter Truusa) is influenced by the contemporary *Liedertafel*-style choir music or

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72 Richard Roht, Tsaari ohvitser. Mälestusi [An officer in the czar's army. Memoirs], Tartu: Noor-Eesti 1935, p. 36. English translation by techn. ed.

popular music and is familiar to us from the recordings of professional singers and choir singers from the first decades of the 20th century[73]. Johann Tamm consciously guides his voice, aiming to achieve a better vocal quality. He is more careful with his articulation than the others are, e.g. he puts additional stress on consonants (*khaasa* pro *kaasa* [with]) and frequently uses *rubato* – his phrases are often noticeably speeded up at the beginning and slow down at the end, his performance features dynamic crescendos and *portamento*-like slides when moving from note to note.

Yet Johann Tamm does not perform all his songs quite in the same manner. His rendition of the sentimental folk song *Oh kui süüta oli minu rind* is simpler, so to speak, than that of his art song performances – it does not use a consistent *rubato* and lacks dynamic changes. Bernhard Sal's performance of the sentimental song *Nüüd ses kloostres igavusest* is quite similar to that of *Oh kui süüta oli minu rind* by Johann Tamm. There are also similarities in the other men's renditions of art songs and sentimental folk songs. A feature common to all performances is a more or less frequent *portamento*, which indeed has been regarded as the most prominent marker of the performance style of Romanticism[74]. The relatively slow tempo of the songs is also conducive to the use of slides and characteristic strong augmentations, occasionally the end of the song (verse) is also drawn out.

The performances of Jan Pome and Hans Wander (and to a lesser extent the renditions of Karl Soo and Karl Warjun) are the least influenced by Romanticist music and resemble the style of early Estonian folk songs the most, especially when they sing the (village) songs depicting everyday life. The tempo is stable, the singers do not put any extra effort into articulation or phrasing, and there are no dynamic stresses or crescendo. As is characteristic of village songs, the singers occasionally use an epenthetic vowel to ease the pronunciation of a phrase and improve its rhythm (*toovad**e** kanad* pro *toovad kanad* [(they) bring chickens]). In Karl Warjun's performance of a popular author's song, one can also hear in his pronunciation an influence of the Võru dialect.

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73 Robert Philip, Early recordings and musical style. Changing tastes in instrumental performance 1900–1950, Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press 1992, pp. 216–217; D. Kern Holoman, Robert Winter / Janet K. Page / Robert Philip, Performing practices (I 7; I 8), in: The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians, 2nd edition, ed. by Stanley Sadie / John Tyrrell, London: Macmillan Publishers 2001, vol. 19, pp. 374–379, here pp. 377–378; Urve Lippus, *Liedertafel*'ist ja selle kriitikast [On *Liedertafel* and its Critique], in: Paar sammukest XXIV. Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi aastaraamat, Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi Teaduskirjastus 2008, pp. 113–136, here pp. 128–132.

74 Kurkela, 1800-luvun sointikuva (see footnote 24), p. 87.

What strikes the ear of a modern listener is the relatively high vocal register of the singers. This, of course, may be related to the recording situation and to the interviewers' instructions to sing in a loud voice. Loud, intense and relatively high voice was also used in (especially outdoors) public performances of early traditional songs. On the other hand, a high vocal register (the so-called head voice) is characteristic of women's performances of new-layer Estonian folk songs as opposed to the early ones, which were mostly sung with a chest voice. It seems that this change can be attributed to the influence of choir songs, where the primary melody is usually sung in a high voice. High vocal register could also have been a result of the influence of singing religious hymns in church. In certain contexts, the high voice could even have been an aesthetic ideal – for example, in operas, the roles of protagonists are usually given to tenors. Last but not least, the voices of individuals who lived a century ago may have been generally higher, since people then were shorter in stature than people living today.

9.2. Representations of Estonian songs of the first decades of the 20th century

9.2.1. Berlin recordings and recordings in the Estonian Folklore Archives

In order to grasp the representational significance of the recordings of Estonian songs found in Berlin, we should compare them to other collections which contain recordings of Estonian songs from the same period. Of the greatest similarity to the Berlin recordings are the wax cylinder recordings of Estonian POWs in the Austrian Audiovisual Research Archive in Vienna. These collections are similar in the number of recorded songs, which is very modest. Hence the question: what value could such a limited number of relatively brief song samples have in the eyes of the collectors? Erika Brady, who has studied the history of audio recordings as documents of cultural practices, points out a fashion trend that emerged at the end of the Victorian era. Its aim was to collect artefacts from the past to cater to nostalgic yearnings of people living in a period of rapid social change. She has also emphasised the extent to which, in the first days of audio recording opportunities, the thinking of researchers was centred on the (written) text – recordings were considered to have little intrinsic value, and were regarded merely as an auxiliary tool to assist the researcher in transcribing the (partly) recorded practice as a text. What was important was the transcription of the recording and not the

recording itself[75]. These observations help us understand the thinking of collectors who recorded POW songs, and for whom extensive recording was not the goal – apart from the fact that in any case it would have been difficult to realise, considering the technical limits of wax cylinder recordings. For example, Robert Lach, when he published the material collected from the Finno-Ugric POWs from Russia – mainly in the form of written field notes – wrote that the purpose of his audio recordings was *dem Forscher und Fachmanne stichprobenweise eine Nachprüfung der Korrektheit meiner Notationen and der Hand der phonographischen Reproduktion der betreffenden Gesänge zu ermöglichen*[76] [to make it possible for researchers and experts to perform a spot check of the correctness of my records by examining phonographic reproductions of the corresponding songs]. Although the purpose of the recordings in the Berlin collection (as well as those in the Estonian Folklore Archives) is defined in different terms, the fact of reducing songs to written lyrics and notations on staff paper indicate that the ultimate aim of the recordings was achieving a "tangible" text.

When we compare the Estonian Folklore Archives' earliest collections of audio recordings – on wax cylinders and shellac records (1912–1948 and 1936–1938 respectively) – with the POW recordings, the most significant distinction that we see relates to the substance of the recorded songs. To be more precise, the difference lies in the proportion of songs in the early style (runic songs) to those in the new style. The POW recordings do not include any runic songs at all, whereas the recordings in the folklore archives consist mostly of runic songs. New-layer rhymed songs only account for 41% of all recordings in the archives[77]. Considering that by the beginning of the 20th century runic songs had nearly vanished from the living oral tradition in most of Estonia, folklore collectors had to resort to conscious and sustained efforts in order to achieve such a result. These efforts were justified in the first place because runic songs represented a rapidly disappearing older tradition that was native to the country and, as such, could be considered a primary object of research in folklore studies. Secondly, for the ideology of

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75 Erika Brady, A spiral way: how the phonograph changed ethnography, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi 1999, pp. 14, 60–63. Using Walter Ong's (Walter Ong, Orality and literacy. The technologizing of the word, London / New York: Routledge, 1999) terminology, Erika Brady refers to the frame of reference of the collectors of the first decades of the 20th century as "fully 'chirographic'". Amongst other things, Brady gives the example of widespread practice in research papers of the time to forgo references to recordings even when reproducing material obviously taken from one.

76 Lach, Vorläufiger Bericht (see footnote 6), p. 9.

77 Rüütel, Eesti uuemad rahvalaulud (see footnote 3), p. 52.

the Estonian national movement and the construction of the Estonian nation state, runic songs represented precisely that artistically valuable ancient cultural practice which was common to the Estonians as a people (and, on a broader scale, forged ties between all Baltic-Finnic peoples) and could thus serve as the foundation for a modern national identity[78]. Furthermore, unlike in the manuscripts of folklore collectors of the period, where the proportion of new-layer folk songs is 61%, the proportion of runic songs among the audio recordings exceeds that of new-layer folk songs. This shows that folklore collectors appreciated the value of runic songs as well as the value of audio recordings as a special medium[79].

The overall numbers regarding material collected from the entire Estonia are not directly comparable with the material collected from POWs, which covers only certain regions of Estonia. There were still some places in Estonia in the 20th century where runic songs represented a living tradition and in several areas at least the older generation could remember them relatively well. I conducted a close examination of the material collected from the home regions of the singers of the Berlin recordings in order to ascertain whether and how many folk songs had been recorded in those regions, what proportions of runic songs and new-layer songs characterised the recordings and whom the collectors selected as informants[80]. The results confirmed that the collectors preferred runic songs. The total number of songs was 467, of which runic songs accounted for 68% and rhymed songs for 31%. A breakdown of the total into figures for each region shows that folklore collectors preferred to visit areas where runic songs were still relatively well remembered and were still used in certain situations. These areas included Urvaste in Võru county and Karksi in Viljandi county. The proportion of runic songs among the material recorded in the corresponding communities was also higher (the highest – 83% – in Karksi). New-layer songs constitute one third of the

78 Pertti Anttonen, Tradition through modernity. Postmodernism and the nation-state in folklore scholarship, in: Studia Fennica Folkloristica 15, Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society 2005, pp. 40–68; Regina Bendix, In search of authenticity: the formation of folklore studies, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1997.

79 Rüütel, Eesti uuemad rahvalaulud (see footnote 3), p. 51.

80 I examined recordings from the following parishes: Jan Pome's home parish Viru-Nigula and the neighbouring parishes Haljala, Rakvere, Lüganuse and Viru-Jaagupi; Hans Wander's home parish Märjamaa and the neighbouring parishes Kullamaa, Nissi, Hageri, Rapla and Vigala; Johann Tamm's home parish Karksi and the neighbouring parishes Halliste, Paistu, Helme and Tarvastu, Bernhard Sal's and Karl Warjun's home parish Urvaste and the neighbouring parishes Sangaste, Otepää, Kanepi, Põlva, Rõuge and Karula. In connection with Karl Soo and Peter Truusa, I examined material from parishes located in the vicinity of Tartu: Tartu-Maarja, Nõo, Äksi, Maarja-Magdaleena, Võnnu, Kambja, Kodavere.

recordings made in the vicinity of Tartu and make up the majority of the material recorded in Märjamaa[81]. The total number of songs (including new-layer songs) recorded from these areas is relatively low, showing that the areas did not represent any significant interest for most of the collectors. We can also add that no recordings had been made in Viru-Nigula, the home parish of Jan Pome, or in Nõo, the home parish of Peter Truusa[82].

When we take a look at the gender composition of the group of performers – 94 women and 20 men – we can see that women were clearly preferred by folklore collectors, the main reason once again being their better knowledge of runic songs. The average age of performers is twice that of the POWs – 60 years. At the same time, as expected, the average age of runic song performers was higher than the average age of informants who only performed new-style folk songs (64 and 46 respectively). In terms of age and gender, there are almost no overlapping performer groups if we compare the Berlin recordings to those in the Estonian Folklore Archives – the folklore archives contain no recordings from men in their twenties (the youngest performers recorded are two men in their thirties, both of whom have contributed one song).

When we attempt to trace the recording history of the songs found in the Berlin collection, we see it to reflect the overall recording choices of the time, i.e. new-style folk songs were recorded less frequently and popular authors' songs were avoided. Thus, the earliest recordings in the Estonian Folklore Archives of the well-known new-style folk songs *Nüüd ses kloostres igavusest, Kanad aga on küll väiksed loomad (Kännu kukk)* and *Oh kui süüta oli minu rind* were made as late as in the second half of the 20th century, in the age of magnetic tape. From the same period we also have the first recording of *Roheliste puide vilus*, while there are no recordings of less known songs such as *Mina lapsepõlve sees*, *Kui maru sees mässab mu rind* and *Kellele sa kaebad oma valu*. As a widely popular circle dance song, the popular author's song *Mu isamaa armas* was recorded (on wax cylinder) for the first time in 1933.

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81 The higher than average number of new-layer folk songs recorded from Märjamaa can be attributed to the fact that people there knew many religious folk songs which, although categorised as new-style folk songs, were still of considerable interest to several folklore collectors of the time.

82 The number of song recordings divided by area is as follows: Urvaste area – 177; Karksi area – 111; the vicinity of Tartu – 82; Märjamaa area – 54. Viru-Nigula is an exceptional case because it only had two informants (both women), one from Haljala (34 songs) and the other from Rakvere parish (9 songs). Of course, the factors influencing the number of recordings made included distance from Tartu, which was the centre that folklore collectors mostly operated from, the collectors' personal interests and preferences, as well as a series of random factors.

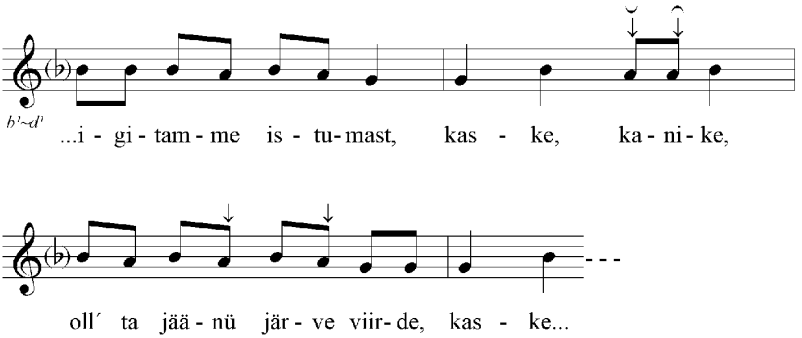

Figure 9.7. A runic wedding song to mock the bride, recorded in 1912 on phonograph by Armas Otto Väisänen from Eeva Vallner, aged 75 (native of Sangaste parish)[83]. Translation of the text: [Be grateful to our brother who's picked up the old hay mound][84], who's rooted up the ancient oak, *kaske, kanike*. She was sitting by the lake, *kaske, kani*…

Its numerous subsequent recordings can probably be attributed to the fact that the dance choruses of circle dance songs were a purely oral tradition that changed over time and thus attracted the interest of folklore collectors[85]. As for *Oh mina vaene vanake*[86] and *Kui Kungla rahvas*[87], their first recordings were made in Estonia in 1912 by the acclaimed folklore collector and scholar Armas Otto Väisänen[88]. Väisanen's informants performed *Oh mina vaene*

83 ERA, Fon. 10 a.

84 A translation of the beginning of the verse (original version: *Tenake no meiä velle, keä võtt sao saisamast*), not shown in the excerpt but necessary in order to understand the second part of the verse.

85 With respect to the recordings made during the period of Soviet rule in Estonia, the song had the good fortune of not having a political connection – two of its contemporaries, *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm* and *Eestimaa, mu isamaa*, which had a clear connection to independent Estonian statehood, could not be publicly performed or recorded during the Soviet period and would probably have attracted serious sanctions to any researcher/collector who would have dared to become involved in such an event. Of course, they were not used in circle dances, and thus did not represent a particular interest for collectors either. For these reasons, their first recordings stem from the time of Estonia's second national awakening at the turn of the 1980s. By that time, these songs may be said to have effectively been liberated from the mould of institutionalised performance, and thus to have entered the folklore domain.

86 ERA, Fon. 25 c.

87 ERA, Fon. 7 f [fragment] and 8 b, Karula parish, Vana-Antsla municipality, performed in two voices.

88 By making these recordings, Väisanen, at the time still a student at Helsinki University, became the first collector in the history of Estonian folklore collection fieldwork to use the phonograph.

vanake using a melody different from the one used by the Berlin informants. As already stated above *Kungla rahvas* was a popular author's song (as was *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm*). The presence of this song on the first wax cylinder recordings is somewhat unexpected. Väisänen probably knew that it was not a folk song "proper" – he has not provided any notations and the information regarding the performers is uncertain. It is a telling fact that one of the singers was a 12-year-old girl – Adele Paola, while the other, a lower voice, was probably Anna Karolina Asser, aged 43. Väisänen also made other recordings while he visited this family. He had an excellent rapport with people and it is possible that as a kind gesture to the family he decided to record on his "wondrous machine" a song that appealed to his hosts. In the context of fieldwork, this performance of a more modern piece of music may have been a welcome change to Väisänen himself – from his field notes we can glean that he had aesthetic objections to at least some performances of the earliest runic songs (for an example of such songs, see Figure 9.7)[89].

9.2.2. Berlin recordings and the Estonian gramophone records archive

Another collection that contains recordings of Estonian songs and that dates from the beginning of the 20th century is the collection of commercial recordings made between 1901 and 1939 by various record labels. The material in this collection differs considerably from the recordings of ethnographic or folklore material performed a cappella or in duo and discussed in this chapter. The commercial recordings feature appearances by entire choirs; solo performances have instrumental accompaniment, soloists are professional or semi-professional singers and the material performed consists of art songs or arrangements of traditional music. At the same time, the commercial record-

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89 Conflicts between the ideological and aesthetic musical preferences were rather common among folklore collectors of the time (e.g., Kati Heinonen, Armas Launiksen fonogrammit Soikkolasta: laulutavan, runon ja laulutilanteen välisiä yhteyksiä kalevalamittaisessa runoudessa [Phonograph recordings of Armas Launis from Soikkola: interplay of expressive manner, lyrics and performance situation in Kalevala-metric songs], pro gradu thesis, Helsingin yliopisto, Kulttuurien tutkimuksen laitos 2005, pp. 39–40, in manuscript; Janika Oras, Viie 20. sajandi naise regilaulumaailm: arhiivitekstid, kogemused ja mälestused [The *regilaul* world of five 20th-century women: archive records, experiences and memoirs], Eesti Rahvaluule Arhiivi toimetused 27, Tartu: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi Teaduskirjastus 2008, pp. 293–294). Armas Otto Väisänen tells us the following in his field notes: "Indeed, especially in the *kaske-kanke* songs [archaic runic wedding songs with short melodies consisting of 3–4 notes] we can see that their simple melody to a large extent resembles the intonation of speech. It was the most obvious in the performances of a certain Eeva Wallner, who was the most primitive and – if I may say so – the most off-key of all singers whom I have met" (EÜS [Eesti Üliõpilaste Selts (Estonian Students' Society), reference to a collection within the ERA (Estonian Folklore Archives) – techn. ed.] IX 1262).

ings highlight an important aspect of the musical reality in which the POWs existed. Commercial recordings can be presumed to have been made of the most popular songs, and the manner of their performance in those recordings is likely to have had an impact on the performance style of recreational singers.

When we compare the repertoire of songs preserved in the Estonian gramophone records archives to that of the Berlin collection, it is not surprising that we should find the gramophone records archives to include recordings of all art songs that POW informants contributed to the Berlin project. The gramophone records archive contains the largest number of recordings in respect of the songs *Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm* and *Kui Kungla rahvas kuldsel aal*. There are two recordings of the song *Mu isamaa armas*. The archive also holds a recording of *Eestimaa, mu isamaa* and *Kui mina alles noor veel olin*. As for commercial recordings of folk songs, the archive features *Kännu kukk* (in the Berlin recording, under the title *Kanad on küll väikesed loomad*) performed by the widely popular singer Aleksander Arder. The fact that a well-known circle dance song and an arrangement of traditional song found their way onto commercial records is clear testimony to the abiding importance of folk songs in the Estonian urban culture of the 20th century. The Estonian popular music researcher Valter Ojakäär has pointed out that in spite of the Afro-American and other new music styles that gradually reached Estonia, *ei pööranud linlane kodumaisele rahvalikule laulule selga* [urban dwellers did not turn their back on Estonian folk-inspired songs][90]. On the same page, he also notes that as late as in the 1930s, an important part of the gramophone records produced in Estonia carried arrangements of traditional village songs of the type of *Kännu kukk* and contemporary songs modelled on the style of village song describing village reality and composed by well-known authors of entertainment music.

9.3. Conclusion

Together with their sister recordings in the Vienna archive, the Berlin collection of songs paints a unique picture of the singing culture of Estonia at the beginning of the 20th century, in particular with respect to the song repertoires and performance styles of non-professional male singers aged 20–30 originating from the countryside or from small towns. The contributions of seven informants are songs that they have learned in their native area – popular original tunes reflecting a budding national consciousness, or

90 Ojakäär, Vaibunud viiside (see footnote 13), p. 19.

more or less widely distributed pieces from the local oral tradition (or from among "folklorised" popular authors' songs). Although the Berlin recordings do not include any war songs or prisoners' songs, the widely popular patriotic and sentimental love and farewell songs appear to be a good match to the expressive needs of someone whose fate was to languish in the German POW camps. A couple of men's songs and the use of marching tunes are indicative of a group-specific repertoire. The men's performances feature different styles ranging from a homogeneous and calm narrative singing, which is closer to the performance style of early folk songs, to the style of Romanticist popular and choir pieces, which is characterised by conscious voice guiding and articulation, voice sliding, phrasing-induced changes in tempo and volume.

In addition to the total number of recordings, the Berlin and Vienna collections differ from the considerably more extensive sound recordings collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives by both the repertoire that they represent and their circle of performers. The repertoire of the POW recordings was largely determined by the POWs themselves. The collectors, whose work with the Estonian POWs was complicated by the language barrier and their insufficient knowledge of the repertoire, did not have as extensive an input into the repertoire choices of the informants as that of Estonian collectors who worked in Estonia. The body of performers available to the German collectors was limited to one of the sexes and to a specific age group. Estonian collectors have normally focused on older performers (average age – 60) and predominantly on women; the choice of informants has as a rule been determined by the informant's knowledge of the early folk song style – that of *regilaul* (runic songs). The backgrounds of this preference lie in the general interest in the old vanishing (cultural) phenomena, in the role of ethnology and folklore studies in the age of modernist upheavals and in the shared symbolic status of runic songs in the cultural space of Estonia and Finland. Although the German/Austrian folklore collectors would also have preferred the early repertoire, the samples of relatively recent song tradition also suited the focus of their scholarly theories.

Since in the beginning of the 20th century new-style folk songs in Estonia were not recorded systematically or frequently, the first recordings found in Estonian archives of several songs featured in the Berlin collection only date from the second half of the 20th century (starting in the 1950s). As a rule, earlier recordings in the Estonian Folklore Archives do not include any popular authors' songs – at the same time, their share in the Berlin and Vienna collections can be described as significant. Recordings of popular authors' songs and to a lesser extent of folk songs can be found in the Estonian gramophone records archive, which represents a collection of commercial recordings made

between 1901 and 1939 (thus being the third significant body of material on the Estonian song culture of the period under focus in this chapter). The overlapping part of the repertoire of the Berlin recordings is here even larger than it is with respect to the earlier recordings in the Folklore Archives, yet its mode of presentation (choir song and entertainment music) naturally implies a higher level of professionalism of the performing individuals and their performances.

On the whole, the recordings of song excerpts from WWI POWs constitute a small but unique link between the two big collections of audio representations of Estonian singing from the first decades of the 20th century. Together, these distinctive collections help us to better understand the idiosyncratic character of the Estonian song tradition at the turn of the century and the traits that it shared with the modern European song culture.

Appendix I.

The list of Estonian informants recorded in the German prisoner-of-war camps in 1916–1918

Parish names are abbreviated according to accepted conventions (for the full names see, e.g., http://www.folklore.ee/Reebus/kihelkonnad.html, accessed 3 April 2011). Phonograms marked with an asterisk have been lost. All names are written as appearing in the information sheet accompanying the recording and their spelling may deviate from the contemporary standard Estonian. Where followed by a question mark in brackets, the birth year of the informants has been calculated on the basis of his declared age and may thus not be fully accurate. For details of the recordings, see Appendix II.

	Name	Year of birth	Parish of origin	Village/town of origin	Occupation	Recorded phonograms
1	Alexander Birkwald	1875 (?)	JJn	Kursi	customs official	PK 497
2	Christian Hermann	1887	San	Puka	teacher	PK 731, 732, 733
3	Jan Hirw	1892 (?)	Vas	Lauri	farmer	PK 1257, 1258, 1260*
4	Silvester Kesselmann	1895	Vas	Loosi	mechanic	PK 729*, 730*
5	Jakob Klemmer	1884	MMg	Vara	merchant/accountant	PK 211*, 212, 213*
6	Oskar Lane (Laane)	1892	TMr	Tartu	mason	PK 733
7	Karl (Carl) Leppik	1881	TMr	Tartu	carpenter	PK 1079, 1081
8	Peter Mutra	1884 (?)	TMr	Kavastu	merchant	PK 1081
9	Jan Pome (Poome)	1881 (?)	VNg	Pada	farmer	PK 488, 494, 497

	Name	Year of birth	Parish of origin	Village/town of origin	Occupation	Recorded phonograms
10	Jan Randseb (Raudseb)	1890	San	Sangaste	merchant	PK 1076, 1081
11	Adolf Reiners	1885	Kul	Kullamaa	locksmith	PK 409*
12	Eduard Sitam	1887 (?)	Hää	Tahkuranna	electrician	PK 495*
13	Bernhard Sal	1877 (?)	Urv	Kärgula	locksmith	PK 496
14	Friedrich Sik (Siik, Siick)	1890 (?)	Rõu	Sika	farmer	PK 1077, 1078, 1081, 1255, 1256, 1259*
15	Karl Soo	1884	Äks	Äksi	carpenter	PK 213*, Phon. Komm. 87
16	Johann Tamm	1885	Krk	Polli	agronomist	PK 409*, Phon. Komm. 279, 280, 281
17	Alexander Tatter	1884 (?)	Krj	Asuka	shoemaker	PK 1080, 1081
18	Peter Truusa (Trunsa)	1892	Nõo	Tähtvere	farm manager	PK 407*, Phon. Komm 281
19	Hans Uipopu	1890	Rõu	Leevi	farmer	PK 1081
20	Hans Wander	1890 (?)	Mär	Märjamaa	farmer	PK 496
21	Karl Warjun	1892	Urv	Urvaste	farm worker	PK 211*, 214*, Phon. Komm 60, 61
22	Reinhold Wellner	1888	Urv	Antsla	writer	PK 408

Appendix II.

The sound recordings reproduced on CD

The phonograms reproduced as tracks 1 to 37 originate from the *Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* and those reproduced as tracks 38 to 43 from the *Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*. They are reproduced with permission.

Track	Archival press-mark	Performer	Date of recording	Place of recording	Description of content
1	PK 212	Jakob Klemmer	12 May 1916	Niederzwehren	reading (Luke 15:11-32)
2	PK 408	Reinhold Wellner	28 June 1916	Wittenberg	reading (fiction)
3	PK 488	Jan Pome	1 November 1916	Mannheim	reading (Luke 15:11-17, in Russian)
4	PK 494/1	Jan Pome	2 November 1916	Mannheim	singing (*Mina lapsepõlve sees*)
5	PK 494/2	Jan Pome	2 November 1916	Mannheim	reciting (*Mina lapsepõlve sees*)
6	PK 494/3	Jan Pome	2 November 1916	Mannheim	singing (*Oh mina vaene vanake*)
7	PK 496/1	Hans Wander	2 November 1916	Mannheim	singing (*Kanad aga on*, part 1)
8	PK 496/2	Hans Wander	2 November 1916	Mannheim	reciting (*Kanad aga on*, part 2)

Track	Archival press-mark	Performer	Date of recording	Place of recording	Description of content
9	PK 496/3	Bernhard Sal	2 November 1916	Mannheim	singing (*Nüid ses kloostres*, part 1)
10	PK 496/4	Bernhard Sal	2 November 1916	Mannheim	reciting (*Nüid ses kloostres*, part 2)
11	PK 496/5	Hans Wander	2 November 1916	Mannheim	reciting (*Kanad aga on*, part 1)
12	PK 496/6	Bernhard Sal	2 November 1916	Mannheim	reciting (*Nüid ses kloostres*, part 1)
13	PK 497/1	Alexander Birkwald	2 November 1916	Mannheim	reciting (*Kui kallist kodust läksin*)
14	PK 497/2	Jan Pome	2 November 1916	Mannheim	reciting (*Kas tunned maad*)
15	PK 731/1	Christian Hermann	2 February 1917	Puchheim	quantity contrast (vowels and consonants)
16	PK 731/2	Christian Hermann	2 February 1917	Puchheim	quantity contrast (vowels and consonants)
17	PK 732/1	Christian Hermann	2 February 1917	Puchheim	quantity contrast (consonants)
18	PK 732/2	Christian Hermann	2 February 1917	Puchheim	palatalisation contrast

Track	Archival press-mark	Performer	Date of recording	Place of recording	Description of content
19	PK 733/1	Christian Hermann	2 February 1917	Puchheim	reading (passage from novel by Juhan Liiv)
20	PK 733/2	Oskar Lane (Laane)	2 February 1917	Puchheim	reading (folk tale AT 1643)
21	PK 1076	Jan Raudseb (Randseb)	27 September 1917	Giessen	reading (Luke 15:11–22)
22	PK 1077/1	Friedrich Sik (Siik, Siick)	27 September 1917	Giessen	reading (Luke 15:11–13)
23	PK 1077/2	Friedrich Sik	27 September 1917	Giessen	reading (Luke 15:13–18)
24	PK 1077/3	Friedrich Sik	27 September 1917	Giessen	reading (Luke 15:19–22)
25	PK 1078/1	Friedrich Sik	27 September 1917	Giessen	reading (Luke 15:17–25)
26	PK 1078/2	Friedrich Sik	27 September 1917	Giessen	reading (Luke 15:25–27)
27	PK 1078/3	Friedrich Sik	27 September 1917	Giessen	numbers from 1 to 20
28	PK 1079	Karl (Carl) Leppik	27 September 1917	Giessen	reading (folk tale AT 1642)
29	PK 1080	Alexander Tatter	27 September 1917	Giessen	reading (folk tale ATU 921C)
30	PK 1081/1	Jan Randseb	27 September 1917	Giessen	numbers from 1 to 20 and from 30 to 100
31	PK 1081/2	Hans Uipopu	27 September 1917	Giessen	numbers from 1 to 20 and from 30 to 100

Track	Archival press-mark	Performer	Date of recording	Place of recording	Description of content
32	PK 1081/3	Alexander Tatter	27 September 1917	Giessen	numbers from 1 to 20 and from 30 to 100
33	PK 1081/4	Friedrich Sik	27 September 1917	Giessen	numbers from 1 to 20 and from 30 to 100
34	PK 1081/5	Peter Mutra	27 September 1917	Giessen	numbers from 1 to 20 and from 30 to 100
35	PK 1081/6	Karl Leppik	27 September 1917	Giessen	numbers from 1 to 20 and from 30 to 100
36	PK 1257	Jan Hirw	20 March 1918	Giessen	reading (Exodus 3:10-17)
37	PK 1258	Jan Hirw	20 March 1918	Giessen	reading (Exodus 3:18-4:3)
38	Phon. Komm. 60	Karl Warjun	12 May 1916	Niederzwehren	singing (*Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm*)
39	Phon. Komm. 61	Karl Warjun	12 May 1916	Niederzwehren	singing (2 songs)
40	Phon. Komm. 87	Karl Soo	12 May 1916	Niederzwehren	singing (3 songs)
41	Phon. Komm. 279	Johann Tamm	27 (28) June 1916	Wittenberg	singing (*Las ma kaeban*)
42	Phon. Komm. 280	Johann Tamm (JT)	27 (28) June 1916	Wittenberg	singing (2 songs)
43	Phon. Komm. 281	JT and Peter Truusa (Trunsa)	27 (28) June 1916	Wittenberg	singing (*Mu isamaa, mu õnn ja rõõm*, in 2 parts)

Appendix iii.

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Name and subject index

(text to be written on cd)

Jaan Ross, Editor. Encapsulated Voices: Estonian Sound Recordings from the German Prisoner-of-War Camps in 1916–1918

See Appendix II in the book for description.

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