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INTRODUCTION

Janika Oras

This special issue of the journal *Folklore: Electronic Journal of Folklore* consists of two volumes (67 & 68) and is dedicated to traditional singing with a special focus on older Finnic oral song tradition. The idea for this issue was prompted by the conference *Regilaulu teisenemised ja piirid* ('Transformations and Borders of *Regilaul*') held in Tartu on 26 and 27 November 2014. This conference, organised by the Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum, was the eighth in the series of conferences dedicated to the older Finnic song tradition, the first one of which was held in 2000. This year also marked the beginning of publishing a series of article collections on runosongs (Jaago & Valk 2000; Jaago & Sarv 2001; Sarv 2004; Lintrop 2006; Sarv 2012; Oras & Kalkun & Sarv 2014). Most of the articles in the series were written on the basis of the presentations given at these conferences.

Furthermore, the first decade of the 2000s witnessed the enhancing of cooperation among runosong researchers from Estonia and Finland in preparing runosong databases (http://skvr.fi/ and http://www.folklore.ee/regilaul/) and in digital corpus-based research. The cooperation has a long history because the Finnic oral singing culture, which can be traced back to a distant past, has survived in the lived tradition in some areas to this day, has been accumulated into rich source corpora over the past few centuries, and has been an important research object of Finnish, Karelian, and Estonian folklore studies and ethnomusicology throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, bringing together researchers across country borders. This journal issue features studies by the Finnish and Estonian researchers who participated in the conference in 2014.

Next to particular ways of thinking, imagery, and language use characteristic of older oral singing cultures, the Finnic singing tradition is defined by having specific poetic features – special alliteration, parallelism, and trochaic tetrametre (see articles by Kallio, Sarv, Ross & Lohk, Kõmmus & Särg in this issue). Among Finnic peoples, the singing tradition and short forms of folklore in Kalevala metre or Finnic trochaic tetrametre have been recorded from Karelians, Finns,

Ingrians, Votians, and Estonians. The alliteration and parallelism typical of the Finnic poetic tradition are represented also in Vepsian singing culture. Owing to the long history and geographical range of the singing culture and the influences exerted by the neighbouring cultures, its poetic features are far from being homogeneous. Among others, the poetic metre as an indicator of the singing style differs considerably from the Karelian tradition with more clearly established metric regularities to the metric transitional forms, for example, in the songs of western and southern regions of Estonia (Sarv 2015; see also Kallio in this issue, pp. 19–20).

The regional variability of the Finnic oral singing tradition, and even more so the ideological meanings attributed to it from the modernisation period until today, are the reasons why terminology on the subject is inconsistent across different Finnic peoples and within the same language. Both in Finland and Estonia, terminology has recently become an object of lively discussion (Kallio & Frog 2017; Oras & Kalkun & Sarv 2014: 9–10). Another issue is that the (historically evolved) semantic fields of the terms in different Finnic languages do not completely overlap with those in the English linguistic space. Regardless of the fact that the terms derived from the title of Elias Lönnrot's national epic ***Kalevala*** have been justifiably problematised and deconstructed, they still appear useful in English discourse, helping English speakers recognise and emotionally relate with the old Finnic song tradition. In the current journal issue, the parallel term of Finnish origin, **runosong**, has been used (in English-language discourse, so far, also, 'runic' and 'rune' have been applied). Here the term designates the Finnic song culture as a whole, whereas the concept indicates both the flexibility of the shared poetic features of the singing culture and its variativity across geographical regions and in different historical contexts of use. In their discussions of Estonian and Seto runosongs in the English language in the past few decades, Estonian researchers have applied, in addition to 'runosong', terms adopted from the terminology of oral tradition in academic use – ***regilaul*** (*regi*-song, in which *regi* derives from a Low Saxon word for 'circle' or 'circle game') and ***leelo*** (a term derived from a song's chorus), respectively. These native terms also include the word ***leu'dd*** in Marko Jouste's article, which signifies the Skolt Sami branch of the Eastern Sami individual song tradition beyond the border of the runosong area.

The majority of articles in this journal issue shed light on the border areas and various transitional processes of the runosong, analysing either the lexical or imagery usage, poetic and musical devices of the songs, the oral or written expression of the (re)creators of the tradition, or discourses reflecting the ideologies of different times. Since a defining feature of the runosong is the unique poetic metre, song genres with poetic features partly overlapping

with the runosong, but 'not yet' or 'no longer' in Finnic trochaic tetrametre, constitute an extensive and vastly diverse border area of the runosong. The first group includes the so-called earlier vocal genres which are characterised by parallelism and alliteration and which were probably in use before the development of the specific Finnic metre. These genres have undergone several transformations, adopting the characteristics of newer music and poetics with flexibility common to solo genres (Pärtlas, Kõmmus & Särg, cf. Jouste). The second group consists of a variety of hybrid forms which have developed in the oral tradition under the influence of other, mainly end-rhymed singing cultures (Kõmmus & Särg) or which have been consciously shaped in written learned creation on the example of oral poetry (Kallio). Next to other song genres, the runosong shares common features in contents and form – but also differences stemming from genre specifics – with Finnic short forms of folklore (Sarv). The boundaries of the phenomena of the oral tradition tend to be inherently fluid and absorb the influences of each other. However, in the modernisation period the communities practised simultaneously singing styles that were remarkably different in contents, poetic form, and language – such as runosongs and written hymns, translated into Estonian by German clerics in the eighteenth century (Ross & Lohk).

Modernisation of the society introduced hybrid forms of the runosong and end-rhymed singing style, and eventually brought along the withdrawal of the former, but in parallel with these events, another major transformation process took place – the 'domestication' of the runosong in modern literary culture. The educated elite employed the runosong structure to formulate a completely different ideology (Kallio), adapted oral poetry to conform to the middle class ways of thinking (Hämäläinen) and demonstrated live runo singing on stage as the exotic Other (Kalkun). Performers of the runosong also participated in the process, describing their individual and community practices from an ambivalent participant-observer position (Oras). Next to the meanings assigned to the runosong by nationalism, it acquired additional meanings in the twentieth century, of which the impact of Soviet ideology on collecting and studying *regilaul* in Estonia (Saarlo) is discussed in this journal issue. The creators of runosongs themselves have 'documented' the transformation of their tangible and intangible culture for centuries. It has continued to inspire researchers to search for information on the former beliefs, practices, and material reality (Lintrop, Kama) hidden in the poetic imagery of the song verses by relying on other cultures or archaeological finds.

The first article, "Literary Kalevala-Metre and Hybrid Poetics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Finland" by **Kati Kallio**, delves into the Finnish-language repertoire by early authors, which reveals attempts to oppose

to the structural features of 'ungodly' singing culture in different periods, or vice versa, to use these in their religious or vernacular creation. The article offers the readers a chance to participate in the process of analysing highly varied poetic forms which allow multiple interpretations and have emerged largely as a result of the intuitive use of the poetic features of oral tradition. **Kristiina Ross** and **Ahti Lohk** discuss early Estonian-language hymnal poetry in their article "Words, Forms, and Phrases in Estonian Folksongs and Hymns". A lexical and grammatical comparison of two eighteenth-century poetic forms which existed side by side – oral folksongs and written hymns – reveals their essential differences proceeding from the different cultural context, ways of conceptualisation, music, and language use of the songs. Compared to the sources of Kallio's article, the Estonian hymns clearly indicate a limited familiarity of local German-speaking authors with the linguistic and cultural codes of Estonians.

In her article "Towards a Typology of Parallelism in Estonian Poetic Folklore", **Mari Sarv** introduces the current situation in the discussion on parallelism in runosongs and, comparing runosongs, proverbs, sayings, and riddles, proposes an original model for identifying the types of parallelism on the basis of semantic relations between parallel elements (words or phrases) in grammatically parallel units. Her approach is based on the idea of a coherent system of poetic devices in which the use of parallelism and euphonic means are closely related. The article "Star Bride Marries a Cook: The Changing Processes in the Oral Singing Tradition and in Folk Song Collecting on the Western Estonian Island of Hiiumaa" by **Helen Kõmmus** and **Taive Särg** gives a detailed overview of the archival representations of the older oral singing tradition, the *regilaul*, earlier vocal genres and transitional forms of Hiiumaa Island, and discusses the ideological, local, and personal factors influencing their creation. In the second part of the article (vol. 68), the authors will take a closer look at the songs of the region, giving examples of unique hybrid forms characteristic of Hiiumaa Island, which have developed as a result of a longer coexistence of different styles.

The approaches on structural phenomena and major song corpora are followed by case studies and analyses of individual performers-creators. **Liina Saarlo** in her article "*Regilaul* in the Political Whirlpool: On Collecting *Regilaul* in Northeast Estonia in the Second Half of the 1950s" observes the changing status of the runosong in Estonian folklore studies during the first decades of the Soviet occupation. Against this background, she discusses the representations of the repertoire recorded in the 1950s in Ida-Virumaa County, the most 'classical' runosong area in Estonia, in the archives, and in *Vana Kannel* ('The Old Psaltery'), the academic publication of Estonian *regilaul* by parishes. **Janika Oras** in her article "Mari and Marie: Performativity and Creativity of

Two Estonian Singers in the Late Nineteenth Century" analyses differences in the performativity of two outstanding female singers, shaped by the changing of song repertoire and performance situations alongside the modernisation of the society, their belonging to different generations of performers, and their different relationship with literary culture. In her article "Emotional Transpositions: Interpreting Oral Lyric Poetry", **Niina Hämäläinen** searches for clues to understand the popular lyrical runosong text *Armahan kulku* ('The beloved's walk') by Elias Lönnrot, analysing the oral sources that the text is based on and the views and attitudes guiding their literary rendition. The author has also observed the receptions of Lönnrot's text at different times, which, in turn, demonstrate changes in the concept of romantic love and gender ideologies.

The first two articles of the next journal issue, volume 68, will observe Seto culture from different perspectives. **Andreas Kalkun**, in his article "Introducing Setos on Stage: On the Early Performances of Seto Singing Culture", paints a colourful picture of the appropriation of Seto culture by the entrepreneurial and creative local elite of the neighbouring areas of the Seto region, who aspired to participate in the 'entertainment business' by staging exoticism of the late nineteenth century. The Estonians who performed as 'Setos', and the reception of these staged performances, form a peculiar mix of romantic national ideas on the one hand, and colonialist attitudes towards the exotic Others on the other hand.

Of the two music-related articles, both of which investigate solo genres, the first one by **Žanna Pärtlas**, titled "On the Relict Scales and Melodic Structures in the Seto Shepherd Tune *Kar'ahääl*", will continue on the Seto theme. The author shows the extensive variation of the musical scales of herding songs, which have survived in the oral tradition until the present day. This rich variativity seems to point to the early musical thinking characterised by the contrasting of pitch levels, the intervallic relations of which are not yet settled. The results of the analysis have inspired the author to improve the existing theories on the processes of scale formation. The article "Historical Skolt Sami Music and Two Types of Melodic Structures in *Leu'dd* Tradition" by **Marko Jouste** discusses the individual *leu'dd* song tradition that is central to the Skolt Sami culture. Jouste introduces the model of fragmentary phrase structure, characteristic of the earlier *leu'dd*, and demonstrates how the living song tradition has incorporated melodies and other musical features from the neighbouring cultures while preserving its main characteristics and identity.

In his article "Where Do Songs Come From? An Attempt to Explain Some Verses of *Regilaul"*, **Aado Lintrop** directs his attention to the former magic function of objects depicted in verses about singing skills. These objects bestowed the singer with the power to recreate and perform long epic texts. The religious

background of the imagery in Estonian *regilaul* is discussed by pointing out parallels with several shamanic cultures. The article titled "How Old Is Runosong? Dating the Motifs of Burial-Related Folk Songs by Using Archaeological Material" by **Pikne Kama** approaches the Estonian singing tradition from an archaeologist's perspective, searching for manifestations of period-specific tangible culture and burial practices behind the poetic images of songs related to death and burial.

This brief introduction demonstrates the broad thematic spectrum of the approaches to Finnic and Sami singing cultures in the two volumes of this special issue. The readers will hopefully find fresh ideas and inspiration to continue the discussion on the boundaries and points of convergence, stability, and transformations of oral poetic traditions. Finally, I would like to extend my heartfelt gratitude to the dedicated and cooperative authors of this issue, proficient peer reviewers, and the excellent editorial team of the journal.

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LITERARY KALEVALA-METRE AND HYBRID POETICS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURY FINLAND

Kati Kallio

Abstract: This article examines the blurred boundaries between different oral and literary poetics in early modern Finland. Both the first written examples of traditional Finnic oral poetry (in so-called Kalevala-metre with no rhymes or stanza structures) and the first rhymed and stanzaic poems originate from this very same period, often in various hybrid forms. Ambiguity and the hybrid character of poems means the contemporary audiences may have interpreted individual poems as relating to several poetic traditions.

The material demonstrates that the elites had knowledge of oral poetics that they both avoided and applied in various ways. In Lutheran hymns, the features of traditional oral poetry were first avoided, but, from the 1580s onwards, alliteration and some other features were incorporated into rhymed, iambic stanzas. At the same time, the clergymen and scholars also created a rhymed, heavily alliterated and trochaic genre of literary poems, which was apparently conceived as a version of the oral Finnish poetic form. Later scholars have often interpreted this learned, literary form as a misunderstanding of traditional oral poetics. In this article, it is understood as an intentional, hybrid form of rhymed couplets and Kalevala-metre. The various hybrid uses indicate that – contrary to the later scholarly views – the early modern writers did not conceive the old oral form as a conclusively pagan metre that should be strictly avoided.

Keywords: ethnopoetics, Finnic oral poetry, hybrid poetics, Kalevala-metre, literary history, Lutheran hymns, rhymed couplets

The first texts in Finnish derive from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Apart from some oral-derived charms and mocking songs in the court registers, the poems in the earliest Finnish sources were mostly written by the clerical, literary elite, who created the new genres of Lutheran hymns and literary poetry. The hybrid and oral-literary character of these earliest sources has resulted in a rather small interest in these materials both among the folklorists and literary scholars. Yet, the contemporary discussions on the interfaces between oral and literary traditions, ethnopoetics, and song metrics have created some new possibilities for interpreting early modern vernacular poetics.

Up to 1809, most of today's Finland formed the eastern part of the Swedish Kingdom. The Reformation in Sweden (1527–) marked a counterpoint in Finnish poetry. Along with the Reformation, the vernacular languages were taken into literary and liturgical use, rhymed Lutheran hymns were created, and the congregation was gradually taught to sing in the services. Latin remained the most important scholarly and ecclesiastical language, and Swedish was used in administration. It has been estimated that the most important writers of Finnish hymns, poems, and liturgical songs spoke Finnish as their mother tongue or as a very strong secondary language (Häkkinen 2005; 2015: 32–33; Savijärvi 1995). Thus, the situation is rather different from the Reformation in the Baltic countries, where native speakers of German created most of the vernacular hymns and liturgical texts (Ross 2013, 2015; Grudule 2016).

It has been a common interpretation that the new Lutheran Church wanted to efface the old pagan oral idiom, the so-called runo-songs in alliterative Kalevala-metre,[1] and slowly succeeded in this especially in western Finland (Kurvinen 1929: 14–17, 256–312; Sarajas 1956: 14–17; Siikala 2012: 28, 54–55, 97–98). It is true that the clergymen of the seventeenth century strictly condemned idolatry, sorcery, obscene songs, and ungodly behaviour (Sarajas 1956: 41–42, 69; Lehtonen 2016), and that the Finnish vernacular charms and mythological songs were often performed in Kalevala-metre (see, e.g., Siikala 2002). It is also true that no Lutheran hymns were written in the unrhymed style of traditional oral poetry. Yet, already Mikael Agricola, the leading figure of the Finnish Reformation and later the bishop of Åbo, printed one proverb and another short poem with oral-like stylistics in the first Finnish prayer book in 1543. Later, at the height of the Lutheran Orthodoxy, alliteration – the most visible or audible feature of traditional runo-songs – was incorporated into Lutheran hymns and literary poems, and, towards the end of the seventeenth century, the Kalevala-metre with alliteration, parallelism, poetic formulas, and syntax in oral style was used in literary poems by some clergymen. The most evident proof of the appropriation of the oral poetic form is the Lutheran Messiah of 2265 verses written in beautiful oral-like, unrhymed Kalevala-metre, published by a Lutheran priest Matthias Salamnius in 1690 (Kallio 2015b, 2016; Kuusi 1998).

From the nineteenth century onwards, the versatile character of the early modern literary Finnish poetics with hybrid forms, incomplete rhymes, and varying amounts of syllables tended to be interpreted as poorly developed and inadequate (Krohn 1862; Melander 1928; Sarajas 1956). Yet, taking an ethnopoetic view (Hymes 1981; Tedlock 1983), it seems evident that these features related to the vernacular aesthetics and oral-literary character of these texts. For the historical audiences, versatility and variation were appropriate features

of vernacular poetry (Laitinen 2005). We only have little and mostly hypothetical information of the variety of oral poetics and practices that surrounded the Finnish early modern literary works, but it is evident that the learned men created their vernacular songs and poems in relation to different poetic registers they knew in different languages, both in oral and literary forms, including Finnish oral poetics.

This article focuses on the uses of runo-song stylistics and Kalevala-metre in literary contexts and examines the blurred boundaries between different oral and literary poetics in early modern Finland. The analysis is based on previous research on the uses of Kalevala-metre in literary poetry (Häkkinen 2013; Kallio 2015b; Leino 2002 [1975]; Melander 1928; Sarajas 1956) and on the early hymns and chapbook songs (Kurvinen 1929, 1941; Laitinen 2005; Niinimäki 2007; see also Bastman 2014; Kallio 2016). The early modern poetic material includes the first Finnish hymnals and liturgical songs; some rhymed prefaces, a chronicle, and some other literary works; a few proverbs; literary congratulations, dedications, and condolences; and some oral charms and mocking songs in the court registers. Of these, only some proverbs, charms, mocking songs, and some late seventeenth-century literary works confine to all the constraints of traditional oral poetic system. Herein I use the term *Kalevala-metre* for the traditional Finnish tetrametre, and the term *runo-song* for the larger poetic phenomena related to this metre, but exhibiting some more variation. *Hymn* is used for both Lutheran and Catholic rhymed songs. The article is based on general reading of the corpus, mainly on the basis of published or digitised sources, and on more detailed analysis of some examples.

ORAL-LITERARY POETIC REGISTERS

Literary and oral cultures used to be seen as two separate enclaves. Scholars have provided useful insights of the typical characteristics of both categories (Ong 1982), but it was only the perspectives on the interactions of literary and oral traditions, and on the large scale of different oralities, literacies, and hybrid forms between these two, which opened up the discussion of the actual workings of oral and literary processes (Finnegan 1977; Foley 1995, 2002; see also Burke 2009 [1978]; DuBois 2006; Hansson 2000; Kuismin & Driscoll 2013; Laitinen & Mikkola 2013; Ramsten & Strand & Ternhag 2015; Tarkka 2013: 46–52, 80–84; on the concept of hybrid, see Kapchan & Turner Strong 1999). Literary traditions may be connected with or use features of oral traditions, and literary and oral traditions may interact in numerous ways. Literary and

oral spheres may relate, in various combinations, to processes of composing, recording, preserving, disseminating or using a poem. With hymns in particular, the oral character of even the most literary works is evident: these poems were affected by melodic structures and made for oral use (Laitinen 2003: 183, 207).

Although examples of rather classical forms of iambic tetrametre, regular verse structure, and complete rhymes are occasionally present in the early modern Finnish sources, most of the poems do not confine to these constraints. Thus, from the nineteenth century onwards, these poems were understood as undeveloped and clumsy. Since the 1970s, the ethnopoetic movement has reclaimed the value and meaning of vernacular and non-Western poetics, mostly based on Native American traditions. In this view, the linguistic and poetic structures should be analysed on the basis of the poetic cultures and practices themselves, not by valuing them on the basis of researchers' own cultural backgrounds and ideals. Both Dennis Tedlock (1983) and Dell Hymes (1981) have emphasised the meaning of performance and linguistic structures, such as intonations, exclamations, and breathing pauses, in creating culturally meaningful poetic patterns. Frog (2010, 2014) has discussed the problems that our own existing patterns of understanding poetics and metrics pose when we are confronted with past poetic traditions, which may be built on other principles.

In ethnomusicological research, Urve Lippus (1995) and Jarkko Niemi (1998) have analysed the structures of oral unaccompanied songs as an interaction of linguistic and musical levels (see also Niemi & Jouste 2002; Oras 2010; Särg 2001, 2005). The relationships of metrics, music, and performance may take different forms. In many cases the knowledge of a performance tradition does not change the view on metrical structures (Kiparsky 2006). Yet, depending on the local singing culture, genre, and singer, the musical variation and verse structures are sometimes connected in intricate ways. In traditional Finnic oral poetry, some local traditions used additional or omitted syllables, various patterns of repetition and refrains, while most typically the verses were performed as such. The poetic lines had a rather strict relation to the typical short melodies of one or two verses in runo-songs, and two or four verses in rhymed songs (see, e.g., Lippus 1995; Laitinen 2006). Nevertheless, when analysing rhymed folk songs, Heikki Laitinen (2003: 209; see also Ekgren 2009; Niemi 1998) has remarked that the performed forms and the relationship of musical and linguistic structures are sometimes essential in defining and understanding the oral poetic metre.

The uttermost objective of this article lies in the ways the poetic forms have been understood and used in historical speech communities. Direct evaluations and descriptions of poetic styles are rare and vague until the learned poetics

of the late eighteenth century. The main way to address the categorisations and valuations of the historical users of poetic forms is to analyse the ways in which they have used and combined different poetic features, contents, themes, performance contexts, writing practices, and genre labels. The basis for the further interpretation of the uses of poetic features lies in the views of linguistic registers as situational styles of communication, based on shared conventions within a speech community. The members of speech communities tend to associate linguistic registers (such as poetic forms) with some typical contents, ideologies, and contexts. By analysing how particular forms of language and performance have been used and evaluated, it is possible to access some shared meanings, identities, and beliefs associated with and carried by different poetic features. Yet, as Asif Agha notes, these associations tend not to be uniform or free from conflict even within a small speech community, and they may change over time (Agha 2004: 24; 2007; see also Kallio 2015a).

POETIC LANGUAGES IN EARLY MODERN FINLAND

On a very rough level, there are two common metrical systems in Finnish: Kalevala-metric (based on the stress and length of syllables) and accentual (based on the stress only). Typically, a poem in Kalevala-metre makes use of alliteration and parallelism, while accentual metres are combined with rhyme and stanza structures (Leino 1986).[2] Yet, these systems exhibit a large scale of different metrical forms, poetic styles, genres, and performance practices, and they also appear in various hybrid forms. The large scale is most evident in rhymed songs. Already the first Finnish hymnal from 1583 represents a variety of verse forms with different patterns of stanza and rhyme (Finno 1988; Kurvinen 1929). Heikki Laitinen (2005: 205–312; see also Laurila 1956) shows that the later Finnish rhymed folk songs contain a large variety of verse and stanza forms, albeit the rhymed couplet called *rekilaulu* (not to be confused with the Estonian *regilaul*) is the most common one in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century sources. Pirjo-Liisa Niinimäki (2007) has shown the metrical variation and the most common poetic patterns in chapbook songs, and Anneli Asplund (1997; see also 1994) discussed the poetic and metrical variation of rhymed folk songs and ballads.

The early hymns and later folk songs alike demonstrate both rather loose and stricter metrics: already in the first hymnal, some songs were written with a rather strict number of syllables or patterns of stress, while in many songs these do vary to a degree that it is difficult to define the poem trochaic or iambic

without comparing it to the original version in another language (Kallio 2016; Laitinen 2005). The unstable character of the early literary language poses another interpretive problem, as it is not always evident how some word might have been pronounced or divided into syllables. In addition, Kaisa Häkkinen (2005: 28) suggests that it was common for readers to read (or sing) the texts according to their own dialects. In Finland, this means a rather big variation in the word and verse lengths, as the words are significantly shorter in western dialects, and even more shortened in some poetic texts.

In Finnish folk and literary traditions alike, the rhymed, stanzaic poems are usually based on the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables. Contrary to Kalevala-metre, the length of the stressed syllables is not observed. In Finnic languages the number of one-syllable words in use is rather small. Along with the fact that the first syllable of the word is always stressed, this poses some problems in creating iambic patterns, and makes iambic inversion a common strategy. Alliteration and parallelism may be occasionally used, but they have not been characteristic to the stanzaic, rhymed poems (Asplund 1997; Laitinen 2003: 205–312; Leino 1986). Typical of oral metres and some early literary poems alike is that the pattern and number of first syllables of the line may vary even within one song. This means that the distinction between iambic and trochaic metres is somewhat blurred and sometimes rather irrelevant (Laitinen forthcoming).

The rich variation of poetics in the early modern Finnish materials indicates that influences were adapted and combined from various genres and directions. Evidently, the early modern Finnish clergymen were familiar with various medieval Latin poetics and singing styles (Hornby 2009; Page 2010). Latin was still used after the Reformation as an ecclesiastical and scholarly language, and many medieval songs – both measured and unmeasured – were translated into vernacular Lutheran songs (Hannikainen & Tuppurainen 2016). Most educated clergymen were familiar with both the classical Latin and Greek poetics and the oral and emerging literary vernacular poetics in several languages (Kurvinen 1929, 1941; Melander 1928). This means the early modern Finnish poets had models of very classical strict metrics, looser vernacular literary adaptations, and oral metrics in different languages. In Scandinavian and German late medieval and early modern metrics, it was common to have a varying number of syllables in poetic positions, accept some variation in patterns of stress, shorten the words according to poetic needs, and use rhymes that a modern reader would doom incomplete (Widoff 2013; Lilja 2006). On a large scale, stricter constraints were not fully applied to northern vernacular literary poetics until the influential German book on poetics by Martin Opitz

in 1624 (Gasparov 1996: 194–197; Gillespie 1971; Opitz 2016). The first two editions of the Finnish hymnal (1583, 1605) were composed before these poetic changes, and these hymns were used up to the nineteenth century along with the more regular, later ones. Also, in Finnish oral rhymed songs these early modern poetic features persisted up to the twentieth century, along with stricter poetics (Asplund 1994, 1997; Laitinen 2003; Laurila 1956; Niinimäki 2007).

Kalevala-metre refers to oral Finnic trochaic tetrametre. In the strictest form of the metre, most common in Russian Karelia and eastern Finland, the first foot may contain 2–4 syllables, the others 2 syllables each. In Finnic languages the first syllable of a word or a part of a compound word is always stressed, although some one-syllable words may, depending on the context, be non-stressed. Apart from the first foot of Kalevala-metric verse, the long stressed syllables should be placed at the rises of the metre and the stressed short syllables at the falls, while the placing of unstressed syllables is free. The verses with short stressed syllables at the falls are called 'broken verses', and they usually constitute about half of the verses in Finnish and Karelian oral poems. Verses without short stressed syllables in falls are called 'normal verses' or 'normal trochee'. In traditional use, the poems in Kalevala-metre do not make use of stanzas or rhymes. Alliteration and parallelism are frequent, but not structural or obligatory in every verse (Leino 1986, 1994; Sarv 2008, 2011).

Yet, in the practices of local oral cultures, the verse structures were more complex (Lauerma 2004; Sarv 2008, 2011). In Russian and Finnish Karelia, the strictest, regular form of the metre, described above, was common, but for example in certain singing styles in Ladoga Karelia, the verses were sometimes expanded into lines of 12 syllables (e.g. SKS KRA), and, particularly in Ingria, the last syllable(s) of the line were not always sung (Kallio 2013: 136–177). In spoken and dictated forms of poems, the words were often closer to local dialect and, correspondingly, the lines shorter than in classical metre, whereas in songs the words and lines were typically longer and linguistic forms more archaic (Saarinen 1988: 198–199; Lauerma 2004: 24). Especially in proverbs, the scale of variation was large (Leino 1970). In songs, the shortened words of dialects were sometimes augmented with additional syllables, or syllables were lengthened to fill several poetic positions (Lauerma 2004: 24–65). Occasionally, the division of word into syllables varied according to metrical needs (Leino 1986: 71–75). Heikki Laitinen (2006: 38; see also Leino 2002 [1975]) has estimated that the acceptance of a short stressed syllable on the rise of a poetic foot might be a rather old phenomenon in the oral runo-song poetics of western Finland, although it is not common in the strictest Kalevala-metre. Mari Sarv (2011) has related similar phenomena in western and southern Estonia to the

changes in language prosody, possibly as a result of old linguistic interaction with the Baltic and Scandinavian languages, which would be a relevant factor also in western Finland.

What further complicates the interpretations is that any detailed picture of the variation of oral poetic forms, genres, and performance practices in early modern Finland is beyond reach. It has been estimated that rhymed patterns started to be used in Finnish songs along the coastal line around the Reformation (Leino 1994: 56–57). Yet, theoretically, it would have been possible that some kind of experiments had been made much earlier. When the Christian faith was gradually taken into practice in Finland around the beginning of the second millennium, there were already rhymed Latin hymns in use, and in western Finland, both Swedish and German rhymed vernacular songs were plausibly heard through the Late Middle Ages (Häkkinen 2012: 23; see also Kallio 2015b). The scale of variation of runo-song poetics in early modern western Finland is beyond reach, although it is reasonable to assume that Kalevala-metre (with local variations) was the dominant oral metre. In about 50 texts of seventeenth-century charms, regular oral-like Kalevala-metre dominates, while some occasional texts are more prose-like. Recorded proverbs and riddles mostly relate to Kalevala-metre, with many shortened and prose-like forms typical of spoken parts of the tradition. The five known seventeenth-century mocking songs in the court records represent both Kalevala-metric, rhymed, and hybrid styles, but Kalevala-metre proper is used only in the songs from central and eastern Finland. This indicates that, in western areas, most improvisational, contemporary oral poems were already applying accentual, rhymed metres. On the other hand, there are fine examples of rather regular Kalevala-metre from the nineteenth-century western Finland (Kallio et al. 2017; see also Asplund 2006; Kuusi 1954). The early modern oral poetic system seems to have been characterised by a variety of versatile metres.

LUTHERAN HYMNS AND ALLITERATION

The first sixteenth-century Finnish hymn makers avoided the explicit features of traditional oral runo-songs. Most evidently, this is shown by the use of rhyme and the rather stable avoidance of alliteration, explicit already in the few measured hymns of the first Finnish prayer book (1544) by Mikael Agricola. Jacobus Finno, the author of the first Finnish Lutheran hymnal (1583), said he wanted to write hymns "with rhyme, as is done in other Christian regions". Most of his hymns are translations or modifications of iambic Latin, German,

and Swedish hymns. Although most of the Finnish hymns were written with rather loose constraints, they seem to be made to fit to particular melodies. They adapt and modify the poetic and metric principles of the hymns in other languages (Laitinen 2005; see also Kallio 2016; Lehtonen & Kallio 2017). While the hymns by Finno are based on iambic models, they contain a great number of verses of ambiguous or trochaic character (Kurvinen 1941: 23–24). The first stanza of the hymn "*De profundis*" is a good example of this ambiguity. In the transcription into modern orthography in the second column below, the syllables in bold show one interpretation of how the stresses of the poem could be emphasised as near to the original metric pattern by Luther as possible.[3] Yet, some verses simply may not be interpreted as iambic lines with the same amounts of stresses as the original version.

Sinun tyghös Herra tulen	Si*nu*n **ty***kös* **Her***ra* **tu**l*en*,
Ja huudhan syuäs waiuas,	ja **huu**dan **sy**väs **vai**vas,
Aua koruas änen cule	**a***vaa* **kor***vas* **ää***nen* **kuu***le*,
Älä must erkane cauuas	*älä* must **er**kane **kau**as.°
Jos sinä syndi tutkistel	Jos **si**nä **syn**tii **tut**kis*tel,*
Ja wäärytt tadhot luieskel	ja **vää**ryyt **tah**dot **lu**es*kel,*
Cuca woij sinun edhesäs pysy.	kuka **voi** sinun **e**dessäs **py**syy?°
(Finno 1988: 213)	

I come to you my Lord
and cry in deep trouble.
Open your ears, hear my voice
do not diverge far from me.
If you examine the sin(s)
and were to mark iniquities
who shall stand in front of you?

Finno wrote the hymn in close relation to the versification of the biblical psalm 130 by Martin Luther and the Swedish translation. The original verses by Luther are strictly iambic, with a stanza structure of 7- and 8-syllabic verses (8787887) connected by a rhyme (ababccb). Finno's verses vary between 7 and 10 syllables, and the last verse is often left without rhyme (Hallio 1936: 380). In the first stanza above, the first and third verses are good examples of the trochaic verse of eight syllables set along the iambic 8-syllable pattern of the German origin, while the rest of the stanza is interpretable along the basic iambic pattern. Contrary to the original German hymn, two light syllables are allowed in non-stressed poetic positions (Cuca **woij** sinun **e**dhesäs **py**sy). Thus, while some verses do not confine to the iambic metre of the original German

hymn, most of the verses may be read as adapting this pattern. In Finnish seventeenth-century musical manuscripts, the hymn by Finno was given the very same melody used by Luther in his hymn (VVE 60). Thus, the Finnish poem was set to the same musical pattern as the strictly iambic German one. Evidently, the Finnish trochaic verses were simply set into musical structure in a syllabic fashion, without bothering too much of the actual stresses. As noted by Heikki Laitinen (2003: 183, 211; 2005: 156), there is no technical difficulty in singing an occasional trochaic verse along the iambic ones. Here, the melody and the clerical knowledge of the hymns in other languages may also have supported the interpretation and understanding of ambiguous Finnish poetic structures.

All the 101 hymns of the first Finnish hymnal are far away from the style of runo-songs, with almost an overstated avoidance of alliteration that, on the average, only occurs in 14% of the verses (Lehtonen 2016: 205). This is not surprising as the Lutheran hymns in Europe were composed with rhymes and stanzas. It has been estimated that their popular stanzaic melodies and familiar poetic forms were one factor in the success of the Reformation (Brown 2005). Even technically, the old oral Finnish metre would not have been compatible with all the melodies and verse types of various lengths of the Lutheran hymns in other languages. Nevertheless, it has been debatable whether the choice by Finno related more to his explicit wish to join the Lutheran singing tradition in other languages (as he said) or to some disdain for the aesthetics or ungodly associations carried by the traditional Finnish oral idiom (see Finno 1988; Häkkinen 2012: 21–22; Kallio 2016).

Yet, around the publication of the first Finnish hymnal, some unknown writer in the Finnish parish of Stockholm wrote two peculiar hymns in a manuscript. The poems are rather free translations of medieval Latin hymns (*benedicamus*), which were written with rhymed couplets in iambic tetrametre, with a refrain "Hallelluia, hallelluia" to be sung after each verse. In the Finnish manuscript the refrain is indicated by "Halle" after the first verse (Rapola 1934; Kurvinen 1929: 204, 355–356). The simple two-line melody given to these songs in the Finnish seventeenth-century manuscripts has an explicit rhythmical place for every metrical position (VVE 123). The pattern of rhyme (aabbcc…), although it appears in both Finnish poems, is not stable. In the marking system the same principles are followed as in the previous example.

Hyuä herra herra christ, Halle,	**Hy**vä **her**ra **her**ra **Krist**, Halle,
Se suuri cunnian cuningas	Se **suu**ri **kun**nian **ku**nin*gas*
Is[ens][4] tahdon täytti tääll,	**I**säns **tah**don **täyt**ti **tääll**
[Ja] iellens päsi wallan pääll	ja **iel**lens **pää**si **val**lan **pääll**

Ja y[lös] meni taiuasen,
Istudhen isen oickeall,
Taiuan cunnias corkeall,
Cuss eij pelke perkelecht,
Eicä waldamehiä wapis […]
(Rapola 1934)

ja **y**lös **me**ni **tai**vaa*seen*
Is*tuu*hen **i**sän **oi**ke*al*
taivaan **kun**nias **kor**ke*all*°
Kuss ei **pel**kää **per**ke*leht*,
eikä **val**ta**mie**hiä **va**pis° […]

Dear Lord Lord Christ, Halle
the great king of glory
fulfilled the will of his father
and reached the power
and went high up to heaven
sits on father's right side
in the high glory of heaven
not fearing the devil
nor shivering the men of power […]

While creating his verses to fit into iambic poetic model and particular melodic pattern, the anonymous writer has made excessive use of runo-song stylistics. 98% of the verses contain strong or weak alliteration. It is more than in Finnic oral epics, where the average amount of alliterated verses is around 80% (Leino 1986: 134; see also Frog & Stepanova 2011: 200). Moreover, the metre of the poem is a peculiar hybrid. It looks like the anonymous writer would first have thought of verses in Kalevala-metre, and then either reduced one syllable from the end of each trochaic verse or taken the iamb-like broken verses as such. Just to demonstrate the likeness, it is possible to interpret the verses into nearly flawless oral-like Kalevala-metre just by adding some final syllables [in brackets], without any changes in the meanings of the verses. The text below is transcribed into modern orthography, with stressed syllables in bold and those few not confining to the constraints of Kalevala-metre italicised:[5]

Hyvä **her**ra **her**ra **Kris**t[us],
se **suu**ri **kun**nian **ku**ningas,
isäns **tah**don **täy**tti **tääl**l[ä],
ja **iel**lens **pää**si **val**lan **pääl**l[ä],
ja **y**lös ***me***ni **tai**va[h]asen,
istuuhen ***i***sän **oi**keall[a],
taivaan **kun**nias **kor**keall[a],
kuss ei **pel**kää **per**keleht[ä],
eikä **val**ta**mie**hiä **va**pis[e]…

On the other hand, due to the broken verses and rather free structure of the first poetic foot of Kalevala-metre, and to the skillful modifications by the author, the poem fits equally to a loose iambic scheme with only some deviant lines:

(-)+	-+	-+	-+
Hy-	vä her-	ra her-	ra Christ,
Se suu-	ri kun-	nian ku-	ningas
I-	säns tah-	don täyt-	ti tääll,
Ja iel-	lens pää-	si val-	lan pääll
Ja y-	lös me-	n[i] tai-	vaaseen,°
Istuu-	hen i-	sän oi-	keall,
Tai-	vaan kun-	nias kor-	keall,
Kuss	ei pel-	kää per-	keleht,
Eikä val-	tamie-	hiä	*va*pis° […]

The first foot is filled rather freely, often only with one syllable and sometimes with iambic inversion (*istudhen*, and later in the poem). In singing, it is easy to lengthen the first syllable to fill two poetic positions. In my experience, the text works fine as a song.

Thus, in this case, it seems that Kalevala-metre has served as a kind of reworkable sub-structure, convertible into and partly interpretable as an iambic form. The unknown writer found a way to combine familiar, traditional elements into the new iambic, rhymed structure, making an intricate hybrid form. Apparently, the poem itself is thought to refer to the iambic model of the Latin poem and to be sung with similar melodies and refrains. Compared to the avoidance of alliteration in the first Finnish hymnal, these two poems in the manuscript, with excessive alliteration and loose pattern of rhyme, seem to indicate very different opinions on how to build Lutheran singing in Finnish. Although there are no sources describing the process and possible controversies of creating Finnish Lutheran hymns, the research on the controversies around the ecclesiastical practices, rituals, and church services in the Kingdom of Sweden gives a solid evidence of the unstable, animate associations attached in varying ways to different religious symbols and practices. It was not always clear where the borders between Lutheran, Catholic, Calvinistic, heathen, and ungodly practices and references would lie (Berntson 2016; Lehtonen & Kallio 2017). It is also possible that there has been much variation in the understandings and interpretations of the status, meanings, and possibilities of traditional Finnish runo-song poetics. In any case, these two hymns seem to mark a turning point.

In the second edition of the Finnish hymnal from 1605, the new hymns by Hemmingius of Masku and Petrus Melartopaeus made free use of alliteration and some patterns of stress typical of the oral idiom, combining these to rhymes, stanzas, and mostly iambic models of hymns in other languages. Contrary to the first hymnal, the second one also contained some clearly trochaic songs (Kurvinen 1929; Kallio 2015b, 2016; Laitinen 2005). Yet, older hymns by Finno were also included. Hemmingius also published new versions of those two alliterative songs of the anonymous manuscript. He slightly modified the content according to the rising Lutheran Orthodox standards,[6] and regularised the pattern of rhyme, while keeping a similar poetic style and most of the previous verses. Nevertheless, while the anonymous poet used only verses of 7–8 syllables, Hemmingius added lines of 7–11 syllables (VKK Hemm1605-152; see also Kurvinen 1929: 355–356; Lehtonen & Kallio 2017: 189).

Jacobus Finno made his admiration for German hymns and Lutheran singing culture explicit (Lehtonen 2016), but, in fact, his followers may have been closer to the original idea of Martin Luther to use a song language that would be familiar and affective to the local vernacular congregations. While rhymed, stanzaic poetry was already in wide use and familiar in Central Europe, the Finnish congregations may have felt the use of alliteration and references to runo-songs more affective. In fact, it seems that slightly earlier a rather similar process took place in Iceland, where the first Lutheran hymnal (1555) followed strictly the German rhymed poetics, while the second one (1589) made use of ample alliteration and other familiar patterns of Icelandic vernacular poetry (Eggertsdóttir 2006: 179–180).

Yet, across all the variation, the Lutheran hymn makers seem to have been consistent in making the Finnish hymn registers different from traditional oral runo-songs. Even when using the most explicit features of traditional oral poetics, they mixed these with other ones – such as rhyme, longer or shorter verses, refrains, stanza patterns, and melodies – that defined the register of hymns and marked it to be something else than the old runo-song tradition. Lutheran hymns needed to have rhymes and used melodies similar to those in other countries.

RHYMED COUPLET AND KALEVALA-METRE

The early history of Finnish literary poems is in many ways similar and coincident with the creation of Lutheran hymns. This is not surprising, since the first Finnish literary poems were made by the very same clergymen and

published in the prefaces of hymnals and other ecclesiastical books. Yet, the relation of new forms to old oral poetics took a slightly different route than in hymns. In literary poems, the sixteenth-century avoidance of alliteration and other runo-song stylistics changed not only to the seventeenth-century use of various hybrid forms, but, by the end of the century, into full application of oral-like Kalevala-metre.

The first known literary poems in Finnish were written and published by Mikael Agricola in 1543–1551. He wrote prefaces in verse to Catechetical primer, prayer book, psalter, and two translations from the Old Testament (Häkkinen 2012; 2015: 59). Similarly to the hymns he published, these poems bear no references to runo-songs. In the prefaces, Agricola uses a loose poetic pattern of rhymed couplets. His lines consist of 8–10 syllables, occasionally of 11 syllables. No alliteration similar to runo-songs is used. The rhymes are sometimes vowel rhymes (t*e*k*ee*/ruko*e*l*e*) or other types of half-rhymes (h*ylk*ää/s*ylk*ee). It seems this metre should be understood as loose accentual verse of four stresses with optional anacrusis, created as a Finnish adaptation of the Swedish and German knittel-verse (Häkkinen 2012: 20–26; Lilja 2003, 2006; Widoff 2013), although some lines are difficult to interpret. Below, the unambiguously stressed syllables are in bold, while the words of only one syllable and some light words of two syllables might be interpreted either stressed (in bold and italicised) or non-stressed. Verses with several interpretive possibilities are marked with °:

NYt on se waralinen aijca.	Nyt ***on*** se **vaa**ra**li**nen **ai**ka,
quin iocapaijcas cwlu maalla	kuin **jo**ka**pai**kas **kuu**luu **maal**la,
Josta Christus ia Apostolit.	**jos**ta **Kris**tus ja **a**pos**to**lit,°
hartast puhuijt ia cwlutit.	**har**taast **pu**huit **ja** kuu**lu**tit.°
Etteij ollut Mailman alghust.	***Et***tei **ol**lut **mail**man **al**gust,
Swremat tuskat, quin ouat lopust.	**suu**remmat **tus**kat, **kuin** ovat **lo**pust.
Sille se, ioca tachto wältte.	***Sil***lä se, **jo**ka **tah**too **vält**ää,
Herran wiha, ia Tulen heltte.	**Her**ran **vi**haa, ja **tu**len **helt**tä,
Se alati sijs rucolkan.	se **a**la**ti** siis **ru**kol**kaan**,°
ia Jumalan armo anokan.	ja **Ju**malan **ar**moo **a**no**kaan**.°[7]
(Agricola 1987: 90)	

Now is that dangerous time
when everywhere on the land is heard,
what the Christ and the apostles
earnestly spoke and proclaimed:
that at the beginning of the world there were
no greater pains than there are at the end.

Thus, who wants to avoid
Lord's anger and the heat of the fire,
should persistently pray
and plead for God's mercy.

Most verses (1, 2, 5–8) fit into the general pattern of accentual lines of four stresses and an optional amount (1–3) on unstressed syllables in-between, while some occasional lines with 8–9 syllables and only 3 unambiguous main stresses (in verses 3, 4, 9, 10) pose an interpretive problem. These may be understood as verses with masculine endings (**ha**rtast **pu**huijt ia **cw**lu**tit;** Se **a**la**ti** sijs **ru**col**kan**). In Swedish medieval and early modern knittel-verse, it is possible to have lines of only three stresses or lines with masculine endings on excessive syllables, but, typically, these occur in couplets of two similar verses (Lilja 2006: 210–213, 442–445). The irregular verses of Agricola often occur in pairs, but not always.

On the other hand, if compared with the early Finnish hymn poetics, it may be asked whether Agricola or his intended audiences might have interpreted some short irregular lines along more syllabic principles, regardless of actual stresses. In this case, the verses like the two last ones above might be interpreted similarly to Kalevala-metric broken verses (se **a**-|lati| siis **ru**-|koilkaan) or even with no emphasis on some stressed long syllables (as the syllable 'ar' in the verse "ja| **Ju**ma-|lan **ar**-|mo **a**-|nokan"). This interpretation would liken to the way some early hymn structures need to be interpreted when verses with various patterns of stress were applied to the same recurrent melodic schemes (and, supposedly, along the more regular models in other languages). Naturally, it is probable that the poems of the prefaces were never used as songs. The versatile patterns in both early hymns and literary poems sometimes allow several metrical interpretations, and often it is simply beyond reach to know how the hymn verses were set into melodic patterns or how the literary rhythms were understood. There may even have been competing contemporary understandings.

Agricola's poems are the first link in the chain of literary poems in Finnish. Similar loose accentual patterns appear in other literary poems as well, but, in addition, some of his successors combined the structure of rhymed couplet with more or less explicit features of Kalevala-metre. The most distinctive and frequent of these features is the use of alliteration.

After Agricola, the next preface in verse appeared in the second edition of the Finnish hymnal in 1605, written by Hemmingius of Masku. Hemmingius used a strict pattern of regular trochaic verses with caesura, highlighted by typological means. In the transcription, the syllables with poetic stress are in bold.

[…] Äläs ennen näitä laita,	[...] **Ä**läs **en**nen **näi**tä **lai**ta,
Edk he heicod olla taita,	**etk** he **hei**kot **ol**la **tai**taa,
Cuin caunimbit edhes tuodan,	**kuin** kau**nim**bit **e**tees **tuo**daan,
Jotc sun saavas kyllä suodan.	**jotk** sun **saa**vas **kyl**lä **suo**daan.
Mester Jacoin jalo lue,	**Mes**ter **Jaa**koin **ja**lo **lu**e,
Ennen tehty esipuhe, […]	**en**nen **teh**ty **e**si**pu**he […]
(Maskulainen 1607)	

[…] Do not blame these [verses],
although they may be weak,
until more beautiful ones are brought to you
that you hopefully will have.
Read the noble, by the Master Jacob,
previously made preface […]

The poem consists of accentual-syllabic trochee with no broken verses. Both ample alliteration and regular rhyme are in use. Occasional stressed syllables are allowed in weak positions especially at the first foot (Cuin *cau*nimbit), and long stressed syllables are used interchangeably with short stressed syllables in stressed poetic positions. The metre could be interpreted as a literary, rhymed, accentual, trochaic version of oral runo-songs, or as a syllabised, alliterated, trochaic version of accentual rhymed couplets. The use of rhyme and strictly trochaic, accentual structure with typographically marked caesura in every verse sets the poem apart from the traditional oral runo-song, although the similarities are striking. Contrary to Agricola and Jacobus Finno, Hemmingius of Masku used alliteration, occasional Kalevala-metric verse structures and references to formulae on oral tradition in various degrees also in his hymns, although rarely as explicitly as in his preface (see VKK Hemm1605; Kallio 2016; Lehtonen 2013: 127–133; Lehtonen & Kallio 2017; Laitinen 2005). It is remarkable that while the amount of syllables in the hymn verses by Hemmingius occasionally varies considerably, in the preface he shows himself as capable of making strictly measured verses, while at the same time expressing conventional apologies on the incomplete character of the poems.

A similar kind of combination of different poetics is evident in the greeting poem by Olaus Georgii Suomalainen for the weddings of the headmaster of the cathedral school in Åbo in 1609. Here and in the following examples syllables with main stress are in bold, short stressed ones also italicised:

Hoy, hoy suosinen Sukuni!	**Hoi**, hoi **suo**sinen ***su***kuni!
Quing niin vnhodhat Ukuni?	**Kuink** niin **un**hohdat ***u***kuni?
Fyiffyi[8] Poutack vaiko halla	**Fyif**fyi **pou**tak **vai**ko **hal**la

Mick on olla Suomen-maalla	**Mik** on **ol**la **Suo**men-**maal**la
Ettei siellä löytä enää	**Et**tei **siel**lä **löy**dä ***e***nää
Tervett kättä taikka nenää […]	**Ter**vett **kät**tä **taik**ka ***ne***nää [...]
(Suomi 1963: 261)	

Ohoy, ohoy my favourable kin!
How may you forget my lament?
Fyi-fyi dry weather or frost,
how is it in Finland,
that one finds no more
a sound hand or nose […]

Contrary to Hemmingius of Masku, Suomalainen uses also occasional broken verses (verses 1–2 above) typical of Kalevala-metre. Similarly to many learned applications and also oral metre in western Finland, he allows short stressed syllables both in strong and weak (verses 5–6) positions (Laitinen 2006: 38; Leino 2002 [1975]: 212). The poem makes use of both alliteration and rhyme (Kallio 2015b). As the English translation leads to suggest, the syntax of the poem is rather complicated. Although it is not the focus of the present article, it is evident that the syntax in these early modern literary poems is often rather complex and difficult to follow, and this is common also in hymns, where, as in the oral runo-song tradition, the syntax is typically rather straightforward and in closer relation to verse structure.[9]

In some learned poems, this kind of alliterative, rhymed, regular, and mostly trochaic metre with occasional broken verses was explicitly connected to the old oral tradition by using the label *runo*. The most obvious example is the congratulatory poem of 31 verses by Ericus Justander to King Carl X Gustaf in 1654, given the title "Imitation of ancient Finnish runo-songs" (*Imitatio Antiquorum Tavvast-Finnonicorum Runorum*):

Hywä Herra CARL Cuningas,	**Hy**vä **her**ra **Karl** ***ku***ningas,
Ruotzin röykiä Ruhtinas,	**Ruot**sin **röy**kiä **ruh**tinas,
Lähdätti Lawiat Laiwat,	**läh**dätti ***la***viat **lai**vat,
Pani Pyssyt päälle parhat,	***pa***ni **pys**syt **pää**lle **par**haat,
Huilut Harput Helisemän,	**hui**lut **har**put ***he***lisemään,
Trumbut tuimat tömisemän,	**trum**but **tui**mat ***tö***misemään,
[…]	[…]
(Melander 1928: 50)	

Dear Lord King Karl,
the mighty Prince of Sweden,

sent the large ships,
loaded with the best guns,
with flutes, harps to tinkle,
with severe drums to thunder [...]

Justander, who later obtained the professorship of poetics in Åbo (see Melander 1928: 13–14), used excessive alliteration in all but two of the verses, the exact amount of eight syllables in every verse, and rhyme in every couplet. The short stressed syllables are used both in strong (lines 5 & 6) and weak positions (lines 1 & 3), and occasional long stressed syllables are allowed in weak positions (line 2, '**ruh**tinas'). The syntax of the poem is simpler than in most of the early modern literary poems.

The metrics and poetics of the alliterated rhymed couplet vary by writers. The poems by Hemmingius of Masku and Ericus Justander represent most regular versions in regard to the amounts of syllables and the patterns of stress, although they made different choices on broken verses. Some other poems, for example the first rhymed chronicle in Finnish, the *Ajan-Tieto* (1658) by Laurentius Petri (VKK LPet1658), and the Christian teaching *Huoneen-Speili* (1699) by Jonas Mennander (VKK Menn1699), make use of somewhat looser versions of alliterated rhymed couplet. Contrary to others, Mennander uses alliteration rather moderately. The poems are built on accentual trochaic verses of mainly 810 syllables, based on syllabic stress only, while the broken verses of Kalevala-metre are in most cases avoided. Towards the end of these long poems, the stress patterns become more irregular.

It was not until the second half of the seventeenth century that the clergymen began to use oral-like forms of Kalevala-metre without rhymes in their literary poems. This seems to indicate one more change in the relation of literary genres to oral poetics. This change was conducted by several clergymen mainly from Ostrobothnia and Kainuu in northern and eastern Finland. They shared a new understanding of the possibilities to use the oral-like unrhymed metre and poetics in literary contexts. This may be partly due to the antiquarian interests of the time, which slowly changed the status of traditional expressions (Widenberg 2006), and partly due to the fact that the oral poetics in Ostrobothnia, Kainuu, and Karelia was evidently more uniform and regular than in western Finland (Sarajas 1956: 54–58, 86–88; Laitinen 2006: 53).

A most well-known example of literary uses of oral-like poetics is the Messiah *Ilo-laulu Jesuxesta* of 2265 verses in nearly flawless unrhymed Kalevala-metre, published by the Lutheran priest Matthias Salamnius in 1690:

Cansa outoia anopi,	**Kan**sa **ou**toja ***a***noopi,
Ikäwöitse Ilma caicki;	***I***kävöitsee **il**ma **kaik**ki
Menot curiat cuultaxensa,	***Me***not **kur**jat **kuul**laksensa,
Saadansa Sadat sanomat:	**Saa**dansa ***sa***dat ***sa***nomat,
Waan ei tottele tosia,	**Vaan** ei **tot**tele ***to***sia,
Tutki tarpehellisia;	**Tut**ki **tar**pehellisia,
Cuinga culki suuri HErra,	**Kuin**ka **kul**ki **suu**ri **Her**ra,
Luoja itsensä alensi, [...]	**Luo**ja **it**sensä ***a***lensi [...]

The people ask for odd things
all the air is yarning,
to hear some doomed practices,
to get hundreds of sayings,
but does not obey the true (sayings),
examine the needed ones:
How did set out the great Lord,
the Creator did low himself [...]

The poem became very popular, it was re-printed several times, and in oral versions it was offered to the nineteenth-century folklore collectors as a fine example of traditional Finnish poetry (Laitinen 2006: 53–54). In his lengthy preface, Salamnius gives some illuminating remarks:

> *It should not be considered strange that this is written in Runoi verses (*Runoi wärsyillä*) that are very familiar among Finns.* […] *Even though we finely know that many illicit matters have been composed and sung in this kind of runo-songs (*runolauluin*), it would not help more [to not to use the poetic form] than to throw away the common speech for the reason that it is used in incorrect ways.* (Salamnius 1690: preface)

Salamnius also states he has done the work with the encouragement and (financial) help of Bishop Johan Gezelius, who was known for his very strictly condemning attitudes to vernacular beliefs. This clearly indicates that the use of the traditional unrhymed oral metre was subject to contradictions and discussions, but, towards the end of the seventeenth century, accepted fully as an efficient means to convey Christian teaching to "the simple folk", as expressed by Salamnius (ibid.).

AMBIGUITY OF POETIC PATTERNS

The blurred boundaries between poetic forms are clearly present in the seventeenth-century poetic descriptions. Aeschillus Petraeus, professor of theology, headmaster of the Åbo Academy and later the bishop of Åbo, wrote the first lengthy description of Finnish poetics in his Finnish grammar in 1649. This description is short, general, and somewhat confusing: Petraeus (1968 [1649]: 65–66) says that Finnish poetry is based on rhyme, but often also uses alliteration. He says the quantity of syllables is not observed, and tells nothing of the length of the lines. Indeed, this description applies to most of the ambiguous hymns in the first two Finnish hymnals, and rather well to most of the Finnish poetry written in the 17th century. The contemporary Finnish rhymed poetry was based on various European stanzaic models, but the constraints of stress and number of syllables were rather loose. If the description is meant to depict also Kalevala-metre, it shows the difficulty to understand the constraints on both the length and stress of syllables. If Petraeus had classic Latin metrics or the new vernacular poetics of Martin Opitz in mind, it is evident there was no similar regularity in Finnish poetry.

While the description of Finnish poetics is vague, the set of examples is encompassing and precise: first a trochaic and very alliterative hymn with rhymes by Hemmingius of Masku, then a more or less iambic hymn with rhymes by Jacobus Finno, eight oral-like riddles and one proverb from an unknown source, and finally the oral-styled proverb and rote (that relate to Kalevala-metre but do not follow the metrical constraints strictly) from Agricola's prayer book (Petraeus 1968 [1649]: 65–72; Kallio 2015b: 16–19). Although the description is short and general, this selection of examples shows a detailed understanding of various poetic types that existed in the Finnish early modern poetry. Yet, across the examples, Petraeus seemed to prefer poems that contain both alliteration (even the one by Finno) and some kind of rhyme, with verses of 7–10 syllables.

Above all, Petraeus emphasised the importance of rhyme, describing it as an obligatory part of Finnish poems. Some of his riddles contradicted this claim, but the last three ones of these Kalevala-metric riddles used parallelism that, due to similar grammatical forms, caused some rhymes: "Lyhykäinen ly*lleröinen*, tasapäinen ta*lleroinen*, carjan corvesta cocopi" ('The short one, the even one, collects the cattle from the forest'). Most remarkably, Petraeus modified the two oral-like texts from Agricola into more rhyme-like form at the expense of the metrical structure: "Satehixi peijuen sappi, Poudixi Cuum kehä" → "Päiwän sappi satehe*xi*, Cuun kehä poudi*xi* ('The halo of the sun brings rain, the halo of the moon brings fair weather'). On the other hand, the trochaic hymn by Hemmingius is one of those that most resembles traditional oral runo-songs.

Already Julius Krohn noted that Hemmingius seems to move closest to traditional oral poetics and Kalevala-metre when making his own compositions (such as the one cited here) and when translating trochaic songs (Krohn 1862: 38; see also Kallio et al. 2017).

It has been estimated that Petraeus – who was born and had studied in Sweden, and, thus, did not speak Finnish as his mother tongue – either did not understand Finnish poetics or wanted to efface the characteristics of traditional runo-songs (Sarajas 1956: 40–42). On the basis of his Kalevala-metric oral-styled riddles, the latter assumption does not seem to hold: he could have made his description with hymns only. It is equally evident that, as the head of the Academy of Åbo, he had the best Finnish clerical scholars at his disposal to help him understand the Finnish language and poetics – and, indeed, the selection of examples is remarkably representative. It seems more plausible that the rules of oral poetry were just too complicated and too far away from classical Latin poetics to be understood theoretically in the early modern context. In fact, the quantity rules of the Kalevala-metre were not properly described until the nineteenth century (Haapanen 1928; Kuusi 1994: 42), and the loose early modern hymn metrics and the evident variation of oral Kalevala-metre did not make the situation any clearer.

Moreover, the Finnish grammar by Petraeus was not a scholarly treatise, but a short practical guide (*Linguae Finnicae Brevis Institutio*) for officials coming from other regions and in need of learning the basics of the Finnish language, as was typical of early vernacular grammars (Lauerma 2012). He was not aiming to describe Finnish folk poetry or traditional metre, but gave a general characterisation that encompassed different genres and forms of his contemporary poetry. While doing this, Petraeus also showed that, by his time, alliteration was a thoroughly approved feature of all Finnish poetry. Along with his geographical location (western variations of Kalevala-metre), the focus on all contemporary Finnish poetry explains why Petraeus did not follow the short description of Kalevala-metre by Johannes Bureus (Johan Bure) written already in 1626. Bureus emphasised the importance of alliteration, defined the poetic lines to consist of eight syllables, and did not mention rhyme (Bure 1626: 15). Thus, he depicted the traditional unrhymed Kalevala-metre in its most regular eight-syllable form. Bureus had been working in southern Karelia, were, on the basis of later sources, the metre of the oral runo-songs seems to have been more uniform and regular than in western Finland (Sarajas 1956: 31–32).

Just a year after Petraeus, his colleague Michael Wexionius, professor of law in Åbo, mentions in his book on geography that the Finns do not appreciate or even recognise a poem if it does not alliterate. Even more interestingly, Wexionius cites three trochaic, alliterative verses from another hymn by Hemmingius

of Masku, and goes on to explain that these kinds of runo-songs (*Runoi*) used to have only one ancient melody.[10] This comment seems to indicate that at least the trochaic alliterative hymn verses (with rhymes) may have been understood as a continuum of traditional Finnish runo-songs. The cited verses contain seven syllables each, the last syllables abbreviated (pauhatkat[te]):

Pojat parhat pauhatkat,
Neitzet nuoret iloitkat,
Vanhat vahvast veisatkat.
(Wexionius 1650: vol. 3, s. 14)

Pojat **par**haat **pau**hatkaat,
Neitset **nuo**ret ***i***loitkaat,
Vanhat **vah**vast **vei**satkaat.

Ring out, the best boys,
Rejoice, the young maidens,
Sing strongly, the old ones.

Indeed, especially if added with the abbreviated syllables, these verses would pass as nearly flawless normal verses of Kalevala-metre just with one short stressed syllable (*i*loitkat) in strong metrical position. The cited verses form the third stanza of the hymn. In the second Finnish hymnal from 1605, the structure of the song was built on these kinds of rhymed three-verse stanzas and a long alliterative refrain of trochaic verses of mostly 11 syllables:

Jesus caunis helmas macais Maarian.
Gabrielin ennustos on täytetty,
Eija, Eija, Neidzy nuori sikjän sai,
Ilman miehet Pojan toi, qvin caicki loi,
Tydhy tähän pilttin vähän, pilttin vähän, Israel,
Älä lunastajat toista toevo sill.
Tosin cunnjan Cuningas Emanuel,
Neidzest nuorest syndyi, sanoi Gabriel.
(VKK Hemm1605-135:1)

Beautiful Jesus lay in the lap of Mary.
The prediction of Gabriel is fulfilled,
Eija, Eija, a virgin bore a child,
The men of air brought a son, he created all,
Be content with this small child, Israel,
Do not wish for another redeemer.
The true king of glory Immanuel,
was born of a young virgin, told Gabriel.

The song is built according to the melodic and poetic pattern of the medieval Latin original, *Resonet in laudibus* (Hallio 1936: 34–35; VVE 92). Contrary to

the stanzas of three verses, the poetic pattern of the long refrain could hardly be understood in any continuum of Kalevala-metre. Yet, similarly to Petraeus, Wexionius was apt to pick some of the most Kalevala-metre-like trochaic verses of the whole hymnal.

Thus, Michael Wexionius set some hymn verses by Hemmingius into the continuum with traditional Finnish runo-songs. Ericus Justander, as shown above, named his literary rhymed couplets as imitations of ancient Finnish runo-songs. What is common to both of these examples is the combination of alliteration and rhyme with a reference to traditional Finnish poetic form. Where the chosen verses by Hemmingius are built on accentuated trochee of seven-syllable verses and no broken verses, Justander used some broken verses in his strictly eight-syllable lines. Thus, in the contemporary conception, the rhymed alliterated poems, in different variations, were understood as versions of traditional Finnish runo-songs or as belonging to the same continuum, even if the metre was not exactly what we understand by Kalevala-metre. On the other hand, the two oral-derived texts in the prayer book (1544) and some of the riddles chosen by Petraeus did not represent most regular forms of Kalevala-metre either.

Indeed, it is evident that the concept of Kalevala-metre, as it is understood nowadays, did not exist in early modern Finland. Whereas for a modern scholar the metre seems rather well described and defined, this was not the case for early modern scholars. They did not have theoretical means to understand the vernacular metre that, moreover, seemed to have lived in a rather large scale of different oral versions in western Finland. Yet, the literary versions of runo-songs, with rhymes and with varying constraints on stressed syllables, should not be seen as a general misunderstanding only. It is possible that the authors were consciously creating new poetic registers, and were only aiming to refer to the traditional oral metre, not trying to make exact replicas but literary, contemporary versions or imitations thereof. Depending on the context, this strategy might have been an efficient way to introduce the new Lutheran hymns, highlight the antiquarian value of local traditions, and change the poetic form enough to get rid of the possible obscene or ungodly associations related to the local folk poetry, hinted at by Salamnius. Yet, some variation in the uses and interpretations may also derive from the character of Kalevala-metre itself.

Indeed, the basic structure of Kalevala-metre gives at least three possibilities for confusion. As explained earlier, there are two types of verses in the metre: normal and broken verses. If we read according to accentual principles, normal verses are evidently trochaic, while the broken verses may greatly resemble iambic verses. Yet, this is not the only ambivalent character of Kalevala-metre.

The flexibility of the beginning of the verse is another significant feature: the first poetic foot may contain 2–4 syllables, and the constraints of stress and length do not count here, although, if filled with more than two syllables, the additional ones tend to be light. In addition, it is usually rather easy to contract the last syllable of the verse without making the words incomprehensible or the metre unrecognisable, which means even more possibilities for variation. In western dialects and especially in spoken genres, the last syllables of the lines and even of some words in the middle of lines were sometimes shortened, meaning a runo-song verse could appear in the form of only 5–7 syllables.[11] These factors made it possible for the unknown writer in the Finnish congregation of Stockholm to translate two iambic Latin hymns with the structures drawing from Kalevala-metre.

A third confusing feature is that even though traditional runo-songs do not use structural rhyme, occasional ones may appear as a result of parallel verses and the structure of language that uses an abundance of suffixes. A good example of this is a proverb or proverbial poem by prospective Bishop Olaus Elimaeus, written in the autograph album of Axel Oxenstierna at the University of Rostock in 1602:

Etzi wisaus wisusta	**Et**si **viis**aus ***vi***susta,
Tawat tutki taitawasta	***ta***vat **tut**ki **tai**tavasta,
Nijn sä mailla mainitahan	**niin** sä **mail**la **mai**nitahan,
Monin paikoin paluellahan.	**mo**nin **pai**koin **pal**vellahan.
(Nuorteva 1997: 25–26)	

Search steadily for wisdom,
Examine the manners with skill,
So you will be mentioned (everywhere)
Will be served in many places.

The metre of the poem is regular Kalevala-metre with one broken verse at the beginning. Yet, the parallel structure (2+2 verses) with similar grammatical forms enables or creates also a pattern of rhyme (aabb). Elimaeus used another version of the same theme with a similar structure in another autograph book in 1613 (ibid.). These poems may be read simultaneously as verses of a traditional unrhymed, non-stanzaic runo-song (with occasional rhymes caused by the parallel structures) or as beautiful stanzas of two rhymed couplets. This double character may well have been the intention of the writer.

The confusing constitution of the traditional Finnish metre may also have affected the ways the early modern hymn makers thought of the overall possibilities of creating Finnish poetry. The rules of stress and length of syllables

in Kalevala-metre were not verbalised until the nineteenth century (although they were more or less intuitively understood by many writers). In addition, the Kalevala-metre in western Finland allowed the placement of short stressed syllables both in stressed and unstressed poetic positions. In practice, different vernacular genres made use of both the regular Kalevala-metre and looser and shorter forms. On the basis of these factors, the Lutheran hymn writers in western Finland might have understood it possible to create new genres of rhymed poetry according to even more flexible versification than was common in vernacular hymns in other languages. If they thought that traditional oral Kalevala-metre consisted of freely alternating trochaic and iambic verses, or that oral Kalevala-metre paid little attention to exact patterns of stress, it would not be surprising they used some trochaic verses in mostly iambic rhymed hymns freely.

Nevertheless, taken together with the unrhymed poem in Kalevala-metre by Matthias Salamnius and the comments he gives in the preface, this history of literary adaptations or understandings of the oral poetic forms poses some difficult questions. Salamnius explicitly defends his choice of using the runo-song metre, and indeed, he is the first one to use unrhymed Kalevala-metre in a thoroughly Lutheran poem that was intended for the common folk. Before him, the unrhymed metre was used only in some learned occasional poems by clergymen from Ostrobothnia and Kainuu (Sarajas 1956: 54–58). His need to defend the use of the oral-like metre gives another shade to the discussion on the borders between poetic forms and genres. Were the opinions on form, status, and applicability of the traditional Finnish metre in constant flux? On the basis of sharp changes in the use of alliteration during the sixteenth century, the appropriate uses of different poetic forms and features might have been a contested issue, and the appropriate form of 'traditional Finnish poems' in literary contexts might have been contested as well.

Adding alliteration to the rhymed hymns may have been a means to make the hymns more affective to common folk, while adding rhyme and modifying the traditional poetic form may have been one way to make it more acceptable or affective in literary, clerical contexts. This would mean that the combination of rhyme, trochaic verse, and alliteration by Hemmingius, Justander, and others actually was a creation of a new poetic register, which was still understood as belonging to the continuum of the runo-song tradition, while bearing more appropriate Lutheran, literary or sophisticated associations. In any case, it is evident that almost forty years after the famous "Imitation of ancient Finnish runo-songs" by Justander, there was still a need to justify the use of the traditional unrhymed form of poetry in literary context.

HYBRID POETIC REGISTERS

These early modern examples show a very complex and multifaceted process of creating different poetic registers in Finnish. The material demonstrates the elites had knowledge of oral poetics that they both avoided and applied in various ways. During the seventeenth century, the learned elites created a literary, hybrid version of the traditional runo-songs. This rhymed, alliterated form, which often does not use the so-called 'broken verses' of Kalevala-metre, has frequently been interpreted as a misunderstanding of the traditional oral poetics. In this article it is understood as an intentional, slowly developing hybrid form with a degree of individual variations.

The first poetic prefaces by Mikael Agricola were written in a loose rhymed couplet resembling the medieval Germanic and Scandinavian knittel-verse, and avoiding alliteration. In literary poems, the preface for the second edition of the Finnish hymnal marked a poetic turn. The short poetic preface of the hymnal was written in trochaic, alliterative, rhymed metre, which may be read as a hybrid of Kalevala-metre and a rhymed couplet or knittel-verse or as a literary, rhymed, trochaic version of the old oral metre. From this poem onwards, Kalevala-metric features were incorporated into rhymed couplets – or rhymed couplets were partly built on Kalevala-metre. Yet, apart from the short proverbs by Olaus Elimaeus with rhyme-like features based on parallelism, the first learned poems in traditional unrhymed Kalevala-metre were not published until the last half of the seventeenth century.

The first Finnish hymn writers Mikael Agricola (c. 1510–1557) and Jacobus Finno (1544–1583) avoided explicit features of traditional oral Kalevala-metre, most visible of which were alliteration and the lack of rhymes. A great turn took place first in an anonymous manuscript (*Hyuä herra herra christ*) in the 1580s, and then, as with the rhymed couplets, in the second edition of the Finnish hymnal (1605) by Hemmingius of Masku. The manuscript contains two iambic, rhymed, alliterative hymns with a strong Kalevala-metric substructure. In the hymnal, the new songs were mostly written in rhymed stanzas containing plenty of alliteration and parallelism, and occasional Kalevala-metre-like trochaic patterns. In the seventeenth-century poetic descriptions, some most trochaic verses by Hemmingius of Masku were taken as examples or derivatives of traditional Finnish runo-songs.

Thus, in these works, the features of traditional oral Kalevala-metre are, in different ways, incorporated into new ecclesiastical and literary poetic genres. They may be read both as a literarisation of traditional oral poetics and as a cultural adaptation of new poetic forms and genres. Both the various hybrid forms of different poetic systems and the very vague poetic descriptions of the

seventeenth century lead to suggest that the contemporary interpretations of different poetic forms were rather intuitive and varied. The ambiguity and hybrid character of poems means the contemporary audiences may have interpreted individual poems as a continuum of several poetic traditions.

The publication of more or less Kalevala-metric proverbs from the first Finnish prayer book, the literary rhymed versions of Kalevala-metre and, finally, the use of traditional unrhymed Kalevala-metre at the end of the seventeenth century seems to indicate that the status of the traditional oral poetic form may not have been completely ungodly or inappropriate. Yet, it needs to be remembered that the time frame from the first verses of Agricola to the full oral-like Kalevala-metre of Salamnius is 147 years with a number of political, religious, and ideological changes and struggles. It is evident that there was dissonance and changes in the associations carried by poetic features and registers. On the basis of the early modern poetic descriptions, it seems the most visible (or audible) characteristic features of Finnish poetic registers were rhyme and alliteration. While adding alliteration to the previously un-alliterated hymns may have been an efficient way to familiarise the Finnish congregations with these Lutheran songs, adding rhyme to the imitations of the old oral runo-song metre may have been an efficient way to create a new poetic register appropriate for contemporary, literary, and Lutheran contexts.

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NOTES

[1] In Finnish scholarship, Kalevala-metre often refers not only to the metre proper, but also to all the most important characteristics of the traditional oral poetic form, including non-structural alliteration, parallelism, lack of stanzas, etc., while in Estonia the meaning is usually confined to the rhythmic and syllabic structure only. The present article follows the former practice.

[2] In addition to these two main metrical systems, the scholars have also made experiments with classical Latin and Greek metres.

[3] The second column gives the text in modern orthography. In the transcription, the syllables with main or secondary stresses are in bold, except in the short words that may, depending on the poetic context, be also interpreted as light ones ('ja', 'jos', 'kuka', 'sinun'), and in the cases of an iambic inversion ('älä must'). Non-stressed syllables that are apparently in strong position are italicised. The aim is to give one option for the rhythmic interpretation of the text in relationship to the used melody-structure and the metre of the original version in German. Verses with several strong interpretive possibilities are marked with °.

[4] Martti Rapola (1934) has added the imperceptible syllables of the manuscript [in brackets] on the basis of a later (1621) printed version.

[5] One-syllable words are typically interpreted as non-stressed; 'kuss' in the eighth verse is a shortened form of the two-syllable word 'kussa', and thus marked as stressed.

[6] E.g. omitting the formula "the son of Mary" and fading out the emphasis on the Christ as an earthly healer.

[7] The transcription into modern Finnish orthography is greatly aided by and almost identical with the one by Kaisa Häkkinen (2012: 51–52).

[8] Onomatopoetic syllables for scolding or expressing disgust, a loan from Swedish.

[9] Pentti Leino (2002) has compared the metre and syntax in Finnish oral tradition, folk authors and learned writers, and Kristiina Ross (2015) has analysed the syntax and language in Estonian oral tradition and hymns.

[10] The term *runo* or *runo-laulu* was typically used in literary contexts to denote the traditional Finnish alliterative tetrametre, and the idea of the ancient use of only one melody to sing these songs was a common one also later (Laitinen 2006: 52; Kallio et al. forthcoming).

[11] For example, the proverb "Ah cullaist Coto / armast asuinsia!" (VKK Flor1702-A1a) might be easily expanded to a longer form in Kalevala-metre "Ah on kullaista kotoa, armasta asuinsijoa" ('My golden home, my dear place of dwelling').

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WORDS, FORMS, AND PHRASES IN ESTONIAN FOLKSONGS AND HYMNS

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Abstract: In the eighteenth century, songs of two essentially different types of culture were present in the repertory of the Estonian-speaking community: folksongs and hymns. The old tradition of folksongs (*regilaul* or runosong) representing the indigenous oral culture was still alive. At the same time, since the sixteenth century, more and more elements of European (Christian) written culture had penetrated into the mental world of Estonians. The structures of literary language (and thinking based on written texts in a broader sense) were transferred into Estonian mainly by means of translations of ecclesiastical literature. For certain socio-historical reasons, influences of literacy may have mainly reached Estonians through the translations of Lutheran hymns, which became especially popular in the eighteenth century. This was the century in which structures of indigenous oral culture and those of European written culture probably still functioned in the mental world of Estonians separately from each other. Only in the nineteenth century the two sets fused into literary Estonian, and the modern Estonian culture was born. In order to understand the mechanics of the genesis of modern Estonian, the present article juxtaposes the sublanguages representing the situation in the eighteenth century (prior to the fusion). The text-corpora of folksongs and Lutheran hymn translations are analysed on lexical, morphological, and morphosyntactical levels.

Keywords: grammatical phrases, language history, lexis, Lutheran hymns, morphological categories, runosong, written *versus* oral culture, word frequency

JUXTAPOSED SUBLANGUAGES AND TEXT CORPORA

The aim of the following juxtaposition is to explain the structure and mutual relations between two eighteenth century sublanguages of Estonian: the sublanguage of folksongs representing the indigenous oral culture, and the sublanguage of Lutheran hymn translations representing the written ecclesiastical culture. Both variants were poetic languages, many features of which relied on the metrical and poetic system in which they functioned. However, in the present paper prosody and strictly poetic circumstances will be disregarded and both sublanguages will be analysed first and foremost from the lexical and

grammatical points of view as the media of the indigenous and the borrowed type of culture respectively.

In the history of the Estonian language the opposition of orality and literacy in the sense of Walter J. Ong (1988 [1982]) has been remarkably sharp. In the period of the genesis of literary Estonian (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) the opposition was supported and intensified by the ethnic and linguistic confrontation of different social groups. Due to historical circumstances in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times, the Estonian-speaking community had no political, social or cultural élite. The indigenous Estonian culture developed only in oral form, practically untouched by any manifestations of literacy. Structures of written culture were transmitted into Estonian by Lutheran pastors of German origin, who started to translate catechisms, pericopes (i.e. sections of the New Testament required for the divine services of the liturgical year), hymns, and the Bible into Estonian. The first book including an Estonian ecclesiastical text was published in 1525. The whole process culminated in 1739, when the full Bible was translated and published by a group of Pietist clergymen. During the whole period and practically until the end of the eighteenth century, the Estonian-speaking community participated in the process of the development of written Estonian passively, at first as listeners (when German clergymen read the translated text aloud to them), and later on as readers. Only in the nineteenth century vernacular Estonians took over the standard Estonian language that the German clergymen had generated, and started to develop it themselves. The new modern Estonian culture which came into being in the nineteenth century can be regarded as a hybrid in which indigenous oral tradition and European literacy, transmitted into Estonian by German mediators, fused together. In order to better understand the mechanics of this fusion and the nature of the new hybrid culture and language, it would be expedient to study the previous period, when the two sublanguages representing both types of culture still functioned in the minds of Estonians separately. Thus, in the following an attempt will be made to model the linguistic situation of Estonian sublanguages in the eighteenth century.

The indigenous oral culture of Estonians is most artistically expressed in old folksongs. Certainly, it remains questionable how adequately the texts written down at the end of the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries actually reflect the oral Estonian language and the mental world of Estonians in the eighteenth century. In the present paper it is assumed that due to the conservative effect of metrical patterns the texts represent the former situation rather well. In the process of domesticating elements and structures of written culture into Estonian, the most important role was probably played

by the seventeenth and eighteenth century translations of Lutheran hymns. The language of these translations can be regarded as a specific sublanguage of ecclesiastical Estonian, which had a stronger influence on the attitude of the Estonian-speaking community towards literary Estonian than the sublanguages of the translations of catechisms, periscopes, and the Bible. Due to the particular position of hymnal texts on the scale from orality towards literacy, they were easier to understand and to master for the semi-illiterate Estonian community than translations of pericopes or the Bible (Ross 2016).

Thus in the following the sublanguage of old folksongs representing indigenous oral Estonian culture and the sublanguage of the eighteenth century hymn translations representing the written Christian culture transmitted into Estonian by German clergymen will be juxtaposed.

The variant of standard Estonian, which was established in 1739 by the Pietist Bible translation, relied mainly on the Central dialect (Saareste 1940: 61–64; Kask 1984: 90–95). In Pietist hymn translations the same dialectal variant was used. In order to enable the present juxtaposition to bring forth, first and foremost, linguistic differences, which are due to different types of culture, and to ignore dialectal differences as much as possible, in the corpus of folksongs also only those texts have been selected, which were written down in the area where the Central dialect was spoken. The corpus of folksongs is formed by the texts of the *Anthology of Estonian Folksongs* (ERLA), but includes only texts that were written down in the parishes of the kernel area and the north-western district of the Central dialect (according to the division of Pajusalu et al. 2002: 57), including 20 parishes of the districts of Harjumaa and Järvamaa counties and the two parishes of Virumaa County (Väike-Maarja, Simuna), where the Central dialect was spoken. As for the thematic division, nursery songs and incantations as distinct types of text are excluded. The resultant corpus comprises 1178 songs, which include in total 53,223 running words.

The corpus of hymns is built up of the texts printed in one of the early editions of the Pietist hymnal (Hymns 1727 [1721]). It comprises 254 songs, which include in total 54,519 running words.

All the running words of the corpora were semi-automatically lemmatized (i.e. grouped under relevant headwords) and analysed from the point of view of parts of speech and morphological categories. For these actions a web-based software application was used, developed at the Institute of the Estonian Language. This special software was initially created only for old Estonian Bible translations. In order to use this software, folksongs as well as hymns were transformed into XML-format and imported into the database of the software. In determining the shape of the headwords, the principles worked out by the

research group of the Old Written Estonian of the University of Tartu (see, e.g., Habicht et al. 2000: 21–23) were mainly followed. Headwords are given in a shape that corresponds to the morphophonological rules of present-day standard Estonian. Words of common etymology with a different phonetical shape are given under the same headword (e.g. *kehran* and *kedrand* are both given under the headword *ketrama* 'to spin'). Words with an etymologically common stem but different suffixes have got different headwords (e.g. *kummuli* 'upside down' and *kumuliste* 'upside down' are given under the headwords *kummuli* and *kummulisti* respectively). In the course of a morphological analysis every running word was labelled according to its part of speech and morphological form. The analysis was based on the morphological system of modern Estonian; word forms which do not match the present system (e.g. forms of the instructive case such as *tulitse silmi* 'with burning eyes', etc.), were in most cases left unlabelled. From amongst the specific categories of folksongs (Peegel 2006) only forms of the potential mood and the *kse*-present were labelled. Sequences of different stems were regarded as compounds only if they were written as one word. Components of compounds were labelled separately, but in the statistics of the present paper compounds are regarded as undivided units.

LINGUISTIC JUXTAPOSITION

Headwords and frequency lists

The corpus of folksongs can be lexically described by 6,658 headwords (on average one headword for every 8 running words); the corpus of hymns can be lexically described by mere 1,828 headwords (on average one headword for every 29.8 running words). Taking into account that the amount of running words in the two corpora (53,223 and 54,519 respectively) is more or less balanced, the difference in the number of headwords is remarkable. There are probably several reasons for such discrepancy, some of them formal, others substantial (see Discussion).

The very top segments of the frequency lists of different sublanguages often tend to be quite similar (cf., e.g., Kaalep & Muischnek 2002: 154). In the present case, however, significant differences can be noted already in the juxtaposition of the ten most frequent headwords of both sublanguages.

Table 1. *The 10 most frequent words of folksongs and hymns (in the order of frequency).*

Folksongs		**Hymns**	
Word	**Number of occurrences**	**Word**	**Number of occurrences**
mina 'I'	1795	*sina* 'you (sing.)'	3019
olema 'to be'	1560	*mina* 'I'	3014
ei 'no, not'	660	*olema* 'to be'	1900
minema 'to go'	529	*see* 'this'	1195
saama 'to get'	526	*et* 'that, since'	1004
see 'this'	522	*kui* 'when, if'	952
meie 'we'	456	*meie* 'we'	937
tulema 'to come'	440	*ja* 'and'	928
sina 'you (sing.)'	418	*ning* 'and'	832
kui 'when, if'	412	*ei* 'no, not'	769

As can be seen, 7 words out of 10 in both lists indeed coincide, but on the other hand the three specific words of either list are quite telling. All the specific words of the folksongs' top ten are verbs: *minema*, *saama*, *tulema*. In hymns all verbs except *olema* 'to be' stand further down the top ten list. All the specific words of the hymns' top ten are conjunctions: *et*, *ja*, *ning*. (Of these three in folksongs *ja* is present in the second top ten, *et* stands in the 43rd position and *ning* (synonym of *ja*) does not occur in folksongs at all.) Yet another remarkable circumstance can be pointed out in connection with the personal pronouns *mina* and *sina*.[1] In the sublanguage of hymns both belong to the absolute top, whereas the number of occurrences of one and the other is almost equal. In folksongs *sina* stands only in the 9th position, whereas its absolute number of occurrences is about four times smaller than the number of occurrences of *mina*.

A telling overview about the differences of the worlds of folksongs and hymns can be driven from the juxtaposition of the 30 most frequent autosemantic nouns and adjectives of either sublanguage (Table 2).

In the two lists only 3 words coincide: *isa*, *käsi*, and *suur*, whereas the meaning of the first actually differs in both sublanguages: in folksongs the word denotes family relations, in hymns it signifies God. The other 27 most frequent nouns and adjectives are specific in both sublanguages, representing the thematic domain of the respective songs.

Table 2. *The 30 most frequent nouns in folksongs and hymns.*

Folksongs		Hymns	
Word	**Number of occurrences**	**Word**	**Number of occurrences**
mees 'man'	306	*jumal* 'God'	588
kodu 'home'	232	*Jeesus* 'Jesus'	577
vend 'brother, boyfriend'	204	*arm* 'grace, mercy, love'	468
naine 'woman'	200	*süda* 'heart'	438
pea 'head'	181	*patt* 'sin'	396
noor 'young'	176	*taevas* 'heaven'	334
tuba 'room'	165	*surm* 'death'	269
hobune 'horse'	160	*meel* 'mind'	259
poiss 'boy'	156	*häda* 'trouble'	255
neid 'girl'	154	*hing* 'soul'	227
lai 'broad'	150	*suur* 'big'	227
vaene 'poor'	139	*hea* 'good'	218
eit 'mother, old woman'	138	*ilm* 'world'	218
härg 'ox'	136	*isa* 'Father'	218
väli 'field'	132	*püha* 'holy'	208
küla 'village'	130	*issand* 'Lord'	205
laps 'child'	122	*vaim* 'spirit'	204
kiik 'swing'	115	*elu* 'life'	201
suur 'big'	115	*rõõm* 'joy'	201
maa 'land, earth'	114	*armas* 'lovely'	197
hell 'tender'	112	*kuri* 'evil'	196
käsi 'hand'	111	*au* 'honour'	191
vana 'old'	110	*abi* 'help'	158
pikk 'long'	109	*sõna* 'word'	145
hall 'grey; grey horse'	107	*vaev* 'trouble'	141
isa 'father'	106	*käsi* 'hand'	139
päev 'day, sun'	103	*usk* 'belief'	139
kuld 'gold'	98	*vägi* 'power'	137
õu 'yard'	98	*kallis* 'dear'	125
ots 'end, top'	97	*õige* 'right'	115

The actors of folksongs are family members and villagers in the neighbourhood (mother, father, child, brother, boyfriend, man, woman, girl, boy). It is noteworthy that among the most important actors of folksongs there are two animals: horse (represented by two words, *hobune* and *hall*) and ox (*härg*). The place of action is the home of the singer, the village, and its neighbourhood (*kodu* 'home', *tuba* 'room', *kiik* 'swing', *küla* 'village', *väli* 'field', *õu* 'yard'). Among the most important nouns, two words signifying parts of the body (*käsi* 'hand', *pea* 'head'), two words connected with location (*maa* 'land~earth', *ots* 'end'), and one word signifying time (*päev* 'day') are recorded. There are seven adjectives in the list or at least words that can function as adjectives, although some of them can function as substantives as well (e.g. *hall* '(adjective) grey; (substantive) grey horse'; the genitive form *kulla* of the noun *kuld* 'gold' can function as an inclinable adjective meaning 'dear').

In hymns the most frequent actors are represented by six nouns: *jumal* 'God', *Jeesus* 'Jesus', *isa* 'Father', *issand* 'Lord', *vaim* 'spirit', *hing* 'soul'. Considering that the first four of the listed nouns signify God and the fifth often also marks one of the persons of the Trinity (although it can occur in the phrase *kuri vaim* 'evil spirit' as well), the scope of actors in hymns is quite narrow. The place of action is either heaven or its abstract opposite world. The monotonousness of actors and locations in hymns is compensated by an abundance of abstract nouns meaning 'help', 'love', 'honour', 'joy', 'trouble', 'life', 'death', 'sin', 'belief'. Among the rest of the substantives two refer to the domicile of man's belief (*süda* 'heart', *meel* 'mind'), two most often signify the acting power of God (*käsi* 'hand', *vägi* 'power'), one the Word of God (*sõna* 'word'). The number of possible adjectives is seven (although *kuri* 'evil' can be used both as an adjective or a substantive).

As we can see, the world of folksongs is filled by diverse familiar actors operating in their everyday environment. Hymns, on the other hand, are totally occupied by God and abstract categories related to him. At the same time the most frequent substantives of hymns tend to be related to the opposition of good and evil ('God', Jesus, 'love', 'heaven', etc. belong distinctively to the side of good, whereas 'world', 'trouble', 'death' and 'sin' belong to the side of evil). The most frequent substantives of folksongs cannot so obviously be associated with such an opposition.

Parts of speech

The percentage of running words belonging to certain parts of speech in two sublanguages is distinctively different.

Table 3. *Distribution of running words by parts of speech in folksongs and hymns.*

Part of speech	Folksongs		Hymns	
	Number of running words	Percentage	Number of running words	Percentage
Verbs	12,892	23,6%	12,969	23.8%
Nouns[2]	27,626	51.9%	16,125	29.6%
Pronouns	4,998	9.4%	12,047	22.1%
Adverbs[3]	4,385	8.0%	5,460	10.0%
Conjunctions	1,269	2.4%	4,165	7.6%
Interjections	234	0.4%	798	1.5%
Particles[4]	1,438	3.8%	2,517	4.6%
Unlabelled	256	0.5%	438	0.8%
In total	53,223	100%	54,519	100%

The percentage of verb forms in both corpora is almost equal. Even the percentage of finite and non-finite forms among verb forms is quite similar in both corpora (finite forms build 74.9% of the total amount of verb forms in folksongs and 71.9% in hymns). This is somewhat unexpected considering the fact that, as Helle Metslang has stated (see Syntactic phrases), in the after-lines of folksongs it is the verb form that is most generally omitted (Metslang 1978: 162), and in lyrical songs even the headverse is often nominal (ibid.: 171).

As for the rest of the parts of speech, the two sublanguages differ significantly from each other. The percentage of nouns in folksongs is remarkably higher than in hymns (51.9% and 29.6% respectively). In the language of hymns, the percentage of pronouns, on the other hand, is significant as compared to the percentage of pronouns in folksongs (22.1% and 9.4% respectively). Apparent discrepancy is also evident in the percentages of conjunctions and interjections, both of which are much more common in the language of hymns than in folksongs.

Morphological categories

The two sublanguages differ from each other as for the representation of morphological categories as well.

Among nominal categories the discrepancy is evident in the category of numerus. In the language of folksongs plural forms constitute 22.5% of all nominal forms, in the language of hymns the percentage of plural forms is only 6.0%. As for the category of case, in the language of folksongs all the case forms of modern Estonian (except for the essive, i.e. nominative, genitive, partitive, illative, inessive, elative, allative, adessive, ablative, translative, terminative, abessive, and comitative cases) are represented in singular and plural. In the language of hymns, the same 13 cases are represented in singular, but in plural form only 9 cases are recorded (there were no plural forms of illative, ablative, terminative, or abessive cases).

Among verbal categories the discrepancy of two sublanguages is evident in mood, tempus, and voice.

***Table 4**. Distribution of finite word forms by different moods.*

Mood	**Folksongs**		**Hymns**	
	Number of running words	**Percentage**	**Number of running words**	**Percentage**
Indicative	7,403	80.6%	7,070	72,5%
Imperative	1,363	14.8%	2,425	24.9%
Conditional	304	3.3%	245	2.5%
Potential	76	0.8%	-	-
Unlabelled	42	0.5%	7	0.1%
Total	9,188	100%	9,747	100%

In folksongs, forms of the indicative constitute 80.6% of all finite verb forms, in hymns only somewhat more than 70%. In the language of hymns, on the other hand, the imperative is considerably more frequent than in folksongs, constituting 24.9% of all finite forms, while in folksongs the percentage of the imperative is only 14.8%. In folksongs an archaic morphological category, the potential mood, is represented, e.g. *mina viinen* 'maybe I take' (from the verb *viima* 'to take'). In ecclesiastical translations this morphological category was not used, except some rare forms of the verbs *olema* 'to be', *andma* 'to give' and *saama* 'to get' in certain versions of the Bible translation. In hymn translation no forms of the potential mood have been recorded.

As for the category of tempus, the juxtaposition indicates that the language of folksongs uses significantly more past tense forms than the language of hymns. In folksongs, forms of the imperfect constitute 31% of all finite verb forms. In hymns the percentage of the imperfect is only 6.5%.

The category of voice has two members in Estonian: personal and impersonal. In folksongs the marked member of the category, impersonal, is a bit more frequent than in the language of hymns. The percentage of impersonal forms in either language is 6.1% and 2.8% of all finite verb forms respectively.

Syntactic phrases

Great differences between the two corpora can easily be noted in the syntactic structure of respective sublanguages. Most of these differences, however, cannot be described in mere linguistic terms, as the syntactic structure of both sublanguages is tightly related to the way in which, in the respective poetic systems, lines are rhythmically structured, and especially to the way they are grouped into greater units. In old Estonian folksongs the basic unit is the line, which consists of eight syllables arranged into four trochaic metric feet following (more or less steadfastly) the rules of the archaic Kalevala metre (Laugaste 1974; Sarv 2008; Ross & Lehiste 2001: 1–3). Folksongs have no strophic structure. Lines are grouped into longer units according to the principle of parallelism. Any group of parallel lines consists of one main line and one or several after-lines. The meaning of the action is established by the main line. In after-lines the meaning of the main line is expanded paradigmatically, after-lines are syntactically less complete and often elliptic. Syncretism, restricted lengths of the line, and communicative circumstances in which folksongs were performed did not allow to build long lines or sequences with a complicated structure. Thus even the syntactic structure of the main line is actually quite elementary. The main lines are composed by Estonian simple sentences with most common lengths and most elementary syntactic, semantic, and information structure. The surface structure of after-lines is identical to the structure of the main line or analogous to it. The analogy is obtained by an ellipsis of hierarchically higher elements (e.g. the predicate) or by the addition of hierarchically lower elements (e.g. the attribute). In brief, the structure of both the main and after-lines is simple and the number of possible varieties is limited (Metslang 1978: 162–166). Due to communicative circumstances, syntactic relations between successive groups of lines cannot be complicated either. Commonly the main lines of successive groups form a coordinated construction. Nevertheless, the

most elementary types of subordination (e.g. *kui/siis* 'when~if/then', *seal/kus* 'where/there', etc.) can also be used. In the present corpus 6,606 groups of lines have been distinguished, from which nearly one third (2,087 or 31.6%) are single lines. Most of the groups consist of two lines (2,208 groups or 33.4%). Groups of three lines (1,219) constitute 18.5%, groups of four lines (627) constitute 9.5%, groups of five lines (233) constitute 3.5%, and groups of six or more lines (232 in total) also 3.5%. In a typical group no conjunctions are used: syntactically coordinated lines, which from the semantic point of view are in paradigmatic relation with each other, are separated by commas, e.g.:

Panin kuuske kuivamaie,	I put on the fir to dry,
tamme jo tahenemaie,	on the oak to season,
pajo-oksa pleekimaie.	on the willow-twig to bleach.
(ERLA I: 211)	

The analysed Estonian translations of Lutheran hymns metrically correspond to their German originals. In the translations the iambic or trochaic metre is observed even more strictly than in some of the originals. In hymns lines are organised in stanzas and strophes, which constitute syntactic entities in which the idea is in most cases syntagmatically developed from the first line to the last one. Lines and greater units can be in complicated syntactic relations with one another. The strophic structure of hymns varies significantly, e.g. Mahrenholz (1953: 249–259) distinguishes 126 different structures. In the present corpus of Estonian translations 2,033 strophes or stanzas including 2–10 lines are distinguished (besides 46 longer texts with no strophic division). Most typical are strophes consisting of 4 lines (358, which make up 17.6% of the total amount of strophes). From the semantic point of view lines are generally in syntagmatic relation to each other. In most cases at least some of the lines are syntactically subordinated to one another, which is expressed by subordinating conjunctions, e.g. (the translation of the last strophe of the hymn *Nun danket all* by Paul Gerhardt):

Kui *meie südda löhki lääb,*	If our heart will break up,
Meid panne hingama,	put us to rest,
Et *meie silm seäl Jesust nääb,*	so that our eye can see Jesus there,
Kui *läh'me maggama.*	when we fall asleep.
(Hymns 1727 [1721]: 237)	

The principally different syntactic organisation of folksongs and hymns is reflected in the different percentage of conjunctions in both sublanguages. In the top ten of the frequency list of hymns four conjunctions are included, whereas

in the top ten of folksongs there is only one. In hymns conjunctions constitute 7.7% of all running words, in folksongs a mere 2.4% (see subdivisions "Headwords and frequency lists" and "Parts of speech").[5]

Nevertheless, there are syntactic differences between the two sublanguages, which do not result from the difference between the poetical systems, but can be described as purely linguistic ones. For example, obvious differences become apparent in expressing the actor in some non-finite constructions. In folksong constructions with infinitive and passive participles (both the present and the past one), the actor can be expressed by the genitive form. In the corpus, 57 phrases (in 55 lines) have been recorded where the genitive in construction with the infinitive expresses the actor, e.g. *Maa alla* ***madude*** ('worm' GPl) ***süüa*** ('to eat' Inf), *ilma* ***tõukude*** ('maggot' GPl) ***imeda*** ('to suck' Inf) 'Under the earth [to be] eaten by the worms, sucked by the maggots'. In constructions with participles such genitive forms are rarer in the folksongs. In the corpus, 15 phrases (in 13 groups of parallel lines) have been recorded with the past participle, e.g. *Sirp on kurja* ***sepa*** ('smith' GSg) ***tehtud*** ('to do' PtsPtPss) 'the reaping hook has been forged by a bad smith'. With the present participle only three phrases (in two groups of parallel lines) have been recorded, e.g. *Mina põle* ***pere*** ('family' GSg) ***peksetavaks*** (translative case of the passive present participle of the verb 'to beat') 'I am not to be beaten by the family'.

In the language of hymns non-finite constructions where the actor is expressed by the genitive are unknown. On the other hand, in constructions with the past participle the actor can be expressed by elative, e.g. *Arm* ***Jummalast*** *on* ***tootud*** 'Grace has been promised by God' (by analogy of the respective German construction *vom Gott gelobt*).

In modern Estonian amongst the described phrases only genitive forms with the past participle in construction with the auxiliary *olema* 'to be' are common (e.g. *Luuletus* ***on*** *selle* ***tüdruku kirjutatud*** 'the poem has been written by this girl'). On the basis of this construction the periphrastic passive has been developed. Other archaic genitive constructions typical of folksongs, and borrowed elative constructions typical of hymn translations are rare in modern Estonian and need a specific context (e.g. *Töö* ***jäi poisi teha*** 'the task was left to the boy'; *See töö* ***jäi minust lõpetamata*** 'the task remained unfinished from my side').

DISCUSSION

The juxtaposition indicates that the two analysed eighteenth century sublanguages of Estonian differ significantly from each other. Differences become apparent on all analysed levels: lexical, morphological, and morphosyntactical.

On the lexical level the most apparent difference lies in the amount of headwords of the two corpora, which may have several reasons. One of the formal reasons probably lies in the fact that the language of folksongs varies more freely and one and the same stem may be combined with several suffixes with a similar meaning, in which case the corresponding sequences are described by different headwords (e.g. *laiali*, *laialisti* 'scattered'). The language of hymns has been standardised and this kind of variation is very rare there. Another formal reason probably lies in compounds and the percentage of them in either corpus. As mentioned above, in the present statistics, compounds are regarded as undivided units and get separate headwords. As a result, e.g. the running word *eluaea* 'of lifetime' in folksongs needs a special headword *eluaeg* 'lifetime' (in addition to the usual headwords *elu* 'life' and *aeg* 'time'); the sequence of two words *ello aial* 'in lifetime' of hymns can be described by the existing headwords *elu* and *aeg*, and needs no special headword. At the same time the percentage of compounds in folksongs is remarkably higher than in hymns: in folksongs compounds make up 8.3% of all running words and 34.7% of headwords; in the language of hymns the respective numbers are 1.15% and 11.3%. To some extent the difference between the number of headwords in either corpus is due to the thematic scope of the songs. The most frequent nouns of either corpus testify that folksongs and hymns both focus on their own narrow thematic domain; anyhow, folksongs seem to cover a much wider area than hymns. To some extent, nevertheless, the difference between the number of headwords reflects the lexical variety/monotonousness of either language: the language of folksongs is certainly lexically richer than the language of hymns.

The lists of the most frequent nouns of both sublanguages testify that the two types of songs represent completely different worlds. The language of folksongs reflects everyday life of common people in their familiar surroundings. The language of hymns describes man's relation to God and abstract categories by which this relation is determined.

The percentage of different parts of speech in both sublanguages is telling. Folksongs are rich in nouns. This corresponds to the structure of groups of parallel lines: in after-lines verb forms are often omitted, but the noun of the main line is replaced by other nouns. The language of folksongs is additive, rich in pictures and descriptions in which one and the same actor or undergoer is repeatedly depicted by different nouns. In hymns, on the other hand, conjunctions and pronouns with an abstract and relatively empty meaning make up a considerable part of running words.

As for morphological categories, many archaic categories are represented in old folksongs (Peegel 2006), which in the eighteenth century were probably already out of use in everyday communication. From amongst such categories

in the present corpus, only the potential mood and the so-called *kse*-present were labelled. Other archaic word forms were classified unlabelled, since it was quite obvious that the German clergymen were not able to make use of them in their translations. Among the categories represented in both sublanguages, significant differences can be noted concerning the percentage of one or another member of the same category. In the language of hymns significantly more imperative, present, and singular forms were recorded than in the language of folksongs. Together with the fact that the frequency of the pronouns *mina* 'I' and *sina* 'you' was equally high in hymns and among the parts of speech interjections were remarkably numerous, the language of hymns can be described as more dialogical and emotional than that of folksongs. Hymns can be considered as dialogues between God and the believer. In folksongs the indicative, past tense, and plural prevail. In comparison to hymns, folksongs seem to be more narrative and epic, although generally the Estonian runosong is described as lyric poetry with few epic elements.

Differences in the syntactic structure of the two corpora are largely due to the poetic system of either type of songs. The syntactic relations of folksongs can be described as additive and coordinative, while hymns tend to be analytic and subordinative. Strictly linguistic features of morphosyntactic phrases of the language of folksongs can be described as archaic and indigenous, while specific syntactic constructions of hymns tend to be artificial and German-biased.

According to Walter Ong, orality and orally performed texts can be characterised as situational, immediate, natural, communal, formulaic, additive, and aggregative; literacy and written texts, on the other hand, as abstract, distanced, artificial, private (or even solipsistic), coherent, subordinative, and analytic (Ong 1988 [1982]: 26, 31–116). On the basis of these characteristics, in some aspects the sublanguages of folksongs and hymns can indeed be opposed as representatives of oral and written culture. The sublanguage of folksongs is more situational, natural, formulaic, additive, and aggregative; the sublanguage of hymns is more abstract, artificial, coherent, subordinative, and analytic. The juxtaposition of the eighteenth century sublanguage of hymns with the contemporary sublanguage of the Bible translation has shown (Ross 2016) that in some respects the language of hymns satisfies the criteria of literacy even better than the sublanguage of ecclesiastical prose: it is more abstract, artificial, and German-biased. On the other hand, the present juxtaposition shows that in some respects the sublanguage of hymns satisfies the criteria of orality even better than the sublanguage of folksongs: dialogical essence and emotional emphasis make hymns very immediate. As for the opposition of communality/privateness, the position of hymns is particularly ambiguous. Since hymns were congregational songs, their text was meant to be performed

collectively even if the content of some of them is very private. As such, hymns were a suitable bridge which enabled the semi-literate Estonians to move from the old oral tradition and embrace the new literacy mediated by the Germans.

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NOTES

[1] The headwords *mina* and *sina* cover also short forms of the respective pronouns (*ma*, *mu*, etc. and *sa*, *su*, etc.)

[2] In the present statistics the class of nouns includes substantives, adjectives, and numerals.

[3] In the present statistics the class of adverbs includes both autosemantic adverbs and affixal adverbs.

[4] In the present statistics the class of particles includes pre- and postpositions, negational words of negative forms, bound morphemes, and bound stems and citation loans.

[5] Partially the different percentage of conjunctions in both sublanguages can of course be explained with metrical circumstances: iambic metre favours monosyllabic unstressed conjunctions at the beginning of the line.

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TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY OF PARALLELISM IN ESTONIAN POETIC FOLKLORE

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Abstract: The article gives an overview of the uses and features of parallelism across different genres of Estonian poetic folklore, focusing on the genres in which grammatical parallelism forms an important means for structuring texts. Relying on her own previous research on runosongs and short forms of folklore (Sarv 1999, 2000, 2003), the results of the syntactic analysis of runosong texts in Helle Metslang's dissertation (1978), Juhan Peegel's definition of poetical synonyms in runosongs (Peegel 2004), and proceeding from the concept of poetical system (Sarv 2000), the author proposes a definition of the type of parallelism canonical in the Finnic runosong tradition. Two other types of parallelism, used in different genres of Estonian poetic folklore, are discerned on a similar basis, taking into account the relations between the elements of the poetical system. The proposed typology proceeds from the assumption that the regular use (or absence) of euphonic means is related to the type of parallelism used. In this case – as the study proves – the types of parallelism are distinguished by the semantic relations between the parallel elements (words or phrases) in grammatically parallel units, rather than by semantic relations between the whole parallel units or by formal features like range or length. There appears to be a clear tendency: the use of euphony (alliteration and word-structure repetitions) in parallelism types increases in relation to the diminishing of the semantic load of the parallel elements.

Keywords: folklore, folk songs, oral poetry, parallelism, poetics, proverbs, riddles, runosong, sayings

INTRODUCTION

Parallelism is a very general principle governing the creation and essence of poetic texts, and is present in poetic traditions worldwide. There are numerous forms of parallelism in different poetic traditions, some of them regular, some of them with strict regularities, some of them more casual and looser in form. Parallelism in its various forms reveals itself in different genres of Estonian poetic folklore, fitting with the communicative functions specific to each genre.

My investigation into the typology of parallelism arose from the need to define the essence of Estonian runosong tradition, a branch of common Finnic poetic tradition, for the research purposes as well as for the organization and

systematization of archival collections (i.e. making collections available and accessible for other researchers, as well as for the public).[1] My studies on runosong parallelism (Sarv 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2015) have led me to the conclusion that, in addition to the formal description of the parallel units, specific semantic relations of the constituents of these parallel units are crucial to characterizing the main form of runosong parallelism. My further studies on the structural preconditions for the euphony in short forms of folklore (Sarv 2003) have allowed me to discern two more types of parallelism on a similar basis.

The typology presented in this article proceeds from the concept of poetical system (Sarv 2000), and the idea that the elements of a poetical system have stable mutual relations forming a coherent whole. Mainly, the argumentation relies on the assumption that parallelism, depending on its semantic nature, may support or hinder the use of euphony. The article aims to detect and characterize 'natural' classes of parallelism present in Estonian poetic folklore, i.e. types of parallelism that can be distinguished by their role in poetical systems.

PARALLELISM AND THE POETIC FUNCTION OF LANGUAGE

Parallelism as one of the main constituents of the poetic structure of runosongs was described under the name "repetition of thought" (*repetitio sententiarum*) already by Henrik Gabriel Porthan in his dissertation *De Poesi Fennica* (Porthan 1766–1788: 17–24; 1983). Porthan also refers to Joh. des Champs who has been using the term "rhyme of thought" (*rime du sens*) as opposed to "rhyme of sound" (*rime du son*), to denote similar "harmony of the thoughts and images" in old Hebrew poetry.[2] The notion 'parallelism' in the meaning of a poetic device was supposedly taken into use in 1788 by Robert Lowth, who with the phrase *parallelismus membrorum* denoted syntactic and semantic correspondences in contiguous lines of Hebrew sacred poetry (see Küper 1988: 50–51; Fox 2014: 20–22). As the subtypes of parallelism, he distinguished synonymous, antithetic, and synthetic parallelism (the last one denoting the kind of grammatical parallelism in which the semantic relations are not unambiguous).

Gerard Manley Hopkins, an English poet, considered parallelism as a more general phenomenon – as a general poetic principle. The idea was developed further by Roman Jakobson, according to whom parallelism denotes the expression of the poetic function of language with recurrences in any level of language (see, e.g., PT: 42–43; Jakobson & Pomorska 1983: 102–103). Undoubtedly, parallelism as a poetic device most notably occurs in the grammatically and semantically parallel contiguous units of metric texts, and this is how it is understood in its narrower sense. Parallelism in a broader sense also extends

to larger units, prose texts, or to smaller units, word pairs, and can be revealed on compositional, grammatical or phonological level (see, e.g., Jakobson 1987: 145–179; Jakobson & Pomorska 1983: 106–107; O'Connor 1993).

Parallelism is very common in the folklore of various nations, in all probability it has had its specific tasks and functions in the conditions of orality, helping to memorize stories and thoughts, to secure the message to be understood, to emphasize the importance of a message, to create the poetic text *ad hoc* in a relevant situation, etc. (on the use of parallelism in folklore see, e.g., Fox 2014). Parallelism can be used as an optional ornament in a text or as a common and canonical compositional device that is unavoidable in the texts belonging to the poetic tradition, genre or subgenre of folklore, and forms an essential part of the poetic system of this genre. Parallelism is of course not all the same in different poetic traditions or genres. In order to describe a specific form of parallelism, and to compare it to the other forms of parallelism, we need some kind of classification or typology based on the characteristic features distinguishing the types of parallelism.

According to Roman Jakobson's definition, the poetic function – expressed by parallelism in a broader sense – projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination (Jakobson 1988: 39). Parallelism always means some kind and extent of equivalence combined with some extent of difference, with a countless number of possible combinations. The basis for distinguishing and describing the types of parallelism could be the distribution of equivalent and different elements across linguistic levels. For example, grammatically parallel units may belong either to different semantic fields or to the same semantic field, depending on the tradition; in some traditions it is required that in the parallel units all the elements have counterparts, other traditions prefer elliptical parallelism, etc. Parallelism is a powerful poetical tool that, with the help of recurrences, is able to draw attention to the similarities between different things or situations, to create links between things that do not belong together in conventional thought and/or language (cf. Frog 2014). This characteristic of parallelism applies diversely in different traditions and genres as well.

PRESENCE OF PARALLELISM IN ESTONIAN FOLKLORE GENRES

Parallelism finds diverse use in folklore, being one of the main factors signalling the poetic nature of folklore texts and thus securing the correct interpretation of the message. Functions and features of parallelism vary across genres, as

do the extent of use and regularity. The current chapter aims to give a general overview of the presence of parallelism in Estonian folklore. In the framework of this article parallelism is defined as a recurrence of syntactic structures in contiguous or nearby passages together with some kind of semantic relations. In Estonian folklore parallelism is often elliptical – not all the elements of the main clause have to be repeated in parallel clauses – especially when parallelism occurs within the limits of a sentence or saying.[3] In addition, as Estonian has free word order, the syntactically parallel units do not have to have the same word order. One can notice, though, that the longer the units, the more exactly parallel units follow the syntax of the main unit, and contain repetition, in order to retain the coherence and give a clear signal of the presence of parallelism (cf. Saarinen 2014: 109). In the long lines of Karelian laments loaded with metaphorical figures, the coherence is secured by a stricter word order together with repetitions (Stepanova 1985; Leino 1974). In several genres of Estonian folklore uses and features of parallelism have been studied more or less thoroughly, whereas on the others it is possible to make only very general remarks.

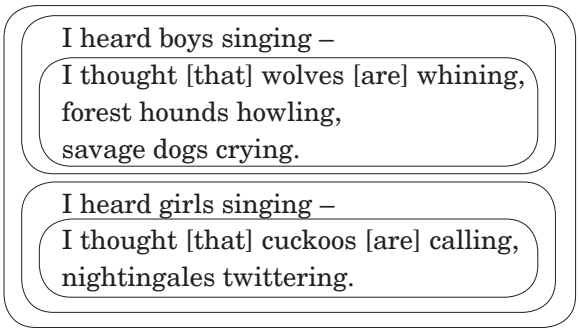
Songs

The Estonian folksong tradition can roughly be divided into two broad classes: (1) runosongs – ancient indigenous tradition, shared with other Finnic peoples, featuring a coherent poetical system that includes alliteration and parallelism; (2) rhymed songs – newer tradition (religious as well as secular) adopted from European culture mainly through Germans who inhabited the country as a higher class from the thirteenth until the twentieth century.[4] In addition to that, there are several groups of so-called transitional songs with a looser poetic form, which hybridly use the elements of both aforementioned classes, as well as other flows of tradition, with each group having its specific features: dance songs, game songs, soldiers' songs, situational village songs, and sentimental ballads.[5]

In runosongs, verse parallelism is considered as one of the main constituents of poetic texture, next to alliteration and specific metre. In addition to the regular presence on verse level, parallelism often structures the composition of larger content blocks. Sometimes multiple layers are embedded into each other, as in the following example where three levels of parallelism are embedded, with verse parallelism occurring at the most basic level.

(1)

Kuuli poissi laulaveta –
mõtli hundi hulvaveta,
soe sorgu laskeveta,
mõtsatörri töünävetä.
Kuuli neiu laulaveta –
mõtli käu kukuveta,
sisaski siristeveta.
(ERlA 4255)



Although the presence of parallelism is considered as one of the main differences between runosongs and newer, rhymed songs, parallelism still occasionally occurs in the latter.

(2)

Pidin jätma maha
kallist kodumaad
ja pian unustama
kõige kallima.
(Rüütel 2016: 247)

I had to leave
my dear homeland,
and I have to forget
my dearest one.

The Estonian rhymed song tradition has remained unstudied by and large, and we do not have any quantitative data on the occurrence and frequency of parallelism in this song corpus. Nevertheless, Ingrid Rüütel's analysis of the occurrence of parallelism in transitional songs (Rüütel 2012: 487–494, 525–531) reveals the directions of development of the use of parallelism in the process of adopting the rhymed song tradition.

There are two monographic studies written on the parallelism in runosongs. The first one by Wolfgang Steinitz (1934) is based on the songs of the famous Karelian singer Arhippa Perttunen – the most famous classic of runosongs, on whose songs Elias Lönnrot has largely based his epic *Kalevala* (Lönnrot 1835). Steinitz's work is important in the current context, as this is the most serious attempt for the classification of parallelism occurring in runosongs (on the basis of semantic relations of the parallel units): firstly, he divided the parallelism instances into (1) synonymous – where the content of a line or phrase is repeated, and (2) analogous – where the phrases with similar content are juxtaposed. Although not concerning Estonian tradition *per se*, Steinitz's classification is considered to be applying to the runosong tradition in general, and has been accepted and adopted into Estonian runosong discourse, and into the study of folkloric parallelism in general. Karl Reichl (1994: 138) admits that the classification is meaningful and applicable for the southern Slavic and Turkic epic poetry as well.

Several runosong researchers have admitted, though, that the classification of the real cases of runosong parallelism according to Steinitz's 'clear-cut division' appears to be problematic; there is a big grey area on the borderline of two classes, where it is hard or impossible to make a decision as to which class the case should belong (see, e.g., Rüütel 2012: 526). Jukka Saarinen in his article on parallelism in Arhippa Perttunen songs states: "Semantic relations between parallel lines are diverse and their limits fuzzy" (Saarinen 2014: 110).

The second thorough study on parallelism is Helle Metslang's unpublished dissertation (1978) on the syntactic aspects of verse parallelism in Estonian runosongs. Metslang clearly confines her research to what she considers as the most central form of parallelism in the runosong – syntactic parallelism that combines verse-length units (including in addition to it a small subgroup of half-verse parallelism) – and leaves aside parallelism of larger units, admitting its recurrent and multilevel presence in runosongs (Metslang 1978: 30–35, 161). She describes the essence of verse parallelism in runosongs as follows:

> *Parallelism is a constitutive device in Estonian runosongs, which groups successive lines into a complex whole – a group of parallel lines [...] where the content, and, accordingly, the form of a line is partly repeated, partly varied in successive, parallel lines. In this way the integrated whole idea, a poetical image develops.* (ibid.: 12)

Metslang's dissertation is based on the syntactic analysis of large text samples, giving us an overview of the syntactic structure of lines belonging to verse parallelism in Estonian runosongs, and offering a solid foundation for a further analysis of runosong parallelism. Her statistical analysis of the syntactic composition of parallel units demonstrates that the main verse of the paral-

lelistic group usually contains more words, offering grammatically the most complete and most easily understandable version of the idea. There is no direct need to repeat all the words in parallel lines, and the vacant space can be used for poetical reformulation of the content elements; the place that has become free from the ellipsed words can be filled with additional attributes. According to Metslang's statistics on parallel verse pairs (ibid.: 67–76), there are in average 4 grammatical elements in parallel verse pairs, of which 2.8 are present in both verses; 0.85 are disappearing, i.e. are present in the main line only, and 0.35 are appearing, i.e. are present in the parallel line only. Most often (but not necessarily), the disappearing elements perform the function of either the predicate or the subject, and appearing elements the function of the attribute:

(3)

Kaptin kutsus kajutisse,
tüürman oma tubadesse.
(ibid.: 71)

Captain invited to the cabin,
steersman to his chambers.

(4)

Laulik ollu mu esäke,
sõnaseppa mu sõsare.
(ibid.: 73)

Singer was my father,
wordsmith my sister.

Thus, there are syntactic regularities in the grammatical parallelism of the runosong – not all the grammatical elements of the main line have to have counterparts in the parallel line, the syntactic continuity is secured by retaining two, or sometimes only one, sentence element, and new attributive elements can be added. There are plenty of examples of retaining only one element in the second or successive lines, and enlarging it with attributes:

(5)

Mis meil viga viisatassa,
isa raha raisatassa.
(ERlA 4084)

We don't have anything wrong with dawdling,
spending father's money.

In this case only the verb is retained, with the semantic parallel containing two words (spend money) and an attribute (owner of this money).

(6)

Küll mind püüdsid Selja sepad
ja ka raudade tagujad.
(ERlA 4635)

Smiths of Selja did want to catch me,
and so did forgers of iron.

In this example, only the word *smith* has a parallel in the second line, represented by a poetical synonym 'forger of iron', the (unnecessary) conjunctives filling the rest of the vacant space.

In addition to the syntactic features, specific semantic peculiarities apply, sometimes manifesting themselves as contradictions from the viewpoint of the regular language, e.g.:

(7)

Läksin metsä kondimaie
pühapäivä hommikulla,
laupäevä lõune'ella,
äripäeva õhtatella.
(E 51746/8 (3))

I went to the woods to walk
on the morning of a Sunday,
on the midday of a Saturday,
on the evening of a workday.

Discrepancies reveal themselves in analogous parallelism, where the lines considered to describe one situation appear to be in contradiction to each other in literal interpretation. In the previous example (7) one special event of walking is presented as to be happening in three different spans of time. Jaan Kaplinski and Helle Metslang have explained that the parallel lines in runosongs should be interpreted as disjunctive – the walking may have happened in any of the cases – in contrast to the conjunctive interpretation common to successive sequences in the regular language (Kaplinski 1997; Metslang 1978: 10). The poetic framework establishes specific rules for conveying the meaning, and leads us to interpret parallel lines differently from the regular language.

Different aspects of parallelism in runosongs have been studied by many researchers (see, e.g., Jaago 1998); most of them still focus on the most basic

level of parallelism, i.e. verse parallelism. As also the statistical estimations of the occurrence of parallelism are usually confined to verse parallelism, it is hard to indicate real coverage of parallelism in runosongs. Although parallelism does not engage all the lines in runosongs, it is clear that verse parallelism is active throughout the whole process of text creation, covering at least half of the lines, usually considerably more, depending mainly on the functional class in question, as well as individual and regional peculiarities of song tradition (see, e.g., Sarv 2002). Optional, but still frequent parallelism of larger content blocks amplifies the presence of parallelism in runosongs even more.

As already mentioned, we do not have any quantitative data on the occurrence of parallelism in rhymed songs, but parallelism is clearly not a constitutive component in this tradition. The presence of parallelism in transitional songs has been summarized by Ingrid Rüütel (2012: 487–494) as follows: there are considerably fewer occurrences of parallelism in transitional songs than in runosongs; where parallelism is used, there is a clear shift towards the use of analogous parallelism in transitional songs as compared to runosongs; in transitional songs the share of parallel groups consisting of two lines has grown at the expense of longer parallel groups. This is explained by the author with the changed socio-cultural situation and with a quest for greater dynamics in reflecting real-world situations, singers' own ideas, and storylines in transitional (as well as in newer) folksongs.

Short forms of folklore

Parallelism is remarkably visible in the texture of Estonian short forms of folklore – proverbs, sayings, and riddles. The use of parallelism (or syntactic symmetry) in proverbs and sayings has been treated and analysed in a number of Arvo Krikmann's writings, most focally in his series of articles on the relationships of the rhetorical, modal, logical, and syntactic planes in Estonian proverbs (Krikmann 1998). My own study on the structural preconditions for the euphony in short forms of folklore includes, among others, some statistical observations on the frequency of parallelism: among the 14,000 texts present in the database of sayings 7% contained syntactic repetitions; among the 5,846 proverb type titles with a length of 4–6 words (three most numerous groups) 48% were parallelistic[6] (Sarv 2003: 151–154). We have no statistical data on the use of parallelism in riddles, but a rough estimation says parallelism might be even more general in riddles than in proverbs (for texts see Krikmann & Krikmann 2012).

A layer of short forms of folklore in Finnic languages is considered to be using the poetic form of runosongs (see, e.g., Leino 1970; Kuusi 1994; PS; Krikmann 1997; etc.). The runosong form is regarded as the 'poetic code' that historically has been widely applied for poetic expression in general by a number of Finnic peoples. In recordings of short forms of folklore, which mostly derive from the past two centuries, texts of this historical layer have been adapting to the cultural and/or linguistic changes. Often it is hard or even impossible to conclude if the specific text is using the runosong form, whereas the texts of short forms of folklore may be too short to reveal the regularities of poetic structure, may be adopted to the colloquial language, and may reveal the features characteristic of runosong poetics, namely syntactic symmetry, euphonic ornaments, and trochaic rhythm, independently of the specific runosong form. Parallelism in these genres is used worldwide, and as such is not specific to Finnic cultures only.

Nevertheless, the use of runosong poetics is evident in many cases, and, in addition to the combined use of alliteration and parallelism, some texts even reveal traces of quantitative metre: *oppind mies oluve juoneb, oppimata oksendeleb* 'a learned man drinks the beer, an unlearned one vomits' (EV 14756). It is not rare that the same formulaic expressions have been used across different genres; the same lines or parallelistic groups can acquire different functions, can be sung or said, or sometimes guessed. For example, in 1888 folklore collector Paula Jagor wrote down a riddle *all ärg, angus sarved* 'a grey ox, sharp horns' (a mill; EM 156, H I 2, 32 (6)), and also a song that contains the same line in a more metrical format as a wish of mummers to a good host: *sellel kasuvad /.../ kiudud ärjad küürus sarved, allid ärjad angus sarved* 'this one will have ... striped oxen, crooked horns, grey oxen, sharp horns' (H I 2, 32; Sarv 2003: 146–147; for examples and parallels in abundance see Krikmann 1997: 74–94).

One of the functions of poetic structuring – parallelism together with euphonic means – in proverbs and sayings is to draw attention to the functional difference of the phrase from regular speech, i.e. its generalizing nature, and sometimes figurative meaning, to secure its right interpretation by the addressees, and its memorability. In proverbs, parallelism usually has a clear semantic task – to point out the relations between objects or phenomena, for example differences within a field of activity like in *kauple kui juut, maksa kui saks* 'bargain as a Jew, pay as a German [landlord]' (EV 3497) or the similarities between different spheres of action, like in *söö, mis küps, räägi, mis tõsi* 'eat, what is ripe, speak what is true' (EV 11281) (cf. Krikmann 1998; 1975: 89) or the nature of relation, such as cause and effect. This pointing or comparison of two cases usually forms the substance and idea of the proverb, and cannot be considered as a poetical ornament. While the relation between the two cases is meant to be as unexpected as the new information offered by the proverb,

and the relationship between the two is not always evident, the coherence of parallel units is often additionally secured by an ellipsis, repetition of words in two parallel phrases, recurrent word order, proverbial formulae like *who – this*; *if – then*, and also the words or word pairs signalling a clear contrast like *but*, *not*, *before – after*, *sweet – bitter,* etc. According to Steinitz's classification, the majority of all the instances of parallelism in proverbs can be considered as analogous.

In sayings, which by their nature are more ornamental and less informational than proverbs, the use of parallelism is more playful, often including enumerations, and synonymous reformulations: *mul on kolm kavaleeri: Mulla-Madis, Liiva-Annuss ja Tuone-Tuomass* 'I have three suitors: Matthias of Mould, Hannus of Sand, and Thomas of Otherworld' (RKM II 201, 295 (51)). The number and choice of items in this kind of lists and reformulations is variative; items can be easily added or omitted (Sarv 1960: 48–50). There are also parallelistic proverbial sayings that are built up on the comparison of two different cases: *pealt kui õun, seest kui sibul* 'outside as an apple, inside as an onion' (ERA II 254, 447).

In riddles parallelism is most often present in the form of lists that describe different aspects or parts of the object to be guessed, representing analogous parallelism according to Steinitz's classification. These lists have an ambivalent function: on the one hand, they have to provide enough information for guessing, on the other hand, they avoid naming of the object to be guessed. There are different strategies for avoiding direct naming of the object. Sometimes these are just elliptically omitted, like in: *õues mäena, toas veena*[7] 'as a hill outside, as a water inside' (snow; EM 2580), but more often the item(s) to be guessed are renamed, either metaphorically (like an animal for a thing in *üks hani, neli nina* 'one goose, four noses' – a pillow; EM 2661), using a proper name (*Märt mäe külje pääl, üks jalg all* 'Martin on the hillside, one leg under him' – a mushroom; EM 657) or a meaningless/onomatopoeic word (*ulpus läheb alpusele kosja, suure pika piibuga ja laia kaabuga* '*ulpus* goes to propose marriage to *alpus*, with a big long pipe and a large hat' – taking water out of the well; EM 233). As the literal meaning of this kind of poetic pronouns is relatively unimportant in most cases, or gives only some contours or indirect hints of the object to be guessed, these words can be selected quite freely, and in most cases are chosen as alliterating with the more informative part of the riddle; alliteration is a rather regular, still not compulsory feature in Estonian riddles. In addition to alliteration, riddles contain in abundance playful word-structure repetitions with a vague meaning (like *ulpus* and *alpus* in the aforementioned example). There are structural differences in these repetitions depending on the placement of words: if they are placed next to or nearby each other, they

also alliterate with each other, and only the vowel of the first syllable varies: *tikker-tekker läheb taeva munedes* 'tikker-tekker goes to the heaven, laying eggs' (hop; EM 2202). In case these quasi-words are placed in parallel phrases, the words are composed in such a way as to alliterate with the informative part: *pundrik puus, mandrik maas, Hindrik all heinamaal* 'pundrik on the tree, mandrik on the ground, Heinrich down on the meadow' (nut, strawberry, and wild angelica; EM 1784). Word structure repetitions with a vague meaning in different variants can be found in approximately 12% of the whole corpus of Estonian riddles (ca 94,000 texts altogether) (Sarv 2003: 163–164).

The playfulness and obscurity in riddles can be extended even further, when obscure word structure repetitions are combined with the guessing formula, like in *muista mutre, mutrest vetru, vedrust kierupäässe, kierupääst munasse, munast maha plaksti* 'guess a nut, from nut to spring, from spring to twisthead, from twisthead to egg, from egg down clap' (a gun; EM 1330).

The use of words with an obscure meaning to name the object to be guessed is reportedly common to riddles in various languages and cultures (Hart 1964), and the use of word pairs is not uncommon either (cf. Taylor 1951; the best-known example in English is probably *humpty-dumpty* representing an egg); nor is the use of obscure guessing formula, e.g. *riddle come, riddle come rarlet, my petticoat's lined with scarlet*, etc. (ibid.: 232).

In addition to the parallelism that enumerates different aspects of the object to be guessed, also the synonymous parallelism similar to that of runosongs is sometimes applied, e.g. *vee voonake, järve lambake kükitab külatänaval* 'sheep of water, lamb of lake is squatting on a village street' (frog; EM 2489).

Compared to the use of parallelism in proverbs, in riddles there are usually more units in the parallel lists, the units of parallelism tend to be shorter, and there are more direct word-repetitions; the most striking difference is the use of obscure and quasi-words that enhance the use of alliteration as well as word-structure repetitions. Compare, for example, the proverb *kui kurõmarja samblõ seeh omma ehk kasussõ, sis aja rügä sisse sügävähe; kui kurõmarja sambla pääl kasussõ, sis tee rügä ägli alla* 'when the cranberries are or grow deep in the moss, then you should sow rye deep in the ground; when the cranberries grow on the moss, then you should sow rye straight under the harrow' (EV 4564) vs. *mehed Võnnusta tulevad, tükk puud, tükk luud, tükk nahknuustakud, tükk ennast hilbakud, kaks pääd, kaheksa sarve, kaks hända roodulesta, kaks auku mulgulesta* 'men are coming from Võnnu, a piece of wood, a piece of bone, a piece of worn leather, and a piece of oneself ragged, two heads, eight horns, two ribbed tails, two holey holes' (oxen in yoke and a man; EM 580).

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In addition to songs and short forms of folklore, parallelism occurs with some frequency also in other genres of folklore. The use of parallelism in charms and children's rhymes is characterized by the hybridity of poetic flows: it may include synonymous parallelism typical of runosongs, comparisons of different situations or circumstances, enumerations, chains, etc. Playfulness and some obscurity in connection with euphonic ornamentation are characteristic of both genres as well: in charms this serves a function similar to riddles, namely to avoid direct naming or the object in question. In narrative genres like fairy tales, legends, and anecdotes either two oppositional situations or gradation with three (or more) situations is expressed parallelistically, adding a poetic effect to the narrative texts (cf. Laugaste 1986: 165).

THE CONCEPT OF POETICAL SYSTEM AS A FRAMEWORK FOR NATURAL TYPOLOGY OF PARALLELISM

The following attempt to create a typology of parallelism in Estonian folklore proceeds from the concept of poetical system (Sarv 2000), which is defined as a complex of linguistic and poetic features in a specific poetic tradition, forming a coherent whole and present throughout the whole process of text creation. The coherence of the poetical system is established by the persistent mutual relations of its elements. Such elements of the poetical system can be regarded as canonical or structural features in this specific poetic tradition.

In the case of Finnic runosong tradition as well as other poetic genres many researchers have noted that parallelism with its specific semantic structure widens the possibilities for the use of alliteration (see, e.g., Leino 1974: 125; Laugaste 1969: 24; Honko 1963: 103–104; Metslang 1978; Sarv 1999, 2000: 93–95, etc.). The co-dependence of alliteration and parallelism could be statistically proven (Sarv 1999, 2002) by comparing the percentage of alliterative words, which was remarkably higher in the lines belonging to the parallel sequences than in single, so-called orphan lines (cf. also Saarinen 2014). My own hypothesis here has been that not all kinds of parallelism present in runosongs support the use of alliteration, but a specific type of parallelism with persistent relations of alliteration forms a stable element of poetic structure.

My first aim hereby is to find out the main characteristics (linguistic correspondences) for the type of parallelism that supports the use of alliteration in runosongs, and would represent a kind of 'natural type' of parallelism. Subsequently, I will propose two comparable types of parallelism in Estonian poetic folklore, characterized by semantic peculiarities as well as by their relations with euphony.

STEINITZ'S CLASSIFICATION REVISED

The classification created by W. Steinitz (1934) divides the cases of parallelism first into synonymous and analogous; the latter class is further divided into antithetic, numerical, variative, chain parallelism, and parallelism of line groups. With his classification, Steinitz gives us an overview of various kinds of parallelism occurring in runosongs; this does not aim, though, to distinguish the structural, canonical type of parallelism. A hint about the essence of canonical parallelism in runosongs can be found in Helle Metslang's conclusion: "The main form of parallelism in Estonian runosong is obviously the syntactic verse parallelism, which confirms semantic analogy" (Metslang 1978: 34). While verse parallelism reigns over the whole process of text creation in runosongs, the parallelism of line groups, chains, and numerical lists occurs only occasionally, and verse parallelism can be embedded into larger groups as in example 1. Thus, the main form of parallelism in runosongs includes, in Steinitz's terms, the whole class of synonymous parallelism, and part of analogous parallelism.

Another problem with Steinitz's classification is that there is a large grey area between synonymy and analogy (cf. Saarinen 2014: 110). Even the synonyms of colloquial language are not equivalent in all their semantic aspects; in the case of poetical language and line-length units the estimation whether the lines are synonymous or not is much more complicated and subjective. In addition, it has been noted that the unit for the distinction of synonymous/analogous does not have to be a whole line: some of the parallel concepts in parallel lines may be in synonymous relations, some in analogous. In order to have a class for parallel groups including both types of relations, Eduard Laugaste took into use the notion of *mixed parallelism* (Laugaste 1986: 167).

There is an area where the distinction between synonymous and analogous parallelism is systematically ambivalent. Juhan Peegel noted the relevance of the relation between parallelism and figurative language and brought into use the notion of 'poetical synonym of the runosong' – a word or combination of words with a figurative meaning, which in the parallelism of runosongs is synonymously parallel to a word or combination of words with a regular meaning.[8] Within the context of a song, the poetical synonym fully covers the semantic field of the main word, and outside of the context of a song it belongs to another semantic field (Peegel 2004).[9] In the textual practice of the runosong, however, the parallels with a regular meaning are not necessarily obligatory when poetical synonyms are used, in case the latter are well known and do not create problems in understanding as in the following example.

(8)

Kodu, linnud, tiele, tedred,
arule, aned madalad.
(H II 3, 652 (268))

[Let us go] home, birds, set off, grouse,
to the field, small geese.

Now, the question arises about how to interpret poetically synonymous words or phrases in the framework of synonymy-analogy distinction. According to Steinitz, *birds*, *grouse*, and *geese* should be interpreted as being analogous as words with a similar content, but not synonymous. In the song, however, the beings going home are not birds but young girls, in the context of the song the birds, grouses, and geese are poetical synonyms of maidens, and as such should be interpreted as synonymous.

Not less complicated is the interpretation of religious beliefs reflected in runosongs. In folk religion spirits often appear in the shape of a bird (see, e.g., Loorits 2000). If in a song there comes *sine siiva tsirgokene, vahajalga vaimokene* 'a bird with a blue wing, a waxleg[ged] spirit' (H, Wiedemann 2, 262/3 (6)) to talk to a singer, then to estimate if the lines should be considered as synonymous or analogous we should know with whom the singer depicts himself or herself to be speaking; whether the spirit is a poetical synonym for a bird in the singer's worldview, or, on the contrary, the bird represents a spirit, or, for the singer, these two are analogous flying and speaking beings.

In spite of all that, Steinitz's classification has been generally accepted in the runosong discourse, which indicates that analogy and synonymy are still meaningful endpoints in this continuum of semantic relations of parallel lines.

DEFINING CANONICAL RUNOSONG PARALLELISM

To define canonical parallelism in runosongs, the linguistic correspondences in parallelism with persistent relations of alliteration are to be defined. The syntactic correspondences are described in sufficient detail by Helle Metslang in her dissertation (1978) . The following argumentation concerns the semantic correspondences.

As already mentioned, runosong parallelism involves an option for systematic deviations from the regular language. In the cases of analogous parallelism, like in example 7, in which the singer goes to walk in the woods in three different time spans, contradictions on the literal level appear regularly, and the

parallel group should be interpreted according to the specific rules established by the poetic framework. According to Kaplinski and Metslang, the parallel units in the runosong are to be interpreted disjunctively; not all the cases presented apply, but just any of the options – the singer goes to the woods either on a Sunday morning, Saturday midday, or workday evening, and the options together form a mental description of a general situation.

My own opinion here is that the group of parallel lines in the runosong is to be decoded conceptwise; in the example cited above, the singer goes to the woods at a time of a day: evening, morning, and midday together form the concept of a time span, and Sunday, workday, and Saturday together form the concept of the day of the week. The list of parallel elements altogether forms a concept of a more abstract level.

I consider as the most distinctive feature of canonical runosong parallelism, almost unnoticed in the previous research,[10] **the equivalence of parallel concepts in the framework of the poetic context**. The part of the definition of poetical synonyms by Juhan Peegel (2004), who said that "a poetical synonym fully covers the semantic field of the main word within the context of a song", may be considered as applying to the semantic structure of canonical runosong parallelism in general and as one of its main features. In the context of a parallel group, the parallel words or phrases cover the same semantic field, or more exactly, represent the same general concept, and qua content may be exchanged for one another, be it the synonyms in the regular language, poetical synonyms, the concepts belonging under the same general concept (cohyponyms), or purely poetical word play.

This peculiarity of runosong parallelism can be illustrated with the help of a simple example. In the pair of parallel lines *saijõ suvõs sulastõ süvvä, talvõs näüdsikide närri* '[there was enough food] for boys to eat in summer, for maidens to gnaw in wintertime' (H I 2, 595 (1)), the summer and the winter represent times of the year, boys and maidens represent young people (or servants), and eating and gnawing both represent a kind of eating. The whole sentence means something like 'there was enough food for young people to eat throughout the year'. The combination of words into lines is NOT case-specific, i.e. it is not important regarding the meaning of the passage that the boys would eat namely during the **winter**, and the girls in the **summer**, or that the boys would namely **eat**, and the girls would **gnaw**. The words are combined into lines according to their readiness to alliterate, and their metrical suitability.

With this approach, the distinction of synonymy and analogy of parallel words proves to be irrelevant in terms of understanding; the classification of the semantic relations of the parallel concepts includes different semantic relations (synonymy, cohyponymy, hyperonym with hyponym), poetical figures

like metaphors, etc. The classification of all the possible relations of the literal meanings of parallel concepts would exceed the limits and aims of the current article.[11] The presence of parallelism is itself an indicator that the parallel words or phrases should be interpreted as equivalent representatives of a (general) concept. According to Metslang's definition, the main type of parallelism in the runosong **confirms semantic analogy**: one is expected to be able to detect at least some similarity or intersection in the parallel concepts; the share of difference may vary. In this way even words interpreted as antonyms in the regular language,[12] such as *God* and *devil*, may turn out to be equivalent in a poetical context, e.g. *jumal aga aitaks aita panna, saadan salve lükata* 'God helps to put [the harvest] to the barn, devil to the storehouse' (EÜS X 191/2 (24)). Brigitte Schulze has noted a similar function of parallelism in Khanti songs, leading to the interpretation of parallel words (e.g. man and woman) as complementary representatives (cohyponyms) of one general concept (hyperonym), rather than as antonyms (Schulze 1987: 134).

The general equivalence of parallel concepts within the framework of a parallel group also allows indefiniteness and haziness of the meaning of parallel words or phrases. More often than not the main line of the parallel group gives us most typical representatives of the general concepts, and the successive lines may quite flexibly use words or poetical figures with a vaguer meaning (Steinitz 1934: 136); it is assumed that these represent the same general concepts and the vagueness of meaning does not bring about any intelligibility problems. For example, in the parallel group *kägu meil kukub korjunagi, halli lindu aisa pääl, teder teise veere pääl* 'a cuckoo is singing on the backrest, a gray bird on a tug, a grouse on another edge' (H II 50, 820 (99)) it may be that the gray bird is a poetical synonym of a cuckoo, but it may easily represent another species of birds. It is not necessary to specify the exact meaning as all the beings in the parallel group are representatives of birds.

The previously described way of forming the meaning, structurally different from that of the regular language, supports the use of alliteration because (a) the parallel word may be placed in any of the parallel lines, and is not related to a specific line; (b) the range of word choice, especially in successive lines, is broader than in the regular language, including all the representatives of the general concept, and allows parallel concepts to be indefinite or vague in meaning (see Sarv 1999; Roper 2012). Thus, in addition to alliteration, parallelism confirming the equivalence of parallel concepts also supports the extensive use of poetical synonyms (representing the general concept figuratively), which form an integral part of the poetical system of runosongs. The parallel word pairs or chains tend to form formulaic units recurrently applied in different environments (see Saarlo 2005; Kolk 1962). The poetic language of runosongs,

their formulae, and figures have been evolving to fit the poetical system and constraints related to it.

I would propose the **definition of canonical runosong parallelism** as follows: it is a grammatical verse parallelism where all or some of the syntactic elements of the main verse have corresponding parallels in the successive lines representing the same general notion, and interpreted in the context of parallelism as semantically equivalent, irrespective of their semantic relations in the colloquial language (equivalence, synonymy, metonymy, metaphor, analogy, antonymy, hyponymy, etc.). Because of this semantic equivalence, the parallel words (especially in successive lines) can be selected, combined, and arranged into parallel verses according to their formal features enabling metrical alignment, use of alliteration, and poetical synonyms.

THREE NATURAL TYPES OF PARALLELISM IN ESTONIAN POETIC FOLKLORE

In more general terms (without restrictions on the verse structure) the type of parallelism, favouring the use of alliteration, could be defined as **parallelism of semantic equivalence**: in the context of grammatical parallelism, parallel concepts are interpreted as semantically equivalent. In this type of parallelism, parallel concepts are unable to differentiate parallel units as different cases.

The fact that this type of parallelism indeed favours alliteration could be statistically proven with the help of proverbs and sayings. For my study on the structural preconditions for euphony in the short forms of folklore (Sarv 2003) I determined semantic relations of parallel concepts in parallelistic proverbs and sayings in 3,205 texts altogether. The percentage of alliterative words was remarkably higher in the texts with the parallelism instances that included a word pair with equivalent concepts than in the other parallelistic texts; moreover, the average number of alliterative words was even higher in the proverbs and sayings containing two word pairs with semantic equivalence (Sarv 2003), e.g. *õigel palju õnnetust, vagal palju viletsust* 'fair person has lots of misfortune, pious person has lots of poverty' (EV 14556). This result turned out to be a good proof of the fact that it is meaningful to consider parallelism of equivalent concepts as a distinct (or natural) type of parallelism.

In addition, my investigations revealed that in the case of proverbs and sayings parallelism of equivalent concepts rarely structures the whole text. More often, there were only one or two equivalent word pairs (or longer lists) in grammatically parallel phrases or sentences, and the rest of the parallel word pairs represented case-specific parallelism, e.g.:

(9)

Ei upsi uus kuub, vaid tantsib täis kõht. (EV 12924)
Not the new coat is hopping, but the full stomach is dancing.

Here the equivalent pair *hopping – dancing* is combined with parallel non-equivalent word pairs, where the elements are case-specific and not mutually exchangeable: *not the new coat – but the full stomach*. This regular combination of parallelism of equivalence with case-specific parallelism led me to the assumption that the units of the natural typology of parallelism in Estonian poetic folklore are **parallel concepts** (words or phrases) in the context of syntactically parallel units, and not the **whole parallel groups / parallelistic texts**.

In addition to runosongs, where **parallelism of semantic equivalence** is a canonical and prevailing type of parallelism, this type of parallelism can also be found in transitional songs, charms, children's rhymes, and short forms of folklore.

Case-specific parallelism (or comparative parallelism) could be distinguished as the second natural type of parallelism widely used in different genres of Estonian poetic folklore, the main feature of which, as opposed to the parallelism of semantic equivalence, is that the parallel units represent different, yet at the same time similar or related, cases; the parallel concepts are not mutually exchangeable. Case-specific parallelism is the main type of parallelism used in proverbs and sayings. In my research sample (Sarv 2003) the case-specific word pairs had the alliteration rate approximately similar to that of non-parallelistic proverbs. The use of rhyme was clearly favoured by parallelism, but it was not possible to detect types of semantic relations or type of parallelism that would significantly enhance the use of rhyme.

The main function of parallelism in proverbs and sayings is to draw attention either to the difference of similar cases, or to some kind of similarity or connection of different cases (cf. Krikmann 1998; 1975: 89ff.). In either case the semantic relations of compared parallel concepts are case-specific, i.e. semantically bound to the parallel phrase, and not exchangeable as in parallelism of semantic equivalence.[13] The difference, similarity or connection is crucial as the main (new) information conveyed by the proverb or saying, its essence, and thus is not as easily interpretable as in the case of parallelism common in runosongs, where the semantic equivalence is highly regular and thus expected. As in the case of parallelism of semantic equivalence, in order for parallelism to be meaningful, the parallel words, phrases or cases have to have something in common.

The use of case-specific parallelism occurs in runosongs mainly in larger blocks like in example 1, where the singing of boys is compared to the voice of

wolves, but the singing of girls to that of birds. As the parallelism of larger units is only occasional, though frequent, in runosongs, the length of the parallel units is not restricted. The presence of parallelism needs to be made explicit – in this function the formulaic elements (like who – that, when – then, etc.) as well as clear antonyms or synonyms are often used. Also ellipsis, syntactic symmetry, and the repetitions of words serve as signals of the use of parallelism. Case-specific parallelism may also occur as verse parallelism, for example in the form of chains and numbered or gradual lists. Often parallelism of verse pairs includes some case-specific elements.

(10)

Öö jooksis oravikene
härja seljaroodu mööda,
päeva lendas pääsokene
härja sarvede vahelta.
(ERlA 10)

Squirrel was running a night
along the backbone of the ox,
swallow was flying a day
between the horns of the ox.

In this example running is specific to a squirrel, and flying to a swallow, but the distances and the daytimes can be considered as equivalent.

There are also borderline cases, in which it is hard to decide if the word pairs are equivalent or case-specific, like in a stereotypical parallel group: *oh minu ella eidekene ja minu tarka tuadikene*, 'oh, my tender mother, and my wise father' (E 17833/4 (18)). One may question if the mothers are typically tender, and fathers typically wise, or whether these words are chosen to represent a positive quality and alliterate with either of the parents.

Parallelism in riddles is usually expressed in the form of case-specific lists: two or more elements, parts or properties of the object to be guessed are one by one characterized, sometimes opposed, like in *tuleb kui saks, läheb kui sant* 'comes as a rich man, goes as a poor man' (holidays; EM 211). Case-specific parallelism can occasionally be found in transitional songs, rhymed songs, children's songs, and charms. The use of parallelism in narrative folklore is usually case-specific, either with opposing or gradual cases.

Case-specific parallelism may be further divided, for instance, into comparisons (like usually in proverbs and sayings), lists (like mostly in riddles), chains (sometimes in runosongs), negative parallelism (specific repetitive parallelism in runosongs), etc.

In the structure of riddles the words with obscure meaning have a specific function – to name the object of the riddle without betraying the answer. This leads us to the third type of parallelism, where the semantic peculiarity is related to euphonic ornamentation, namely the word-structure repetitions with obscure meaning – let us call it **obscure parallelism**. In the parallelism of riddles the semantic function of these word pairs is to be playfully obscure, not to reveal the clear meaning; sometimes the words have onomatopoetic allusions; sometimes the first component in parallel word pairs or chains has a meaning in the regular language, which of course lessens the function of obscurity: *hahk nahksepp, must nühksepp, savihaua pühksepp* 'grey leathersmith, black scrubsmith, wipesmith of the claygrave' (louse, flea, bedbug; EM 137). In spite of the obscure meaning, in riddles these word pairs are actually there to differentiate the cases, and the slight euphonic difference is enough for that.

The most central area of use for this kind of word pairs is riddles. In the charms the same function of naming something obscurely applies, as the object of the charm is not usually named directly, e.g. *metsa uiku, metsa aiku, metsa kuldane kuningas* ... 'the *uik* of woods, the *aik* of woods, the golden king of woods' from a wolf charm (ERlA 6933) or *Hirju hikid, Harju hakid, Läänemaa läbinägijad, Poola punapea tütrukud* ... '*hikks* from Hirju, *hakks* from Harju, the prophetic people from western county, redhead girls from Poland ...' in a charm against the unknown sorcerer (ERlA 6859). This kind of word pairs occasionally occur in runosongs as well; these fit seamlessly with the semantic structure of runosong parallelism that allows indefiniteness of meaning. Semantic equivalence or case-specificity does not seem to be a relevant distinction in this type of parallelism: in riddles the rhyming obscure words tend to acquire a case-specific meaning, in the case of runosongs the obscure word pairs, or a meaningful word together with its obscure counterpart, as a rule, can be considered as semantically equivalent. Rhyming structures are not common to the runosong, though; the rhyming structure of the obscure words refers to this specific kind of parallelism, and looking for the potential meaning of such words proves unnecessary, like in the example: *tuleb kui kurat koduje, astub kui pärat pesasse* 'comes home as a devil, steps into nest as a *nevil*' (ERlA 6461). The rhyming structure as if refers to the intentional obscurity of the meaning.

CONCLUSIONS

In various genres of Estonian poetic folklore, grammatical parallelism is a prevalent poetic feature, structuring the formation of poetic text to a considerable extent. Grammatical parallelism in Estonian poetic folklore is often ellipti-

cal – the parallel iterations do not have to contain all the elements of the main phrase or sentence. Ellipsis makes room for poetic attribution in metered texts, whereas in short forms of folklore its function lies mainly in bringing attention to the cohesion of the parallel units. The word order of parallel units is often variable, as in agglutinative Finnic languages the grammatical endings are there to reveal the functions of words in the sentence.

The types of parallelism can be discerned according to the type of semantic relations between the parallel elements (words or phrases), which is to some extent genre-specific, and related to the euphonic potential of the parallel words. There is a clear tendency: the use of euphony (alliteration and word-structure repetitions) in parallelism increases in relation to the diminishing of the semantic load of the parallel elements.

In the current article three types of parallelism regularly present in Estonian poetic folklore are distinguished:

1) **case-specific parallelism**, i.e. parallelism that **creates a semantic connection** between different cases/worlds/images/objects, brings forth the similarity or difference of these cases; meanings of the parallel elements are case-specific (thus semantically not equivalent);

2) **parallelism of semantic equivalence**, where the parallel elements are mutually exchangeable (not case-specific), and which **supports the artistic use of euphony and poetic imagery**;

3) **obscure parallelism**, where the **meaning of the words is either totally hidden** behind euphony, **or is quite irrelevant**; the parallel words have a very similar sound structure and alliterate with the nearby words with regular meanings.

All these kinds of parallelism are used in different genres of Estonian poetic folklore and can be used next to each other in instances of grammatical parallelism; at the same time, each of these kinds of parallelism with its semantic functions has, accordingly, a more or less important role in the poetic structure of different genres.

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NOTES

[1] The systematic actions since 1888 to collect runosongs all over Estonia have resulted in the voluminous collections stored at the Estonian Folklore Archives. The number of recorded song texts is estimated to be ca 150,000, and the corpus (currently in progress) is available via Estonian Runic Songs' Database (http://www.folklore.ee/regilaul/andmebaas/).

[2] Porthan (1766–1788: 22) refers (through the dissertation of Daniel Juslenius) to the writing of Joh. de Champs, which can be found in volume XIII, p. 268, of the opus *Diar(ium) Britann(icum)*.

[3] Ellipsis is not common to all the oral traditions using parallelism; for example, according to R. Austerlitz (1958: 46), in the folksongs of Ob-Ugric peoples usually no more than two elements change in otherwise repetitive long lines. In the parallelism of Turkic and Mongolic folklore, word (or word-stem) repetition has fulfilled an important role (Zhirmunskiy 1974: 660; Harvilahti 1987: 31).

[4] For a more extended comparison of the two layers of tradition see Sarv 2009.

[5] Transitional songs have been thoroughly studied by Ingrid Rüütel in her monograph, *Eesti uuema rahvalaulu kujunemine* (The Formation of the Rhymed Estonian Folksong) (2012 [1969]).

[6] The share of the parallelistic proverbs in the total archival corpus of Estonian proverbs can probably be estimated as somewhat lower.

[7] All the Estonian riddle examples cited can be found according to the type number in the academic publication of Estonian riddles (EM) as well as in the corresponding database (Krikmann & Krikmann 2012).

[8] Poetic synonyms form a basic phenomenon in oral poetic registers generally (cf. Frog 2015: 86–87).

[9] The main outcome of Peegel's research on this subject is his dictionary of the poetic synonyms of Estonian runosongs, which contains over 4,000 different synonyms for 462 base words (Peegel 2004).

[10] As far as I know, the only researcher who has introduced the equivalence of parallel words or phrases as a distinctive feature of the runosong was a German researcher Ewald Lang, who called the semantic relation between parallel words or phrases lexical quasisynonymy (Lang 1987: 16–17).

[11] Kanni Labi (Labi & Sarv 2009) has detected nine classes of semantic relations on the basis of the dictionary of poetical synonyms (Peegel 2004).

[12] One should keep in mind here that even in regular speech antonyms have to have something in common, have to belong to the same category of concepts in order to be interpreted as antonyms. This very same category may easily form an (implicit) hyperonym or a general concept for the antonyms in runosong parallelism.

[13] For securing the coherence of parallel units also repetitions and equivalent concepts may be included.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Estonian Folklore Archives at the Estonian Literary Museum

E – manuscript collection of Matthias Johann Eisen
ERA – manuscript collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives
H – manuscript collection of Jakob Hurt
RKM – manuscript collection of the Estonian State Literary Museum

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STAR BRIDE MARRIES A COOK: THE CHANGING PROCESSES IN THE ORAL SINGING TRADITION AND IN FOLK SONG COLLECTING ON THE WESTERN ESTONIAN ISLAND OF HIIUMAA. I

Helen Kõmmus, Taive Särg

Abstract: Relying on the critical analysis of the folk song collections, which represent the heritage of Estonia's second biggest island, Hiiumaa[1], as well as on manifold background information, the history of Hiiumaa folk song collecting (from 1832 to 1979) and the character of the singing tradition in the changing social and cultural context is drafted.

During the process of research, the data on Hiiumaa folk songs were formalized, the specific features of older local song styles (*regilaul*[2], transitional song, and archaic vocal genres) were outlined by using formal and typological text analysis, and the representability of folk song collections was estimated. The settlement history of Hiiumaa was studied and associated with the putative processes in folk song tradition.

The older folk songs collected from Hiiumaa reveal the process of historical changing: there occur older Baltic-Finnic alliterative songs and transitional songs with regional western Estonian features and a pervasive impact of bagpipe music. The singing tradition is influenced mainly by cultural contacts with the Estonian and Swedish population on Estonian islands and the western coast, and also by the contacts of local sailors.

The number of older Hiiumaa folk song representations is relatively modest due to the reasons that lay in folklore collecting ideology, the remote location of Hiiumaa, and a fast decline of *regilaul* tradition in the late 1800s and early 1900s. However, in the course of fieldwork, *regilaul* songs were always documented as precisely as possible, while other older genres were often dismissed by earlier collectors. Fieldwork was seldom done in Hiiumaa, but the existing folk song examples, if treated critically, still give quite a good overview of the local historical singing tradition.

Keywords: Estonian Swedes, Hiiumaa, folklore collection, *regilaul*, traditional music

INTRODUCTION

Why do folklore collections contain only a few older Hiiumaa folk songs?

The main goal of the article is to give a survey of the collections of older Hiiumaa folk songs, most of which are stored in the Estonian Folklore Archives (EFA), part of them also in other archives as well as published in different sources. A closer analysis is given as to why Hiiumaa is represented by only a relatively small number of *regilaul* and other older folk song examples in the archives. The results may shed light upon the regional developments of the Baltic-Finnic folk song tradition and history of folklore collecting as well as upon the larger cultural processes in the Baltic Sea area.

Earlier folkloristic research reveals which are areas rich in *regilaul* in Estonia and which are not. The island of Hiiumaa in western Estonia is noted as a rather poor *regilaul* area and has not attracted the attention of researchers. This disinterest might be caused by the general social and ideological processes, in which folklore collectors and researchers are involved. They are influenced by cultural trends and, in turn, they might influence culture with their choice and exposure of the research object. Folklore had an important role during the nation-building process in the nineteenth century, and likewise this was the case in many European countries (e.g. Baltic States, Slovakia) where a foreign upper class was dominant over the local native people (Anderson 1991 [1983]; Ó Guilláin 2000). The *regilaul* song had a central role in Estonian folklore and national folklore discourse owing to its age, the refined poetic form, and close ties with folk life and other Baltic-Finnic people (Kalkun & Sarv 2012; Oras 2012).

The reason why even such an abandoned and seemingly poor field of research as Hiiumaa *regilaul* has drawn attention today is because of the social processes in the islands of Hiiumaa and Saaremaa from which the authors originate, as well as the overall increasing scholarly interest in hitherto marginalized areas. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the inhabitants of Hiiumaa have experienced a new wave of interest towards traditional culture that the locals often call national awakening.[3] The case of Hiiumaa is quite challenging because the old tradition is often better preserved in the peripheral areas of Estonia, like Setomaa in the southeast, or on islands like Kihnu and Muhu off the western coast of Estonia.[4] As Hiiumaa is also an island near the western coast, but one not noted for a prosperous old song tradition, it makes sense to think about the peculiarities of local song tradition in the Estonian historical and cultural context.

The first research hypothesis is that the reason for the relatively small number of older Hiiumaa folk songs, *regilaul* in particular, might be found in folklore collecting history. Maybe collectors preferred to record other folklore genres than old folk songs in Hiiumaa, or failed to travel to the island or find the people who knew the songs. Secondly, *regilaul* as a style had died out in the nineteenth century or had never been properly spread or developed in Hiiumaa, perhaps because of the cultural impact of the local Swedish community or other ideological, historical or cultural factors. A combination of all these factors is certainly also possible.

The objectives of the present article are: 1) to assemble data on Hiiumaa folk songs; 2) to highlight the specific features of the local older song tradition, mainly by using formal and typological text analysis; 3) to outline folklore collection history in Hiiumaa and estimate the representability of Hiiumaa folk song materials; 4) to study the settlement history in order to get information about cultural contacts with a special insight into the possible impact of the local Swedish community; 5) to test the hypotheses, relying on the results of previous analyses.

The article is published in two parts in the consecutive volumes of the journal. In the following subdivisions the historical layers of Estonian folk songs are presented and the material used in this study is described. The second chapter outlines the history of folk music collection in Hiiumaa and analyzes to what extent the recordings reflect the situation of older folk song tradition. These chapters are followed by conclusions. In the second part of the article published in the next volume, the third chapter analyzes the folk song representations in three subdivisions (*regilaul*; transitional song; archaic vocal genres). The last chapter discusses Hiiumaa song tradition in the context of western Estonian cultural contacts and is followed by final conclusions.

Estonian folk songs

The Estonian language and older folk tradition have their roots in ancient Baltic-Finnic culture. The old folk songs circulated as an oral tradition, with both tunes and lyrics varying. Texts and melodies, once sung together, did not have fixed one-to-one connections, so melodies could be sung with different lyrics within some restrictions – this phenomenon is characteristic of many oral, text-centered singing cultures (Särg 2009; Tampere 1956). To subject such an abundant material of oral tradition to scholarly treatment, it has turned out to advantage to group textual variants of similar content and function as text-types. Estonian folk songs are divided into two main historical layers (in more detail see Rüütel 1998).

1. Old folk songs, rooted in the ancient Baltic-Finnic song tradition, are characterized by alliteration and syntactic and semantic parallelism; they are usually built up of certain traditional text motives and plots. These songs represent a different song culture, both from Western folk music and more recent Estonian folk music, although they have absorbed some neighboring influences while developing over time. They were performed without instrumental accompaniment.

According to their function and form, old folk songs fall into two large groups.

The first is a heterogeneous group, often referred to by the general term 'archaic vocal genres'. This includes incantations, children's rhymes, herding calls, nature sound imitations, etc. Each genre has its own specific means of expression, depending closely on the character of a certain activity. The songs are often on the borderline of music, their lyrics are usually short accentual verses, performed by a single person in a speech-like manner.

The second group of old folk songs is *regilaul* (the poetic text of *regilaul* is called *regivärss*). The *regilaul* song is distinguished from the previous heterogeneous group firstly by its meter that can be described as a specific form of Kalevala-meter. The *regilaul* meter has features of both quantitative and syllabic-accentual meter, its realization depending mainly on the regional singing tradition. Over a wide time span of about two thousand years, the development of *regilaul* has given rise to the formation of various historical, regional, and generic poetic sub-styles (for more detail see Sarv 2008, 2011; Ross & Lehiste 2001; Korhonen 1994).

In the melody every single note usually corresponds to one verse position. Normally, the *regilaul* melody extends over one or two verse lines. *Regilaul* tunes often have a narrow ambitus (from third to fifth) and one-line melody; the newer tunes have two-line or longer melodies and some of them reflect harmonic musical thinking. Many *regilaul* songs accompany specific activities, such as farmwork or weddings, but there are even more songs that can be performed in various situations, e.g. as a leisure pastime or handcraft. *Regilaul* songs were usually performed by a group comprising a leader and a chorus (Rüütel 1998; Lippus 1995).

2. More modern, end-rhymed stanzaic folk songs (*uuemad rahvalaulud*) emerged in Estonia under the influence of other European peoples, especially Baltic Germans. The adapted and translated versions of foreign folk songs spread during the late 1700s and in the 1800s and provided a 'fashionable' model for creating new similar songs in Estonian. The modernizing process of folklore was related to developments in economic and social structure as well as in language and musical taste.

End-rhymed songs lacked alliteration and parallelism, but had end-rhymes that organized lyrics into stanzas. They had syllabic-accentual meters that often consisted of 8 syllables, representing trochaic or iambic meter; but there also occurred stanzas formed from uneven lines and dactylic meters, etc. End-rhymed folk song lyrics spread also in handwritten and printed song books, although the melodies were still memorized by hearing. New genres emerged, such as songs about village life, songs of soldiers, sailors, and prisoners, and sentimental love songs; only a few of them, for example, the dance and game songs, still had functional ties. Singing could be accompanied by an instrument.

3. It is also possible to identify a separate group of transitional folk songs (*siirdevormilised rahvalaulud*) in between the older and newer song styles. The changes in oral tradition did not happen abruptly, and during this process a bulk of mixed songs emerged: modernized versions of *regilaul* or other older genres, and the early adaptations from the neighboring cultures. A specific group of transitional songs is formed by dance songs in triple meter, which accompany bagpipe music, or which have emerged under its influence. Their verses are alliterative and accentual, adaptable to the triple musical meter. The dance itself was usually called flat foot waltz (*labajalg*, *labajalavalss*) – most likely an ancient Estonian version of the European folk dance family, which would later evolve into the waltz.

The delimitation of research material

The folklore material used for the present research is comprised of Hiiumaa folk songs preserved at the Estonian Folklore Archives (EFA)[5] and the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum (ETMM, manuscript of Harri Otsa)[6], as well as printed sources containing the earlier fieldwork material (Gottlund 1832; Lönnbohm 1893). The material includes a vast majority of representations of Hiiumaa folk song melodies and lyrics, collected from 1832 to 1979.[7]

In order to better understand the changing folk song tradition, the research was not strictly limited to *regilaul*, but also its border areas were added. The importance of this principle was explained by Herbert Tampere, when he planned the volume of older folk songs from Mustjala parish, western Saaremaa.

> *The aim of the scholarly publication "Vana Kannel" is to demonstrate not only the classical forms of folk songs in* regilaul *style, but also to guide the readers to discover their birth, evolvement, and finally the obsolescence. Therefore one should add to the publication the song styles that were used simultaneously with* regilaul*, were fused with it, and, on the other hand,*

> *had a mutual influence with the transitional forms that emerged on the way to a more modern, end-rhymed folk song*. (Tampere 1960: 515)

The present research focuses on older Hiiumaa folk songs, therefore folklore material was initially divided into the three main historical groups described above. All the older alliterative folk songs (archaic vocal genres and *regilaul*) are included in further research, but more modern songs with end-rhymes and stanzas are excluded; the transitional songs are treated selectively.

The songs of different historical and poetic styles are not easy to define. The distinction between *regilaul* and end-rhymed folk song had not been made in the EFA materials until the 1930s because of the hardly discernible border between them: "A closer look reveals to us many songs on the cusp of transition. Which of them belong to one or another group should be discovered in the course of future research work" (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932: 199). Although the songs were classified later and the registers and card catalogues of the EFA offer information on the song style, the authors revised and (re)classified the material. The reason was that the earlier classification was made by different people over a long time span and might have been inconsistent for the fussy and dim borders between song styles. All the lyrics with more or fewer features of the older folk songs were distinguished from the songs with consistent use of end-rhymes and stanzaic form, the last being considered as the main defining feature of the new song style by Rüütel (2015: 37).

Among the older Hiiumaa folk songs the formal poetic features (meter, stylistic devices, etc.) did not define the substyles (archaic vocal genres, *regilaul*, and different styles of transitional songs) well enough. In order to distinguish between them, we took into account also the content: the topics, motives, and formulas. For the present research *regilaul* is defined in a way similar to that in the Estonian folk song anthology (Tedre 1969–1974), i.e. the alliterative songs with *regilaul* formulaic language, motives, and basic trochaic 8-positional meter, even if modernized. The same anthology has been used as a basis for the classification of *regilaul* and some older non-*regilaul* song genres.[8] From the transitional style group are the older songs, which share several features with *regilaul* and archaic genres, and the bagpipe dance songs *labajalg*, chosen for the present research. The well known, pan-Estonian types of transitional songs and round games were excluded (e.g. numerous variants of *Üks jahimees läks metsa* ('A hunter went to the forest'), and *Jänese õhkamine* ('The wail of a rabbit')) (Rüütel 1980, 1983, 2015). Despite everything, our decisions might sometimes be slightly subjective and inconsistent.

Based on firsthand analysis, there are approximately 280 older folk songs (i.e. entities written down or sound-recorded together with the melody and song lyrics), some melodies without lyrics, and 1150 variants of song lyrics

(written down without the melody) – with altogether about 1430 variants of lyrics of older folk song under further research. The corpus of older folk song lyrics contains about 620 *regilaul* songs, 380 archaic vocal genres (mainly imitations of natural sounds, incantations, and children's songs) and 430 older/local transitional songs.[9] To specify the number of *regilaul* songs, there are only 44 of them among the 284 older folk songs collected together with the melody: 27 fieldwork transcriptions and 17 audio recordings.

For comparison, in the *regilaul* publication *Vana Kannel* ('Old Psaltery') 1018 variants are published from two parishes, Paide and Anna, which are not known as rich *regilaul* areas (Kõiva & Oras 2012), and 1403 variants from Mustjala, a parish in Saaremaa (Tampere & Tampere 1985). If we separated the 424 texts (*labajalg* songs and concise half-spoken archaic genres) that would not be the subject of *Vana Kannel* from the total amount of Hiiumaa older song lyrics, it would yield approximately 1000 variants. Hiiumaa consisted of four parishes, so this was not a large amount in Estonian context.

FOLK SONG COLLECTION IN HIIUMAA

Is Hiiumaa older folk song tradition reliably represented in the EFA collections? The answer may be found by analyzing the various Hiiumaa folk song collections and the data available about the collectors' goals, achievements, and possibilities during fieldwork as well about the singing tradition. While analyzing the archived materials, we kept in mind that the older layers of folklore, including *regilaul*, received more attention because they disappeared fast and gained more value. The tendency in fieldwork was to ask for older songs preferably from aged people (cf. Oras 2012: 176).

The first records of Hiiumaa folk song lyrics by Finnish collectors

Beginning in the thirteenth century, Estonians lived as lower-class country people, ruled by the Baltic German nobility. The older, rare records of Estonian folklore, written down by foreign people, date back to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and give scant information until the eighteenth century, when a specific folklore interest emerged in Europe. The Finnish national movement had started already in the early 1900s, and awakened interest in the language and folklore of Estonia, their close kindred language. The first two *regilaul* songs from Hiiumaa were documented in Sweden in 1832, when Finnish writer and philologist Carl Axel (Kaarle Aksel) Gottlund (1796–1875) met sailors from

Hiiumaa who visited Stockholm harbor. He indicates Thomas Piritson[10] as his informant from Hagaste village in Pühalepa parish (Gottlund 1832: 184). Two well known narrative songs, *Kass kaevus* ('Cat in the well') and *Venna sõjalugu* ('Brother's war tale') in Pühalepa dialect were published with Finnish translation in *Otava eli suomalaisia huvituksia II* ('Great bear or Finnish amusements') in the same year. Gottlund in his short metrical analysis emphasizes their similarity with Kalevala-meter[11] (Gottlund 1832: 181–193). The texts are in quite regular western Estonian *regilaul* style (see the third chapter in the second part of the article).

The first extensive field trip to the western Estonian islands of Hiiumaa, Saaremaa, and Muhu was undertaken in 1877, by a philology student of the University of Helsinki, and later a teacher of Finnish, Oskar Anders Ferdinand Lönnbohm (alias Mustonen, 1856–1927). According to Tellervo Krogerus (1983), the result included, inter alia, around 400 *regilaul* and end-rhymed folk song lyrics as well as a fieldwork diary. Mustonen's main interests were older folk songs, but he described the singing tradition as rapidly modernizing: "To my joy and happiness and against all my hopes, I still succeeded in finding many remnants of old eight-syllable songs, beside which there were more modern songs growing especially prolifically."[12] Part of this collection was published (Lönnbohm 1893).[13] Of the 204 printed texts, 75 originate from Hiiumaa[14] (32 *regi*, 18 trans, 10 arch + 15 end-rhymed songs); the singers and the exact location have remained unknown. The songs are systematized according to their function as men's, women's, and children's songs, lullabies, wedding songs, dance songs, joke songs, and miscellaneous (Lönnbohm 1893: 3). In the *regilaul* songs Mustonen had 'improved' the meter, adding in the brackets the sounds that most likely had been dropped over time, e.g. *Mis sa seisad kui metsapuu, eks sa hakka laulama(ie)* ('What are you standing for like a forest tree, start to sing') (Lönnbohm 1893: 45). The transitional style is represented mainly by dance songs and children's songs, both of which are very typical of Hiiumaa tradition.

The first Estonian collectors

Jakob Hurt (1839–1907), a scholar, pastor, and public figure, started a major public campaign of collecting local oral heritage in Estonia in 1888 (see Valk 2005; Jaago 2005). The intertwined ideological and aesthetical aims to construct a national identity and culture as well as the scholarly aim to get material for comparative folklore studies resulted in monumental folklore collection.

The response from Hiiumaa was modest. The first Estonian folklore collector in Hiiumaa was Madis Liedenberg (1846–1925) from Vigala parish in western

Estonia. Beginning in 1867 he was the director of Kasevälja village school and a parish clerk in Pühalepa parish. It was his nephew, folklore collecting organizer Matthias Johann Eisen (1857–1934), who inspired him to pay attention to local tradition. Liedenberg collected 6 songs representing the older tradition (5 *regi*, 1 trans). The first folklore collector of Hiiumaa origin, Gustav Tikerpuu (1868–1946), wrote down diverse heritage material from Pühalepa and Reigi parishes during 1888–1894 (including 22 *regi*, 5 arch, 1 trans).

In 1890 Hurt organized grants for fieldwork in Hiiumaa for two students of the University of Tartu – Gustav Seen (1871–1955) and Peeter Saul (1868–1910). These fellows, already experienced in previous fieldwork on Muhu Island, collected an abundance of material in Hiiumaa during one month,[15] including many old song texts which were their priority (229 *regi*, 17 arch, 46 trans). This splendid collection of that period conveys to us a picture of a changing song tradition with several intermediate forms, e.g. the compilation of *regilaul* types *Peretütar läks sauna ja sõi salaja* ('A maiden went to sauna and secretly ate'), and *Suur tamm* ('Big oak'), filled in by several new verses of quite free accentual metric structure and end-rhymes – while the end is more traditional (see example 1).

Example 1.

[---]

[25] *Taat läks kopli tamme raima,*
raius suure tamme maha.
Tüist tegi suure laevatüiri,
[28] *keskelt kerstu kaanelaua,*
ladvast lapse kätkilaua.
See mes sest veel üle jäi,
sest tegi vennale kirju kannu.
See mes sest veel üle jäi,
[33] *need ta põletas saunaahjus,*
et võis venda vihelda.
H II 6, 52/3 (63) < Reigi p. – Gustav Seen, Peeter Saul < Mihkel Teebak, 60 (1890)

[25] An old man went to the paddock to chop an oak,
he cut down a big oak.
From its trunk he made a big ship's helm,
[28] from the middle part a board for a coffin's plate,
from the top a board for a baby's cradle.
From the rest of it [the oak]

he made a spotted jug for his brother.
The rest of it
[33] he burned in the sauna oven,
so that he could whisk his brother.

There were seven more correspondents from Hiiumaa during 1888–1906.[16] Hiiumaa older song collections usually provide information neither about the singer nor the location; Seen and Saul, on the contrary, give data in most cases. The question to what extent collectors relied on their own competence or even compiled some new songs is not easy to answer, given the background of the overall changing tradition.

As can be seen in the descriptions of folk song collecting in Hiiumaa as well as in Figure 1, the preferred style collected in this period was *regilaul*: this forms 75% of the nineteenth-century older song material from Hiiumaa (transitional songs form 17%, and archaic vocal genres 9%).

The first folk song melody collection: Peeter Süda

The transcribing of melodies was more complicated than that of the lyrics as it demanded specific skills, and so no folk tunes were sent by Hiiumaa local correspondents. The first folk music fieldwork led by folklorist Oskar Kallas (1868–1946) was organized all over Estonia by the Estonian Students Society (ESS) between 1904 and 1916 (see Kuutma 2005). At the beginning of the twentieth century, as compared to the nineteenth century, there were already considerably fewer informants who knew *regilaul*, because the generations who had grown up after the mid-1800s had no longer been exposed to this particular oral tradition (Oras 2012: 162–163).

The situation in Hiiumaa is described by the folk music collection grantee of the ESS, a student of St. Petersburg Conservatory and later a composer and organ virtuoso Peeter Süda (1883–1920), who notated the first song and instrumental melodies from Hiiumaa in 1905 and 1906:

> *About 20 years earlier, as it is said by old folks, folk song was still in a very prosperous state, while now, what is still sung is only the poor remains of this rich song lore. Everyone says: 'Why didn't you come 20 years earlier, then you wouldn't have to leave with so empty hands.' As nowadays art song has fended off folk song, several previously great singers have forgotten their tunes because of that. In the past folk songs were often sung at weddings, while coming back from manor slavery work, and in other cases.* (EÜS III 690/1)[17]

The reasons why Süda went to Hiiumaa were likely its closeness to his home (on the neighboring island of Saaremaa) and his contacts with the local schoolteacher Gustav Lauri (EÜS II 769).[18] In addition to Lauri, other local educated people helped Süda to write down song lyrics and find informants. People's attitude to song collectors was friendly. Only sectarians who opposed themselves to folklore could be hostile, so once Süda was even chased away with dogs (EÜS II 779).[19] In the case of choices at collecting Süda addressed Kallas: before the departure he asked him to send instructions and during fieldwork he posed a question about whether to collect obscene songs.[20]

After some weeks in Hiiumaa in 1905, Süda was quite content with the course of the fieldwork: "By now the result is – if not big, but not very small either – 130 various musical pieces [---]" (EÜS II 771).[21] He was working diligently and thoroughly, and even met the best singers several times (EÜS II 775, 777),[22] but did not succeed in visiting all the places in Hiiumaa, so he went back the next summer. The 1905 collection contains lyrics of 169 songs, 140 of them with the melody, and 78 other melodies.[23]

Süda evaluated the fieldwork results of the following year, 1906 – lyrics of 22 songs and 43 various melodies – as poor. As possible reasons for the small take, he mentioned the impact of the revolt in 1905 and the war law (during 1905–1908) that made people distrustful against strangers; for example, an old woman told him: "…even if you paid a ruble per word, I would not say a word to you" (EÜS III 686).[24]

As a grantee of the ESS, Süda was expected to record firstly the fast-disappearing older tradition and, indeed, approximately half of the song collection contained 102 variants of older songs (57 *regi*, 40 trans, 5 arch). So, he most likely did not skip *regilaul* and older transitional songs. The number of archaic vocal genres (and maybe the older ritual songs with a narrow ambitus) did not reflect the reality (as it is seen in comparison with later collections), and was likely caused by the fact that the half-spoken genres had not yet become the object of folkloristic interest, and the collector's main interest was melodies. Despite not having attended all the places (EÜS III 687/8),[25] he concluded, mainly because of the small amount of added material in 1906, that Hiiumaa old song lore had been exhaustively collected by that time, the start of the twentieth century (EÜS III 686/7).[26] This final conclusion was practical for that moment, but not precise. Anyway, it decreased the urge to organize the next round of fieldwork on the island.

We can suggest that Süda recorded a representative collection of *regilaul* songs, transitional songs, and instrumental music available at that time, because he used the help of local people and wrote down songs with various stylistic features.

The first audio recordings and the collection of folk songs until 1940

Information about Hiiumaa instrumental music is also relevant for folk song research as songs reveal the influence of bagpipe pieces. The earliest Hiiumaa sound recordings represent instrumental music, so this might have seemed quite unique at that time. The first Estonian sound recordings are related to Hiiumaa: Finnish-Swedish musicologist Otto Emanuel Andersson (1879–1969) phonographed six dance songs from the Hiiumaa-Swedish player of bowed harp (*hiiurootsi kannel*), Georg (Jüri) Bruus, in Helsinki in 1908.[27] Finnish musicologist Armas Otto Väisänen (1890–1969) recorded 6 dance melodies and 3 dance songs *labajalg* from Juhan Maaker, alias Torupilli-Juss (Bagpipe Juss), a famous member of a legendary bagpipe players' family, in Tallinn (SKSÄ A 521/3, ph 171; SKSÄ A 533/17, ph 170). Estonian composer Cyrillus Kreek (1889–1962) recorded 38 pieces from the same musician in Emmaste parish in 1921.

Kreek also collected folk songs during his teaching years in the Western Estonian Teachers' Seminar (from 1921 to 1932); he used the help of his students who wrote down folk tunes during their summer holidays (Kõlar 2010: 96). Kreek's melody collection includes at least 20 song notations from Hiiumaa (ETMM, M 11).[28] In 1929 composer and music teacher Eduard Oja (1905–1950) phonographed two Hiiumaa folk songs from Agnes Kalju of Pühalepa (ERA, Fon 249 a, b).

The Estonian Folklore Archives were established in 1927 and became an institutional centre of folklore collecting and research. At one time, Hurt considered *regilaul* one of the most important objects of folklore collecting in the late 1800s, and still the number of old folk songs was called the "most exciting and stirring question" about the EFA collections in the 1930s statistics (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932: 217–218). The total amount of folklore (28,687 pieces) and the number of folk songs and games[29] (7,331) for Läänemaa County[30] was quite small, the number of tunes (998) was not bad, while the number of the folk song texts and games for every single Hiiumaa parish was not strikingly different from many other parishes (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932; Leichter 1932: 177). The main goal of the statistics was to discover the gaps in earlier fieldwork and the results might have caused some more trips to Hiiumaa and Saaremaa.

Although Hurt's aim was to collect folklore equally all over Estonia, for practical reasons the fieldwork had been focused more on southern areas (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932: 209). Owing to its university, Tartu was the centre of national movement and Estonian intelligentsia. The number of collectors, mainly educated Estonians, originated rather from wealthy southern regions and preferred to carry out fieldwork in the surroundings of their home or in the areas famous for *regilaul* tradition, e.g. in the coastal parishes of northern Estonia.

The founder of the Estonian folk music research, musicologist and folklorist Herbert Tampere (1909–1975), and philologist and Fenno-Ugrist Paul Ariste (1905–1995), phonographed a singer Leena Elmi (born in 1864) in Kassari[31], Pühalepa parish, in 1933. The trip might have been initiated by Ariste, who collected material for his thesis on Hiiu dialects during four summers (Ariste 1939: 3). Leena Elmi sang, on wax cylinders, 13 examples of various genres with different melodies, probably chosen for recording by Tampere. Ariste wrote down the lyrics (ERA, Fon 377–379; Ariste 21, 24, 27). Not all of the sound tracks are easily understandable any more, but they still outline the once extant song tradition. Some 10 older songs have survived: at least 4 (or maybe 6) *regilaul* fragments; an incantation for making butter; and 3 dance songs *labajalg* related to wedding and calendar customs. Enda Ennist, an EFA grantee, wrote about Leena Elmi in 1939: "Both women [Leena and her sister Mare] are of high intellect, and you know, our most gifted poetess Marie Under comes from their family" (ERA II 189, 16).[32] Elmi became the best known informant for several students of folklore and language; therefore she was later called "the professor" (ERA II 188, 59).[33] She apparently represented the oldest tradition available, as she sang with a loose speech-like intonation and had learned the songs from her mother, who was of Kassari origin.

Several Hiiumaa folk song collectors still sent in handwritten material in the early twentieth century. An already mentioned grantee of the EFA, folklorist and teacher Enda Ennist (Põld) (1916–1976), carried out fieldwork in Hiiumaa in 1938 and 1939 (ERA II 188, 189, 254). Her extensive and thematically rich material provided an eloquent picture of the pre-World War II Hiiumaa folk culture. In three months she visited all the parishes in Hiiumaa, and during interviews wrote down many *regilaul* lyrics (71 variants) and descriptions of singing situations. She was the first to collect systematically archaic vocal genres (86) that had not attracted much attention previously (cf. Laugaste 1931), and many transitional songs (102), which were mainly *labajalg* dance songs.

Ennist's choices probably reflect the instructions received from the folklore archives: she preferred to record the older tradition, while some people knew better modern end-rhymed songs that she did not always bother to write down (ERA II 188, 52/3).[34] The finding of an older folk song was sometimes marked by a joyful note in her diary: "I got some genuine folk songs that are very scarcely preserved here", or "Indeed, I got such a rarity not heard in three years of collecting – *Ori taevas* ('A serf in the heaven')" (ERA II 189, 15, 22).[35]

The prevalence of dance songs and more modern song styles in the public sphere as well as lack of information about Hiiumaa can be exemplified by the following story. A correspondent of the Estonian Museum (operated in 1919–1928), Johan Jansi, was tasked by August Pulst in 1922 with finding Hiiumaa musicians, in addition to a well-known bagpipe player, Juhan Maaker,

for a planned concert in Tallinn. During a two-week trip Jansi did not get the expected results and was deeply disappointed – probably owing to his idealized romantic views about folklore. Relying on his words, instead of carriers of "old and honorable tradition" he met only "modern and indecent" singers: mainly men who were singing improper and amoral songs – bagpipe pieces as locals called them – and parodies of church chorals accompanied by the accordion (ETMM, M 234: 1/15–16; Sildoja 2014: 37–38).

The next extensive recording of folk music onto shellac-discs took place in the Tallinn Radio broadcast studio during 1936–38. Hiiumaa was represented with only two more modern songs – folk chorals as probably a local specialty (ERA, Pl 76 A1, A2 < Käina p. – Herbert Tampere, August Pulst, Estonian Broadcast < Liisa Siisberg, 60, 1938). The long journey to Tallinn from an island 22 km from the western coast might also have been an obstacle for elderly people.

Song style **Period of collecting**	archaic vocal genres	*regilaul*	older transitional songs (including *labajalg* dance songs)
19th century	9	75	17
First half of the 20th century	24	41	35
Second half of the 20th century	52	8	39

Figure 1. *Representation of older Hiiumaa folk song styles in the EFA collections in different historical periods (%).*

As the song collections and diaries bore witness, *regilaul* had no prestige and function in the public sphere and had been forgotten by the younger generation by the 1920s. Characteristic of Hiiumaa was the abundance of *labajalg* dance songs, other transitional songs about village life, as well as round games. Certainly children's songs (including sound imitations) were popular, but they were unlikely to have been heard in the public sphere.

The examples of older folk song styles collected from Hiiumaa during the first half of the twentieth century contain considerably fewer *regilaul* songs (41%) and more from other genres (trans 35%, arch 24%), as compared to the nineteenth century (Fig. 1). The increasing proportion of transitional styles might reflect changes both in tradition and the song collectors' interests: with *regilaul* disappearing and being replaced by more modern styles, the material available for folklorists changed as well. The increase in the amount of collected archaic vocal genres in the 1920s–1930s is related to the widened scope

of folkloristics, because the genres like nature sound imitations or lullabies, known in numerous variants amongst all Baltic-Finnic peoples, could not have been invented in the early 1900s.

Fieldwork in the second half of the twentieth century

Beginning in the late 1940s audio recording during fieldwork became usual. The EFA organized systematic collection trips to several Estonian regions, first trying to record the older song tradition with the new equipment. Hiiumaa was not a field of interest for decades.

During 1967–1969, composer and music educator Harri Otsa (1926–2001) undertook several fieldwork trips to Hiiumaa. Differently from folklorists, as a composer he was interested in more elaborate, melodically more complicated newer melodies and planned to write scientific research about them. Unfortunately his original fieldwork material is not available, but his manuscript comprises 133 melody examples from his collection: 128 newer end-rhymed folk songs and instrumental pieces, plus 5 older folk songs (ETMM, M 221: 1/15).

An outstanding informant and folklore correspondent of that period was Elli Küttim (1909–1993) from Pühalepa parish. She was the daughter of schoolteacher Gustav Lauri – Peeter Süda's guide and folklore collector in 1905 – and the granddaughter of folk singer Maret Lauri (born ca 1852). Küttim compiled her folklore collection during 1954–1962; it contained also 11 older songs with melodies (RKM II 128, 73/184). She was audio-recorded in the same year by Aino Strutzkin from the Estonian Radio in 1962 and by the EFA in 1979 (RKM, Mgn II 1651–1654).[36]

The last notable folk song collection from Hiiumaa was gathered in June 1979 during the EFA systematic fieldwork. Folklorists Ingrid Rüütel (b. 1935), Vaike Sarv (1946–2004), Ellen Liiv (1930–2010), Erna Tampere (1919–2016), and others audio-recorded approximately 900 various songs on magnetophone tape (RKM, Mgn II 3119–3178, 3698), and wrote down song lyrics (RKM II 339, 340) (from the older tradition: 30 *regi*, 198 arch, 132 trans). The fieldwork diaries prove the collectors' bigger interest in the older tradition, the use of special questionnaires for interviews, the lack of older folk songs, and the prolific tradition of end-rhymed stanzaic songs. Erna Tampere's description of the collecting situation in Küttim's home is characteristic for that time: "…we start again with children's songs and bird song imitations. I write a long *Liiri-lõõri, lõoke!* ('Wirble-warble, lark!'). Then more modern songs come which she values higher" (RKM II 339, 309).[37]

The examples of older song tradition from the 1960s–1970s demonstrate, on the one hand, the diligence of the collectors to catch every single verse, and, on the other hand, the disappearing remnants of living tradition, including mainly short children's rhymes, transitional songs, and some *regilaul* lines with slightly modernized poetic features. The sound recordings are especially valuable for understanding the rich voicing manner and timbre of different archaic genres (90 audio variants in 1979), such as sound imitations, children's rhymes, lullabies, etc. (e.g. resembling speech, nature sounds, bagpipe music). They, inter alia, help one to discover the impact of bagpipe pieces and more modern song tradition.

The folklore material collected in Hiiumaa in the second half of the twentieth century contains *regilaul* songs as a marginal part: it makes up 8% of the older song representations. This *regilaul* material is also quite poor by its content: 32 songs include 13 short examples (1–3 verses) of calendar ritual songs, and 16 fragments of other songs that were likely sung to children. Transitional songs numbered 154 (39%) and archaic genres 205 (52%), including a large amount of short children's verses and songs that have moved to the children's amusement repertoire like the popular *labajalg Hiir hüppas* ('The mouse jumped').

CONCLUSIONS

The EFA collections reflect quite reliably the Hiiumaa folk song tradition, although the proportions of song styles are biased: remnants of *regilaul* have been collected as thoroughly as possible, but the end-rhymed songs, archaic genres, and maybe newer transitional songs were omitted by earlier collectors. The diminishing percentage of *regilaul* recordings over the last 150 years reflects this disappearing tradition (Fig. 1), while the numbers for other song genres are more dependent on the collection goals. Every single song collection tried to represent a slightly older period as compared to the collector's present, and so the picture of folk songs tended to become older and more fragmentary than the singing tradition of that time.

The relatively small total amount of Hiiumaa older songs might be caused by the island's distant location from Tartu and southern Estonia. This caused the lack of both local folklore collectors and distant visitors, for whom the complications were the long journey, the different character of Hiiumaa people and their distrust of strangers. The interest might have diminished due to the examples available, which did not represent the prolific song tradition of regular Kalevala-meter.

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NOTES

[1] 989 km^2, 9348 inhabitants as of January 2016. http://www.stat.ee/ppe-44780, last accessed on February 10, 2017.

[2] Older Estonian singing style that represents the Kalevala-metric song tradition.

[3] The island's important annual events, Hiiumaa Folk Music Festival (started in 2005) and Hiiumaa Cafeterias Day (started in 2007), reveal many local cultural traditions and bring together people with Hiiu roots. The epic story of Hiiumaa hero Leiger was published in 2014, and was followed by a children's version in 2015. Some works about the Hiiu dialect appeared in print: the dictionary in 2015 and the chrestomathy in 2016. An encyclopaedic compendium about Hiiumaa culture, history, and people was published in 2015.

[4] There are also two western islands, Ruhnu and Vormsi, which until World War II were inhabited mainly by Swedes. Some Swedish people lived on the western coast and in Hiiumaa as well. Today the Estonian Swedish community has faded away.

[5] The collections included: H; E; E, StK; EÜS; TEM; Ariste; ERA II volumes 9, 147, 188, 189, 254; RKM II volumes 128, 323, 339, 340. The volume AES and some volumes in the series ERA I and II, RKM I and II, each one including only one or two Hiiumaa folk song lyrics, were excluded. Their examination would have been time-consuming and given only a few more examples of older songs most likely not having a significant impact on the overall result. The sound recordings include RKM, Mgn and ERA, Fon; only a few newer examples not digitalized yet are excluded.

[6] ETMM, M 221: 1/15. The manuscript is an amateur research work that contains Hiiumaa folk song melodies from Cyrillus Kreek's and Harri Otsa's own folklore collections as examples. Kreek's collection in ETMM, M 11 has not been studied yet by the authors, but Otsa has likely quoted the most essential Hiiumaa examples of Kreek's collection. Otsa's original fieldwork collection is not available.

[7] The archival sources in the text are quoted in endnote references. The archive code shows the name of the collection, followed by the place of informant's home, collector(s) name(s), and finally the informant's name, age, and collecting year.

[8] Estonian song classifications slightly differ depending on a researcher, region, and period. We prefer Tedre's classification as it comprises the most extensive material from all over Estonia. Another choice would have been to base our research on Tampere's classification made for Mustjala *Vana Kannel* (Tampere & Tampere 1985), which contains the material of a coastal parish of the neighboring island, Saaremaa.

[9] The exact number is not easy to specify because 1) some longer texts can be interpreted either as a cycle of songs or as one long song; 2) some sound recordings include several complete or fragmentary variants of the same song; and 3) there exist some problems in song classification (discussed above). If the distinction between *regilaul* and transitional song had been based more strictly on formal features of 'classical Kalevala-meter', the number of *regilaul* would be smaller in favour of transitional songs. The abbreviations *regi* (*regilaul*), arch (archaic vocal genres), trans (transitional songs) will be used below for the statistical data.

[10] According to the data of the Estonian Historical Archives, Thomas Piritson was probably Thomas Peter's son Uskam (later Toomas Uuskam), the first son of a farmer in Hagaste village, Pühalepa parish (EAA.1864.2.VIII-198). The 22-year-old Estonian served as a seaman on board a ship of Hiiumaa landlord von Ungern-Sternberg in 1832. Farmers of Hagaste village got family names in 1835. So it is probable that three years earlier Thomas introduced himself with a patronymic *Peter son ~ Peetre son* (*Peetri poeg*). Finnish native speaker Gottlund admitted that he did not know Estonian orthography, so he transcribed the texts according to his hearing. The Finnish researcher's auditory decisions could also explain the change of Thomas's family name to Piritson.

[11] "These songs are quite similar to our runosongs by their lyrics and character; their whole verse line was no longer than 8 positions, divided into four constituents [=feet]; but it was varied in the way that in the cases of each line containing 10 constituents [=syllables] (as it often happened), both positions were divided in the first feet." (Gottlund 1832: 184–185)

[12] Mustonen's fieldwork diary from 1877, quoted by Krogerus (1983: 48). According to Krogerus, the diary is archived in Helsinki: Lönnbohm, O. A. F. 1877. *Kertomus murteentutkimusmatkasta Hiiden- ja Saarenmaalle*. Helsingin yliopiston keskushallinnon arkisto Sd 89/225. The copy is in the Finnish Literature Society (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura) Folklore Archives (Krogerus 1983: 48).

[13] The draft of Mustonen's book is in the Kuopio Museum; the location of the original papers is unknown (Krogerus 1983).

[14] For the dance songs in the subdivision "Instrumental pieces" no region is indicated. They might have been known on all three islands.

[15] H II 6, 1/198 contains 259 songs as written on the title page; the singer's data are usually available. H II 6, 225/313 includes many dance songs (several of them quite obscene) without any data on singers, and plenty of other material.

[16] Five correspondents sent folklore to Hurt and two to Eisen.

[17] Peeter Süda's comments to his Hiiumaa fieldwork materials (1905 and 1906), written in Saaremaa 1907.

[18] Peeter Süda, a letter to Oskar Kallas, 2.06.1905.

[19] Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1905.

[20] Peeter Süda, the above- and below-mentioned letters to Oskar Kallas.

[21] Peeter Süda, a letter to Oskar Kallas, 24.07.1905.

[22] Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1905.

[23] In the working process we discovered a gap of about 70 pages with more than 100 melodies in the card catalogues and registers on Süda's 1905 material in the EFA. As these registers often serve as the main basis for further research, this part of the collection might not have been noticed, which helped to shape the opinion about the scarcity of Hiiumaa material.

[24] Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1906.

[25] Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1906.

[26] Peeter Süda, fieldwork diary, 1906.

[27] Copies of these wax cylinder recordings were found and identified almost one hundred years later by a Finnish bowed harp researcher Rauno Nieminen from the Sibelius Museum in Turku, Finland. Georg Bruus's original recordings are archived in the Swedish Melody Archives in Stockholm (Svenskt Visarkiv) (Nieminen 2007: 111–121).

[28] Cyrillus Kreeks' personal collection.

[29] Songs and games were classified together as many games were accompanied by a song; also there was a bulk of songs that could be sung both separately and with a game. This statistics does not include melodies (Viidebaum & Loorits 1932: 199).

[30] Hiiumaa County was established in 1946. Until World War II, Hiiumaa was part of Läänemaa, therefore the material collected in Hiiumaa before World War II has been regarded as part of Läänemaa collections.

[31] Island in western Estonia.

[32] Enda Ennist, fieldwork diary, 1939.

[33] Enda Ennist, fieldwork diary, 1939.

[34] Enda Ennist, fieldwork diary, 1938.

[35] Enda Ennist, fieldwork diary, 1939. Enda Ennist had collected folklore in western Estonia before she went to Hiiumaa.

[36] Sound recordings include 12 variants of Hiiumaa older folk songs.

[37] Erna Tampere, fieldwork diary, 1979.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Collections of the Estonian Folklore Archives at the Estonian Literary Museum

Ariste – copies of Paul Ariste's manuscript collection
E – manuscript collection of Matthias Johann Eisen (1880–1934)
E, StK – manuscript collection of Matthias Johann Eisen's grantees (1921–1927)
EKS – manuscript collection of the Estonian Literary Society (1827–1924)
ERA – manuscript collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives (1927–1944)
ERA, Fon – wax cylinders collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives (1912–1948)
ERA, Pl – shellac disc collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives (1936–1938)
EÜS – manuscript collection of the Estonian Students Society (1875–1917)
H – manuscript collection of Jakob Hurt (1860–1906)
RKM – manuscript collection of the Estonian State Literary Museum (1945–1996)
RKM, Mgn – sound recording collection of the Estonian State Literary Museum (1945–1996)
TEM – manuscript collection of the Estonian Museum in Tallinn (1897–1925)

Collections of the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum

ETMM, M 11 – manuscript collection of Cyrillus Kreek
ETMM, M 221: 1/15 – Harri Otsa's manuscript *Hiiumaa uus rahvalaul* ('The modern folk song of Hiiumaa') 2001
ETMM, M 234: 1/14–28 – August Pulst's manuscript *Mälestusi muusika alalt* ('Memories from the field of music') 1961

Collections of the Finnish Literature Society

SKSÄ – sound archive of the Finnish Literature Society. Armas Otto Väisänen.

Collections of the National Archives of Estonia

EAA.1864 – Lutheran Church records from Pühalepa parish, Hiiumaa

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REGILAUL IN THE POLITICAL WHIRLPOOL: ON COLLECTING *REGILAUL* IN NORTHEAST ESTONIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1950s

Liina Saarlo

Abstract: The article is dedicated to the history of the monumental *regilaul* publication *Vana Kannel* and examines the changing position of *regilaul* in the research politics of Soviet Estonia in the 1950s. The changing form of fieldwork expeditions is dealt with, as the collection of *regilaul* was seen as a part of the preparation process of the publication. Concentrating on the series of fieldtrips to Alutaguse region in the second half of the 1950s, objectives and details of fieldwork are scrutinized to pinpoint the reasons for the failure of the endeavour. The fundamental question the article examines is the interaction between the dominating ideologies of research politics and the individual interests of folklore collectors.

Keywords: academic source publication, fieldwork, *regilaul*, research politics, singer, Soviet studies

INTRODUCTION

Since the nineteenth century, collecting and publishing *regilaul*, the old Estonian oral song tradition, has been one of the pillars of Estonian national movement, and one of the main building blocks in the construction of ethnic identity. Jakob Hurt (1839–1907), the leading figure of Estonian national movement, initiator of nationwide folklore collecting in Estonia (see Jaago 2005), saw it as his mission to return to Estonians the collected folklore in the form of an academic publication series – *Monumenta Estoniae antiquae*. The first part of this series, *Vana Kannel* ('The Old Psaltery'), is a series of published *regilaul* corpora of Estonian parishes.

The *regilaul* corpus from Alutaguse region (Jõhvi and Iisaku parishes), in the core of northeast Estonian folk song tradition, was published in volume VIII of *Vana Kannel* (Kokamägi & Tedre & Tuvi 1999). The history of collecting folklore is unique in each parish, containing episodes of collectors' fieldwork and collecting campaigns from different periods, and shaped by different ideologies and principles. Ülo Tedre, one of compilers of the eighth volume, wrote in the

preface that the sequence of fieldtrips to northeast Estonia in the second half of the 1950s, organised and carried out by the Folklore Section at the Institute of Estonian Language and Literature,[1] was motivated by the decision in 1955 to continue the publication of the *Vana Kannel* series. The purpose of the fieldwork was to record *regilaul* and gather information about former folk singers (Tedre 1999a: 6).

This article focuses on a particular episode in the collecting history of Alutaguse *regilaul* as well as on the several explicatory circumstances in the history of Estonian folklore studies and especially in the research of *regilaul*, which have come to light in the context of Ülo Tedre's comments. The aim of the article is to elucidate how the temporal and spatial decisions, official purposes and personal agendas, and the used collecting methods affected the quality and quantity of documented folklore material and *regilaul* corpus of Alutaguse region in general.

RESEARCH POLITICS

The processes of sovietisation and the state of the intelligentsia in the first decades of occupation in Soviet Estonia have been examined thoroughly by Estonian historians. The concept of sovietisation is used in post-sovietology to characterise the processes during which Estonian society was re-institutionalised, using the political models of the Soviet Union. Restructuration took place on economical and social as well as cultural levels (Tannberg 2007; Mertelsmann 2012: 9–25), using strong ideological pressure (Sirk 2004: 67). On a larger scale, the discourse of post-colonialist – especially Soviet colonialism – studies, introduced to literary studies from social sciences, seems to suit well to characterise the processes in the academic structures of Soviet Estonia (Annus 2012: 34–35). Both discourses emphasise the complexity of the sovietisation/colonisation process and the importance of cultural restructuration.

Inspired by both of these discourses, the fundamental question in this article is how different ideologies implicated folkloristic fieldwork in Estonia in the 1950s, especially the collection and representations of *regilaul*, a genre loaded with national ideologies throughout the century. Authors of both discourses emphasise the importance of individual adaption, resistance, or self-colonisation (Sirk 2004: 68; Annus 2011: 21–22). The article focuses on relational links of motivations and principles of collectors with official collecting policies, examining which ones of their fieldwork practices and decisions were imposed by dominating ideologies, and which ones by individual preferences.

With the beginning of the Soviet occupation in 1940,[2] the system of academic institutions in Estonia underwent significant reorganisation. In the independent Republic of Estonia, there had been two institutions involved in research into folklore: the responsibility of the Estonian Folklore Archives (EFA)[3] was the collecting and preservation of folklore, while the responsibility of the Chair of Estonian and Comparative Folklore[4] at the University of Tartu (UT) was education in folklore studies. In Soviet Estonia, the EFA was incorporated into the State Literary Museum of the Estonian SSR[5] (SLM), founded in 1940, and renamed the Department of Folkloristics (DF) in 1944.

In the post-World War II period, new academic institutions, the ones that would conform to the structure of academic institutions in the Soviet Union, were established. In 1946, among other institutes founded under the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR, the Institute of Language and Literature (ILL) came into being, and became the centre of academic research related to Estonian language, literature, and folklore. Next year the Folklore Section (FS) of the Institute of Language and Literature started its activities[6] under the lead of Eduard Laugaste (1909–1994).[7] The Literary Museum remained a "conservation institution", which managed the archives and had the function of working, as it were, "in the service of science". Together with the Chair of Estonian Literature and Folklore (CELF)[8] at the UT, there were altogether three institutions in Estonia that were involved in collecting and studying folklore to a greater or lesser degree. All three were involved in a determined and agreed-upon range of practices, in thematic as well as geographical terms.[9]

The late 1940s and early 1950s were convoluted and gloomy years in Estonian educational and cultural life. The post-war years for a breather came to an end in 1947, with the start of a witch hunt for the "traitors" in the Soviet republics, which lasted until Stalin's death.[10] There were persecution and cleansing campaigns that aimed, in their rhetoric, to "liberate" universities, academic institutions, creative unions, etc. from "bourgeois nationalism", "formalists", "cosmopolitans", etc. The pretexts were unspecific enough and thus could have applied to anybody.[11]

This state of fear and insecurity had an important role in discussing the directions and tasks of academic research: these were not simple choices, guided by research trends but obligatory topics that a person had to pursue. Otherwise the least that could happen was a loss of salary level or even the academic position.

In the early 1950s, folklore studies in Soviet Estonia ideologically focused on collecting contemporary, i.e. Soviet-period, folklore. The emphatic interest towards contemporary "Soviet" folklore served as if a means against the precedent folkloristics, during which the "tendentious" research focused on archaic folklore (i.e. classical genres of folklore such as *regilaul*, folk tale, legend, etc.)

and ignored contemporary folklore on class struggle and the friendship of Estonians and Russians (Eesti kirjanduse ajalugu 1953: 8). The material categorised as Soviet folklore included various workers' songs on political themes, World War II soldier songs, satire targeted at the "retrograde element", etc.[12] Thus attempts were made to collect workers' lore in the mining and industrial regions of northeast Estonia,[13] students visited collective farms to practise collecting folklore,[14] etc. Still, these collecting activities cannot be considered a success, since very little of specific folklore was collected or "wrong" material was mistakenly recorded (Ahven 2007: 98–99; Oras 2008b: 62–63; Kulasalu 2014). After Stalin's death in 1953, the forced interest in Soviet folklore diminished and folklorists were able to return to collecting and studying classical folklore genres (e.g. Eesti NSV 1965: 271). Still, ignoring topical subjects or remaining apolitical was not an option back then. While discussing archaic genres, folklorists learned to present the "correct" facts, emphasising mainly topics concerned with social inequality under class struggle. Among the new, and favoured, research topics that emerged were the life and work of Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882), the author of the Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg* (Kalev's Son), heroic legends connected with the latter, and topics related to (emphatically positive) relations between Estonian and Russian nations (e.g., Ahven 2007: 162, 175).

THE POSITION OF *REGILAUL* IN THE FOLKLORISTICS OF THE 1950s

Regilaul has been the most prominent genre in Estonian folklore studies throughout history. Collecting and publishing folklore has been a major task, laden with patriotic sentiments, which was one of the central goals during the nineteenth-century national awakening, joining people from different social strata – rural intellectuals and peasants, townsfolk of peasant origin, and intelligentsia.

Jakob Hurt ranked *regilaul* first in his list of "the antiquities", the nationwide collection of which he started with his 1888 appeal (Hurt 1888). Also, *Estonum Carmina Popularia*, the first part of the series on Estonian collective folk memory, *Monumenta Estoniae Antiquae*, contains Kalevala-metric *regilaul*.

Regilaul preserved its unique status also at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although larger countrywide collecting activities also entailed recording other genres,[15] the collecting of *regilaul*, valued as a "witness to a soon to be forgotten glory of the past", began to resemble a rescue mission. *Regilaul* was

always the first genre to be recorded during fieldwork and continued to take priority among the sound-recorded material (Oras 2008b: 74–86).

Changes in the position of *regilaul* took place in the 1950s. It can be witnessed in the textbooks, which were impetuously compiled and published in multiple continuously edited editions, as it was common at the onset of the Soviet occupation. The first post-war survey of folklore studies by Eduard Laugaste was published in 1946. It contained Soviet rhetoric of class struggle and obligatory chapters on the views of Marxist classics and Soviet authors. Regardless of that, the history of Estonian folklore collection and studies was not "revised" according to the new principles. The next survey, written by folklorists of the ILL and published in 1953, already proceeded from the principles of "revision and revelation". Folklore collectors of the previous periods were criticised for their preferential collecting of "the antiquities" (Eesti kirjanduse ajalugu 1953: 8). These assessments were turned down in a revised and edited version of the textbook published after Stalin's death in 1957, but the essence remained the same: the previous folklore research and collecting activities were regarded as tendentious and overly oriented to the past, and consequently, a failed endeavour (Eesti kirjanduse ajalugu 1957: 122–123).

In subject overviews of folklore in these textbooks, the first genre to be introduced is folk songs, and among them *regilaul* is discussed first. There is a noticeable emphasis on songs reflecting social conflicts, especially in the textbook from 1953. This approach largely stems from the extremely subjective "logic" of the historical development of the material, as the chapter leads to a culmination and concludes with revolutionary songs in newer style – a most appreciated genre at this time. Most of the chapter, however, discusses *regilaul* (see Eesti kirjanduse ajalugu 1953: ch. III; 1957: ch. II). The status of the *regilaul* genre and the scope of discussion in the textbooks prove the continuing recognition and eminent position of the genre.

In the 1957 textbook, the overview of folklore concludes with the sentence: "Folklore is the foundation of our collective Soviet culture." This is the fundamental reason why *regilaul* continued to be recognised – it was perceived as a foundation of contemporary (Soviet) folk culture, such as authored poetry and authored music. As it was impossible to deny that folklore was considered as the foundation of national culture also during the independent Republic of Estonia, it was necessary to reassess the former folklore studies.[16] It was the era of proliferating negative rhetoric, and terms like "formalism", "objectivism", "aestheticism", "cosmopolitanism", etc. were used effusively in these reassessments. Like the intellectuals who could not remain apolitical (Sirk 2004: 63), folklore had to become political as well and reflect "the class struggle". The *regilaul* tradition proposed the topic of social inequality: songs about slaves and

orphans, also the newer men's songs in *regilaul*-metre expressing opposition to the manor, all helped to meet the political demand next to the lack of end-rhymed socio-critical "revolutionary songs" and "Soviet-era folklore".

THE PUBLICATION OF *REGILAUL* IN THE 1950s: *VANA KANNEL*

Since the recording of *regilaul* was given priority among other genres of folklore, the collections of the Estonian Folklore Archives hold a rich corpus of *regilaul* from all over Estonia, exceeding 140,000 songs recorded in manuscripts and on audiotapes. The publishing of the *regilaul* corpus has not been equally successful. *Regilaul* was published in anthologies, compiled according to a variety of principles and purposes. In the period under discussion, the compilation of a comprehensive anthology of *regilaul* was also constantly on the agenda of the folklorists of the ILL (Ahven 2007: 175).[17]

The article, however, focuses on the circumstances surrounding the edited monumental publication *Vana Kannel*. The continuation of the publication of the series has been regarded as a follow-up of Jakob Hurt's lifework and as safeguarding the traditions – and national values – of Estonian folklore studies. While the first volumes were published by Jakob Hurt in 1875–1886, volume XI was published in 2014 (from 105 parishes of Estonia only the material of 13 parishes has been published). The volumes of *Vana Kannel* were published after longer intervals, and have been accompanied by fierce debates about the principles and research-political scandals. The main publishing principle of *Vana Kannel* is geographicality and comprehensibility: each volume contains all the *regilaul* songs, older children's songs, and Kalevala-metric incantations recorded in a parish (or two parishes). The song texts are edited and presented in a typological sequence. Regardless of the consistent publication principles and attempts at a consensus, each volume of the series is different and depends on the editor's views (see also Saarlo 2012).

Herbert Tampere (1909–1975), one of the organisers of the publication of the *Vana Kannel* series in the mid-twentieth century,[18] mentions in an overview of the publishing history that the preparations for the series were disrupted in 1949 (Tampere 1965: 103). In retrospect one may assume that the main reason for the disruption was probably a change in the priorities in folklore studies, a turn towards the search for "Soviet folklore". When the State Publishing House turned to Herbert Tampere and the Literary Museum with a proposition to start compiling monumental folklore anthologies in 1954, a year after Stalin's death, it was also a sign of change in academic politics.

In spring 1955, a large discussion meeting about publishing *regilaul* anthologies was held at the University of Tartu with the participation of folklorists from all the institutions and other interest groups concerned (the DF of the SLM, the CELF of the UT, and the DF of the ILL). The working group established at the meeting – which became the editorial board of *Vana Kannel* – decided upon the main publication principles and the regions whose *regilaul* anthologies were to be published first. It was decided that the first corpora to be published should come from the areas with the most remarkable singing tradition, which were known as once having had a strong *regilaul* tradition and from where the greatest number of songs had been collected (e.g. during Jakob Hurt's folklore collecting campaign). It turned out that additional fieldwork was needed for compiling contemporarily edited publications, to gather additional information about the performers and collectors of *regilaul*, record the songs to perpetuate their melodies and details of performances, etc. (Tampere 1960: 513–514). The preparations for the continuation of the academic publishing of *regilaul* thus started with a series of targeted fieldtrips by several institutions.

Although the ILL was established in Tartu, in 1952 it was moved to Tallinn, the capital of the Estonian SSR, together with other institutions under the Academy of Sciences. Thus it seems only natural that the folklorists of the ILL focused their collecting activities on Virumaa region in northern Estonia, and more specifically on Alutaguse region, a *regilaul* centre in the northeast of Estonia. Ülo Tedre, who participated in fieldwork in the region in the second half of the 1950s, writes in the preface to the Jõhvi and Iisaku volumes of *Vana Kannel* that the fieldtrips to northeast Estonia – Jõhvi, Iisaku, Lüganuse, and Vaivara parishes – carried out by the researchers of the ILL, took place as a result of the meetings of the *Vana Kannel* editorial board. The fieldwork was related to the publishing of the *regilaul* songs of northeast Estonia, and was aimed to sound-record the last living *regilaul* singers as well as collect information about the former ones (Tedre 1999a: 6; see also Mirov & Tuvi 2009: 81; Eesti NSV 1965: 271). In his overview of the history of collecting *regilaul*, Tedre (1999b: 99) discusses these expeditions very briefly, and does not touch upon the circumstances and participants of the fieldwork.

In the following, folklore fieldwork politics and methods will be studied and the outcomes of the fieldwork series in Alutaguse region will be discussed.

FOLKLORE EXPEDITIONS IN THE 1950s

In the 1950s, a new form for carrying out fieldwork was introduced in Estonian folklore studies: the grandiosely termed field "expeditions" were, ideally, collecting events with a large number of participants, representing several disciplines and/or institutions, and taking place mainly in rural areas. The participants stayed in a single central base, for example, a school boarding house, community centre, local library, manor house, etc., and made day trips to the surrounding villages on foot, by bike or by car. Fieldwork was carried out using the frontal method; the involving of folklorists with different research interests and representatives of neighbouring disciplines ensured that the collection covered various genres and themes of traditional culture. The adoption of new recording technology – reel-to-reel tape recorders – and the limited electricity supply in rural regions necessitated the use of cars and buses in fieldwork. This type of fieldwork required thorough preparatory work – getting acquainted with the material previously collected in the area, studying topics that needed additional information, etc. – and was continued by a time-consuming systematisation of the collected material before it was archived (Oras 2008b: 64ff.).

Before World War II, fieldwork used to be carried out by one or two folklorists at a time, who were travelling together, and often focused on a specific topic or genre (e.g., *regilaul*, local legends, etc.). The same fieldwork practices were continued during the collection of "Soviet folklore" in the post-war years. Thus, the manuscript collections of the ILL from 1947 to 1954 are predominantly submitted by single collectors.[19]

The change in the form of fieldwork was introduced at inter-institutional conferences about organising the collection of materials for research in the humanities and social sciences, in which next to folklorists also researchers of dialects and ethnographers participated. In addition to modernising the research topics (towards Soviet folklore), large-scale joint field expeditions were launched in cooperation with different institutions and disciplines (Oras 2008b: 60–62).

In 1948, Richard Viidalepp (1904–1986), senior researcher at the Folklore Section of the ILL, organised the first inter-institutional joint expedition to Kihnu Island and took part in later joint field expeditions in the south of Estonia (Seto region 1948–1949, Helme 1951). Besides folklorists of the SLM and ILL, the field expeditions involved students of philology of the UT, Tallinn State Conservatory,[20] the State Art Institute,[21] and also sound-recording specialists from Estonian Radio, etc. (see Ahven 2007: 48–49, 65; Tamm 2002: 228ff.) As folklorists grew rather unsatisfied with the joint expedition with a large number of participants and highly diverging interests, in 1952 folklorists at the Literary Museum organised a smaller expedition, under the supervision

of Herbert Tampere, with all the department's researchers, and musicians or students of music (Oras 2008b: 61).

FOLKLORISTS' FIELDWORK IN ALUTAGUSE IN 1955–1960

Folklorists of the FS of the ILL started joint fieldwork only in 1954, with a trip to Hiiumaa Island, and there were only two participants in this trip – Richard Viidalepp, initiator of folklore fieldwork at the ILL, and Ülo Tedre. While the official reports and reviews of the Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR point out the active collecting work of the FS (Kümme aastat 1956: 168–169),[22] the first joint folklorists' expeditions of the ILL with more than two folklorists participating were carried out in Iisaku and Jõhvi parishes in north-eastern Estonia in July 1955.

In addition to the *Vana Kannel* editorial board's decisions about publishing the *regilaul* corpora of certain regions, and the division of tasks between institutions mentioned above, the choice of north-eastern Estonia as the fieldwork destination was also connected with other specific facts. One of the consistently emphasised obligatory topics of the humanities in Soviet Estonia was the relations between Estonians and Russians. Researchers in Estonian studies used opportunities to connect the obligatory topic with the historically nationalistic one – explanations of the ethnogenesis of Estonians in the course of collecting and analysing data from archaeology, ethnography, and dialectology.[23] Local (heroic) legends, which had come into focus with the anniversary of the Estonian national epic *Kalevipoeg* (published by Kreutzwald in 1857), had the same roots as Russian folklore, both in terms of motifs and geography. This is why fieldwork at the time was preferably organised in border areas with mixed ethnic population around Lake Peipus – namely, Alutaguse, Kodavere, and the Seto region (Kümme aastat 1956: 190; Eesti NSV 1965: 271; Tedre 1997: 202–204).

The folklorists of the ILL visited north-eastern Estonia in three series: Jõhvi, Iisaku, and Vaivara parishes under the lead of Richard Viidalepp in 1955–1960, Lüganuse and Jõhvi parishes under the lead of Ülo Tedre in the 1960s, and, once again, Lüganuse parish for repeated fieldwork in the late 1970s. This article focuses on the first series of fieldtrips, those led by Richard Viidalepp.

This first expedition series resulted in 4,165 pages of manuscript records (also from Russian and *poluvernik*s'[24] villages), 47 items (468 pieces) of tape recordings and about a thousand photographs. As was expected – according to researchers' knowledge about cultural changes in the area – the number of *regilaul* materials collected was rather small, though by no means non-existent. What the collectors could not anticipate was how difficult it was to find addi-

tional information about former singers and collectors. In terms of temporal distance, however, this makes sense – in these complicated times, being cautious about sharing information about one's relatives was definitely sensible (see Tedre 1999a: 6).

The following relies mainly on the collectors' fieldwork diaries, since the published material – the collection overview of volume VIII of *Vana Kannel* (Jõhvi and Iisaku parishes) (Tedre 1999b: 84–100), memoirs of the people concerned (Tedre 1997; Viidalepp 1979), the annual reviews of the ILL (Ahven 2007), etc. – share very little information about these expeditions. At the same time, the rather conscientiously and consistently written fieldwork notes provide a good overview of folklorists' purposes and methods.

Expedition participants

The main organiser and leader of the fieldtrips, Richard Viidalepp, worked at the Folklore Section of the ILL since it was founded in 1947.[25] After the institute had been moved to Tallinn, Viidalepp was appointed the head of the section in 1952. Other participants of the fieldtrips were his younger colleagues, born in the 1920s, who had graduated from the UT after World War II: Ülo Tedre (1928–2015),[26] Loreida Raudsep (1922–2004),[27] and Helgi Kihno (1915–1993),[28] episodically also Veera Pino (1925–2015),[29] Ruth Mirov (b. 1928),[30] and Alviine Schmuul (b. 1934)[31].

Participants from other institutions included Vivian Jüris and lecturer Ester Mägi from the Tallinn State Conservatory, also Russian-born authors Jüri Shumakov and Veera Schmidt.

Of all these people, Richard Viidalepp was the most experienced in collecting folklore. He had worked at the Estonian Folklore Archives since 1929, been actively involved in developing the network of correspondents for the EFA, and had also supervised the collecting campaign of local legends (Hiiemäe 2005). He was one of the grand collectors of Estonian folklore, who had started collecting already as a student in the 1920s. His main research subject was narration and storytellers, and in the 1950s he focused on the recording and comparative research of heroic legends (see Viidalepp 1961, 1968).

Viidalepp's young fieldwork companions, only starting work at the Folklore Section, were not completely without experience in collecting folklore. As graduates of Estonian philology at the University of Tartu, they had all completed the required practical fieldwork course. Ülo Tedre and Loreida Raudsep had documented the folklore of collective farms, revolutionary workers' folklore, heroic legends in central Estonia and elsewhere. Still, they had not participated in

joint fieldtrips with experienced folklorists, and their practical fieldwork course had taken place during the heyday of collecting the so-called Soviet folklore.

Vivian Jüris and Ester Mägi had studied at the Tallinn State Conservatory, where Herbert Tampere had worked as professor of ethnomusicology in 1946–1951, and so both had been prepared for documenting musical folklore.

The size and composition of the fieldwork team changed over the years. The number of participants and the fieldwork period increased until 1957, and then decreased remarkably because of the participants' changing interests. In addition, focus of the collected material varied depending on fieldwork participants.[32]

Those participating in the fieldtrips had a very different academic background and fieldwork experience, which had a definite impact on their fieldwork methods and preferences. All this, along with the varying sizes of fieldwork teams and personal relationships, also influenced fieldwork results in general.

Objectives of fieldwork

The point of departure in this article was a remark by Ülo Tedre that the main objective of the fieldwork carried out by the FS of the ILL in north-eastern Estonia was recording material from the last *regilaul* singers and documenting additional information about the singers of previous generations (Tedre 1999a: 6). The area was selected according to the strategic plan of the editorial board of *Vana Kannel*.

Surprisingly, the fieldwork notes from 1955, even those made by Viidalepp, who was the leader of the expedition, do not formulate the objectives of this fieldwork, which would have been expected at the start of such a major undertaking. Only Ülo Tedre, a young and ambitious folklorist at the time, a fresh Candidate of Sciences, named interdisciplinary and interinstitutional fieldwork in a multi-ethnic, mixed-settlement area as one objective, and Viidalepp's aim to collect heroic legends as another (KKI 20, 315). From Viidalepp's field notes it is obvious that he had a clear understanding of the folklore and population of the fieldwork area; he also wrote about inquiring and narrating legends about *Kalevipoeg*, identifying sites connected with the legends, recording the tradition of *poluverniks*, etc. The diaries of the young colleagues reflected mainly daily events and the aesthetics of natural landscapes. The collection diaries make no mention of *regilaul*, even though some songs were collected.

In 1956, the tone of the diaries suddenly changed. Viidalepp's diary became more official and reporting in style – and thus directed outwards. Presumptively, Viidalepp as the head of the FS was reprimanded because of the failed

organisation of the first fieldtrip, according to the Soviet habitudes, and led the next expedition more assiduously and formally.

While in 1955 *regilaul* was evidently not in the focus of the fieldwork, the situation changed the next year. On the morning of the first fieldwork day, Viidalepp held a lecture about the objectives of fieldwork. First on his list of materials to be collected were (archaic and newer) folk songs, followed by folk tales (KKI 22, 576/9). After the expedition, a few short reviews were published in newspapers,[33] in which the collected material was introduced according to the canons of Estonian folkloristics: folk songs, then folk tales, short forms of folklore, rituals, with *regilaul* as the first among musical folklore. Thus, at least reportedly, musical folklore was the priority of the collecting activities.

The involvement of expedition members from the Tallinn State Conservatory in 1956 and 1957 indicates that, in fact, a particular focus was placed on musical folklore. Having the students and musicians of the conservatory write down the melodies was a customary practice at the time, since the means for sound-recording music were limited.

Among the objectives of the fieldwork series was also the use of new technology – a magnetophon or reel-to-reel tape recorder – to sound-record folklore. That could be one of the reasons why in the second year more attention was dedicated to *regilaul*. Regardless of the inconveniences that the use of this device posed (described below in more detail), the technical innovation was enthusiastically welcomed. The availability of the recording device and transportation in later years also determined that sound-recording folk tradition became the main objective of the special expeditions, for which the teams became smaller, the organising of fieldwork was more spontaneous, and which lasted for shorter periods of time.

The choice of sound-recorded material is especially revealing, indicating the preference of musical folklore and *regilaul*, which at this time was common to Estonian folkloristic fieldwork practices in general.

Among other goals of the expeditions, at least in the early years, was probably the instruction of younger folklorists in fieldwork situations. After all, the team mainly included highly experienced Viidalepp and three rather young and/or inexperienced folklorists – Raudsep, Kihno, and Tedre. This goal was not documented in newspaper articles or in official reports. It becomes evident in the field notes, and predominantly in a negative way. In his first fieldwork diary, Tedre expresses expectations to be tutored by Viidalepp (KKI 20, 318/9). In the course of the fieldtrip, the younger team members, some more, some less, complained about the lack of instruction by Viidalepp. It is likely that Viidalepp's personality was not conducive to fieldwork with larger teams, as he was used to work independently. So he left the young folklorists to collect

folklore on their own (KKI 20, 323). Viidalepp, on his part, was worried that the team would fall apart and his colleagues would not learn the importance of collective work; the concern was caused by unspoken conflicts with the self-assured young folklorists (KKI 20, 401/2).

On collecting musical folklore

In spite of the fact that *regilaul* songs had moved from the active repertoire into a passive one throughout Estonia, with the exception of a few areas, Estonian folklorists were very actively trying to collect *regilaul* in the 1950s and 1960s. It is evidenced by the expeditions of the DF of the SLM to southern Estonia, south-eastern Estonia, the western islands, Kodavere parish, etc. (see Oras 2008a; 2008b: 64ff.).

Although *regilaul* was formally the most prominent genre in musical folklore, the collectors were, in fact, not similar in their collecting strategies. Because of the frontal fieldwork methods and different interests, some of the collectors did not exactly focus on *regilaul*.

For the young folklorists of the FS, the keywords that mark the musical folklore collected during the expedition series were historically newer, end-rhymed folk songs, handwritten songbooks, and psaltery players. The field notes about collecting musical folklore primarily described the joys and concerns related to finding good singers and instrument players. Skilled singers were sought through questioning other villagers, but in most cases they named singers who knew contemporary songs. Folklorists often experienced the situation where the interviewed singers' repertoire was not what they were after, e.g. church hymns or authored songs. Also, some singers would be too shy or even unwilling to sing to the outsiders.

Handwritten notebooks containing folk songs were actively sought after and traced through entire villages. Handwritten songbooks seemed as if an exciting physical artefact, an evidence of something archaic and valuable. The songbooks were not very easy to get hold of – without naming the real reasons, several former songbooks remained inaccessible or proved to have been destroyed. Probably, the owners of the songbooks were concerned about the prohibited content of the songs (anti-Soviet, nationalistic, religious, etc.), causing serious consequences in Stalinist era. The songbooks might have been inaccessible also because Soviet authorities had deported the owners.

However, the available songbooks were gladly lent out for copying and, thus, much of the material recorded in writing at the time consisted of copied song texts. As the songbooks contained, for the most part, newer and authorial songs

that were known all over Estonia (incl. songs broadcast over the media), the leader of the expedition, Viidalepp, was naturally disappointed.[34]

Active attempts were made to locate instrumentalists and convince them to play, but this was no easy task either. The instruments of those who could play were either no longer suitable for playing or had fallen apart or the instrumentalists were no longer physically capable or willing to play. The diaries speak mainly of psaltery players; other instrumentalists are rarely mentioned. The fieldwork diaries of the first expedition years do not reveal whether this was due to the collectors' preference – considering the symbolic importance of playing the psaltery in national-romanticist mythology[35] and its exoticism in the mid-twentieth century – or the longer-lasting vitality of the local psaltery music tradition. Later fieldwork, indeed, confirms that in addition to the choir singing tradition, the region had a lively psaltery music tradition, which survived in the trend of amateur instrumental groups favoured during the Soviet period.

From the folklorists at the FS of the ILL only Richard Viidalepp, regardless of his research interest and collecting preferences, also made notes about musical folklore, as well as ethnographic, linguistic, culture-historical, and other observations. Other members of the expedition team were not guided by such a specific interest focused on more striking and exotic phenomena. The methods and preferences of the young folklorists were probably also affected by their previous experience on the collective farms, which included recording of amateur cultural activities, wall newspapers, etc. For that reason, their attention may have been directed rather towards cultural history and written expression. Thus, the *regilaul* tradition largely escaped their attention.

The diaries and working principles of the musicians Vivian Jüris and Ester Mägi, however, were completely different.[36] Their observations, while rather laconic in scope, focused on specialised topics, describing the informants' knowledge of music history and their musical experiences, qualities (e.g. range of voice), the peculiarities of the performance, repertoire, etc.

The documenting of musical folklore was arranged in the manner that the person who notated the music accompanied another folklorist to visit a previously recommended skilled singer or instrumentalist. Therefore, Vivian Jüris wrote down 89 melodies and Ester Mägi 108 melodies, both recorded 12 *regilaul* songs and various melodies of children's songs.

In 1956, Vivian Jüris was the first to describe in her diary how she consciously guided the informant, who was questioned about calendar rituals, to recall *regilaul* verses, as a result of which the informant also remembered other songs related to customs (KKI 21, 41). Evidently *regilaul* had survived in Alutaguse only in the fragments of mumming customs, a few work songs, incantations, and lullabies sung to small children – as the fieldwork revealed at the time.

In her diary, Jüris also describes the recitative nature of performing *regilaul*. As she struggled with identifying the intervals, she found it difficult and sometimes impossible to write down the melodies. Ester Mägi was far more experienced in writing notations; she distinguished the older style of singing – the special style of "*leelo*-singing" – and variation in melodies.

It may seem surprising that people with musical education were more efficient in collecting classical folklore genres. As mentioned above, both Jüris and Mägi had studied at the Tallinn State Conservatory at the time when ethnomusicology was taught there by Herbert Tampere, enthusiast of collecting and studying Estonian folk music. Mägi had studied composition under Mart Saar (1882–1963), who was one of the first professional composers to use folk melodies in his musical production (EMBL 2008: 236–238, see also emic.ee). He also inspired Mägi to collect folk tunes and use these in her compositions (EMBL 2007: 515–517; see also emic.ee).

In retrospect, it seems that the folklorists who had graduated at the end of the 1940s and beginning of the 1950s initially lacked experience to inquire about *regilaul* songs or even make notice of them. Documenting the remnants of *regilaul*, which had receded from active use into people's memory, requires specific knowledge and skills. The young folklorists acquired those skills only in the course of fieldwork, and perhaps were, at least partly, influenced by the musicians who had been educated by Herbert Tampere and Mart Saar.

Sound-recording

Folklorists in the 1950s enthusiastically greeted the adoption of reel-to-reel tape recorders. This inestimable tool for saving information restructured the conventional arrangement of fieldwork on organisational as well as on interpersonal relationship level. The recorded material gives evidence of the genres folklorists preferred and valued.

During Alutaguse fieldtrips, Richard Viidalepp had a leading role also in sound-recording sessions; he was assisted by Helgi Kihno until the end of the fieldtrips series.

Beginning with the expedition of 1956, when the reel-to-reel tape recorder was first used in fieldwork, the diary entries discuss at length the sound-recording of songs and tales, the convincing of performers to come to the recording sessions, etc. The recorder was sizable and heavy, far from being easily portable, also electricity was available only in some places (e.g. at the forest department office, the collective farm centre) and not outside office hours. Year by year, sound-recording became the main collecting method in fieldwork. Interviews

carried out by folklorists served as preparatory work for sound-recording sessions, with an aim to identify the best singers, storytellers, and instrumentalists, and the repertoire worth recording.[37]

The most challenging problem proved to be having people come to the recording site. Although the majority of the interviewees were of advanced age, old-age pensioners in modern terms, retirement was not an option in these days. All country people who were able to work, regardless of age, were members of collective farms and in summers were very busy with working in the fields; asking them to take time off work on working days was unthinkable. Transportation posed another challenge. During the first years when the tape recorder was used, folklorists had no constant transport available, but their informants lived in villages far from centres. Thus, having them come to a recording session required long negotiations and provoked unexpected incidents. Folklorists were sometimes quite frustrated with singers who after long convincing still did not show up for the recording session. In later years, the team already had a car to transport the performers to the recording sessions more operatively.

As was customary at the time, musical folklore – singing and instrumental music – took priority in sound-recording sessions. However, the repertoire of the best storytellers has also been recorded. An example of how *regilaul* was given preference can be found in Richard Viidalepp's fieldwork diary notes about the first recording session with Pauliine Kiiver. Kiiver's active repertoire contained many end-rhymed songs, but folklorists were concerned that the 81-year-old woman would not have stamina to sing for long and started by recording her *regilaul* singing (KKI 24, 238). During this session, altogether 49 pieces, among them 12 *regilaul* and children's songs, were recorded from Kiiver.

The share of sound-recordings among the collected material increased year by year. In 1956, the number of pieces recorded was 66, in 1957 also 66; in 1958 recording resulted in the total of 168 songs. The majority of first years' recordings were musical folklore; later the share of folk tales among the sound-recorded material increased. The amount of *regilaul* songs was scarce, each year around a dozen, altogether 43 songs.

Later on shorter expeditions were dedicated mainly to sound-recording, and often they resulted in no manuscript notes at all. Owing to Viidalepp's interests, very little musical folklore material was recorded from already known informants or as random recordings.

The *regilaul* singers of Alutaguse

The second half of the 1950s was the time when collecting *regilaul*, at least in retrospect, might have been perceived as a very improbable activity to pursue. The rural population that was facing the consequences of war, guerrilla warfare, deportations, forced collectivisation, and the rural areas draining from people seems a rather unlikely environment where *regilaul* could have survived. Who were the people singing *regilaul* in the middle of the twentieth century? What was the role of *regilaul* in their lives?

During the fieldwork of the 1950s, the collectors met 31 women and 4 men[38] whose (passive) repertoire also included *regilaul*. This was a very common situation in the twentieth-century Estonia: *regilaul* had disappeared from active tradition already long before, the songs emerged from corners of the memory to be recited as verses in descriptions of calendar rituals, sometimes as songs accompanying other rituals or work, or as lullabies that survived in active use for a longer time. Typically, the performers did not often refer to these as songs, but as chanting, or intoning. They used to have no melody and were recited. People were often reluctant to sing *regilaul*, as it was not valued by the community anymore (see Oras 2008a). Still, contrary to the majority, some more aged informants wished to sing what they called *regevirsu*, but could no longer remember any.

In the following, five women with the largest *regilaul* repertoire will be introduced; each one of them could be a model of a *regilaul*-singer of the mid-twentieth century. What was remarkable about these female singers was that they possessed a large song repertoire and had outstanding musical qualities, a wide range of voice, and they sang in tune (as the musicians have said based on the performance of newer folksongs). These women were exceptional as recallers/knowers of this archaic music but by no means reclusive by their living habits. They were recognised in their community as being good singers of modern, i.e. newer end-rhymed folk songs, singers of the new era, and were often generally well versed in traditions and customs. This way they were also characteristic of the *regilaul* tradition of Alutaguse (and entire Estonia, where it had disappeared in general). Hidden in the musical tradition that conveyed a new and more modern worldview and aesthetics, *regilaul* was not an independent phenomenon but a (well-hidden and forgotten) part of the folklore of its performers.

Vivian Jüris recounts in the diary how she met the 83-year-old **Anna Võsumets**, "the oldest person at the collective farm, and the person with the largest song repertoire", as she confidently introduced herself. Jüris described the clarity of the singer's voice and her rhythmic performance; also how Võsumets

expressed her regret that she could not meet the folklore collectors another time, as she had more songs to remember (KKI 21, 47).

In 1957, Ester Mägi was impressed by **Pauliine Kirss**, whom she visited together with Viidalepp. Kirss performed songs that she had learned from her mother-in-law, and Mägi recognised and noted in her performance the earlier layer of *regilaul* melodies and the special style of performance, the "old singing style". From Kirss, the collectors wrote down 10 *regilaul* texts and 5 melodies, and the songs were also sound-recorded. Unfortunately, Kirss' songs were not published in *Vana Kannel*, and so her name appears only on manuscript pages.

Loviisa Mahmastol from Sootaga village had a highly interesting personality. She was a *poluvernik* by origin, a well-known folk healer, and a fine singer and storyteller. Collectors recorded folk tales, end-rhymed songs, and finally also spells from her. Even though Mägi claimed that Mahmastol did not know any *regilaul* tunes, several *regilaul*-metric spells and lullabies have been written down and recorded from her (KKI, RLH 58: 22).

The collectors visited Mahmastol during several fieldtrips, even in the 1960s. In 1958, Viidalepp and Kihno note that recording the spells from Mahmastol was very challenging – the folk healer was reluctant to reveal them (KKI 24, 226/8). For unknown reasons, the written spells and sound-recordings mentioned in the fieldwork diaries have not been preserved.[39]

1957 marked the beginning of Viidalepp's long-term cooperation with **Ella Asnaurian** (née Hallikas), from whom 9 songs and 5 melodies were written down and some other material was sound-recorded. First the collectors visited her as a descendant of Mari Krasmann, also known as Viru Maie (KKI 24, 125/6, 131, 134), who was a well-known singer in the area. The collectors' enquiries concerning her reveal the intent to prepare the *Vana Kannel* volume. Asnaurian, who was first interviewed as a good singer, later proved to be one of the most valuable storytellers in the region (cf. Kõiva 2013: 188–189).

Quite late in the fieldtrip series, in 1958, Richard Viidalepp met **Pauliine Kiiver** (aka Pouliine/Liine Kiiver, Sildoja's mama), who, unlike many of her contemporaries, gladly agreed to being interviewed and recorded. She felt responsibility for having the tradition still living in her memories to be recorded. During the long recording sessions, she showed admirable cooperative skills and stamina.

This meeting also developed into a years-long cooperation. Viidalepp visited Pauliine Kiiver in her home on many occasions and sound-recorded her songs and tales. Many times, Pauliine Kiiver also sent her written songs and memoirs to Viidalepp at the ILL.

Such singers of the new era – i.e. those who know *regilaul* but whose repertoire consists mainly of newer folk songs – are disregarded in the lists of *regilaul*

singers. They disaccord with the image of the "authentic" *regilaul* singers and probably therefore there is no information about them in the overview of singers of volume VIII of *Vana Kannel*.

SONGS FROM THE 1950s IN THE *REGILAUL* CORPUS OF ALUTAGUSE REGION

The most astonishing and incomprehensible aspect of the result of the expedition series is that so much of written – and even more surprisingly – sound-recorded *regilaul* material was left out from the published *regilaul* corpus of Alutaguse region, i.e. from volume VIII of *Vana Kannel*.

From 165 recorded songs (*regilaul* and older type of children's songs) only 67 were published, whereas 98 were left unpublished. Of the 24 *regilaul* melodies notated by Vivian Jüris and Ester Mägi, only 7 were published, in addition to these some song texts written down by a folklorist in their fieldwork team. Of the 43 sound-recorded songs, only 20 transcriptions were published.

The song texts, of course, were largely fragmented variants of previously documented song types. However, the exclusion of *regilaul* tunes, especially the older melodies collected by Ester Mägi, and sound-recorded songs, is regretful.

The compilation principles of *Vana Kannel* were not set forth as a random or emotional choice;[40] there are no explicable reasons why some of the songs remained unpublished.[41]

A logical conclusion here is that the reason was simple human inconsistency. As Ülo Tedre has repeatedly pointed out, the biggest problem of the folklorists at the FS of the ILL was the fact that the research materials and the researchers were located in different cities (Tedre 1997: 203). This was also the case with the *regilaul* corpus of Alutaguse: the majority of song texts, those collected before World War II, were held in the collections of the Literary Museum in Tartu, but the more recent material was held in the ILL collections in Tallinn. The compilers of *Vana Kannel* – Hilja Kokamägi, Ülo Tedre, and Edna Tuvi – worked in both cities, and even the manuscript was edited both in Tallinn and Tartu. So, it could happen that some songs were not copied from the original manuscripts and recordings, and thus remained unpublished.

Would all the above give any reason to raise the issue of violation of the compilation principles of the *Vana Kannel* series? This could be seen as splitting hairs, especially since the unpublished songs definitely do not change the contents of the Alutaguse *regilaul* corpus, or the general picture of the *regilaul* tradition of Jõhvi and Iisaku parishes. It is not important why these songs were left unpublished; there is no reason to search for academic intrigues.

However, the more trivial the reason might be, the more symbolic is the result. At present, it seems that, as the members of the fieldwork teams did not write about the collecting circumstances, they also failed to think that what they recorded was particularly noteworthy or valuable. The fieldwork series developed the image of worthlessness and insignificance; the collected material was underused and forgotten. That is why it might be said that the fieldwork in Alutaguse in the second half of the 1950s remained unfinished and failed.

While one of the objectives of the field expeditions to north-eastern Estonia may have been gathering additional information to prepare the publishing of *Vana Kannel*, the folklorists of the ILL did not start compiling the volumes in the 1950s. The volumes of *Vana Kannel* containing the songs of north-eastern Estonia were published only as a result of the long years of work of retired folklorists – the songs of Jõhvi and Iisaku (vol. VIII) in 1999, and Lüganuse songs (vol. IX) in 2009 (Kokamägi & Tedre & Tuvi 1999, and Mirov & Tuvi 2009, respectively). In 2015, Ruth Mirov and Kanni Labi started preparatory work for publishing the *regilaul* corpus of Vaivara and Narva. The last volume will finish the publication of the *regilaul* corpus of Alutaguse region. There is a kind of irony in the fact that relatively unsuccessful endeavour of finishing the corpus in the 1950s ends with great success – the compilation of all *Vana Kannel* volumes of Alutaguse *regilaul*.

CONCLUSIONS

In the second half of the 1950s, *regilaul* won back its former status of the prime genre, acquired already during the national movement. Deprived of the position at the peak of Sovietisation in favour of the so-called Soviet folklore, the prominence was at least formally regained as evidenced in the overviews of literary history and the textbooks.

Publishing *regilaul*, which was considered a pillar of national culture and part of literary classics, in the edited series of *Vana Kannel* was unquestionably seen as a responsibility, but the opportunity to publish came only after the end of the Stalinist period.

Regardless of the published overviews of folklore and fieldwork reports shared with the general public, *regilaul* was not in the collecting focus of all folklorists. The fieldtrips to north-eastern Estonia in the 1950s focused on heroic and local legends, owing to the personal research interests of the leader of the fieldwork, Richard Viidalepp.

The Alutaguse *regilaul* tradition had receded into such a passive state that extracting it from the informants' memory would have required highly expe-

rienced folklore collectors. In the 1950s, the *regilaul* tradition could not be recorded in any other way than as recollections of a tradition. The songs that survived longer were those related to customs, such as Martinmas songs and work songs, also lullabies which were also in practical use, and some wedding songs.

In retrospect, it may be said that the young folklorists at the Folklore Section of the ILL were not experienced enough for collecting *regilaul*, as they had received their instruction during the peak of collecting "Soviet folklore". For them, searching for good singers, representing the historically newer singing tradition, was a captivating activity, and the hunt for instrument players and songbooks, which were viewed as genuine artefacts, must have been particularly exciting. All this is evidenced by the enthusiastic and adventurous style of the young folklorists' fieldwork diaries. This hunting – and fun – was definitely more exciting than systematic questioning about the tradition, which may have resulted in finding traces of *regilaul* even at this time.

The students and musicians of the Tallinn State Conservatory, who took part in the field expeditions, were more experienced in ethnomusicology and, in a way, were more directly acquainted with the collecting methods of the Estonian Folklore Archives before World War II.

A regretful consequence of the thoughtless and disorganised documentation of *regilaul* was the fact that the recorded material was neither appreciated nor remembered, and therefore excluded from the published *regilaul* corpus. Because of this, many unique *regilaul* melodies were left unpublished and singers of the 1950s underrated.

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NOTES

[1] Today the Institute of the Estonian Language.

[2] Estonia gained independence on 24 February 1918, during the turmoil at the end of World War I and lost it again during World War II.

[3] Established in 1927 as a sub-institution of the Estonian National Museum (ENM).

[4] Established in 1919.

[5] Today the Estonian Literary Museum.

[6] On the establishment of institutions under the Academy of Sciences of the ESSR in the post-war period, see Ahven 2007: 23ff.; Tedre 1997: 201ff.

[7] Docent in folklore studies at the Chair of Literature and Folklore at the UT at this time.

[8] Today the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore.

[9] A protocol of the meeting for the coordination of folklore-related activities of the ILL of the AS, the CELF at the UT and the SLM dated 6 April 1955, and the meeting discussing the issues related to collecting folklore dated 11 April 1955, with the ILL, the DF of the SLM, and the Chair of the UT participating (EKM, F 24, n 1, s 196).

[10] In Estonia, the repressions peaked after the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist (Bolshevist) Party in March 1950, when Estonian party members, repatriated from Russia, ascended to power.

[11] On the situation in science, literature, and music during this period see Laas 2005, Olesk 2008, and Lippus 2008.

[12] On Soviet folklore see, e.g., Kogumistöö 1948; Eesti kirjanduse ajalugu 1953: 8–9, 18–22, 55–62; for an overview of the activities at the time see Ahven 2007: 64ff.

[13] E.g. from Hilda Nõu in 1949 (RKM II 32).

[14] E.g. in Märjamaa municipality (KKI 12; EKRK I, 1 & 2).

[15] The aim of the campaign for collecting folk tunes, organised in 1904–1916 under the supervision of the Estonian Students' Society and led by Oskar Kallas, was to record various types of folk music, and the most popular genre recorded was *regilaul* (see Kuutma 2005). Also, during the campaign for sound-recording folk music in 1936–1938, most of the material came from instrumentalists and *regilaul* singers. Other collecting activities in the first half of the twentieth century resulted in recording different types of children's lore in the 1920s–1930s, local lore, etc. (see Tamm 2002; Seljamaa 2005).

[16] This conflict led to a rhetorical culmination in reviews about the folklore overview published in 1953, and in the media response by the editor of the overview, Endel Sõgel (1954). See also the editorial office's summary of the discussion (Toimetuselt 1954).

[17] The commented anthology of Estonian *regilaul* was published in 1969–1974, edited by Ülo Tedre.

[18] Tampere compiled volumes III and IV of *Vana Kannel*: old folk songs from Kuusalu parish (1938) and Karksi parish (1941). He also started compiling the fifth volume about r*egilaul* from Mustjala parish. After Tampere's death, the publishing of the manuscript was organised by Ottilie Kõiva and Erna Tampere (1985). See also Kalkun 2005.

[19] For example, one of the most productive collectors at the time, Udo Mägi (1917–1973), then a post-graduate student at the ILL, made fieldtrips alone in Kodavere and Muhu parishes in 1947 (KKI 1, KKI 9).

[20] Today the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre.

[21] Today the Estonian Academy of Arts.

[22] Viidalepp observes in his fieldwork diary (KKI 27, 117) that one of the reasons for the small scope of fieldwork was the lack of staff but also the institute administration's general opposition to fieldwork. This opposition may have been caused by the politically complicated times, economic difficulties after the institute had moved (1952) as well as personal conflicts; the precise reasons are difficult to determine in retrospect.

[23] E.g. the comprehensive works "On the Ethnic History of Estonians" (Moora 1956) and "On the Ethnic History of Lake Peipus Region" (Moora 1964).

[24] *Poluvernik*s, or half-believers, were the descendants of Votians and Russians, who had settled in the Alutaguse region in several waves throughout the 2nd millennium AD, had adopted Lutheranism (instead of Russian Orthodox Christianity) and had assimilated among Estonians by the beginning of the twentieth century.

[25] This information about the staff of the FS of the ILL was obtained from respective chapters in Ahven 2007.

[26] Ülo Tedre joined the Folklore Section as technician in 1949, and completed his postgraduate studies at the ILL in 1954. Right before the beginning of the fieldwork in Alutaguse, on 23 June 1955, Tedre defended his candidate's dissertation on the historically newer Estonian song style – the end-rhymed folk song (see Tedre 2003).

[27] Loreida Raudsep was assigned by the Communist Party to the position of junior researcher at the FS of the ILL after she graduated from the University of Tartu in 1952.

[28] Helgi Kihno started at the ILL as a technician in 1953.

[29] Researcher at the FS since 1956.

[30] Assistant at the FS since 1957.

[31] Technician at the FS since 1959.

[32] Viidalepp, Kihno, Raudsep, and Tedre took part in the first fieldtrip in Iisaku on 12–24 July 1955. On the second fieldtrip, based in Tudulinna, on 10–23 July 1956, they were joined by Jüris who recorded musical folklore. On the third fieldtrip, on 28 June–10 July 1957, with a base in Kuremäe, Viidalepp, Raudsep and Kihno were joined by Veera Pino, Ester Mägi (musical folklore) and Jüri Shumakov (Russian folklore). During the fourth trip in Illuka, on 17–29 June 1958, Viidalepp and Kihno were accompanied by Veera Schmidt (Russian folklore). Later fieldtrips lasted only a couple of days and had only two or three participants.

[33] E.g. in *Oktoobri Tee*, the local paper in Mustvee, eastern Estonia, on 28 July and 8 September; in newspaper *Õhtuleht* on 3 July and 7 September; in newspaper *Sirp ja Vasar* on 28 September.

[34] E.g. KKI 20, 406 (Richard Viidalepp in 1955).

[35] The national epic *Kalevipoeg* opens with the verse: *Laena mulle kannelt, Vanemuine...* ('Lend to me your lyre, Vanemuine...'). The divine image of an old man playing a lyre, or more precisely, psaltery, was borrowed for Estonian national-romanticist (pseudo) mythology from Finnish mythology (see Põldvee 2013).

[36] KKI 21, 37/51 (Vivian Jüris in 1956), and KKI 25, 418/32 (Ester Mägi in 1957).

[37] Because of the limited amount of recording tape as well as limited time, single folklore pieces rather than entire interviews were sound-recorded.

[38] Men's *regilaul* repertoire included only a couple of pieces.

[39] A variant of a snake spell published in *Vana Kannel* is from the Archives of Estonian Dialects (see Kokamägi & Tedre & Tuvi 1999: 1058, no. 2348).

[40] As previously said, the main composition principle of *Vana Kannel* is that all *regilaul* songs, including fragmentary variants and unidentified fragments from a given historical parish would be published. However, the editor of each volume is free to make decisions about the suitability of the genres and types of songs to be included. Also, decisions regarding whether to consider the recorded text variants as duplicates or not, and/or publish them were also left to the editors-compilers.

[41] No unpublished song is a single variant of its particular type, so deliberately leaving out some song types (because of their literary origin, overly recent style, etc.) cannot be the reason for exclusion. None of the comments on song types or prefaces to the volume mention any essential or formal (e.g. being considered a duplicate) reasons why some songs were left unpublished.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

EKM – archive of the Estonian Literary Museum
EFAM – materials on the history of Estonian folkloristics, Estonian Folklore Archives, Estonian Literary Museum
KKI – manuscripts of the Folklore Sector of the Institute of Language and Literature, Estonian Folklore Archives, Estonian Literary Museum
KKI, RLH – sound-recordings of the Folklore Sector of the Institute of Language and Literature, Estonian Folklore Archives, Estonian Literary Museum

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MARI AND MARIE: PERFORMATIVITY AND CREATIVITY OF TWO ESTONIAN SINGERS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Janika Oras

Abstract: One of the results of the rapid modernisation of Estonian society in the second half of the nineteenth century was the change in singing culture: the older singing style, *regilaul*, which represents the Kalevala-metric song tradition, was gradually replaced by the newer end-rhymed singing style. The article analyses this change by focusing on the performances of two female singers from central Estonia, representatives of different generations. The main research sources are folklore texts and memoirs written down by the younger singer Marie Sepp, featuring, among others, a female singer from the previous generation, Mari Pärtens. The performativity of the singers is displayed in a cross-section of the changing performance arenas and registers which are related either to the older or the newer singing style. The article discusses the individuality of the two singers, as well as manifestations of gender, age, artistic creativity, and the historical socio-cultural context in their performativity.

Keywords: anthropology of aging, Estonian *regilaul*, Kalevala-metric poetry, modernisation, oral tradition, newer end-rhymed song, performance registers, performativity, female singers

I wrote down the old singing games that we played all the time when I was a young girl. Boasting is usually frowned upon but I'm telling you that I was one of the better players – the games were always great when I took part. Also, other girls came to learn from me.[1]

If gentlemen from town had come to Purtsi at the moment when humans were on their all fours, barking like dogs, they would have thought they were at a madhouse. But aunt ['Vainu Aunt', Mari Pärtens] *showed us that sons of Adam used to do that, and so did we. But nobody could do headstands; we all yielded a pawn instead.*[2]

The opening quotations describe the playing of singing games in a village in central Estonia in the second half of the nineteenth century. This was a time

of dramatic socio-cultural changes in Estonian society, with modernisation being the common denominator (Jansen 2004; North 2015; Valk 2004, 2014; Vunder 2001, 2008). The changes in society also brought about a turn in the singing culture: the older oral singing culture was being replaced by a newer, semi-written singing culture with different themes and poetics.[3] The quotations focus on two singers – Marie Sepp, who wrote down the quoted texts, and Mari Pärtens, an elderly woman, who played singing games with the young. Despite my previous acquaintance with extensive studies on the emergence of a new singing culture, only after reading Marie Sepp's manuscripts I realised the magnificence of the coming of the new singing style and the importance of singing games for the young people of the late nineteenth century – the realisation was so vivid as if I had been there myself.

The aim of this article is to get closer to understanding the turn in the singing culture through the singing experience of two women – Marie Sepp and Mari Pärtens. The approach focuses on the differences in the performativity of the singers representing different generations. One of the main issues is how these differences reflect the changes in cultural performances brought forth by the transition from the oral culture to modern written culture. Next to shedding light on the cultural processes, I have chosen to focus on the individuality of a singer as a creative person and on how a singer's self-performance relates to her living environment, social status, gender, and age.

It is inevitable in dealing with historical material that knowledge about the live performances and experiences of the past reaches us by mediation, as written representations. The elaboration of the topic here was inspired by the nearly 500 pages of texts written down by Marie Sepp and constituting the main bulk of the archival materials associated with these two women.[4] While Mari Pärtens did not write down folklore, Marie Sepp, and briefly also other folklore collectors, have written about her. This is why the two women are unequally represented in the sources; there is considerably more material on Marie Sepp, and any discussion about specific mediations of an individual singing experience and evaluations of the tradition is based solely on her material.

Marie Sepp's writings differ from the material recorded by instructed folklore collectors, and thus they partly represent an alternative discourse – an uninstructed, voluntary local collector's idea of how to write down oral tradition. It is characteristic of her texts to reflect personal experience, express judgments, mediate specific performances or events; the texts are associatively connected and filled with details, thus making them more similar to a spontaneous oral performance.[5] Owing to these specific features, which are often found incorrect or undesirable from the perspective of historical folklore studies (Kurki 2004; Mikkola 2013: 155), the texts by Marie Sepp offer at least some answers to the

research questions posed here. Marie's retrospective view is written from the position of a mature woman who relives the past and mediates it in a very direct and personal manner. It seems as if Marie has 'forgotten' during writing that the addressee of her texts is an anonymous archive user – they rather seem to be addressed personally to August Pulst, who worked at the Tallinn Theatre and Music Museum and with whom Marie had developed a close relationship.

Even though the material on the two women is inherently sporadic and fragmentary, it hides telling details about the women's individual singing worlds. Studies on microhistory, oral history, and anthropology have shown that focusing on individual experience conveys unique information about culture, one that is equal to generalisations (Burke 1991; Hellier 2013; Jackson 2005: xi–xii; Ruskin & Rice 2012; Smith & Watson 2001). I am drawn to American anthropologist Lila Abu-Lughod's idea of "writing against culture" – of a particular cultural description that focuses on individual cases to give an adequate picture of reality (Abu-Lughod 1991, 1999: xvii–xviii; cf. Jackson 1996: 8).

Bearing in mind the transformation of one singing style to another and the theme of social change on the background, the observation of the performativity of individual singers provides an opportunity to identify the internal multivocality of the transformation processes, the dialogue of different ways of thinking and creating (cf. Mikkola 2009). The individual-centred observation serves yet another important function: it establishes a personal emotional relationship with the research subject and gives the reader a chance to 'recognise' the experiences of a person who lived in the past, relying on his or her own experiences (Vilkko 1997: 185–187; Timonen 2004: 24, 410). The connection established through 'recognition' could alter the relationship between the individual and culture under study and pave the way to new knowledge: "recognition as recognition, that is, as the mobilization /.../ of memories that are at the core of personal identity, seems to be the cutting edge in relations with others that have a chance of producing knowledge" (Fabian 2001: 177).

The central keywords in the article are performance and performativity. The meaning of these concepts differs in the theatrical and linguistic approach to performativity, being either founded on a conscious role-play, staging, or on the identity that is reshaped by reiterating patterns of social behaviour, respectively (see, e.g., Schechner 1988; Phelan 1993; Butler 1990, 1993). In anthropological research these meanings have been combined since it gives an opportunity to approach identity construction from different angles and in different situations (Friedman 2002: 5). It seems that in the cultural performances both the unconscious following of cultural patterns and a conscious shaping of an individual singer identity are combined (Spiller 2010, 2014).

During cultural performances the performer is in a special, heightened state, which activates his or her potential creativity (Bauman 1992; 2012: 99). Hence, cultural performances give a special opportunity to observe the creativity inherent in the tradition as a dynamic process (Glassie 2003; Cashman & Mould & Shukla 2011). Pointing out individual creative solutions of the performers sheds light to the diversity of choices during a traditional performance as well as to the devices of the dynamics of tradition.

Summing up the aforesaid, the focus of the analysis is on cultural performances; these are important from the viewpoint of the research questions and the sources tend to be more informative in this regard. I primarily consider the aspects of performativity of the two women associated with artistic creativity, but also gender and age.

MARI PÄRTENS AND MARIE SEPP: LIFE AND BECOMING A SINGER

Even though the two singers represent different generations, the divergence in their performativity was not only caused by the differences in singing practices, mentality, and behaviour conditioned by cultural changes. In the following short biographies I will try to highlight the specific circumstances that have influenced the status of these two women as singers, and their individual performativity.

Mari Pärtens (Pertens, Bertens) was born at Purtsi (Eessaare) farm near Kolga-Jaani on 22 July 1832. The memoirs of Mari's niece Rõõt Grauberg and Marie Sepp about the life and people at Purtsi farm as it was a few decades later give some idea of Mari's childhood home. Mari Pärtens' parents Rõõt and Hans Meiel and their offspring were joyous people, had a good sense of humour and were skilled singers, instrument players, and storytellers. The farm was home to an extended family, closer and more distant relatives of many generations, and the help: "They used to have several lodgers in their home, but there was never any quarrel or problem. Only fun and singing."[6] In the 1870s, Mari's mother, Rõõt Meiel, reportedly had the largest repertoire of *regilaul* in the parish. 135 song texts recorded from her were published as early as in 1886 in the *regilaul* anthology *Vana Kannel* (The Old Psaltery; Hurt 1886). The men of the Purtsi farm were particularly famous for their nonverbal joking skills (Norrick 2004); for example, people reminisced about Mari Pärtens' brother that "whenever he had been drinking, he used to raise his violin to the back of his head, and played and danced and joked around".[7]

Old traditions were preserved and old beliefs were revered longer at Purtsi farm than in the area – members of the family were known to be "great wise-

men" and "believed in all sorts of superstition".[8] In the 1880s young people used to come to Purtsi farm to play the yuletide game "Catching the ruffe", which was associated with ritual magic (Hiiemäe 1998: 278) and was no longer played anywhere else. In this environment Mari Pärtens became familiar with the old tradition and since she could not write, she is first and foremost a representative of oral culture.

Mari got married in 1859, but her husband died a year later. Mari returned from her husband's house to her parents at Purtsi farm to raise her son Jüri there. After her son had got married, Mari moved with him to the sauna of Vainu farm and was thus called Vainu Aunt. Mari was extremely loved and respected in the community – she was a local midwife and a person with exceptional singing skills,[9] sense of humour, and performing talent, who was welcomed at all events and parties. In the characterisations by the community members the motif of 'joking' keeps recurring, indicating Mari's ability to entertain people with both verbal and nonverbal improvised humour: "a well-known singer and very funny", "she was a funny person", "someone who entertained us all". When Mari Pärtens died on 18 April 1919, a funeral wreath was placed on her grave. This is a sign of the community's utmost respect, because at the time placing wreaths on the grave was not common among the peasantry.

Marie Sepp was born on 19 December 1862 as the second child into Kai and Hans Kõu's family of seven children. Her father Hans Kõu had served in the Russian tsar's army for 21 years and was the only man in the area to return from the long service. As an army veteran, he was allocated a small farmstead that came to be called Kõue. At a rather young age, Marie had to take over household chores from her sick mother. She had attended school only for eleven weeks and thus her schooling was mainly whatever she learned from her parents and her sister's school textbooks. Like Mari Pärtens, Marie also took from her childhood home fine singing skills and a good sense of humour – her father used to be "always in good humour and funny". Marie's father had seen the world and had become a lower-ranking officer in the army, so from him Marie may have got her go-getting attitude and confidence to talk to people higher up the social hierarchy, whether they be local manor owners, folklore collectors, or the president.[10]

Marie Sepp had quite a different upbringing than Mari Pärtens – she did not grow up in an extended family but in a nuclear family. The greater than average individualist attitudes in Marie's texts may have also been the result of her father's special status and Marie's closer connection with home related to her taking over household responsibilities from her mother.

Another difference, compared to the growing-up environment of Mari Pärtens, was Marie's family's noticeable orientation to literary culture. Books, church

and secular song repertoire in the Estonian language, the large scale printing of which started at the same time, in the 1850s–1860s, occupied an important place in Marie's recollections. It is possible that the smaller significance of earlier oral tradition resulted from her father's long absence from the peasant environment and her mother's contacts with high culture during her service at the manor.

The years 1879–1886 mark an important period in Marie's life history. During these years, between her receiving confirmation and getting married, she served as a maid at Purtsi farm. Mari Pärtens lived at Purtsi at the time as well. Marie had a chance to sing there together with Mari and her mother Rõõt Meiel, and learn their rich repertoire in the old singing style.[11] *Regilaul*, however, was not central in her singing practices. When she was serving as a maid at the farm, she used to sing in the local church choir. This was the most active time of socialising with other young people, which centred around learning and practising newer folk songs, especially singing games.

Marie's love story, in which literacy played a special role, falls to the same period when she worked on Purtsi farm. After his army service, one of Rõõt's grandsons, Kristjan, came to work there as a farmhand – he was known as a fierce worker, but also a fine violin player. The young lovers communicated only through letters and in one of them Marie also received a marriage proposal with an engagement ring. Soon after they had married, they moved to Marie's father's home in Kõue locality. For livelihood they both worked outside home – Marie worked in the field and wove fabrics, Kristjan worked as a builder and did tailoring jobs. Their only son Kristjan was born in 1892.

Marie had had first personal contacts with folklore collectors already in 1906. In 1929, her songs were recorded on a phonograph during fieldwork. However, more active communication with professional folklore collectors and the local correspondent to the archives, Johannes Raidla, took place in the 1930s. Marie started to write down folklore after her husband died in 1930. First the writing served as a therapeutic activity: "I was alone in the house and I cried so much that I could hardly see. Then I started writing down riddles. Whatever I could remember I wrote down, until it was quite a long text" (ETMM, MO 237: 1/34: 11).[12] The main part of Marie's folklore texts were written down and sent to the Tallinn Theatre and Music Museum after recording her *regilaul* songs in Tallinn in 1937, upon the request of August Pulst, one of the organisers of the recording. Marie died on 19 April 1943.

MARI AND MARIE AS SINGERS: PERFORMATIVITY AND PERFORMANCE SITUATIONS

Information about the performances of Mari Pärtens and Marie Sepp mainly concerns the period between the 1870s and 1890s, to some extent also the first decade of the twentieth century. Young Marie and Mari, who was at a mature age at the time, sang together quite much. Their roles and manner of performativity, also their preference of performance situations demonstrate idiosyncrasies and individual differences even in the limited material available about them. Their repertoire cannot be compared, because only 20 songs of mainly older singing style of Mari Pärtens have been written down, while the number of songs sung by Marie Sepp is 249, of which 104 are in the older singing style and 145 in the newer style (double recordings of the same songs included). In the following I will observe the performances of the two women, tracing the performance situations and registers mentioned in the sources.[13] Since the descriptions focusing either on situations related to *regilaul* or the newer folk songs are easily distinguishable in Marie Sepp's texts, I have structured the current analysis around that. Still, it has to be borne in mind that, in reality, songs of the older and the newer singing style could be heard in the same performance situations.

Older singing style, *regilaul*

While the second half of the nineteenth century saw the rapid disappearance of *regilaul* in most of Estonia, the older singing style survived longer in Kolga-Jaani parish – even compared to its close surroundings such as the northern parts of Tartu and Viljandi counties. Perhaps one reason for that was the parish's relatively remote location[14] and the sparse settlement on bog islands, as well as poor economic situation, which made the peasantry less stratified and the community more unified. In the writings of Marie Sepp and elsewhere, the most frequent performance situations of *regilaul* were singing at weddings and during harvesting crops. Wedding and harvesting songs were the central genres in Estonian *regilaul* tradition (Tampere 1956; 1976: 111). In Kolga-Jaani parish they were quite often sung in traditional situations well into the 1920s.

Sources describe the performativity of Mari Pärtens and Marie Sepp in **wedding** situations in rather different terms. Mari Pärtens leaves the impression of a powerful and influential wedding singer, and a ritual leader of the oral tradition. In the earlier tradition, a wedding singer had a special role as the 'voice' of the family and a ritual leader, whose singing marked all the important

rituals and upheld the heightened level of energy during the ritual situation. The descriptions from Kolga-Jaani parish highlight the singers' physical activity and their powerful singing voice:

> *The women were wearing silver coins around the neck, so that their necks were all bruised after the wedding. The coins were heavy and all the jumping and stomping bruised their necks.*
>
> *When there were good wedding singers in the family, singing at a summer wedding could be heard at the distance of 5 to 6 versts.* (ERA II 141, 108, 388)[15]

The latter text also mentions Mari Pärtens.

Mari as a traditional wedding singer of the older generation was proficient in the art of verbal duelling and performed traditional mocking songs at the wedding. According to the descriptions from the late nineteenth century, the mocking songs – or, more specifically, the part that involves the offensive songs insulting other singers – in Kolga-Jaani belonged to the repertoire of men and older female singers: "Young women didn't sing along to the more obscene songs. There was no match for older women in that. They knew and understood more and they were not afraid or embarrassed" (ERA II 141, 108). Mari Pärtens, in particular, was characterised as such an elderly, strongly assertive singer: "The older female wedding singers /.../ shut everybody else down. They became so obscene when they couldn't overcome the other singer or once they got angry. Rõõt (Meiel) of Purtsi and Vainu Aunt (Pärtens) were the fiercest" (ERA II 141, 388).

Marie Sepp never called herself a wedding singer, nor has anyone else called her that. At the same time, in a questionnaire filled in during a recording session, Marie said that wedding songs were her favourite genre and to the question where she used to perform with these songs she replied: "At communal work, at weddings" (ETMM, MO 237: 1/34: 4).[16] The wedding song texts written down by Marie in 1938 seem to reflect her personal singing practices. Her verses are partly improvisational and display significant influences of the newer singing style. Yet they are not very different from the other later recordings; since in Kolga-Jaani wedding singing was actively practised even as late as in the twentieth century, the tradition continued to adapt to the newer way of thinking and poetics.

In the fragmentary information available about Mari and Marie, one could see reflections of the changes in the status of wedding singers and the loss of the ritual function of the wedding song in the period of modernisation. The age difference of the two women also plays some part here. It is known that in the

earlier tradition the wedding singers used to be married women (Tedre 1973: 106). The qualities of a good singer were extensive singing experience, courage to perform, and confidence, also fewer family responsibilities.[17] These qualities are mainly associated with older women (Kalkun 2010: 15; Silver 2003; Vakimo 2001: 45–46). However, in Kolga-Jaani parish in the second half of the nineteenth century wedding songs were sung by people of all ages and genders, whereas the lead or solo singers at weddings were usually older women.

The peak of Mari Pärtens' wedding singing career coincides with the period when the wedding singing served a ritual function and the singer led the ritual. Rapid cultural changes also brought along the transformation of the wedding ritual. According to Finnish researcher Lotte Tarkka, who has analysed changes in the Kalevala-metric tradition of Viena (Archangel) Karelia, the changes also happened in "singers' ideals and habitus, which determined the choice of performance arenas, the performers' body language and verbal register" (Tarkka 2005: 378). Marie Sepp's best wedding singer's age falls to the early twentieth century, when singers had lost their status as ritual leaders, the old wedding songs were increasingly reduced to a form of nostalgic entertainment, and during important rituals *regilaul* was being replaced with prayers and church songs (see, e.g., Õunapuu 2003: 55, 67; Anttonen 1987: 5). It appears that Marie's attitudes and performativity were already partly shaped by the new norms of self-discipline and control, restricting spontaneous and 'vulgar' self-expression, typical of traditional wedding singing and verbal duelling in particular (Frykman & Löfgren 2003 [1987]; Vunder 2008: 464).

The description of **communal work**[18] by Marie Sepp, in which she emotionally mediated her personal singing experience (using first person plural), differs from the neutral descriptions of weddings. She does not mention Mari Pärtens in her descriptions, but it is likely that Mari and young Marie worked side by side in the field. The recorded song texts by Mari Pärtens largely coincide with Marie Sepp's texts. The description reveals that Marie Sepp must have been one of the most active singers in the field, enjoying singing in the open space and the freedom of improvisation and immediate communication that *regilaul* style offered.

Singing in the field did not merely serve the entertaining function; it also supported working, marked the harvesting ritual[19] and bounding, or 'domesticating', the space with voice. Working in a large group of people on a wide territory introduced the need to maintain contact and feel the sense of togetherness in a common space. Marie's description leaves a vivid impression of a rich soundscape, where voices with different vocal timbres are heard from different places, alternating and sounding together. Evidence of the conscious enriching and enjoying of the soundscape are the shouts added to the songs written

down from Mari Pärtens with an accompanying remark: "Ooh! Aah! Aah! were the sounds of workers' cheering after the song" (EKS 40, 17/8 (7)). One of the functions of singing was to keep cutters in a steady line in a field. When a part of the line fell behind others, their neighbours started singing and "the song worked, people gathered over there and soon the work order was even again" (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 167).

The need to maintain the level of energy required for the work favoured singing in dialogue and the verbal duelling, which created a special state of mind.[20] Men used to sing insults to each other ("What are you, voiceless, creaking about..."; "What are you, bug, buzzing here…"), and women responded by singing more loudly. "Women were singing beautifully, but men were singing against each other and it got quite heated at times. Then we started singing very loudly, so that they turned quiet or we could no longer hear them" (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 167–168).

It is possible that such women's behaviour mirrors the changing of social norms, which was already discussed in connection with weddings. As the mentality changed, the insults containing graphic images of physical intimacy, characteristic of mocking songs, were started to be seen as shameful. At the same time, in premodern culture, the register of insulting songs and using obscenities as well as sexual mockery and humour was first and foremost the domain of older women – at least in public use (see, e.g., Vakimo 2001: 28, 138). In this light, women's attempt to 'quiet' men's insulting songs by producing intense and loud voice represents completely traditional behavioural strategy.

Marie Sepp has mentioned **other performance situations** of the older singing style very briefly or they are represented only by the song texts. An exception is an account of Shrovetide customs, in which Marie rather opposed the choices of Mari Pärtens and others at Purtsi farm. Marie describes how Mari Pärtens used to carry out customary Shrove Tuesday foretelling and sang a chant-like Shrovetide song before the farm people's traditional ride to the tavern (the ritual purpose of the ride and the related songs were to promote flax growth). Marie did not join others at the tavern and instead went to the schoolhouse to play singing games with children:

> *Everybody was on their way to the tavern. They harnessed the horses and the sleigh ride to Tässi tavern began, aunt [Mari Pärtens] was singing:*
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | *Lähme vastlaliugu laskma,* | Let's take a sleigh ride in Shrove- |
> | *liugu, laugu,* | tide, |
> | *linad liulaskijale,* | flax for the sliders, |
> | *takud tagant vahtijale,* | tow for those who stay behind, |
> | *tudrad toas istujale!* | false flax for those who sit at home! |

> *I was supposed to get tow [for "staying behind"] /.../ But I didn't stay at home; I went to the schoolhouse and played singing games with children. At this time there was nowhere else to go but to the tavern; men always went there and on Shrove Tuesday so did women. This happened every year, others went to the tavern and I went to the schoolhouse.* (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 163)

Another recollection from the Christmas of 1882 is associated with the Shrovetide description. Now Marie also juxtaposes the Purtsi farm chamber with the schoolhouse. After visiting the schoolhouse where the wife of the manor owner handed out Christmas presents, Marie with other young village people arrived at Purtsi farm and sensed the striking contrast between light and darkness:

> *Do you think it was nice to go back home? I must confess: not at all. There were such bright lights at school, and on the way home there was splinter light, and now you barely had light to not trip over someone. The chamber was filled with lamp and pipe smoke – the farm master and his brother-in-law were serious smokers.* (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 157)

In her texts, Marie juxtaposes the well-lit schoolhouse with the tavern and Purtsi farm, and here it is possible to look for the symbolic opposition of earlier and newer performance arenas and registers. Marie undoubtedly preferred the newer singing style. I find very telling Marie's comment to a song that she considered the oldest of the songs in her repertoire of the newer singing style, as she knew it already in 1866: "I like the fact that already in those days there was some Estonian who knew how to beautifully create a song" (ERA II 84, 493). It seems that this "creating beautifully" implies a comparison with the older singing style and its poetics. But that still does not automatically mean denial of the older style. Marie's attitudes towards *regilaul* were rather ambivalent and depended on the context. For her, to some extent, *regilaul* was already part of the new modern sphere or performance arena represented by urban culture and literacy. The *regilaul* songs that she wrote down reveal a personal creative relationship with the old ways of expression and her account of communal work reflects the pleasure derived from common *regilaul* singing.

The newer singing style: Impassioned playing of circle games

Marie Sepp's and most of Mari Pärtens' activities as singers coincide with the broad dissemination of the newer end-rhymed song. There were many reasons for the gradual withdrawal of *regilaul* and the spread of the newer end-rhymed song, but perhaps the most essential one is the change in people's way of think-

ing brought about by social and cultural modernisation (e.g. Tedre 2008: 432). One of the important forms of the newer singing style was the circle game. The relatively well-documented repertoire of Marie Sepp contained 87 different circle games, and only 28 song texts without data about playing them as circle games. It is possible that such proportion was quite common for the repertoires of women who tend to play circle games more actively. Marie Sepp's descriptions of performing the newer singing style, personal performance experiences, and Mari Pärtens as the performer of the new style are associated specifically with circle games.

The popularity of circle games or newer singing games in Estonia peaked from the second half of the nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century. The games were played in a circle to the end-rhymed stanzaic singing. According to the way of playing, the circle games could be divided into two major groups: in imitation circle games the players acted out the subject of the song, and in circle games with intermediary dance parts players walked in a circle while singing the verses and danced in alternating couples during the intermediary dance song. The intermediary song for dancing was not part of the main song (Rüütel 1980).

A circle game, as the newer folk song in general, is associated primarily with entertainment. Marie's texts give quite scant information about the performance situations when she and Mari Pärtens used to play circle games. The only clearly marked performance locations are Purtsi farm and the schoolhouse. Purtsi farm was a popular place among the young people of the area, where they gathered on Sundays or during calendar holidays to have fun and learn and play circle games. The schoolhouse, which was close to the farm, was an important location for young Marie during her working at Purtsi. She liked being around schoolchildren: "The children were so familiar with me, the ones who lived further away and didn't go home on Saturdays came to visit me on Sundays, and the game was on again" (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 163).

Among the important situations of playing circle games were the dance evenings (called *simmanid* or, locally, *tontarid*) of the youth. Marie wrote that she did not attend these parties, and nor did she go to the tavern, St. John's Day's village bonfires, or the village swing. She wrote critically about the drinking and brawling at the tavern and at parties, as well as about young men visiting maidens' sleeping chambers at night. Matti Sarmela has written about the youth culture in Finland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which represented the society's transformation from family-centred to group-centred integration. An extreme example of that were village fight groups, which were most active in western Finland in 1850–1885 (Sarmela 1974: 106). Some instances of young men's group culture were known also in Estonia (Anepaio 1996:

150–151; Tampere 1999: 25), and one may speculate that Marie, who preferred the new behavioural norms which spread among the country people during the modernisation period, disliked their aggressive nature.[21]

We may assume that Mari Pärtens did not participate in the young people's parties either. In addition to the gatherings at Purtsi farm, she may have participated in playing circle games at the events for many generations. The archive texts from Kolga-Jaani reveal that circle games were played at many family events – christenings, weddings, also at calendar feast day celebrations, and at communal work, especially the kind that took place inside the house during wintertime and ended with a celebration.

As the opening quotation of the article reveals, circle games were a central genre in Marie Sepp's performance practices. Unlike her descriptions of performing the *regilaul*, the texts about circle games present her in a leading role – as initiator and lead singer: "the games were always great when I took part" or "the games never stopped when I took part". In her descriptions of playing the games, Marie has mentioned her singing skills. Apart from having a clear voice, she reportedly knew more lyrics than anyone else and probably added or improved song texts herself.

While in the games with the intermediary dance part the main activity was limited to singing, dancing, and choosing a dance partner, then the imitation circle games offered much more creative opportunities for the players. A successful acting cooperation required learning the song's contents, agreeing on the movement, and finding appropriate props. Marie has described the rehearsing of the circle game "Villem and Juuli"[22] on Epiphany with the young people visiting Purtsi farm:

> *We decided to play a singing game and tried how it would play out. At this time, circle games were like plays, following the lyrics of the song. Villem and Juuli were taken to the monastery, had white linen wrapped around them and were taken through the door to the graveyard. These days you had to rehearse playing games.* (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 161)

Marie's explanation added to the recorded text gives additional information about their 'staging':

> *A girl and a boy are in the middle of the circle. The boy leaves. The girl falls on the ground. The boy falls next to her. Other girls take the girl away and other boys take the boy.* (ERA II 96, 459/61 (23))

The themes of the end-rhymed singing games reflected a completely different mentality compared to the earlier singing game tradition. Their central subject was romantic love, which entered the culture of feelings of Estonian peasantry

in the nineteenth century. The model of romantic love, which emerged among the European middle class in the seventeenth up to the nineteenth century, combined the model of passionate desire originating in the former feudal culture, and a new type of family ideal – a nuclear family ruled by the husband, where the couple shares emotions and intimacy and the union is not solely determined by the social status. In the agrarian culture, where the main social unit was the farmstead rather than the family, and where marriage functioned mainly as a component of the production process, love becoming a value in marriage and attaching emotional importance to couple relationships signified a completely new way of thinking (Frykman & Löfgren 2003 [1987]: 92–94; Giddens 1992: 38–47; Roca & Enguix 2015; Soikkeli 1999). The internationally spread ballad texts that were used in circle games reverberated the different stages of the development of the idea of romantic love: the songs entail the tragically ending opposition to the kin and its control, class conflicts, the all-conquering fidelity, passionate expressions of emotions and eroticism.

Performing circle games as a symbolic activity encouraged the spread and adoption of the new relationship model. Reading Marie's notes leads to a realisation that circle games provided important instruction in life and especially emotions for the young people – they taught which emotions to feel and how to express these. In addition to the games, such 'theoretical' wisdom could also be found in the popular sentimental literature on the same subject (EKA 1966: 128–296; Jansen 2004: 70–71). Next to the tragic plots, some games were clearly didactic, introducing new ideals and behavioural norms through criticism or humour and mockery. The central theme in many circle games is playful choosing of the 'right' partner, whereas the choices are often handled without any consideration: I will not have you, you are no good to me, I will reject you, too, I will have you… It seems that the games were indeed played to practise choosing of a partner based on individual feelings – one characteristic of the nineteenth century youth culture was the individual agency, the ambition to choose the life partner independently from the family (Asplund 2002: 244–255; Niiranen 2013: 111).

Marie's descriptions suggest that, instead of the activity, in the imitation circle games it was more important to identify with and express the feelings of the song character. The games have many static parts where the character's only activity is feeling sad, for example: "A girl is holding a handkerchief in front of her eyes [during the first three verses], and cries until she looks around during the fourth verse" (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 88). In the game "Groom, why did you leave me",[23] the main character, a young maiden, expresses her suffering during nine verses and shames the young man who cheated on her:

> *The groom and the maiden are inside the circle, the maiden is singing in front of the man, and making a shaming gesture. The groom is also very timid, stares down at his feet, and does not dare to look up. When singing the last verse ["Now I'm leaving, leaving with tears. Oh, pain, oh, pain, pain in my heart…"], the maiden leaves holding a hand over her heart.*

As a typical expression of romantic feelings, the repeated movements in the games were falling on the ground, picking up the fallen person, and kissing in forgiveness. Kissing and frequent holding of hands already falls in the realm of eroticism, which plays an important role in both singing game tradition and newer dance culture (cf. Asplund 2006: 134–135; Niiranen 2013: 234).

Mari Pärtens, who in the 1880s was at the age of 50–60, took an active part in the young people's singing games, as Marie Sepp mentioned. Archival documents suggest that many outstanding elderly female singers stood out in their age group for being energetic and vital, participating also in the entertainment activities of the young (e.g. Oras 2008: 185). In this context it is worth noting that Marie Sepp also learned singing games even while in her forties, "playing together with younger people", as she put it herself.

To take part in the circle games of the young, Mari Pärtens had to create her individual performance strategy and roles. Her performances strived for comedy and surprise effects, involved pantomime, physical movement, even acrobatic moves (headstands, somersaults), also acting out men's roles. Mari's masterful parodying and imitation skills are revealed in the descriptions of Marie Sepp about how she tamed an imaginary disobedient horse in "The ploughing game", gave a very truthful imitation of a dog in "Adam's game", etc.

Although undeniably expressing true admiration, Marie Sepp's descriptions disclose some distancing – probably she could not imagine herself in Mari's roles. A good example of the differences in the roles and performativity of the two women is the description of "The gate game":

> *Two people holding each other's hands are standing in the middle of the room, forming a gate. The group of beggars is behind them, trying to pass through. But they always need to act like beggars. My husband's aunt* [Mari Pärtens] *made somersaults and headstands, which always made people laugh out loud. I was always in the gate. This is where the singing must start.* (ERA II 256, 317/9)

Mari used comical pantomime with appropriate props also outside the circle game situation:

> *She was a true singer and also played an instrument. Made a violin from a tree burl and played that. She couldn't of course play it, was just*

> *drawing the bow for the effect. There was no other joker quite like her. She was always a guest at large festivities, where we all laughed so much we thought we're going to break. She also wore a small self-made leather bota bag around her neck, which held only a kortel*[24] *of vodka. When she was mocking around, singing and playing, they poured some vodka into her bota. She used to craft tools, botas, bins, baskets, etc.* (ERA II 151, 482/3)

Allegedly Mari sometimes used to wear men's clothes; considering her signature trick headstands, men's trousers must have proved a practical choice at the time when women did not wear underwear (Pärdi 2002: 56–58).

A fine example of switching gender roles and using a rich personal stock of props is the circle game "The glass factory man", which was Mari's solo performance. Mari played the role of a male character, a glass blower, who, depending on the lyrics, blows glass, demonstrates his worn and patched clothes, picks and smokes peat moss instead of tobacco, rejects his old wife, and proposes to young girls:

> *My aunt was very good at playing. She had a sack around her neck where she held her 'fortune'. There was a bottle that she was blowing, two shirts that she showed around – a grey and a black piece of cloth sewn together /.../ Then there was a pipe and mosses that she threw on the ground and then picked up to smoke. Aunt had a self-crafted smoking pipe, which was rather big so that everyone could see. And the wife was also in the sack, a rag doll as they make for children. The betrothal was fun: girls were running like hens from the hawk; boys helped to catch them and got a kiss for each girl.* (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 83)

The above examples mention the use of men's objects and masculine behaviour. The community members who reminisced about Mari Pärtens did not emphasise the masculinity of Mari's performances. Unlike in the nineteenth-century middle-class culture, there was no need in the agrarian culture to contrast gender-specific behaviour and qualities; also, the sexuality of men and women was viewed in similar terms (Löfström 1998). The exchange of gender roles and imitating the behavioural patterns of the opposite sex has been one of the most common comic devices used in cultural performances. At the same time it had a deeper social and magical meaning, for example, at traditional women's feasts (Hiiemäe 1998: 69–70, 130–131; Kalkun 2010: 21–22; Loorits 1940).

Mari's freedom to use masculine elements in her public performances could be explained with her age: social gerontologists have noticed that in senior years, gender roles tend to become more similar to the opposite gender (Gutmann 1994 [1987]: 155–184; Silver 2003). For women it means more self-centeredness, independence, and being active in the public sphere; sometimes the mascu-

linity of behaviour has been directly mentioned (Vakimo 2001: 138). But the freedom to shift the boundaries of common behavioural norms is also related to the status of a remarkable creative person in the community, particularly during cultural performances. One must not forget that in the performance arenas connected to *regilaul* Mari performed as an influential ritual leader, not (only) as a comedian. In any case, the fact that the community accepted and acknowledged Mari Pärtens' performativity is an indication that it fully corresponded to cultural norms.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the individual and cultural features of the performances of two late nineteenth-century female singers from central Estonia – Mari Pärtens and Marie Sepp – was inspired by the studies on performativity in the past decades. The main source material, the nearly 500 pages of tradition recorded by Marie Sepp between 1935 and 1940, including biographical information and the spontaneous mediation of subjective experience helps to understand more closely the singer's experience and the reality of the performances. However, the texts were not written down to answer the questions posed in this article. The 'rich fragmentariness' of the sources offers the reader a chance to discover new clues and solutions to them in each reading. This is why the picture of the performativity of the two singers in the late nineteenth-century context is rather sketchy and subjectively interpretative.

The interrelating key factors for shaping the performativity of an outstanding creative person discussed here are:

– a performer's growing-up environment and the changing sociocultural context of his or her singing activities;
– the singer's gender, (the changing) age, and the status of an outstanding creator in the community;
– specific performance situations and arenas with their cultural expectations and opportunities.

The women's growing-up environment must have given them advantages in the development of their creative personality. The homes of Mari Pärtens and Marie Sepp as well as the skills they acquired in childhood differed in the share of the earlier oral tradition and the modern written culture – this was not merely because of the differences in their birth years and the cultural contexts of the period, but probably also due to the type of family, the social status and life course of parents. Both women came from their childhood home with fine

singing skills, a sense of humour, and the confidence to assume the leading role in public performances. Mari Pärtens inherited a special talent for nonverbal joking from her parental home.

The modernisation process in society and the accompanying changes in performance situations are the factors to be considered in observing the gender and age specifics of the performativity of the two singers as well as their activities as outstanding creative persons of their community.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the worldview of the rural people began to be influenced by the model based on middle-class romantic love and emotions with new attitudes towards masculinity and femininity. A marriage of love became a new ideal for the youth, one that was not based on economic considerations or controlled by the family. New relationship models were acted out in circle games which were part of youth culture at the time. The bourgeois model of self-control, adopted in the course of modernisation, and avoidance of 'improper' topics and behaviour rendered various aspects of the older singing culture – such as subjects related to sexuality and intimacy (see also Kalkun & Sarv 2014), but also spontaneous, aggressive and assertive performance practices – inappropriate.

With the changes in society, the importance of the older singing style in community rituals decreased and the singer gradually lost the former influential role of a ritual leader; this applies particularly to wedding rituals. Regarding the fact that at least in the period that we know about the leaders of rituals were mostly older persons, this process could be associated with the general marginalisation of elderly people, which coincides with modernisation – in the conditions of literary culture, old people were no longer the main sources of community knowledge and experience (see, e.g., Sokolovsky 2009: 4–6) and, at the same time, the former family-centred culture was being replaced by the peer group-centred culture.

All the changes that were brought about by modernisation made the performativity of Marie Sepp different from that of Mari Pärtens, whose self-expression was based more on premodern models. But one must also consider the fact that in the period discussed here these two singers were of different age. Regardless of the type of culture, the culturally acceptable behaviour and areas of activity are different for young women and elderly women past their fertile age. In gerontological research, one of the characteristic features of the behavioural models of the elderly is arguably a shift towards the behaviour of the opposite sex. Evidence about this could be found in special aspects of Mari Pärtens' performances, for example, in her use of the register of verbal duelling, confidence in self-expression, and certain masculine features in behaviour and performances of the newer singing style.

The situations, and the corresponding performance registers, in turn, determine the mode of the singer's performativity. In some cases, cultural norms could be rather rigid, but even if that is the case, the singer still has sufficient freedom for individual creativity and for testing the limits of the established norms. At the community events related to *regilaul*, Mari Pärtens was at the forefront as a lead singer at weddings and a leader of calendar rituals, whereas younger Marie Sepp was more active in casual communal work situations. Like Mari Pärtens, Marie Sepp also sang at weddings, but as a young unmarried girl she was not the lead singer, and later on the wedding singing already assumed an entertaining rather than a ritual function.

Marie Sepp's relationship with *regilaul* was not unambiguous: she preferred the newer singing style, but in some situations she enjoyed singing in the older style and could creatively express herself in both. Referring to Anna-Leena Siikala's work, Lotte Tarkka (2013: 47) has noted that the preserving of the old singing culture could have been a conscious choice for the singers of Viena Karelia. This also seems to apply to Marie Sepp. For the more informed representatives of her generation, *regilaul* was already part of the prestigious literary culture and national heritage, which deserved to be preserved. This supported Marie in learning songs from the well-known singer Rõõt Meiel as well as from Mari Pärtens. For Marie, an important register of expressing herself in *regilaul* language – besides performing to folklore collectors – was writing down song texts for the archives.

The performances of circle games, one of the central genres of the newer singing style, reveal the differences in the performativity of the two women particularly clearly. Mari Pärtens found in the circle games of the youth roles suitable for herself to follow her performer's passion and creativity. By doing that she successfully used the privileges of an elderly woman and devices characteristic of premodern performativity – spontaneous and daring ritual-carnivalistic metamorphosis, comical pantomime that rather transgresses limits of restrained modern behaviour, and acrobatics. Participation in the activities of young people and physical activeness as evidence of one's vitality and energy 'uncommon' to one's age characterise several best-known elderly female singers. Mari Pärtens' style of performativity and confidence in self-expression seems to have inspired admiration but also introduced a note of distancing in the writings of Marie Sepp. When playing circle games, Marie herself was more focused on singing; her performance was obviously more 'controlled', and she could play romantic roles as was common to her age.

The main performance arena for Marie Sepp in her older age was sound recording of songs and writing down folklore material for the archives. Since the latter suited Marie's writing inclinations, it gave her a chance to participate

in modern cultural processes and establish new social contacts, but it was also a sign of the loneliness of a once outstanding performer of oral culture. Unlike Mari Pärtens, she had no young people around to practice the old traditions or play singing games. But in this solitude as a performer, Marie was definitely inspired by knowing that museum worker August Pulst mediated her singing games to the urban youth who practised folk dancing. This served as an alternative to passing on oral tradition in the local community, which was no longer possible in the modernising village environment.

Translated by Kait Tamm

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NOTES

[1] Marie Sepp's letter (ETMM, MO 237: 1/34: 20).

[2] Description of the game "Adam he had seven sons" by Marie Sepp (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 92).

[3] The characteristic features of the earlier folk song (*regilaul*, or runo song) are alliteration, parallelism, and a special poetic metre combining syllabic, accentual, and quantitative principles (Estonian version of Kalevala-metre). The newer folk song, which follows European examples, is characterised by end rhyme, stanzaic structure, and syllabic-accentual metre. In Estonia, the newer folk song began to emerge in the eighteenth century. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the earlier *regilaul* tradition started to give way to the newer folk song and the latter became a prevalent singing style in most parts of Estonia (Rüütel 2012; Sarv 2009; Tedre 2008).

[4] The majority of the texts (personal correspondence, life histories, incl. autobiography, recorded tradition) were sent to August Pulst at the Estonian Theatre and Music Museum in 1936–1940 (ETMM, MO 237: 1/34–35). The Estonian Folklore Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum hold 38 pages of manuscripts sent to Eduard Päss in 1935 (ERA II 84, 491/528). In the years 1935 and 1938, Marie Sepp also donated 28 items to the Viljandi Museum.

[5] All these features are more generally characteristic of vernacular literacy, a form of which is recorded tradition (Barton & Hamilton 2003 [1998]; Kikas 2014; Kuismin & Driscoll 2013).

[6] Johannes Raidla from Rõõt Grauberg, 1936 (ERA II 141, 484/5).

[7] Marie Sepp's autobiography (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 202).

[8] Johannes Raidla from Rõõt Grauberg, 1936 (ERA II 141, 557).

[9] Even though Mari was a well-known singer in her community, only 20 of her songs have been recorded in 1906–1910. The folklore collectors had found it unnecessary to record from Mari the songs that they had already recorded from her mother, Rõõt Meiel.

[10] A good example of Marie's wittiness is a comment scribbled next to an ink stain in her written material: "Please forgive me, kind reader, for the Black Sea here, but it can be crossed without a ship or boat, there's nothing to fear." (ETMM MO 237: 1/35: 106) Marie wrote to the President of Estonia on the recommendation of the archive worker August Pulst to restore her rights to use land that had been unlawfully taken from her.

[11] In 1876–1878 folklore collectors wrote down Rõõt's songs extensively. This is why for Marie these songs were also related to the prestigious literary culture. Later on, when performing *regilaul* to a folklore collector, Marie emphasised that she had learned these from Rõõt Meiel. One could speculate, though, that Rõõt was not the only singer whose example Marie followed: for example, she made a comment to a couple of *regilaul* texts that she had learned from her mother and grandmother.

[12] On the therapeutic function of writing down folklore material see Oras 2010.

[13] The concept of the performance register in folklore studies derives from the studies by Dell Hymes (2009) and John Miles Foley (1992, 1995). A register is a recurrent language or style of expression related to a certain performance arena (see Foley 1995: 47–56, 79–82). In creating shared meanings, all expressive dimensions of a performance tradition are used, be those linguistic, poetic, musical, situational, bodily, etc. Performance practices, in turn, shape the performance arena that can be understood not only as a space but as a perceived situating frame (Siikala 2000: 258; Kallio 2013: 89; Foley 1995: 47–48). In a broader sense, the concept of register has been used to indicate Kalevala-metric singing as a specific style of expression in general (e.g. Tarkka 2013: 53). Here I am observing register in narrower terms as a style of expression related to specific social situations, an equivalent of which could be a 'local genre' (cf. Kallio 2013).

[14] The first part of the compound *Kolga* derives from the word *kolgas*, 'remote corner of land'.

[15] Estonian folklorist Kristi Salve (1989: 30), for example, has emphasised the ritual significance of the physical activity and dancing of the wedding singers.

[16] In the questionnaire the question was about *regilaul*, the earlier singing style, because the aim was to record the songs of the last singers who could sing *regilaul*. As to singing

at communal work, Marie Sepp must have meant singing during harvesting, which was one of the most important and large-scale communal undertakings at the time.

[17] For example, pregnant women were not permitted to sing at weddings (Johannes Raidla from Rõõt Grauberg in 1936 (ERA II 141, 162)). As a further parallel, it could be added that in many premodern cultures various taboos are related to female fertility and only after the fertile period women can get the status of ritual leaders (Apo 1995, 1998; Vakimo 2001: 133–134).

[18] In Kolga-Jaani, singing was most common during communal rye and flax harvesting.

[19] The ritual of fertility magic of finishing work in the field is associated with singing a specific song ("Finish, finish, precious field!").

[20] One of the most important features of verbal duelling is the heightened level of energy and a special state of mind which is experienced not only by the battling singers but by everyone present (Anttonen 1987: 97; Pagliai 2009; Sykäri 2014: 110).

[21] The 1880s was the period when the ideas of the temperance movement spread among rural people and temperance societies were established in Estonia (Talve 2005 [2004]: 387; Jansen 2007: 342–345). The Kolga-Jaani temperance society *Eesmärk* ('The Purpose') was founded in 1890.

[22] The text of this universal ballad speaks of a young man leaving the country, upon which her girlfriend dies of sorrow. After returning and witnessing what has happened, the young man also dies, "holding his loved one in his arms"; both are taken to the monastery, are clad in white, and then carried to the graveyard.

[23] A maiden accuses the young man for leaving her and finding a new bride, for taking flowers and apples from the maiden's garden. This is followed by a generalisation: men are not to be trusted, they all cheat (ETMM, MO 237: 1/35: 98).

[24] A *kortel* (equalled 0.3 litres) was a measure of vodka used in Estonian taverns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

ARCHIVAL SOURCES

ETMM, MO – Estonian Theatre and Music Museum, collection of music organisations
ERA – manuscript collection of the Estonian Folklore Archives at the Estonian Folklore Archives, Estonian Literary Museum
EKS – manuscript collection of the Estonian Literary Society at the Estonian Folklore Archives, Estonian Literary Museum

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EMOTIONAL TRANSPOSITIONS: INTERPRETING ORAL LYRIC POETRY

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Abstract: In this article I will discuss perceptions of oral lyric poetry as representations of ideals of emotion. I use the *Kanteletar*, the most important lyric anthology of nineteenth-century Finland, as an example, asking how oral lyric poetry and its emotions have been represented in written form. In translating oral texts into another, written language, we face a double tension, a fidelity both to oral sources and to the readership for the written transcription. Thus, my interest focuses not only on translation and transference, but also on the interpretative process. The analysis concentrates on one love song from the *Kanteletar*, in terms of its folk lyric background, and the interpretations made of the song. The song describes emotions, such as love and longing, which are considered to be typical of Romanticism, but are not regarded as very usual among rural people. However, the song has been considered as one of the most beautiful folk songs of love. I will elucidate Lönnrot's editorial technique and demonstrate the multifaceted process involved in the creation and interpretation of the song.

Keywords: emotion, interpretation, Kalevala-metre lyric, *Kanteletar*, love song, textualisation

The *Kanteletar*, an anthology of oral lyric poetry, is the most important lyric anthology of nineteenth-century Finland. Published in a time period when most of the written literature was in Swedish, the *Kanteletar* has extensively affected the development of Finnish written poetry and art. Moreover, it has played a crucial role in constructing Finnishness – the ideals of Finnish speakers – and its tradition. The *Kanteletar* was published in three volumes in 1840 and 1841, and contains 652 lyric songs, ballads, lyro-epic poems, and hymns. Although it also contains men's lyric songs, it has been defined as a book of women's lyric, "a little sister to the *Kalevala*" (Gröndahl 1997: 33).

Since the publication of the *Kanteletar*, the diverse and multi-dimensional Kalevala-metre lyric has been ascribed aesthetic and moral attributes. Utilising the special language of people's senses and emotions in the Herderian sense, folk lyric was seen as contrasting with art songs, and was exalted as more valuable in the nineteenth century. It was an expression of emotion, particularly

of sorrow and worry, and it was regarded as beautifully exhibiting a proper, non-aggressive, non-erotic content in the form of brief lyric (Krohn 1931: 285; Tarkiainen 1943). In Kalevala-metre oral tradition, lyric poetry covers diverse emotional themes, such as sorrow, hatred, humour, eroticism, and the grotesque, but has been labelled as characteristically sorrowful. This side of the lyric has been emphasised by editors such as Elias Lönnrot, and furthermore by readers of the written representations.[1]

"Soitto on suruista tehty, / murehista muovaeltu" ('Music was made of worries, / moulded of sorrows') (*Kanteletar* I: 1, 9–10). These lines from the first poem of the *Kanteletar* are considered to represent the essence of oral lyric poetry, its sorrowful voice, even though they were composed by Elias Lönnrot himself (Kaukonen 1984: 43; Laitinen 2003). With this notion as a starting point, I will discuss perceptions of oral lyric poetry as representations of ideals of emotion by using the *Kanteletar* as an example, asking how oral lyric poetry and its emotions have been represented in written form. Writing down oral tradition, and thus producing the materials for research, poses one of the main epistemological problems in folkloristics. In many European countries, national awakening and its ideological insights along with Romantic ideas of oral song have greatly influenced the methods of collection and publication of oral tradition (Clifford & Marcus 1986; Bendix 1997; Kuutma 2006.) The knowledge we have about oral culture comes from selected written presentations, their 'written images' produced by educated elite, based on the collected oral material. Collecting, transcribing, translating, interpreting, representing, textualising – every act of transferring oral text into written form is an exercise of power (Kuutma 2006: 15).

In translating oral texts into another, written language, we face a double tension, a fidelity both to oral sources and to the readership for the written transcription. Thus, my interest focuses not only on translation and transference, but also on the interpretative process (see also DuBois 2006). In discussing the mediation of oral tradition to a wider readership in the nineteenth century, which involves the realisation of an interpretation with underlying ideological aims, I refer to the concept of textualisation. Even though oral poetry is always textualised the moment it is heard, transcribed, and made readable, for example by modifying dialectal features, this article highlights the conscious objectives and ideological intentions that are manifested during the process of collecting, editing, interpreting, and publishing folk poems as literary products (as discussed by Bauman & Briggs 2003).

THE *KANTELETAR* IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY FINLAND

The *Kanteletar* was completed in a fruitful period of Lönnrot's editorial process. The *Kalevala*, first published in 1835, had received an excited reception and was celebrated as evidence of Finnish history and language. In the 1830s, Lönnrot undertook long field trips around Karelia, and gathered many lyric songs during the journeys. A first version of the lyric anthology (*Alku-Kanteletar* (Proto-Kanteletar) 1838) was ready on his work desk, but constantly increasing materials called for a new one. Lönnrot was also thrilled by the lyric songs, in which he daily discovered new beauty (see Lönnrot 1838). As his biographer notes, during field trips Lönnrot developed a good aesthetic sense and his ears came more open to the beauty of the lyric (Anttila 1985 [1931]: 353).

Since its publication, the *Kanteletar* has enjoyed a valued status as an anthology of oral lyric poetry, and a great number of translations of poems into Swedish were published in newspapers and periodicals right after the anthology had been released. The bourgeois class had a limited knowledge of the Finnish language, most of them not being able to understand folk poems or their messages, but the beauty of the lyric poems was widely acknowledged (ibid.: 261). The reception of the *Kanteletar* can be described as being one of delight. Despite the general knowledge of Lönnrot's compilation technique of adding in his own verses and combining songs and themes (ibid.: 260–261), the *Kanteletar* has been defined as an authentic book of oral lyric songs. The songs have been widely celebrated, especially their sorrowful and tender emotions, but not often analysed.[2]

The importance of the *Kalevala* to readers and scholars is the reason why the role of the *Kanteletar* in the formation of Finnish culture and heritage has been disregarded and ignored. The *Kanteletar* has never been subject to such interest or criticism as the *Kalevala*, which was reviled for being unfaithful to oral sources, for being too complex and long, or for containing genres of poetry that do not belong to epic (e.g. lyric, charms) (see Kaukonen 1956: 425–445; also Gröndahl 1997: 33–34).[3] There are many kinds of links with oral tradition in the *Kanteletar*: poems that have little linguistic or thematic resemblance to the oral poetic tradition; poems with resemblances at the linguistic and poetic level; poems that are thematically related to tradition, but have been put into new combinations by Lönnrot.

Lönnrot edited the oral poems for a bourgeois audience unfamiliar with rural culture and its habits, symbols, and meanings. Therefore, he had to modify the oral texts to make them more understandable. His editorial strategies included

linguistic editing and standardisation of language; complementing a text with lines from variants of the same song; combining different, but usually thematically related, songs, or combining different lines from different sources; creating new songs; extending the length and content of oral songs by adding more parallelism and alliteration than existed in the singing culture. He also aimed to explain the content and meaning of oral songs through diverse textual and contextual changes.[4] Lönnrot's narrative purposes in the *Kanteletar* were different from his purposes in the *Kalevala*. Unlike in the *Kalevala*, Lönnrot did not link themes and poems to create a narrative entity intended to depict heroes and their deeds as representatives of the Finnish people and their history. However, his ambition in the *Kanteletar* was to present – based on transcribed song sources and his experience – the narrative of emotionally experienced reality of different folk-poetry genres as widely as it was possible. According to Väinö Kaukonen, songs of the *Kanteletar* have greatly been generated from the songs Lönnrot himself experienced and transcribed (Kaukonen 1989: 9). Satu Apo (1995a, 1995b) has emphasised the influence of Lönnrot's biography on the collecting and publishing work. Even though my focus in this article is not on the biographical side, it is worth keeping in mind that personal experiences as well as the cultural and historical context of the nineteenth century must have influenced Lönnrot's editorial work (see Karkama 2001).

ORAL LYRIC IN THE PREFACE TO THE *KANTELETAR*

The preface of the *Kanteletar* is one of the few theoretical and interpretative outlines by Elias Lönnrot, and it has been viewed as an important presentation of the essence of folk lyric and its difference from art lyric (Anttila 1985 [1931]: 256; Kaukonen 1984: 13). Lönnrot perceived lyric poetry as a genre, and he made an initial attempt to analyse the emotions of the common people. Lönnrot's notions of the lyric are romantic, but in a wider sense they also reflect perceptions of oral poetry and the lyric as a genre of the nineteenth century.[5]

Lönnrot considered oral lyric poetry as the oldest language to express people's inner feelings. *Lauluruno*, as he called the lyric song, is composed of mind and thoughts at the moment of singing:

> *Se maa, joka niitä kasvattaa, on itse mieli ja ajatus, ne siemenet, joista sikiävät, kaikkinaiset mielenvaikutukset. Mutta kun mieli, ajatukset ja mielenvaikutukset kaikkina aikoina ja kaikille ihmisillä enimmiten ovat yhtä laatua, niin runotki, jotka niistä syntyvät, eivät ole yhden eli kahden erityinen omasuus, vaan yhteisiä koko kansalle.* (Lönnrot 1993: 320)

> The land that nurtures them [folk poems] is mind and thought itself, those seeds from which all kinds of mental effects are engendered. Yet, just as mind, thoughts and mental impressions are at all times and for all people mostly of one quality, so also the songs that arise from them are not the distinctive characteristic of one or two people, but are common to all people.[6]

Unlike art poetry, the oral lyric is something natural and unpretentious, emerging from one's mind and heart. As the oldest genre of oral poetry, the lyric is also most natural, shared by all people. To emphasise the natural, spontaneous feature of the oral lyric, Lönnrot used metaphors from nature: like clouds that become filled and sprinkle the rain, mind and thoughts sprinkle the words; as the wind churns up waves from the sea, so different mental impressions force them to be sounded (ibid.: 321).

Despite all the changes made in the oral songs, Lönnrot wished to address the truthfulness of his anthology by defining oral lyric as a most sensitive flower, which might get spoiled by the touch of a stranger (ibid.: 353). Lönnrot perceived lyric poetry as another, sacred language that, unlike other oral poems, is able to express one's inner feelings. The beauty of the oral songs grew from their emotions. A sad mind and a song were friends, noted Lönnrot (1990: 407); he regarded loneliness and sadness as characteristic features of the songs of the *Kanteletar*. In the preface he emphasised that those were Finnish songs, with their origin in the Finnish side of Karelia. Lönnrot himself collected his extensive group of lyric songs from Finnish Karelia and hence the texture of the songs of the *Kanteletar* is Finnish (Kaukonen 1984: 4–5).

Lönnrot did not pay much attention to singers. For the early collectors like him, the main business was to transcribe as many different songs as possible; singers and their motives for singing were less significant from this point of view (Salminen 1945). The songs were a proof of the collective singing tradition. However, as Lönnrot mentioned, it was mainly old married women that sang lyric songs. Despite the aim of representing diverse oral lyric in the publication that included songs of men and children, Lönnrot emphatically brought together the lyric with female experience. Hard life in the strange home of the husband was the reason to start singing. Fundamentally, melancholic, frustrating experiences, indeed feelings of worry, gave rise to the lyric (see Lönnrot 1990: 406).

HOW TO INTERPRET AND UNDERSTAND EMOTIONS?

Multiple selections and publications of the songs of the *Kanteletar* have been published over the years, but the whole *Kanteletar*, in its three books, still remains to be translated, even into Swedish (Kukkonen 2009: 94–97; Kaukonen 1984: 1). Lönnrot himself translated songs from the *Kanteletar* in the 1830s and 1840s. Swedish translations were published in several periodicals, a total of 45 songs, of which five are from the first book of common songs for everybody, and a great number from the second book of the *Kanteletar*, songs of girls and women.[7] Most of the translated songs (34 of the total 45) cover the feelings of loneliness, homelessness, sadness, and frustration: the most widespread feelings in the lyric, as Lönnrot noted. The *Kanteletar*, "a cloth of worry", as Lönnrot called it, provided an extensive presentation of these themes.

Lönnrot (1838) noticed difficulties in translating the songs into Swedish, saying that many aspects could become lost in translation:

> *Det är märkvärdigt, att flere stycken af detta lyriska slaget rent af icke kunna öfversättas, och alla förlora sig ganska mycket; ej allenast under min, men äfven under andras skickligare händer.*
> It is noticeable that many pieces of this lyrical sort are simply impossible to translate, and they all lose a good deal, not just in my hands, but even in the hands of more skilful translators.

When selecting songs and versions for the lyric anthology, Lönnrot followed aesthetic principles with a mind to show presentability, even though he was not always able to keep them:

> *Toinen huolettavampi asia on se, ettemme aina ole tainneet osata toisintojen seasta sominta ja parasta itse lauluun valita, vaan sen siaan ottaneet jotain kehnompata, vähemmin sopivata.* (Lönnrot 1993: 353)
> Another matter of greater concern is that we have not always known how to select the most beautiful and best from the mixture of variants for the song, but instead have taken something poorer and less suitable.

The beauty of a lyric song was found not necessarily in the purity of its content but rather in the way of singing and expressing emotion:

> *Muuten on muistettava, ettei minkään laulun somuus ja kauneus synny aineesta, vaan aineen käyttämästä tahi mielen vapaasta liikunnosta aineita kuvatessansa.* (ibid.: 345)
> We have to remember that the attractiveness and beauty of any song does not arise from its material, but from the use of the material or the free movement of the mind when making images of the materials.

Research on emotions emphasises that emotions are physical, and, principally, while emotional complexity is universally shared, emotional language and expressions are nonetheless culturally related (Lutz & White 1986; Korhonen 2005: 58–59). In elucidating the emotional language of northern Karelian lyric, Senni Timonen has analysed repetitive themes of emotional language. She defines both individual experience and definitional (emic) and cultural (etic) concepts of emotions, emphasising the effects and power of emotional language in different singing contexts as well as in people's relationships (Timonen 2004: 66–67, 309–310). The problem with emotions is their inaccessibility, as well as the difficulties in translating emotional expressions (Timonen 2004: 309; see also Korhonen 2005).

As many scholars have addressed, the meaning in performance is formed from the knowledge shared between the singer and the audience. Thomas DuBois calls it "generic expectations" (DuBois 2006), whereas John Miles Foley uses the term "traditional referentiality" (Foley 1991). Focusing on a receptionalistic view of folk lyric, DuBois describes three typologies of interpretative strategies in analysing the lyric: the generic, the associative (e.g. personalisation), and the situational, of which generic strategy foregrounds the meanings of lyric songs. It consists of the knowledge of what the lyric is, what kinds of themes it contains, how it is performed, and how to interpret it (DuBois 2006: 2–3). How is the generic strategy, the common, shared knowledge, utilised and developed in written publications? Is it possible to reach traditional references without the same culture or language, in a situation where oral songs are published in written form for an audience unfamiliar with its metonymic language, and the cultural meanings it carries?

How are the emotions of oral lyric to be captured when it is not even possible to experience the moment of singing? As transcription lacked modern facilities, and songs were often written down in a hurry, in unreliable situations, on the move (e.g. in a boat) or after the actual time of performance, the preserved oral texts are shifted several stages away from their original performative setting (see DuBois 1994: 141–142; Kaukonen 1984: 39). For collectors and editors of the oral tradition, the generic expectations helped to shape diverse songs the very moment of transcribing or rewriting, but the other strategies, the associative and the situational, might not have been clearly stated (see DuBois 2006: 17). One can also ask what the options were for transmitting emotions. What kind of problems related to emotional aspects did collectors and singers come across in transcription situations? Educated collectors had a cultural and social bridge to cross. Moreover, as men (usually), they may have faced challenges, if not difficulties, in understanding and interpreting the female emotions of the lyric, and its emotional words and meanings.[8]

In written presentations made from the oral poetic material, and in interpretations and analyses of the published presentations, problems with transferring and expressing emotions are even more complex. To be able to represent lyric songs in a written form to a modern readership, to preserve a faithfulness to oral sources, an editor has to narrow the gap between two worlds, for example, by reducing the traditional content and the messages of the songs, avoiding improper songs and bringing the oral song to the level where it is comprehensible, but also socially, thematically, and emotionally adequate for the reader. As Elias Lönnrot extended the texture and poetic messages of oral songs, he also modified emotions. He excluded certain emotional themes (the erotic, the aggressive) from the *Kanteletar* and justified emotions and their expressions to make them understandable and decent. Despite Lönnrot's changes and exclusions of non-proper songs, the *Kanteletar*, however, as Satu Apo has claimed, includes many aggressive and erotic themes, and can be defined as a realistic depiction of common people (Apo 1995a: 76, 87).

In dissolving meanings and links related to the textualisation process, Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs use a concept of metadiscursive practices that refer to diverse meta-textual usages, which enable oral text to become readable and comprehensible to readers with a limited knowledge of oral tradition. The practices can include, for example, direct discourse and quotation, or use of other genres included in the edited text (Bauman & Briggs 2003: 208–211). In the case of Lönnrot, according to my tentative analysis, this means adding more parallelism than existed in oral songs, emphasising the lyrical 'I' as an experiencing subject of the song, and adding explanatory lines to convey the emotional message of the songs to the modern readership (Hämäläinen 2014). A fundamental set of metadiscursive practices for creating, representing, and interpreting the oral tradition of marginalised groups was developed largely through the lens of Romantic nationalism and scientific perspectives in the first half of the nineteenth century. Metadiscursive practices are, therefore, oriented towards utilising the effects of discursive power and of guiding reception (Briggs 1993: 389–390).

I will next take a look at one love song from the *Kanteletar*, in terms of its folk lyric background and the interpretations made of the song. The song describes emotions, such as love and longing, which are considered to be typical of Romanticism, but are not regarded as very usual among rural people. However, the song has been considered as one of the most beautiful folk songs of love. By concentrating on this one fairly short example, I aim to elucidate Lönnrot's editorial technique and to demonstrate the multifaceted process involved in the interpretation of the song.

A SONG OF LOVE

In the first part of the anthology, Lönnrot placed some love songs under the title of *Paimenlauluja* ('Herdsman's songs'), which could be sung by both men and women. One of the songs is the well-known love song *Armahan kulku* ('The beloved's walk'):

This way my treasure has walked,	*Täst' on kulta kulkenunna,*
Here my beloved has been,	*Täst' on mennyt mielitietty,*
This way my dear one has stepped,	*Tästä armas astununna,*
And my white one has wandered;	*Valkia vaeltanunna;*
Here she has stepped in the glade,	*Täss' on astunut aholla,*
There she has sat on a rock.	*Tuoss' on istunut kivellä.*
The rock is much brighter,	*Kivi on paljo kirkkahampi,*
The boulder better than the next,	*Paasi toistansa parempi,*
The heath twice more fair,	*Kangas kahta kaunihimpi,*
And the grove five times sweeter,	*Lehto viittä leppiämpi,*
The wild six times more flowery,	*Korpi kuutta kukkahampi,*
All the forest more pleasant,	*Koko metsä mieluisampi,*
Because that treasure of mine walked,	*Tuon on kultani kulusta,*
That dear one of mine stepped.	*Armahani astunnasta.*
(Bosley 1990: 26–27)	(*Kanteletar* I: 174)

The fictional subject of the song, I, describes the beloved, the dear one; how the beloved has walked here. Nature has changed to be more beautiful and attractive because of the lover's passage. The poem has been regarded as one of the most beautiful and representative songs of love in the *Kanteletar*, even though Lönnrot's part in the compilation was recognised (Krohn 1920: 51; Tarkiainen 1921: 104; Kaukonen 1984: 228).[9] The most celebrated Finnish national composer, Jean Sibelius, composed *Rakastava* ('The lover') on the basis of this poem; the composition has since popularised the song.

Love lyric is not the most representative theme in the Kalevala-metre lyric poetry. Scholars have tended to see the poems of love as representing longing for love rather than an erotic or passionate feeling (Enäjärvi-Haavio 1935: 131; Tarkiainen 1943; Haavio 1952). This has been explained as a derivation from the norms of old rural culture, and the Lutheran ideals that regarded open sexuality and explicit expressions of emotions as embarrassing (Apo 1989: 168–169). The invisibility of emotions may also reflect the realities of collection: erotic, sensitive feelings were not necessarily presented to strangers, people coming from outside the rural culture. However, as Lönnrot and his contemporaries

also managed to record, for example, sexual songs, expressing erotic feelings to collectors was not unusual, but most of the recorded songs were not published in the *Kanteletar*, nor later in the series *Suomen Kansan Vanhat Runot* ('The Ancient Poems of the Finnish People', hereafter SKVR) because of the moral codes of publishing principles (see Timonen & Kuusi 1997).

In the recorded lyric material, love songs represent longing for love, and more often longing for the lost love. There are also songs describing a young girl's hankering for proposals and for being desirable and popular among men (see, e.g., SKVR, *Onpa tietty tietyssäni* ('There is a certain one in my mind'), *Tulepa yöllä yksinäsi* ('Come alone by night')). However, more often songs describe a mutual emotion, and the feeling is melancholic rather than boisterous (see SKVR, *Ei kuulu kullaistani* ('My dear one is not heard'), *Illan tullen ikävä* ('Longing with night'), *Kukku ennen mun käkeni* ('My cuckoo used to cuckoo'), *Kun ois kulta kuulemassa* ('If my dear one was here to hear'), *Missä lie minun omani* ('Where is my own one')) (see Kuusi 1963: 403–404). The darling is described concretely through her or his presence in the daily life: love is combined activity in practical matters; the lover is the one who brings food, fulfils household tasks or warms up the bed. However, generally in discussing love songs, (male) scholars have not been interested in these songs, but rather take note of the song *Jos mun tuttuni tulisi* ('Should my treasure come'), which has been defined as representing an exceptional erotic passion of common people (Tarkiainen 1943: 42; Haavio 1952: 7). Even though sung as independent and fixed text, the song of *Jos mun tuttuni tulisi* is related to motifs and lines of other love songs, such as walking of the dear one and identification of the lover. The difference from other songs is found in the expression of strong erotic and bodily emotions.

Other than describing a feeling of love, lyric songs sung by women in Finland and Karelia relate to marriage, its demands, and frustrations. Getting married was of great importance in a woman's life. It presented her as a decent woman who, by giving birth, continued the family cycle. Remaining unmarried was not an option in rural culture; it could cause social and economic problems (Timonen 2004: 46; Apo 1989: 168). Thus, a feeling of love, even though naturally existing in rural culture in people's relationships, was not the main reason for getting married. Social demands and the objective of creating order within the family played a more important role. The songs reflected this social concern at the same time as they narrated individual feelings and experiences.

Within recorded folk poetry material, the song *Armaan kulku* is not a representative of the oral lyric poetry. Usually its main idea of the passage of the lover is combined with other love songs. According to the SKVR, 13 variants

correlate with this specific poem, or its motif, of which only one was recorded before the *Kanteletar* was published in 1840.[10] Generally the song describes a landscape through which the dear one has passed. In Ingria the poem is part of a longer lyric poem which represents a female subject describing her love (SKVR III_2 2424). One song is an incantation against a flea that destroys cabbage saplings (SKVR $XIII_3$ 9910). One of the poems is probably adapted from a literary source (SKVR III_3 2661). Lönnrot's contemporary, folk song collector D.E.D. Europaeus included Lönnrot's *Armahan kulku* in his folk-song anthology *Pieni Runon-Seppä* (1847). During his collecting journeys in Ingria, he distributed the book and the song became popular among common people. Three of the thirteen texts have sexual content (SKVR I_3 1987; V_2 1075; $XIII_2$ 3167). The gender of the singer and the fictional subject vary. The singer is explicitly female in six texts (SKVR I_3 1987; III_2 2424; V_2 1075; VI_2 6539; $XIII_3$ 9910; $XIII_4$ 10803). In five texts it is possible to say that the singer describes her male lover (SKVR I_3 1987; III_2 2424; III_3 2661; V_2 1075; $XIII_2$ 3167). It is difficult to say in four texts whether the description of the dear one is of a man or a woman (SKVR IV_1 1055; $XIII_4$ 10803; VII_2 2358, 2393).

Similar to Lönnrot's version, many of the variants contain repetitive lines, such as *armaan astunta* ('walking of the dear one'), *kivi paljon kirkkahampi* ('the rock much brighter'), *tuost on armas astunut* ('this way the dear one has stepped'), *tuost on kulta kulkenut* ('here has the beloved gone') (SKVR III_2 2424; III_3 2661; IV_1 1055; VI_2 6539; $XIII_2$ 3097, 3167; $XIII_4$ 10803, 10804, see also VII_2 2358). Discernible similarities of song variants to Lönnrot's own version raise a question of adaptation. Could we presume that the song *Armahan kulku* was created by Lönnrot, and then adapted to the oral tradition? The process might also have taken place the other way around. As the variants of *Armaan kulku* resemble the version of the *Kanteletar*, one might think that Lönnrot possibly had more texts than we are able to detect today. His sources might have got lost. Keeping these options in mind, I will next have a look at existing text variants, especially the ones that are different from Lönnrot's version.

One of the poems uses the same descriptions of the surrounding nature, but the message of the poem is of a bride longing for her childhood home, not for her darling. The recorded text is introduced with an explanation by the female singer:

> *Se ol' niinkun olis olt' morsian kun vietiin toiseen paikkaan, niin sillä ol' paha olla, sitte kun se tul' kotiin, niin se luki syntymä paikassaa että:*
> It was as if it was the bride, when she was taken to the other place, yes, it was bad to be there, and then when she got back home, she enumerated in her birthplace how:

Kivi on toistaan kirkkaampi,	The rock brighter than any other,
Paasi toista parempi,	The bolder better than others,
Lehti viittä lempeämpi,	The leaf five times softer,
Kuusi kuutta parempi,	The fir-tree six times better,
Kangas --- olik' se seittentä kauniimpi,	The heathland --- was it seven times more beautiful
vai miten se ol'---	or, how was it ---
(SKVR VI_2 6539, 1–6)	

Lönnrot followed one song variant of *Armaan kulku* (the only one he had), which he had transcribed in southern Karelia (Karjalankannas) in 1837 (Kaukonen 1984: 228):

Täss' on kultani kulkenut,	Here has my treasure walked,
Täss on istunut kivellä;	Here *he*/*she* has sat on a rock;
Kivi on tullut kirjavaksi,	The rock has become multicoloured,
Paasi painunut pahaksi	The boulder has sunk down, bad,
Täst' on mennyt märkäkyrpä,	Here has gone a wet cock,
Kulkenut kusisaparo.	A pigtail of piss has walked.
(SKVR $XIII_2$ 3167, 1–6)	

The song starts with conventional lines: "Here has my treasure walked / Here he/she has sat on a rock", but then the poem moves on to a sexual and humorous image: "Here has gone a wet cock / A pigtail of piss has walked". Also the rock has become multicoloured and fallen, which may indicate that a sexual act took place on it. The singer uses sexual personification, making the lover (*kulta*) a sex organ. The "wet cock" could indicate that "my treasure" is he, and the song shows a woman longing for her love, or rather, making fun of it.

Compared to two other variants with the same sexual content (SKVR I_3 1987; V_2 1075), one may find that the song might have been sung with a naturalistic and humoristic rather than romantic view of love. Humoristic attitude and sexual personification are present in the recording of Lönnrot as well as in these later recordings. Both of the later texts are sung by women. Anni Lehtonen (in 1911) sung a seven-line song about a man called Matti, describing how Matti sniffs out the ground to be able to find a *kusikki* (indicates *kusisaparo* 'pigtail of piss') and *Märkähini* (indicates somebody wet) and *pakkohini* (SKVR I_3 1987; *pakko* literally means 'must do something', but can also mean a group of children, of cows, etc.; see KKSK 2009). Besides *pakkohini*, *pakkohine* is a common word in incantations referring to a person in pain or distress: *Hätähisten huutaessa, pakkohisten parkuessa* ('distress shouting, pain crying'; see SKVR I_1 298, 298a;

I_4 285, 548, 959; VII_3 358; XII_1 4608). The song of Matti is considered as a play song in the SKVR. The translation of the line *Sonni sompurah sijoja* is not fully clear, but I have interpreted it as follows: *Sonni* (lit. 'a bull') is a synonym to a man, *sompurah* might indicate 'a hoof, a foot'.[11]

Matti maata nuhteloo,	Matti sniffs out the ground,
Sonni sompurah sijoja,	The bull scrapes the place / place for feet,
Täst' on kulkenu kusikki,	This way has a pigtail of piss walked,
Täst' on männy Märkähini,	Here has the wet one gone,
Pakkohińi on paipatellun.	Pakkohini has spoken loud.
Nyt on Matti maansa myönyn,	Now has Matti sold his land,
Konna kaupinnun kotinsa.	The crook has peddled his home.

(SKVR I_3 1987)

The other poem sung by Anni Kurikka (in 1916) is located under "The song of boys singing about girls" in the SKVR. The song can be read as a dialogue between a girl and a boy. The girl speaks first ("here has the wet tail gone"), then the boy answers ("he has sprung along the swamp"). The girl's answer seems to be missing in the transcription, but the boy replies: "Here is the same wet tail, me sitting on this rock", and then he expresses his sexual intention:

Täst on männyt märkähäntä,	This way has a wet tail gone,
Kulkenut kusisaparo,	A pigtail of piss has walked,
Täss on istunut kivellä,	Here he has sat on a rock,
Kivi on tullut kirjavaksi.	The rock has become multicoloured.
Onpa juossut suota myöten	He has sprung along the swamp
Sekä käynyt maata myöten.	He has also gone on the ground.
Kuss'hia nytkii levännöö,	Where is he now resting,
Miss hiä nytkii istunoo?	Where is he sitting at the moment?
Istunooko kivellä?	Is he sitting on the rock?

Täss on sama märkähäntä,	Here is the same wet tail,
Istun mie tässä kivellä	Me sitting on this rock

Kussa miun neitosein	Where is my maiden
Mitä minä rakastelisin	Who I would have sex with
Jopa neitonen hävisi.	The maiden has gone.
Minä etsin neitoani,	Me looking for my girl
Kipps, kapps, hei!	Kipps, kapps, hi!

(SKVR V_2 1075)

This kind of dialogue sometimes occurs in dance and play songs in southern Karelia and Ingria. In these songs boys and girls are seeking their pairs (see SKVR XIII$_3$ *Piirileikkilauluja* ('Ring game songs'), *Etsi emäntiäsi, isäntiäsi* ('Look for your mistresses, your masters'), *Likat seisoo ringissä* ('Girls standing in a ring'), *Minä etsin neitoani* ('I am looking for my maiden'), etc.). Ring and dance games were popular amusement among young people, for example, during long holidays. In these texts, one may think that they are connected to social situations where young people are teasing the opposite sex with sexual hints. Kaarle Krohn also noted this, saying that the song of *Armaan kulku* might have originally been sung as a play song (Krohn 1920: 51).

Worth mentioning here is that when editing the song for the lyric anthology, Lönnrot also had two other texts including similar lines of the walking of the dear one, even though they are not variants of *Armaan kulku* (SKVR VII$_2$ 2344; VII$_5$ 3390). A love poem of the cuckoo (*Kukku ennen mun käkeni* ('My cuckoo used to cuckoo')) includes a description of the loved one. The poem describes how the cuckoo has stopped singing, and the loved one is not seen passing through the alley anymore (SKVR VII$_2$ 2344). Songs of the cuckoo predict the number of years a maiden has to wait until getting married. The cuckoo can also express a great sorrow (e.g. Aino's grief in the *Kalevala* by Lönnrot). In this poem example, the cuckoo reflects the lost love that used to call in the morning and evening, but now there is no sound of the lover. The song also carries a sexual implication. The dear one is called *näätähattu*, which is a metonym of a man who wears a hat of marten skin, but can also be an attribute of genitals and an expression of hunting for love in erotic songs and incantations (see Tarkka 2005: 269).

Vaanp ei kuulu kullastan[i],	There is no sound of my beloved,
Eip' oo ...	The dear one is not ...
[there is something missing in the transcription]	
Näy näätähattuistani	My pine marten is not seen
Kujosilla kulkevak[si],	Walking in the alleys,
Aitan viertä astumassa.	Stepping next to the fence.
Muihen kulta kulkem[assa],	The beloved of others walking,
Muihen armas astumassa.	The dear one of others passing.
(SKVR VII$_2$ 2344, 9–15)	

Another example is a recording of an incantation (boiling the skull of the bear) that includes several terms expressing affection for the bear as the dear one. The dear one is associated with a bear, who is enchanted to walk on a golden path, a silver road. The bear is called *kulta*, *rahan armas* ('golden darling,

money-dear'), indicating the status of the bear as valuable game (SKVR VII_5 3390; Turunen 1981 [1979]: 25). In hunting rituals, the bear and the wedding are associated in order to create stability between social and physical borders. In the rituals, the bear is transferred into different roles, from game to a wanted bear, from a caught animal to the one who is returned to nature. The transmitting of roles implies changes in gender roles as well. Especially in the ritual of boiling the skull, the bear, now caught and undressed, ready to move back to the forest, is described with feminine hypocorism (Tarkka 2005: 272–275), as in the example text: *Lähe nyt, kulta kulkemaan, / rahan armas, astumaan* ('Go now and walk the dear one / money-dear be stepping') (SKVR VII_5 3390, 11–12). The sweetness (of the bear) and the erotic will as well as erotic tensions were emphasised in incantations, and, on the contrary, a parody of female and male genitals was expressed in many erotic songs (Tarkka 2005: 269).

METADISCURSIVE PRACTICES

Lönnrot had three different texts related to *Armaan kulku*, with the lover associated with erotic tensions, only one of which he edited for the *Kanteletar*. However, even though Lönnrot did not explicitly use the other songs (of the cuckoo and the incantation), they elucidate different options and motifs Lönnrot had in his editorial work of the song *Armahan kulku*. Besides, later recordings give an overall picture of the existing variants of *Armaan kulku* in the song tradition.

What did Lönnrot do to the oral song he followed in the *Kanteletar*? At first glance, even though the *Kanteletar* text is roughly Lönnrot's own combination, it looks like a pure oral lyric song, and this is how it has been interpreted. However, the difference from the oral song variant is explicit when these two texts are put side by side. Lönnrot interpolated the oral text, using various textual strategies. The version of the *Kanteletar* takes some lines of the poetic exemplar, but the concluding sexual lines are excluded. The rest of the poem is Lönnrot's own composition.

Täst' on kulta kulkenunna,	Täss' kulta**ni** kulkenunna
Täst' on mennyt mielitietty,	
Tästä armas astununna,	
Valkia vaeltanunna;	
Täss' on astunut aholla,	
Tuoss' on istunut kivellä.	

Kivi ***on*** paljo ***kirkkahampi***,
Paasi toistansa ***parempi***,

Kangas kahta kaunihimpi,
Lehto viittä leppiämpi,
Korpi kuutta kukkahampi,
Koko metsä mieluisampi,
Tuon on kultani kulusta,
Armahani astunnasta.
(*Kanteletar* I: 174, 1–14)

Kivi on **tullut** kir**javaksi**,
paasi **painunut pahaksi,**
Täst' on mennyt märkäkyrpä,
Kulkenut kusisaparo.

(SKVR XIII$_2$ 3167)

This way my treasure has walked,
Here my beloved has been,
This way my dear one has stepped,
And my white one has wandered;
Here she has stepped in the glade,
There she has sat on a rock.
The rock is much brighter,
The boulder better than the next,

The rock has become multicoloured,
The boulder has sunk down, bad,
Here has gone a wet cock,
A pigtail of piss has walked.

The heath twice more fair,
And the grove five times sweeter,
The wild six times more flowery,
All the forest more pleasant,
Because that treasure of mine walked,
That dear one of mine stepped.
(Translation taken from Bosley 1990: 26–27)

As scholars have noted, the emotional feeling and message of the *Kanteletar* are contrary to the oral song (Kaukonen 1984: 29; Krohn 1920: 52). Lönnrot's version has a more positive and conventional tendency. The rock is brighter (it has not become coloured), the boulder better (not worse) from the passage of the beloved. Lönnrot's song also gives a general description of the treasured one. The person in the recorded oral text might be a woman who sings of sexual desire, or rather, of sexual laugh while personifying the 'love' as a sex organ. The person in the *Kanteletar* song is not explicitly either a woman or a man. The colour white, however, indicates a female in oral poetry, but other female

symbols often presented in love songs, such as berry and bird, are not present in Lönnrot's song (Kuusi 1963: 404). In the last explanatory lines nature has become more feminine in response to the passage of the lover: more beautiful, milder, more flowery, and more congenial. However, Lönnrot did not clearly indicate the sex of the subject, nor of the love, but located the song in the group of *Paimenlauluja* ('Herdsman's songs'), which could be sung by both men and women.

In order to address a feeling in the song, Lönnrot used other textual and poetic strategies. Unlike in the oral text example, he used parallelism and repetitive, strong alliteration and assonance to establish the presence of the beloved: ***Täss**' on **kul**ta **kul**ke**nunna** / **Täss**' **m**enn**yt m**ielitiett**y**, / **Täs**tä **a**r-mas **a**stu**nunna**, / **Val**kia **vael**ta**nunna*** ('This way my treasure has walked / Here my beloved has been / This way my dear one has stepped / And my white one has wandered'). Nature is described through repetitive images and alliteration: ***Ka**ngas **ka**hta **ka**unihimpi,* / ***Le**hto viittä **le**ppiämpi*** ('The heath twice more fair / And the grove five times sweeter'). To strengthen even more the importance of the sweetheart, the power of the lover's appearance, he used the comparative: *Kivi on paljo **kirkkahampi*** / *Paasi toistansa **parempi*** ('The rock is much brighter, the boulder better than the next'). In the folk exemplar the lover's power is related to a (negative) action and change: *Kivi on tullut kirjavaksi,* / *paasi painunut pahaksi* ('The rock *has become* multicoloured, / The boulder *has sunk* bad').

The beloved is called by several intimate attributes by Lönnrot. She is *kulta* ('golden', i.e. dear), *mielitietty* ('sweetheart'; also indicates desire), *armas* ('beloved'), and *valkia* ('white'). Lönnrot accumulated synonyms of the beloved that allude to the appearance of the dear one as well as the desire of the speaker. The words *mielitietty* and *armas* can connote somebody who is desirable (KKSK 2009; Turunen 1981 [1979]: 24). The word *valkie* is the colour white, but it also indicates purity and something beautiful (KKSK 2009). Lönnrot describes the look of the beloved as bright, good, pure, beautiful, and flowery through the images of nature whereas the oral song represents the lover in the opposite way. In the other recordings of the similar lines in the SKVR, more diverse features are attributed to the beloved. He or she can be described in terms of appearance: *mustakulma* ('black brow') (SKVR III_2 2424, III_3 2661, VII_2 2358), *hienohelma* ('fine-hemmed') (SKVR $XIII_4$ 10804); or sometimes in terms of natural entities: *kuin puussa pähkinä* ('like a nut in a tree'), *mansikka mäellä* ('strawberry on a hill') (SKVR III_2 2424; III_3 2661; $XIII_2$ 3097), *lillukka lehossa* ('stone bramble in a grove') (SKVR $XIII_2$ 3097), *oksalla omena* ('apple on a branch') (SKVR III_2 2424, III_3 2661). In some songs, the lover is also contrasted with an animal:

orava ('squirrel') (SKVR XIII$_2$ 3097) and *näätähattu* ('pine marten'; a man wearing a hat of marten skin) (SKVR VII$_2$ 2344). Sometimes, but not very often, as compared to other love songs, the beloved is called by intimate attributes such as *mielellinen*, *mielitietto*, which indicate the desire and will of one's mind (SKVR XIII$_2$ 3097; XIII$_4$ 10803).

Oral songs describe love concretely. The idea of love is not only described as a tender sentiment between a man and a woman. Love is also represented as an affection toward the family or as an erotic tool for teasing between two sexes as it is expressed in dance and play songs. Besides describing longing, oral songs give several reasons for it: sorrow, sense of loss, erotic or humorous experience. Through meta-textual changes Lönnrot aspires to textual fidelity and stability (see Bauman & Briggs 2003: 207), but also, in contrast to the oral song exemplar, a feeling more suitable for his readership, a feeling of vulnerable love. The feeling expressed in the song *Armahan kulku* is related to a sense of purity and longing. Lönnrot presents a feeling of love associated with nature. Even though the power of nature might also be linked to erotic experiences, for example, in incantations and sexual songs, Lönnrot does not indicate this side of nature in his version. Instead, he emphasises the importance of this feeling as well as its frequency, its naturalness for all people.

INTERPRETATIONS

In the analysis of the most widespread love song, *Jos mun tuttuni tulisi*, Seppo Knuuttila and Senni Timonen reflect whether all the collected variants of the song express the emotional language of the original singer (Knuuttila & Timonen 1999: 195). One of the main problems in their article is elucidating the diverse emotional expressions and interpretations made of the song. While this poem has been regarded as a representation of love and passion between a man and a woman, several recorded versions of the poem show that the song describes rather a feeling of love and utopian relationship that could be sung not only about the other sex, but also, for example, about a mother. Also the fictional subject of the song has been seen to be a woman even though the song was sung by both sexes, and in many cases, the singer is unknown.

The feeling of love in the song by Lönnrot is related to an emotion of romantic love. Interpretations of the song *Armahan kulku* by folklorists and literary scholars have focused on the romantic relationship between a man and a woman. Most of them have considered the song as describing a man, the longed-for lover, fantasising about his love through the images of nature (Krohn 1920;

Tarkiainen 1921; Kaukonen 1984; Bosley 1990). Moreover, the sexual content of the oral exemplar has been recognised but ignored. Finnish folklore scholar Kaarle Krohn noted Lönnrot's editorial technique in *Armahan kulku*, but did not point to folk examples behind the song, nor to their different emphases on the feeling of love. Instead, he reflected on the genre of the song. While admitting sexual lines in some oral texts, Krohn (1920: 51) argued that these lines might indicate that the song was sung as a *leikkilaulu* ('play song'), not as a song of love – as it was probably sung according to the text of Anni Lehtonen (SKVR I_3 1987). Literary scholar Viljo Tarkiainen recognised Lönnrot's own part in the composition, but instead of analysing Lönnrot's choice not to follow folk lyric tradition, he highlighted the content of the poem and its emotional space as a brilliant entranced vision with crystallised nature standing for the adulation of love (Tarkiainen 1921: 105–106).

Semiotician Pirjo Kukkonen regarded the song as telling about a girl singing of her lover. In her book about Swedish translations of the *Kanteletar* (2009), she elucidated the song *Armahan kulku* as a good example of Lönnrot's editorial methods of adding alliteration and parallelism more than there were in folk songs. Kukkonen stated that the poem of the *Kanteletar* describes a girl longing for her lover, and emphasised that by using strong alliteration and parallelism Lönnrot addressed the "girl's inside landscape when she sings of her lover's walking" (Kukkonen 2009: 92).

Some of the established views of folk lyric poetry were proposed by folklorists Matti Kuusi and Martti Haavio, who both tried to reconstruct folk songs into their original form. Matti Kuusi offered an oral text of *Armaan kulku* as an exemplar of the kind of love songs where daily routines and an instant erotic feeling are combined. Regarding the language and geographic distribution of the song, he found that the original singer was a woman from Savonia (a region in eastern Finland), who had a special ability to express a lyric moment as a here-and-now erotic experience (Kuusi 1963: 405). A reconstruction of the song by Kuusi is the following:

Eipä kuulu kullaistani,	There is no sound of my beloved,
eipä liiku linnuistani,	No move of my bird,
näy näätähattuani,	My pine marten is not seen,
ei kuulu kujassa käyvän,	Not walking in the alley,
alla ikkunan ajavan,	Going under the window,
pilkkovan pinolla puita,	Chopping wood at the sheaf,
kodan eessä kolkehtivan.	Clattering in front of the hut.
Täst on kulta kulkenunna,	This way my treasure has walked,

täst on armas astununna,	Here my beloved has gone,
täss on istunut kivellä,	Here he has sat on a rock,
täss on astunut aholla:	There he has stepped in the glade:
kivi on muita kirkkahampi,	The rock is brighter than others,
aho on muita armahampi,	The glade more cherished than others,
paasi muita on parempi.	The boulder better than others.

According to Kuusi, this song is seen as representing one of the songs about longing for love, which reflects the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' trends of transposing erotic and everyday expressions. However, in the SKVR, there is no such poem as Kuusi proposed, even though both sections of the song, *Ei kuulu kullaistani* ('There is no sound of my lover') and *Täst on kulta kulkenunna* ('This way my treasure has walked') are separately found in different love songs.

Martti Haavio reconstructed oral lyric songs in his book *Laulupuu* ('Tree of Song', 1952), aiming to normalise oral lyric songs into their 'original' folk lyric form, which he regarded as having been corrupted in Lönnrot's *Kanteletar*. In his preface he stated the idea of love represented by common people as follows: "Folk lyric poetry talks about love shyly and allusively, not saying the word that sleeps in the heart and intends to come into view" (Haavio 1952: 6–7). Even though the song is not a representative one for the oral lyric tradition, Haavio added a version of *Armahan kulku* to the group of love songs. Worth noticing in Haavio's text is its textual similarity to the oral variant (SKVR XIII$_2$ 3167), but the feeling of love is equivalent to the song in the *Kanteletar*. The importance of the song emerges due to its placement in the anthology. *Täst' on kulta kulkenunna* ('This way the beloved has walked') starts a fifteen-song series of love songs (Haavio 1952: 67–74). The versions of Haavio and Lönnrot are as follows:

Tästä on kulta kulkenunna,	*Täst' on kulta kulkenunna,*
	täst' on mennyt mielitietty,
oma armas astununna,	*tästä armas astununna,*
	valkia vaeltanunna;
tuoss' on istunut kivellä,	*täss' on astunut aholla,*
tässä istunut aholla.	*tuoss' on istunut kivellä.*
Kivi on tullut kirjavaksi,	*Kivi on paljon kirkkahampi,*
paasi on toistansa parempi,	*paasi toistansa parempi,*
	kangas kahta kaunihimpi,
korpi on kuutta kukkaisempi,	*lehto viittä leppiämpi,*
lehto viittä leppeämpi.	*korpi kuuta kukkahampi,*
(Haavio 1952: 67)	*koko metsä mieluisampi,*

tuon on kultani kulusta,
armahani astunnasta.
(*Kanteletar* I: 174)

This way my treasure has walked,
My dear one has stepped,
There she has sat on a rock,
Here she has stepped in the glade,
The rock has become multi-coloured,
The boulder better than the next,
The wild six times more flowery,
The grove five times sweeter.

LONGING FOR WHAT?

The song in the *Kanteletar* has similarities to oral songs and their descriptions of love, but it has been modified to accord with readers' expectations and moral attitude. Lönnrot's ideological message of the song is included in the expression of emotion. The idea of love in a bourgeois context in the nineteenth century combined sensitive, romantic emotions, and the family as a moral entity (Giddens 1990: 37–38). However, a subjective feeling of love was secondary to the social feeling of the state of family. Hence, strong emotional expressions were not regarded as suitable among the middle class who aimed at self-control and regarded control of self-expression as an important principle to follow. The interpretations made of the song *Armahan kulku* have been based on the generic as well as cultural expectations of folk lyric and sentiments of love (e.g. DuBois 2006). I here turn to Seppo Knuuttila and Senni Timonen, and their analysis of the love song *Jos mun tuttuni tulisi* and its romantic and male-centred interpretation (Knuuttila & Timonen 1999). The same interpretational obscurity can be seen in different readings of the song *Armahan kulku*. Despite the acknowledged fact that *Armahan kulku* did not exist as such in folk lyric poetry but was Lönnrot's own combination of lines, the song has been viewed as a beautiful folk song of love and has been included in selections from the *Kanteletar*. Sensuality and tenderness have been interpreted as describing the ideals of women even though the subject and the lover of the recorded texts could have been either a woman or a man. Nor have interpretations concentrated on the possible sexual or other motifs of the oral version of the song. Rather, sexual images have been ignored, and instead, interpretations have emphasised the descriptions of nature as correlating with female beauty.

The written representation of the love song gives one interpretation, one image of love, while oral recordings carry diverse meanings. Recorded oral text variants in the SKVR reflect a more diverse feeling of love, with sexual, humoristic or mythic content, than the song of *Armahan kulku* in the *Kanteletar*. The idea of love is presented, though also in a romantic vein, as a complex, often erotic, experience that can reflect the feeling of love, which can be expressed in a humoristic sense, as a dialogue between young people dancing and playing, as a longing for something good, or, for example, in hunting rituals, as the power of nature and the bear, as well as of sexual appearance.

Further, if we look at all the recordings of *Armaan kulku*, we may reflect whether Lönnrot adapted the oral tradition and modified it according to his editorial purposes or whether the development occurred the other way around. As noted earlier, many of the recorded texts resemble Lönnrot's own version in the *Kanteletar*, and one of the recorded texts has explicitly been adapted from the *Kanteletar* (SKVR IV_1 1055) via a publication of D.E.D. Europaeus (1847). Therefore, it can be argued that text variants might have been learnt from the printed sources, then accepted and modified to the oral tradition (see also Krohn 1920: 51). In that case Lönnrot changed the tradition. Another option is that the lines of the beloved's walking come from the oral tradition; they were mainly sung in play songs by young people, but Lönnrot's sources are lost. In this case Lönnrot chose from different song line alternatives the one he personally liked and expected his bourgeois readers acknowledge it. By doing so, Lönnrot made the same personal choice oral singers have done before and after him. The difference from oral singers is found in Lönnrot's editorial purposes. He adapted, modified, and represented folk songs for publication.

Knowledge of the oral tradition is based on written presentations, and thus our understanding is a multi-layered interpretation. Recording and, particularly, publishing practices have made oral songs readable, but also reconstructed them ideologically and polished them to meet the expectations of contemporary readers. Lönnrot's textual strategies can be regarded as having a tendency to broaden or narrow the emotional message, to guide the meanings of emotional expressions, and, by doing so, to influence the views of the emotional behaviour of the common people. Furthermore, the reception and analysis of written representations of oral folk songs have extended or narrowed the original meanings and emotional messages as well.

The *Kanteletar* was viewed as a voucher for the beauty and sensibility of folk lyric. Beauty, purity, and vulnerable emotions were the ideals of the written culture, and those features were regarded as having been especially characteristic of the common people and their culture. Thus, the readers of the *Kanteletar* have tended to consider the songs and emotions as representations of the

oral singing tradition through their own cultural expectations and knowledge. *Armahan kulku* is one of the exceptions in Lönnrot's editorial work because it has only a few similarities to the oral poetry. However, because of its nature as Lönnrot's own creation, it offers an interesting view of the tradition as multilayered cultural knowledge that is historically, ideologically, and emotionally constructed and represented for certain publishing purposes and audiences.

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NOTES

[1] In some cases, the ideal of folk lyric as an expression of sorrowful emotions has occasionally been adapted by a folk singer regarding the taste and expectations of the elite audience. See, e.g., DuBois 2006: 203–211.

[2] On the reception of the *Kanteletar* see Gröndahl 1997: 31–35. Only few detailed studies have been published on the *Kanteletar*. Besides Väinö Kaukonen and his massive work in searching out the references of songs and lines Lönnrot used for the *Kanteletar* (1984), folklorist Satu Apo has written of the *Kanteletar* and its grotesque, naturalistic themes (1995a). See also Pertti Karkama's *Kansakunnan asialla: Elias Lönnrot ja ajan aatteet* (2001).

[3] For example, the selected songs of the *Kanteletar* have been translated into 15 languages while the *Kalevala* has been translated into 60 languages.

[4] On the textualisation practices of the *Kalevala* and the *Kanteletar*, see Hämäläinen 2014.

[5] Herder defined the lyric as a shared language of a nation, its soul's grammar. Lyric was the most natural genre, common for all people and arising from its pure emotions (Herder 2000 [1795]: 27). Pertti Karkama emphasises that defining Lönnrot only through romantic ideas undermines his multifaceted thoughts and work (Karkama 2001: 172).

[6] All the cited lines and lyric examples have been translated by the author.

[7] Translation started already from the manuscript of the *Kanteletar*. Lönnrot himself made several translations of the songs and published them in Swedish periodicals between 1830 and 1840 (Anttila 1985 [1931]; Kukkonen 2009: 100).

[8] See, e.g., Tiina Seppä, who has analysed this complex relationship between a collector and a singer in her dissertation published in 2015. See also Korhonen 2005: 60–61.

[9] *Armahan kulku* has been included in various selections of the *Kanteletar* songs: *Suomen runotar* (Lehtonen 1945 [1931]), *Laulupuu* (Haavio 1952), *Itkivät ihanat nurmet* (Jauhiainen 1990), *Naurut naisten, mielet miesten* (Koponen 2001).

[10] Variants of *Armaan kulku* (13) and the recording years: **1837**: XIII$_2$ 3167 / **1845**: VI$_2$ 2358 (incl. few lines, a part of the song *Jos mun tuttuni tulisi*) / **1854**: XIII$_2$ 3097 (a part of the bigger poem) / **1859**: IV$_1$ 1055 (*Pieni Runon-Seppä*)/ **1890**: VI$_2$ 6539 / **1895**: VII$_2$ 2393 / **1897**: III$_2$ 2424 (a part of the bigger poem) / **1900**: III$_3$ 2661 (/ **1911**: I$_3$ 1987 / **1916**: V$_2$ 1075 / **1935**: XIII$_3$ 9910 (incantation) / **1937**: XIII$_4$ 10803, 10804. See also similar lines of the beloved one's walking in the following songs: SKVR V$_2$ 1154; V$_3$ 678; VI$_1$ 596; VII$_2$ 2344; VII$_5$ 3390.

[11] E-mail conversation with Senni Timonen (4.3.2016 and 7.3.2016).

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IN MEMORIAM

ARVO KRIKMANN
21.07.1939 – 27.02.2017

The Estonian humanities have suffered a great loss. Arvo Krikmann, one of the most reputable Estonian folklorists of international renown, who dedicated his life to studying short forms of folklore, figurative speech, and humour, passed away after a serious illness on the early hours of February 27.

Arvo Krikmann was born into the family of a small farmer in Lääne-Viru County, Estonia, on July 21, 1939. In 1957 he finished Väike-Maarja Secondary School and continued his studies at the Faculty of History and Languages at the University of Tartu, where he studied Estonian language and literature, and graduated in 1962. His diploma thesis on folk humour was written on such a professional level that it deserved to be published.

In the years 1962–1969, Arvo Krikmann worked as researcher and senior researcher at the Department of Folklore of the Estonian Literary Museum. After his postgraduate studies at the Institute of Language and Literature of the Estonian Academy of Sciences in 1970–1972, he defended his thesis on the content and worldview of proverbs at the same institution. Beginning in 1973, he worked at the Institute of Language and Literature (since 1994 the Institute of the Estonian Language) as junior researcher, senior researcher at the sector of computational linguistics, and as senior researcher, leading researcher, and head of paremiology working group at the Department of Folkloristics. In 1998 he obtained his doctorate, defending his dissertation titled "Insights into short forms of folklore I: Fundamental concepts, genre relations, general problems". In the years 2000–2014, Arvo Krikmann worked as senior researcher at the Estonian Literary Museum. In 1997 he was elected member of Estonian Academy of Sciences.

Arvo Krikmann was a remarkable scholar, whose highest scholarly merit consisted in introducing the Estonian folklore approach into the international arena. He authored or co-authored more than two hundred scholarly writings, focusing mainly on short forms of folklore, problems of geographical distribution of folklore, folk humour, theories of figurative speech and humour. His folklore studies were closely connected with the analysis of Estonian older literary language, figurative speech, and dialects. In the last decades Arvo Krikmann used cognitive and linguistic methods in the studies of folklore texts (incl. humour). His works were widely read and well known, and cited both in Estonia and abroad.

Academician Arvo Krikmann (co)compiled and edited several monumental publications, such as *Eesti vanasõnad* ('Estonian proverbs') (I–V; 1980–1988), *Eesti mõistatused* ('Estonian riddles') (I–II, 2001–2002; III:1, 2012; III:2, 2013). It was only recently that the readers saw the reprint of *Laustud sõna lagub: Valik eesti vanasõnu* ('Selection of Estonian proverbs'), compiled by Arvo Krikmann, the whole print run of which was destroyed in 1975.

With the beginning of the computer era in the 1990s, Arvo Krikmann became greatly enthused by the possibilities of information technology. The databases and e-publications compiled and edited by him are exceptional, as in most cases he was also the technical executor thereof. His colleagues remember well the maxim on the wall of his office at the Literary Museum, which read, "The lazy one creates a macro, the hard-working one clicks for a week". He compiled and supplemented folklore databases, and, exceptionally for a humanitarian, created computer programmes (the first ones as Word macros) to systematise and study his research material, thereby inspiring also his colleagues. He was one of the first analysts of internet folklore in Estonia.

Besides his research, Arvo Krikmann also acted as a highly valued university lecturer. In the years 1992–2005, as a professor extraordinarius, he could be encountered, wearing a denim jacket and carrying an imposingly high pile of lecture notes, hurrying through the corridors of the University of Tartu to give a lecture on the short forms of folklore and their source history, folk humour, semantics of sayings, or theory of figurative speech. Kriku's – this was how he was called by his colleagues, friends, and students – online lectures and materials were always exceptionally thorough and elaborate. He supervised a number of successfully defended master's and doctoral theses. His talent, knowledge, and dedication to his field have served as an irreplaceable example for the younger generation of folklorists.

Arvo Krikmann was a member of several Estonian and foreign research organisations, editorial boards, steering committees, and research councils. He was also a member of the Finnish Literature Society, Kalevala Society, Academia Scientiarum et Artium Europaea, the Estonian Mother Tongue Society, and the Academic Folklore Society, as well as honorary member of the International Society for Folk Narrative Research, the International Association of Paremiology, and the Estonian Mother Tongue Society, and a member of the editorial board of the yearbook *Proverbium* published in the USA.

Arvo Krikmann's work was acknowledged with the 3rd Class Order of the White Star (1998), National Research Award (1999), research prize of the Baltic Assembly (2004), annual award of the Cultural Endowment of Estonia (2004), Finnish Kalevala Society Allhallows Prize (2013), and Paul Ariste medal of the Estonian Academy of Sciences (2014). In 2014 he also received Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann's language prize for studying short forms of Estonian folklore, introducing linguistic methods into folkloristics, studying humour both humorously and linguistically and linguistic-analytically, introducing Estonian verbal cultural heritage in the international arena, and promoting the humanities.

The secret of Arvo Krikmann's professional success lay in his extreme talent, diligence, and dedication, incited by his boyish interest and curiosity. His colleagues and disciples will remember him as an exceptionally brilliant scholar, a great personality with an unbelievably deep erudition.

Department of Folkloristics, Estonian Literary Museum

NEWS IN BRIEF

MARGARET LYNGDOH DEFENDED A DISSERTATION ON KHASI VERNACULAR BELIEF WORLDS

Lyngdoh, Margaret. *Transformation, Tradition, and Lived Realities: Vernacular Belief Worlds of the Khasis of Northeastern India*. Dissertationes Folkloristicae Universitatis Tartuensis 23. Tartu: Tartu University Press, 2016. 168 pages.

On April 25th, 2016, Margaret Lyngdoh defended her dissertation titled *Transformation, Tradition, and Lived Realities: Vernacular Belief Worlds of the Khasis of Northeastern India* at the University of Tartu Institute of Cultural Research and Arts. Lyngdoh is the first folklore scholar from India who has received a doctoral degree in Estonia. She completed her six years of PhD studies at the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore under the supervision of Professor Ülo Valk.

The dissertation consists of four peer-reviewed articles on various manifestations of Khasi vernacular beliefs, which have been published, or accepted for publishing, in acknowledged scholarly journals (*Asian Ethnology*, *Internationales Asienforum*, and *Anthropos*) or by an internationally recognized publisher (Equinox). Lyngdoh's case studies are equipped with a thorough introduction, which provides the necessary contextual framework for Khasi ethnic and religious matters, including complicated relationships between Khasi Christianities and indigenous religions, as well as methodological and theoretical considerations to present central keywords of the dissertation. These include fieldwork context and concepts of the supernatural, genre, tradition, vernacular, and transformation, the latter being the most important keyword that penetrates all parts of the thesis.

The research articles published within Margaret Lyngdoh's thesis are based on fresh fieldwork data that has been documented by the author. Her field trips were carried out partly in Shillong, the capital of Meghalaya, India, but in most cases in various remote areas of Khasi and Jantia Hills, which are hard to access due to natural conditions and the lack of infrastructure. Through her long-term fieldwork Lyngdoh has created a bulky corpus of new empirical data on supernatural folklore, thus documenting traditions of Khasi sub-communities, many of which have not been studied earlier. This new set of data is compared in her studies with descriptions of earlier Khasi intellectuals as well as those of colonial writers, who laid the foundations for many stereotypes that contemporary Khasi scholars do contest. In addition to Western epistemological and ontological premises, Lyngdoh relies on Khasi vernacular epistemologies and ontologies while interpreting the documented fieldwork data, which help her understand and mediate the complicated manifestations of the supernatural in Khasi communities, and thus also promote vernacular theorising.

Throughout her dissertation Margaret Lyngdoh is questioning and problematising the earlier simplified, often Europe-centric, stereotyped, and homogenising views on Khasi communities, their folklore, and indigenous religion. The author's critical observations concern both macro-level assessments to create a homogenous Khasi identity for political

or economical reasons, and micro-level statements on details from the perspective of an insider or the one who is close to the indigenous communities. In her thesis Lyngdoh clearly demonstrates great empathy, her sincere wish to understand the community members under scrutiny, and not to judge (or condemn) them for their supernatural traditions.

Margaret Lyngdoh's work is remarkable also because of the fact that the author concentrates on complicated topics labelled in the Introduction as "expressions of dark folklore" (p. 9). This also emphasises the significance of the author's documentation practices to record vernacular manifestations that are often kept in secret, which imply wild environment, dangerous situations, and unpredictable consequences. Moreover, scholarly interpretation of this kind of folkloric material is undeniably complicated. In many cases neither earlier studies on particular topics nor any employable examples from other traditions or regions are available. In addition, it may be said that local vernacular ontologies are often not well 'translatable' or 'adjustable' to Western ontologies, which may cause problems in explaining vernacular manifestations of the supernatural to the scholarly audience. In this respect Margaret Lyngdoh has done extraordinary work in sharing new data and posing novel questions; in some cases no clear answers have been provided, but I have to admit that this is often a better solution than forcible imposition of inappropriate interpretations. This way there is enough space for further interpretations and 'excavations' in Khasi vernacular knowledge.

I would like to stress that Margaret Lyngodh's dissertation concerns topical problems in contemporary Khasi society such as stigmatisation and 'othering' of minority groups (both ethnic and religious minorities), mob fury addressed to those members of the community who are 'different', violence against women, etc. Lyngdoh's work thus exemplifies the idea (articulated also in the introductory article on p. 59) that, in addition to the function of folklore to unite and create a common identity, it may also serve to divide, to create distance and 'other' certain social groups. In this connection, however, the author mentions the possibility to 'undo' stereotypes of malicious folklore through folkloristic studies, as well as folklorists' prospect to "explain the mechanisms of folklore in generating fear, conflicts, and stigmatisation" (p. 59) also to the local communities and their leaders.

Ergo-Hart Västrik

BOOK REVIEW

SERGEI STADNIKOV AND OTTO FRIEDRICH RICHTER'S LEGACY

Indrek Jürjo & Sergej Stadnikov (eds.). ***Briefe aus dem Morgenland – Otto Friedrich von Richters Forschungsreise in den Jahren 1814–1816.*** **Hamburger Beiträge zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 20. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2013. 313 pp. ISBN 9783 8300 72898.**

This year Sergei Stadnikov[1] would have been celebrating his 60th birthday, but unfortunately he died untimely on 26th June 2015. At the beginning of the volume, which is dedicated to the memory of Sergei Stadnikov, Dr. Mait Kõiv writes:

> *Sergei Stadnikov developed his scholarly interests in two principal directions. He was fascinated with the Old and Middle Kingdom literature and ideology, especially the questions of royalty, eternity and the universalist pretensions of the rulers. Besides the numerous articles on the subject, and the translation of 'The Story of Sinuhe', he completed the translations of* Ptahhotepi elutarkus *(The Instructions of Ptahhotep) and* Amenemhet I õpetus oma pojale Senusertile *(The Teaching of Amenemhet to His Son Senusert), all supplied with exhaustive commentaries. In the other direction, he researched the history of Egyptology and Ancient History in general, publishing on the development of Egyptian and Near Eastern studies in 19th century Estonia, particularly the University of Tartu, and on the discussion of Ancient History in Germany before the Second World War* (Kämmerer & Kõiv & Sazonov 2016: IX).

One of Stadnikov's last monographs published outside Estonia was a book titled *Briefe aus dem Morgenland – Otto Friedrich von Richters Forschungsreise in den Jahren 1814–1816*. This monograph was compiled by historian Indrek Jürjo and Egyptologist Sergei Stadnikov, and is written in German. Unfortunately, Dr. Indrek Jürjo (1956–2009), one of the authors and compilers, died some years before the monograph was published.

All chapters of this book, comprising 313 pages, are built up in a logical way, being clearly structured in chronological order. It fits in the scope of Oriental studies (see *Some additional remarks*), containing a detailed introduction, exhaustive commentaries and notes that provide a historical overview of the life, research, and travels across the Middle East of the famous Baltic-German Orientalist Otto Friedrich von Richter (1791–1816) (Stadnikov 1991: 195–203; Stadnikow 2003: 125–161; Jürjo & Stadnikow 2007).

Despite his short life span (he died at the age of 24 in 1815), Otto Friedrich von Richter can be considered as an important researcher in the field of Oriental studies of his

time, especially Egyptology and Nubian studies. His studies concerning Ancient Nubian civilization, history, and culture were very important (see more in von Richter 1822).

Although this book consists mainly of von Richter's published letters written during his voyages through the Levant between 1814 and 1816, and the commentaries added by Sergei Stadnikov and Indrek Jürjo, it can also be classified as a monograph, because the authors' joint commentaries and analytic remarks provide a very good synopsis of von Richter's biography, voyages in the Middle East, and scientific research.

Firstly, in the "Biographische Einleitung", S. Stadnikov and I. Jürjo cover the origins and childhood of O. F. von Richter in Väimela (Võru County, Livland). Moving forth through O. F. von Richter's studies at several European universities, such as Moscow, Heidelberg, and private studies in Vienna (Austro-Hungarian Empire), Stadnikov and Jürjo estimate that von Richter's studies at those universities and in Vienna in the field of Oriental studies were very successful (p. 56).

Already at Moscow University (summer 1808 – spring 1809) student Otto F. von Richter showed his significant interest in the Middle East and ancient history, as well as classical and Oriental languages. After one academic year in Moscow, Richter decided to continue his education in Europe, in some prominent German university, and for that reason he chose Heidelberg, where he started studies in the autumn of 1809. At the University of Heidelberg, O. F. von Richter continued his studies in the Middle Eastern field; he also learned Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages (pp. 26, 34). After his studies in Heidelberg, O. F. von Richter moved to Vienna. The period (1811–1813) that he spent there was a difficult time in Europe. When the whole Europe was engaged in Napoleonic wars (1799–1815) and destruction, Richter began his studies in Vienna, where he met famous Orientalist Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), who became his mentor and teacher during his private studies in Vienna, which lasted approximately for two years. It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of the nineteenth century von Hammer-Purgstall, as Indrek Jürjo and Sergei Stadnikov opine, was probably a leading person and most prominent scholar in Oriental studies in German cultural space. Additionally, Richter visited different lectures and seminars at the University of Vienna. He studied oriental languages and other disciplines (pp. 34, 45).

When returning to Livland from Western European countries (Germany and Austria), Richter was already a highly educated Orientalist, having learned the Arabic language, Middle Eastern history and culture, as well as local Middle Eastern customs (p. 56). For a whole year, from the summer of 1813 until the summer of 1814, O. F. von Richter stayed at his home in Väimela. Unfortunately, this short period in Richter's life could be designated as the 'dark period', because we have practically no information about Richter's activity during that year. The only information we have is two of his letters addressed to the famous Orientalist Hammer-Purgstall: one of them from Tartu (Dorpat), dated 25th September (7th October), and the other one from Väimela, dated 3rd June (25th June) 1814 (p. 56).

In 1814 Otto Friedrich von Richter began his voyage to the Middle East, and it turned out to be quite successful in the field of Egyptology and Nubian studies. In the Middle East O. F. von Richter collected quite a good collection of oriental manuscripts and artefacts (among them Egyptian mummies, statuettes, and scarabs), hieroglyphic texts, etc., took notes, and kept a diary. Together with another traveller, Sven Fredrik Lidman,[2] O. F. von Richter hoped to present the results and analyses of their joint

research to the public in Europe and in Russia after their return, and also continue research later on. Unfortunately, von Richter unexpectedly died of a serious disease in Izmir, while en route through the Ottoman Empire, when returning to Europe from his travel in the Middle East on the 31st of August 1816.

In the introductory chapter, Stadnikov and Jürjo provide the readers also with a good and detailed review of von Richter's scientific legacy, which was sent by the Russian embassy in Istanbul to Richter's father in Livland after the scholar's death. His father, Otto Magnus von Richter, decided to donate his son's legacy to the University of Dorpat Library and to the University of Dorpat Art Museum. It included not only his coin collections, personal books, notes, manuscripts, diaries, and annotations, but also Egyptian mummies – children's mummies, a dog's and an ibis's mummy among them – as well as other artefacts, such as statuettes, scarabs, and hieroglyphic texts (p. 66). At the end of this chapter, the authors present detailed written commentaries and analyses.

The second chapter of the book is titled "Briefe aus den Jahren 1814–1816", and consists mainly of letters written by O. F. von Richter to his father Otto Magnus Johann von Richter (1755–1826) and to his mother, Anna Auguste Charlotte von Richter (1770–1823). In these letters, von Richter conveys his impressions, speaks about his adventures as well as the results of his research during his trip to the Orient in the years 1814 through to 1816. This section is accompanied by profound commentaries and analyses made by Stadnikov and Jürjo and forms the core of the book – a capacious chapter comprising 175 of some of its best pages. This chapter consists of Richter's 33 letters to his parents, written during his travels to Russia, Ukraine, and the Middle East in the years 1814–1816, accompanied by very profound and detailed commentaries, with analysis done by I. Jürjo and S. Stadnikov (pp. 221–262). In these detailed commentaries Jürjo and Stadnikov explain definitions and geographic locations, historical events that took place in Richter's lifetime, and other historical events that were mentioned in Richter's letters. They also give a good and detailed overview of different historical figures (among them diplomats, scholars, Orientalists, friends, family members, and teachers of Otto F. v. Richter, etc.). For example, Stadnikov and Jürjo provide quite a long commentary about ancient Edfu (Kurth 1994) in Egypt (pp. 242–244), and about the Valley of the Kings, which O. F. von Richter visited in June 1815.

However, there are some small drawbacks as regards this book. For example, it lacks cartographic material presenting the Middle Eastern region at the beginning of the 19th century, which could provide the readers with an overall picture of the physical, cultural, and political geography of the time and places where von Richter travelled. Along with it, the authors could also have included a map showing the areas of Egypt and Nubia, enriched with a short overview of the history of Ancient Egypt and Nubia, as well as chronology.

To sum up, such a study of the life and activities of O. F. von Richter is important, because von Richter was the pioneer of Oriental studies in Estonia and his unique collection of manuscripts as well as artefacts have become important objects of research for many years.

Vladimir Sazonov

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Notes

[1] Sergei Stadnikov was born in Pärnu on 20th July 1956.

[2] Sven Erik Lidman (1784–1845) was a Swedish Orientalist, traveller, and diplomat. He was Associate Professor of Arabic Languages at the University of Uppsala and in 1811 he became a preacher in Istanbul.

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Estonian traditional singers Kadri Asu and Marie Sepp from Kolga-Jaani pari

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Loviisa Mahmastol, a folk healer and singer from Sootaga village, northeastern Estonia. Photograph by Helgi Kihno, 1957 (KKI, Foto 1108).

On the cover: Estonian traditional singers Kadri Asu and Marie Sepp from Kolga-Jaani parish during a recording session in Tallinn in 1937. Photograph by P. Parikas (ERA, Foto 773).

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