

# Variation in Folklore and Language



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Edited by

Piret Voolaid and Saša Babič

Language Editors

Aleksandar Takovski and Lucie Boase

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## INTRODUCTION

### VARIATION MAKES THE WORLD GO ROUND

SAŠA BABIČ AND PIRET VOOLAID

Variation is defined as “**a change or slight difference** in condition, amount, or level, typically within certain limits” (Lexico.com). It is a universal phenomenon observable not only in measurable phenomena but also in culture, worldview, perception of surroundings, and language. Variation can be seen as a process as well as conditions of certain cultural phenomena. It shows us how society is developing and unfolding its understanding into words, conceptual images and movements. Variation at the same time means life, continuation, productivity—and as long as different words, concepts, genres, methods are used, they also vary.

Variation is a basic term in folklore; it guarantees that folklore phenomena are adjusted to the contemporary world and at the same time change of folklore is slow enough, so that it keeps the tradition within. Variation in folklore enables non-hierarchic relationships between different genres and phenomena—all folklore presents itself equal by existence: there is no hierarchically higher or lower genre. It is commonly known that the oldest and unique folkloristic method—the historic-geographic method—is based on variation.

Variation in folklore is the main topic in different early monographs (e.g. Honko 2000) where it was explored from several viewpoints, among them different types of variation, its manifestation in various folklore materials and rules of reproduction. It was emphasized that variation is one of the key characteristics of folklore, “the life-blood of oral tradition” (Honko 2000), but in fact this can be extended to other, non-oral phenomena described in this volume like rituals, festivals, dance, and contemporary written genres.

This publication offers details of variation, showing how research and different phenomena (oral, ritual, dance etc.) vary among themselves. The present volume is a result of a transdisciplinary annual conference organized by the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies entitled “Variation in language, literature, folklore, and music”, co-organised with the Estonian

Literary Museum, University of Tartu and Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies in Tartu, Estonia held on 7–8 December 2017 (see Ostrak and Voolaid 2017). It was the fifth conference of the series “Dialogues with Estonian studies” and it brought together international scholars working on culture, literature, linguistics, folklore, communication, humour studies, translation and interpreting.

The publication focuses on issues related to variations in language, folklore, and music/dance, and the confluences and connections between different variations. The authors are dealing with different temporal aspects of variation: synchronic and diachronic, different levels (individual, local, regional, historical), comparisons (registers, dialects, riddles), factors influencing variation, and methods for studying. Variation is seen as the main basis of dynamics of folklore, and an issue of typology. An important part of the volume is dedicated to variations of myths and motifs, creativity, intertextuality, and transmediality.

The volume opens with the chapter *Ethnos in Words*, discussing one of the frequently used methods in researching culture, i.e. ethnolinguistics as a special method occurring on the borderline of linguistics, ethnology and folkloristics. Antra Klavinska's article focuses on the toponymical and anthroponymic system of the Latgale dialect and Latgalians' analyses the contextual semantics of the ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the texts of Latgalian folklore and in the corpus of modern Latgalian texts.

Nikolai Antropov discusses the continuation and variation of the ethnolinguistic Moscow school in the Belarusian context, emphasizes their similarities and differences and shows how one method can manifest variations in different cultural contexts.

Bible motifs are one of the most representative, varying motifs in European folklore: we can find concrete bible motifs or traces of them in all traditions within Christianity. Elena Boganeva demonstrates the use of the motif of the Tower of Babel in the Belarusian oral Bible. Her discussion is extended with variants of the Babel motif found in other Slavic folklore, as well as parallels and similarities in the motifs of construction of other topics of the Old Testament. The article presents motivations for the thematic interpretation of the biblical text and shows how variation that arose among people and persisted in folklore influenced the interpretation of the motif.

The second part, *Colourful Folklore*, consists of three studies on the variation of colours in folk tradition. Folk songs remain one of the most visible genres in folklore. Tiit Jaago studies colour variation in Estonian folk songs and focuses on the use of ‘red’ and ‘blood-red’ in Estonian *regilaul*, based on the concept of formula. She shows us that formulae

related to the colour term ‘red’ are associated with certain motifs and themes, rather than with statistical repetition.

Articles by Piret Voolaid and Saša Babič discuss riddles and a variety of colour names within them. The articles complement each other by offering a comparison between two different languages (Estonian vs. Slovenian), language groups (Finno-Ugric vs. Slavic) and environments (north vs. south). They bring detailed insight into folk perceptions of colours and how the variations of their cognitive imaginaries are presented in riddles; they also present how the genre of riddles varies through time.

The third part, *Culture and Entertaining Variation*, discusses festival, dance and media variations within time and society. Yulia Krasheninnikova introduces folklore archival data on Saint Nicholas’ day in Kazhym and revitalization of this holiday. This study that follows is a folkloristic research on dance by Silje Kapper and Madli Teller. The focal point of the study are the digitalised film and video sources from Estonian Folklore Archives along with some earlier documentary recordings. All the video sources are used as a basis of studying folk dance and re-staging new folk dance shows, i.e. varying ways in which new data from archival footage can enrich our knowledge. The authors compare the experience with Hungarian and Norwegian recordings and methods, and the current folk dance practice that had mainly been based on verbal and graphic notations earlier.

The last article takes us into the contemporary time with a contemporary television genre and analyses the discourse of a television serial, with a focus on blogs hosting viewers’ discussions. The article presents the variety in the way people express themselves on provocative topics.

Variation persists in topics and research methods; it is part of our everyday and professional lives. It is a connecting part of culture(s) and evolution. Speaking generally, variation is culture and culture varies. That is why it is an important part of folklore and cultural studies. The aim of this book is to demonstrate the importance of variation and its inclusion into research.

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## **PART 1:**

### **ETHNOS IN WORDS**



# CHAPTER ONE

## ETHNONYMS DENOTING ESTONIANS AND THEIR CONTEXTUAL MEANINGS IN LATGALIAN TEXTS

ANTRA KĻAVINSKA

**Abstract:** Although the Estonians of Ludza (Latvia, Latgale) have ceased to exist as a distinct ethnic and linguistic community, the ethnolinguistic contacts between Latvians and Estonians (other Baltic Finns<sup>1</sup>) have left traces in the Latgalian dialects, particularly in the toponymic and anthroponymic system of Latgale. The aim of the research is to analyse the contextual semantics of the ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the texts of the Latgalian folklore and in the corpus of modern Latgalian texts.

In the first corpus—the folklore texts, the ethnonym *igauni* is found (9 tokens total) and *ikaunīki* (one token). The positive representation of Estonians in folklore is that of desirable suitors nurturing a desire to learn the Estonian language. At the same time the negative presentation of Estonians is that of intruders to the Latvian land and representatives of a foreign religion. Estonians nowadays are popular joke targets usually laughed at because of their manner of speech, slowness, and lack of wit.

In the corpus of modern Latgalian texts, 72 tokens of the ethnonym *igauni* were found, as well as the surname *Igaunis* (6 tokens) and *Ikaunīks* (one token). The ethnonym is most frequently used in popular-science texts, with the most frequent collocation being *Ludzys igauni* ‘the Estonians of Ludza’ that mainly occurs in historical context.

**Keywords:** ethnonyms, Estonians, Latgalian, semantics, corpus linguistics.

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<sup>1</sup> The term that denotes the peoples inhabiting the region around the Baltic Sea who speak Finnic languages—Finns proper, Estonians, Karelians, Veps, Votes, Izhorians, Livonians.

## Introduction

Ethnic diversity has been characteristic of the territory of Latgale (Eastern Latvia) since ancient times, therefore individual and collective opinions and stereotypes about foreigners have long been formed within the indigenous population.

The most ancient population on the territory of Latgale—the Baltic Finns and the Baltic people—had established contact with the ethnic communities that settled there at different times: Russians (10/11c.), Germans (12/13c.), Roma (15/16c.), Poles (16c.), Jews (16c.), Belarusians (17c.), etc. (Apine and Dribins 1998).

There is a lack of accurate statistics on the ethnic composition before the First World War, when the modern territory of Latgale was a part of Vitebsk Governorate in the Russian Empire. Data from the 1897 population census is considerable, but it can be inaccurate because national identity on the periphery of Russian Empire was relatively variable in that time (see Table 1). After the establishment of the Latvian State in 1918, many Poles left for Poland and Lithuanians for Lithuania, while many Latvian traders, artisans and officials from other regions of Latvia came to Latgale. Looking into the 1935 data, one cannot find information about the number of Belarusians, although the number was previously a significant one (66,448). Fluctuations in the number of Belarusians can be explained by the fragile self-esteem of Belarusian people. In Latgale, as well as throughout Latvia, changes in the number of Jews and Roma were influenced by the Holocaust during the German Nazi occupation. After World War II, many inhabitants of Latgale migrated to other regions of Latvia, while a large number of Russians and Belarusians had arrived to the border areas. A very small number of Latvians and a relatively greater number of Russians had inhabited Latgale regions and cities according to the population census in 1989. According to the results of the population census in 2000 and 2011 respectfully, the number of different nationalities in Latgale and Latvia is lower due to the drop in the rate of natural population and the increase of the rate of emigration caused by the economic and social conditions (emigration mainly to EU countries).

The ethnographic situation in Latgale differs from the general situation in Latvia by a relatively small number of representatives of the basic ethnoses (Latvians) and by a significant Russian population, as well as by its ethnic diversity. The phenomenon has been caused by different historical, socio-economic and political processes, as well as the fact that geographically speaking, Latgale has always been located at the frontier zone and the periphery (Kļavinska 2015, 52).



In accordance with the official statistics, Estonians have been a relatively small ethnic minority (see Table 1-1). Estonians have primarily lived in the vicinity of Ludza in the four of the oldest parishes: Mērdzene, Pilda, Nirza, Briģi. Admittedly, the official statistics do not reflect the true number of Estonians in Latgale. Professor of History and Dialects of Estonian Language Karl Pajusalu, referring to studies of one of the most prominent researchers of Estonians of Ludza, Paulopriit Voolaine, in 1925, admits that "...should someone ask about the nationality of Lutsis [Lutsi—the Estonian name of Ludza], they would usually answer that they were Catholics; religion was primary in their self-definition; upon further questioning they would tell you that they are Latvians (Latgalians) and only later that they were of Estonian descent. They knew about their Estonian descent but did not associate it with their national identity" (Pajusalu 2009, 177).

Nationality	1897 <sup>2</sup>	1935 <sup>3</sup>	1989 <sup>4</sup>	2000 <sup>5</sup>	2011 <sup>6</sup>
Latvians	253 792	347 751	166 344	165 648	139 941
Russians	78 227	153 976	183 207	155 468	118 170
Belarusians	66 448	no data	27 642	23 175	15 046
Jews	63 851	27 974	1 809	896	no data
Poles	30 972	19 534	44852	27 575	20 806
Germans	4 242	892	432	358	no data
Lithuanians	1 300	no data	2 637	2 295	1 745
Estonians	612	no data	182	110	no data
Roma	346	no data	2 217	1 275	no data
Other	no data	17 037	11 069	7 868	8 324

**Table 1-1.** Ethnic composition in the territory of Latgale.

However, since the second half of the 19th century, several Estonian and Finnish researchers (Paul Ariste, Oskar Kallas, Hannes Korjus, Marjo Mela, Karl Pajusalu, August Sang, Lembit Vaba, Paulopriit Voolaine etc.) have shown interest in the Estonians of Ludza, their origin, language, and other

<sup>2</sup> Ethnic composition of the population of Vitebsk gubernia in Daugavpils, Rēzekne, Ludza districts according to census 1897 of the Russian Empire (Miņins 2011, 178).

<sup>3</sup> Descriptions of districts and parishes (Maldups 1937).

<sup>4</sup> Ethnic composition of the population in Latgale districts (Balvi, Daugavpils, Krāslava, Ludza, Preiļi, Rēzekne) and cities (Daugavpils, Rēzekne) according to All-Union census 1989 (CSP 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Ethnic composition of the population in Latgale. Census 2000 (CSP 2017).

<sup>6</sup> Ethnic composition of the population in Latgale. Census 2011 (CSP 2017).

ethnographic aspects. Estonian researcher Oskar Kallas provided more comprehensive and more significant information on the Estonians of Ludza. He travelled around Ludza in 1893, and his work *Lutsi maarahvas* (The Peasants of Lutsi) is a significant study which provides an insight into the Estonians of Ludza, and the status and use of their language at the end of the 19th century (Kallas 1894).

Latvian scientists (Antons Breidaks, Aleksandrs Jansons, Leonards Latkovskis, Ilmārs Mežs, Antoņina Zavarina etc.) have studied the history and the ethnography of the Estonians of Ludza, and the ethnolinguistic contacts between Latvians and Estonians (Kļavinska 2012, 238; Korjuss 2017, 19–26; Pajusalu 2009, 173–179).

There are several hypotheses on the origin of the Estonians of Latgale: that they were descendants of the ancient Finno-Ugric peoples who have preserved their language for an extended period of time; arrivals from Southern Estonia (c. 17th century); or Estonian farmers who were bought by the Polish or German lords of Latgale from the German lords of Estonia or exchanged for some valuables of the time (Cimermanis 2017, 9). Nowadays it is believed that a group of Estonians entered the territory of Latgale (Eastern Latvia), somewhere in the vicinity of Ludza, after the conquest of Estonia by Sweden in the 17th century, and another group fled Estonia during the famine at the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century as a result of the events during the Great Northern War. “Some of them may have been Catholics, others may have arrived in the 18th and 19th centuries as Lutherans, and those who came from the eastern part of South Estonia belonged to the Orthodox Church” (Pajusalu 2009, 175–176). In the 1920s, “geographical differences in the Estonian language of Ludza justify the statement that Southern Estonians settled in this area at different times and arrived from different places of Southern Estonia” (Pajusalu 2009, 171). Nowadays, Estonians of Ludza as an ethnic and linguistic community do not exist anymore; however, the ethnolinguistic contacts between Latvians and Estonians (Finns of the Baltics) have left traces in the Latgalian dialects, particularly in the toponymic and anthroponymic system of Latgale.

Several publications in the Latvian language have been published recently: *Ludzas igauņu pasakas* (The Tales of the Estonians of Ludza) (Godiņš 2015), a collection of tales transcribed by the Estonian researchers O. Kallas, P. Voolaine and A. Sang during their field trips to the Estonians of Ludza and translated from Estonian by Guntars Godiņš; and the essay of the Estonian researcher H. Korjus *Ludzas igauņi. Zemes dieva tauta* (The Estonians of Ludza. The People of the Earth God) (Korjuss 2017). The society of Latvia is familiar with the documentary film *Pazudusī cilts: stāsts*

*par Ludzas igauniem* (The Lost Tribe: the Story of the Estonians of Ludza) (2014) authored by Indrek Jääts and Mairo Selgmäe, researchers from the Estonian National Museum. There are also several studies and publications on Estonians living in Latgale published by the Rēzekne Academy of Technologies (RTA). Such is the collective monograph “Languages in Eastern Latvia: Data and Results of Survey”, which contains the study of Karl Pajusalu “Estonians of Latgale” (Pajusalu 2009); the “Lingvoterritorial dictionary of Latgale”, which reveals concepts most significant to Latgale, in addition to containing the entry “Estonians” (Kļavinska 2012).

The aim of the present research is to analyse the contextual semantics of the ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the texts of Latgalian folklore and in the corpus of modern Latgalian texts<sup>7</sup> (MuLa 2013).

## Approaches, methods and measures used for the research

*Contextual approach.* The role of the context in the interpretation of language units is generally seen from two perspectives: on one hand, the linguistic context, i.e. the part of the text that is required to determine the meaning of a language unit used in the text, on the other hand, the situational context, i.e. the set of extra-linguistic factors (Croft and Cruse 2004; Langacker 2008; Talmy 2000). In this study, the contextual approach combines linguistic context and situational context analysis in order to (re)construct the specificity of the ethnonymic lexicon in Latgalian texts as far as possible, and thus allow the comparison with the lexicon of other Latvian ethnographic regions, both in terms of their own specifics and the specifics of the historical conditions underpinning the formation of ethnonym semantics.

*Conceptual analysis:* lexicographic analysis of the ethnonymic lexicon (clarification of the lexical, etymological semantics in dictionaries); excerption of the ethnonymic lexicon from Latgalian texts, elaboration of the context filing system (conceptual relations); definition of the ethnonym contextual semantics, modeling of the notion system; interpretive field (evaluating attitude) (Frumkina 1995; Popova and Sternin 2007).

Applying the methods of *Corpus Linguistics*, the most frequent collocations of ethnonyms are revealed and by analysing each concordance line, the groups of contextual meanings were created (Herbst 1996; Sinclair 1991).

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<sup>7</sup> The term “Latgalian texts” means both folk texts transcribed in Latgalian subdialects of the High Latvian dialect of the Latvian language and texts of different genres transcribed in standardized written Latgalian language.

## Ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the Latvian language

In the Latvian language, the exoethnonym *igauni* is used to denote Estonians, and several possible versions of its origin exist: 1) from the ancient Estonian region *Ugaunia*; 2) from the Latinized tribe name *Inguaeones* (Karulis 2001 [1992], 339). Ethnic nicknames *estiņi*, *ēstiņi* (est. *Eesti* ‘Estonia’; lav. *ēst* ‘to eat’) (Bušs and Ernstone 2009, 140); *kurrata*, *kurrats* (est. *kurat* ‘devil’) (Bušs and Ernstone 2009, 257).

Latgalian lexicographic sources contain singular nominative forms *igaunis* (masculine), *igaunīte* (feminine) (Strods 1990 [1933], 83; Bērzkalns 2007, 168), also *ikaunīks*, *igaunīks* (masculine) (Lukaševičs 2011, 75). The ethnographer Antoņina Zavarina points out that in the second half of the 18th century, lexemes such as *čuhna* and *igovins* were used in Latgale to denote Estonians (Zavarina 1993, 101). The ethnic nickname *čuhna* (rus. *чухна* ‘Finnic peoples, e.g. Estonians’ (Zavarina 1993, 101); Itg. *čukna* was used with the meaning ‘negligent, unclean person’ (Reķēna 1998, 227)).

The designation for the Baltic Finnish tribal community, including Estonians, used in the Russian chronicles is *the chudes* (rus. *чудь*, ‘foreign’ or ‘strange’) (Ageeva 1970, 199); however, no such ethnonym is found in Latgalian texts, instead it is found in the system of surnames—*Čudars*, *Čuders*, *Čudors*, *Čudarāns*, *Čudorāns*, *Čuderans* (Breidaks 1997, 94; Mežs 2017, 99).

The oldest known endo-ethnonym for Estonians is *maarahvas*. Studies on Estonians of Ludza state that the names they use to refer to themselves are *Lutsi maarahvas* ‘the peasants of Lutsi’, *eestlāzeq* ‘Estonians’, as well as *veli* ‘brother’ (Balodis 2015, 7).

## Ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the Latgalian folk texts

For the purposes of an earlier extensive research on the ethnonymic vocabulary in Latgalian folk texts that I have conducted, a text corpus was created both from published texts and materials from the Archives of Latvian Folklore (*Latvijas folkloras krātuve*—LFK), as well as materials from the RTA folklore expeditions. In this corpus the total number of ethnonymic lexical units was 1653. The most popular among these are ethnonyms designating Roma (543 units or 33% of the total amount of units used) and Jews (502 units; 30%), followed by ethnonyms designating Russians (244 units; 15%), Latvians (186 units; 11%), Germans (61 units; 4%) and Poles (60 units; 4%), ethnonyms designating Lithuanians, Estonians, Turks, French and others are rarer (57 units; 3%) (Kļavinska 2015, 77).

During the research it was found that there are not many ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the Latgalian Folk Texts Corpus (11 word tokens in total). The most frequent ethnonym is *igauni*, *igaunīši*, rarely—*ikaunīki* (only one token in a folk song transcribed in Viļāni parish). Singular forms were also found: *igauns*, *iguonīts* (masculine), *igaunīte* (feminine) as well as diminutives *igauneiši*, *igauneīts*.

In the Latgalian folklore, the dominant meaning of the ethnonym *igauni* is ‘the ethnic group of Estonian people who live on the territory of Latgale and speak the Estonian language’; in regard to which it must be noted that such meaning is inferred mainly from the folk songs transcribed in Ludza district.

The contextual semantics of ethnonymic vocabulary found in the folk texts points to the dominant status of the “we”—“they” dichotomy in many different aspects. One of the most significant contexts in Latgalian folklore is the religious context. Due to historic reasons, the Latvians of Latgale are predominantly Catholic, and consequently any religious denomination that is not Catholic occurring in folklore is considered “foreign”. For example, in the folk song transcribed in Mērdzene village, constructed from the perspective of local Catholics, Estonians are ridiculed in the following manner:

*Igaunīši, valna lauds,*  
Estonians, the people of the Devil,

*Myusu dīvam naticē:*  
Did not believe in our God:

*Pārkiuņš spēre, krusa byra,*  
Thunder was striking, it was hailing,

*Jī ar dasu kristejās.*  
They were crossing themselves with a sausage (LFK [2005] 548, 4929).

Possibly, this depiction of Estonians corresponds to the historical reality because, as mentioned in the studies on the Estonians of Latgale, ancient Estonian arrivals in the vicinity of Ludza (Pilda, Nirza and Briģi civil parishes) were Catholic but later day arrivals in the vicinity of Mērdzene are thought to have been Lutheran (Kļavinska 2012, 238–239).

Latvian, Lithuanian and Estonian contacts are depicted in Latgalian folk songs about ethnically mixed families:

*Leišūs muns tāvs beja,*  
My father was from the Lithuanian land,

*Igaunīte mōmuleņa;*  
Mother was Estonian;

*Nu dīveņa laime lykta,*  
Happiness was given by God,

*Es latvīša leigaveņa.*  
Me—the bride of a Latvian (LFK [2005] 1600, 3736).

The linguistic context is equally important. The desire to learn Estonian language is expressed in the Latgalian folklore:

*Igauniski stradenš dzid*  
The thrush is singing in Estonian

*Pošā līpas wersyuniā;*  
At the very top of the linden;

*As tay grybu wuiciatis*  
I want so much to learn

*Igauniski trillinot.*  
To trill in Estonian (Jūrdžs 1999 [1916], 602).

According to linguists, Estonians who settled in the vicinity of Ludza mostly spoke Võru varieties, and the contemporary discussions about the status of the Latgalian language are similar to the situation of the Võru language in Southern Estonia (Kļavinska 2012, 239).

Everyday conflicts with Estonian neighbours are also depicted in folklore:

*Igaun, igauņ, kūka čūksts,*  
Estonian, Estonian, wooden butt,

*Atstāj munu teirumeņu!*  
leave my field!

*As tev dūšu rudzu garci*  
I will give you rye

*Ar vysom sēnolām.*  
With all the husk (LFK [2005] 1558, 281).

No opinions on traditions, character or looks of Estonians were found in Latgalian folk texts. In some folklore texts transcribed in Ludza in literary Latvian, opinions on the character and lifestyle of Estonians in comparison with Latgalians are expressed:

*Igauniem bija sprauņas meitas, latgaliešiem tādas nebija, tās bija pazemīgas, klusas.*

Estonians had pert girls, Latgalians did not have such girls, they were humble, quiet (LFK [2005] 1418–1663, 1609).

*Senos laikos Ozupines sādžā igaunī nosituši savu Janovoļi muižas kungu un pirmie tikuši brīvībā. Latgalieši igaunus par to apskauduši, bet paši dzīvojuši tālāk zem savu kungu varas.*

In ancient times in Ozupine village Estonians killed their lord of Janovoļi manor and were the first to get free. Latgalians envied Estonians for that but continued living under the power of their lords (LFK [2005] 1418–1663, 1607).

*Igaunī vienmēr turējušies kopā, savrup no latgaliešiem. Bijušas savas večerinkas. Igaunī neesot cietuši latgaliešus un otrādi. Arī baznīcā sēdējuši atsevišķi.*

Estonians have always stayed together, away from Latgalians. They had their own parties. Estonians are thought to have not tolerated Latgalians and vice versa. In church they sat separately from each other too (LFK [2005] 985–1271, 1189).

Some folklore texts transcribed in a literary Latvian talk about the legends of the origin of the Estonians of Ludza:

*Stāsta, ka pirmie igaunī sākuši te dzīvot tad, kad kāds kungs iepircis tos no Igaunijas, apmainot pret kazām.*

They tell that first Estonians arrived to live here when some lord bought them from Estonia by exchanging them for goats (LFK [2005] 985–1271, 1187).

*Meln krauklis atnesis igaunus no Igaunijas pa gaisu. Krauklim igaunī izkrituši no ķešas Latgalē, Ozupines, Greču, Puncuļu un Abricku sādžās.*

A black raven brought Estonians from Estonia by air. Estonians fell out of the raven's pocket in Latgale, in the villages of Ozupine, Greči, Puncuļi and Abricki (LFK [2005] 1418–1663, 1606).

In the folk songs transcribed in the other regions of Latvia (mainly in Vidzeme), the denominative *igaunīti*, *vella bērns* 'Estonian, the child of the Devil' is used in the folk songs to describe Estonians as invaders of the Latvian land, and their looks are also described (*zemi, resni* 'short, fat'), as well as the ethnographic differences in clothing (*igauniem melnas drēbes* 'the Estonians have black clothes'). In the beliefs of the Latvian people Estonians are described as stubborn, shameless, lazy and untidy (Kļavinska 2015, 161).

In a riddle, the diminutive *igauneits* denotes the wind:

*Atskrīn putns igauneits, uztaiša perekli latgaliski, īdēj ūlu apzeļteitu. (Viejs, gaisma, saule.)*

An Estonian bird comes, creates a nest in Latgalian, lays a gilt egg (The wind, the light, the Sun.) (Opincāne 2000, 8).

It is possible that the desemanticization of the ethnonym is due to the opinion that Estonians live on the North from the territory inhabited by Latgalians, thus the idea could be that it is the wind blowing from the North.

## **Ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the Corpus of Modern Latgalian Texts**

The Corpus of Modern Latgalian Texts (MuLa 2013) was selected for the analysis of the contextual semantics of ethnonyms for several reasons: 1) MuLa provides authentic examples of modern written Latgalian language collected from 1978 until 2012; 2) it is composed of texts of various genres which allows the unpacking of the different contexts of the use of the lexemes; and 3) the technical capabilities of the text corpus allow the performance of an automatic statistical analysis of the linguistic data. Significant drawbacks of MuLa as a research source are its small size (~1 million tokens) and the fact that it is not morphologically marked, which is why it is impossible to search for a part of a word only, so one has to search for all the possible word forms.

In the corpus of modern Latgalian texts, 72 tokens of the ethnonym *igauni* in different grammatical forms were found, as well as the surname *Igaunis* (6 tokens) and *Ikaunīks* (one token) and *čuhna*, *igovins* (one token). This is a relatively small number of tokens. Up until now I have not deeply studied the use of other ethnonymic vocabulary, however, for example, the ethnonym *krīvi* ‘the Russians’ in MuLa has 594 word tokens. The ethnonym *igauni* is used most frequently in popular-science texts, whereas the use of other ethnonyms is more typical of opinion journalism. It must be noted that the literary scientist, the connoisseur of Latgalian literature Valentīns Lukaševičs admits that “in Latgalian fiction Estonians are not mentioned” (Lukaševičs 2008, 120).

The most frequent collocations of the lexeme *igauni* are: *Ludzys igauni* ‘the Estonians of Ludza’ (8 tokens); *igaunu volūda* ‘Estonian language’ (7 tokens) and *igaunu zemņiki* ‘Estonian farmers’ (2 tokens).

From the wider context in concordance columns of the text corpus, three contextual meanings of the ethnonym *igauni* can be inferred:

1) a nation, indigenous population of Estonia; singular forms—‘belonging to this nation’, for example:

*Nu Latvejys tyka izraideits lībīšu folklorys pietnīks igauns Oskars Lōrits.*  
From Latvia was exiled the researcher of the folklore of the Livs, an Estonian, Oskar Looorits (MuLa 2013);



2) ancient Estonian tribes, for example:

(..) *igaunim ījimt pili nav īsadevs* (..)

Estonians failed to capture the castle (MuLa 2013);

(..) *varbyut latgalim beja apnykušī myužēigī kari ar igaunim i lībīšim.*

maybe Latgalians became tired of the constant wars with Estonians and the Livs (MuLa 2013);

3) an ethnic group forming part of the Estonian nation, the Estonians of Ludza, for example:

*Ludzys apleicīnis igauni sūplok t.s. leivim voi Gaujys igaunim* (..) *ir ūtra leluokuo igaunu sola Latvejā. Pyldā, Nierzā, Mērdzinē, Brygūs i tūs apleicīnē 19. g. s. vydā dzeivuoja ap 3000 igaunu.*

Estonians in the vicinity of Ludza living next to the so-called leivi or Estonians of Gauja, the second largest Estonian island in Latvia. Around 3000 Estonians lived in Pilda, Nirza, Mērdzene, Briģi and their vicinity in the middle of the 19th century' (MuLa 2013).

The latter meaning is predominant, which is found in popular-science texts, and thus the denominative “the Estonians of Ludza” can be considered a scientific term. Although the use of this denominative in a wider context comprises predominantly of scientific research, it does not express the opinions of Latgalians about Estonians living in Latgale.

The collocations *igaunu volūda*, as well as the plural genitive form *igaunu* denote not an ethnonym but a linguonym, i.e. the Estonian language. In these cases the examples of Estonian language are used:

1) in scientific texts explaining the etymology of various Latgalian proper nouns, for example:

*Vyraudys azars // Vyrauds (Rēzeknis rajonā)—igaunu viru ‘iudiņa vierpuļs’, haud ‘dūbe’*

lake Vyraudys // Vyrauds (in Rēzekne district)—Estonian *viru* ‘whirlpool’, *haud* ‘planting bed’ (MuLa 2013);

2) in opinion journalism texts—expressing opinions about the Estonian language, for example:

*Es dūmoju, ka latvīšu volūda ir vīna nu skaistōkajom. Varbyut izjamūt itaļu un igaunu volūdu.*

I think the Latvian language is one of the most beautiful. Maybe except for the Italian and Estonian language (MuLa 2013).

The opinions of Latgalians about Estonians are revealed in MuLa only in a small number of examples of opinion journalism texts:

1) on the common past of different ethnic communities living in Latgale during the Russification period:

*Krīvi (staroveri, pareizticeigī), latgalīši, pūli i igauni Mekši—vysi skolā dzīdēja “Боже, царя храни” i vucejōs četras klases.*

Russians (the Old Believers and the Orthodox), Latgalians, Poles and Estonian Mekši—all sang in school “Боже, царя храни” [the hymn of Czarist Russia] and went to school for four years (MuLa 2013);

2) self-irony of the fact that Latvians want to seem “smarter” than the representatives of the neighbouring countries:

*Kū myusim sepinēt par Europu, kod iz kotra sūļa daruodom sovu sovpatēigū guodušoņu. Mes poši gudri—vēļ i par lītaunīkim i igaunim pruoteiguoki.*

Why dream about Europe when at every step we prove our original thinking.

We ourselves are smart—even wiser than Lithuanians and Estonians (MuLa 2013).

## Conclusions

Thus, regardless of the long-term inter-ethnic contact, there are not many ethnonyms denoting Estonians in the texts of Latgalian folklore and in the corpus of modern Latgalian texts. In folklore, mainly folk songs transcribed in the area of Ludza and Mērdzene, as well as in the corpus of modern texts, the dominant contextual meaning of the most frequent ethnonym *igauni* is ‘the ethnic group of the Estonian nation, that lives on the territory of Latgale’.

The data from the Corpus of Modern Latgalian Texts in the contextual semantics of the ethnonym *igauni* reveal predominantly the historical context: information on the Estonians of Ludza who in the modern times have already been completely assimilated, as well as on the presence of Finno-Ugric languages in the system of proper nouns (toponyms, surnames) of Latgale.

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## CHAPTER TWO

# BELARUSIAN ETHNOLINGUISTIC ATLAS: HISTORY, ARCHIVE, RESULTS AND PERSPECTIVES

NIKOLAI ANTROPOV

**Abstract:** The paper discusses the emergence and the development of ethnolinguistics within the field of humanities in Belarus. It is a relatively new discipline that studies Belarusian traditional culture. Ethnolinguistics in Belarus manifests itself in a number of publications in the mid-1980s. Systematic fieldwork has been carried out since then. This has resulted in the creation of a representative database that enabled the researchers to start mapping Belarusian traditional culture within the “Belarusian folk ethnolinguistic atlas” project. In this paper, the author demonstrates some of the maps from the forthcoming atlas while providing an extensive commentary on the maps.

**Keywords:** Belarusians, traditional culture, ethnolinguistics, mapping, cultural areas.

I have already written on the topic of ethnolinguistics, emerging in the mid-1980s of the past century as a special branch of Belarusian humanitaristics. By that time few works had already been published in which ethnolinguistic issues were tackled with (in the modern understanding of Moscow ethnolinguistic school): “language and culture”, “language and folklore”, “language/linguistics and ethnography” (Tolstaya 2013, 67–69). A new momentum, at first organizational, arose in the summer of 1984, in the face of the Polesie expedition undertaken by the Institute of Slavic and Balkan Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences (now the Institute of Slavic Studies, the Russian Academy of Sciences), and led by the academic Nikita Tolstoy. Among the Belarussian participants was the author of this article as well as a group of philology students of the Belarusian State University

(BSU, Minsk)—participants in the first string of the Specialized Seminar “Topical Issues of Belarusian and East Slavic Ethnolinguistics” (for more details see Antropov 2008, 89–90) that took place in the autumn of the same year. The seminar, yielding fruitful results over a period of 10 years (1984–1993), was undertaking two lines of work: expeditionary and research.

The first included expeditions aimed to collect (mainly in Western Polesye) materials that were later included in the Polesie archive of the Institute of Slavic Studies. The expeditions were planned earlier, before the Chernobyl disaster in 1986, by Nikita Tolstoy and his colleagues from the “Polesie Ethnolinguistic Atlas” (PELA); for more details see Antropov & Plotnikova 1995, 385–390. Right from the beginning, in one of the first conversations about the prospects of Polesie atlas, Nikita Ilyich Tolstoy suggested that I try out a questionnaire titled “Polesie People’s Culture” (so-called “short” programme, including 65 questions<sup>1</sup>) to be conducted in Belarusian settlements, instead of Polesie, and see what results could be achieved (of course, bearing in mind the first successful experiments of this kind: the records already made in the PELA programmes in the villages of Steppe Ukraine and Kurshchina<sup>2</sup>). During the summer expeditions of 1985 such initial attempts were made, and it turned out that not only was the questionnaire “functional”, but it garnered completely, highly interesting new material from different parts of Belarus. From the next year onwards, the fieldwork of collecting this material became a permanent, ever expanding practice and many students from the Belarusian State University (Minsk) and the Brest and Vitebsk Pedagogical Institutes (now Universities) were involved in recording field data. Needless to say, all this required developing special instructions, preliminary detailed briefings, organizing work to receive the reports, etc. Unfortunately, not always the records turned out to be of high quality, so the non-credible ones were rejected (but were still stored in the archive).

In the summer of 1988, Tatyana Skakun (Volodina), a participant in our workshop, collected materials from the complete questionnaire about the “Polesie Ethnolinguistic Atlas”, which consisted of 21 separate programmes, in her home village of Susha, Lepel District, Vitebsk Region and some other settlements close to it. The recordings were so interesting that in February 1989, a large expedition of the seminar was organized to visit the southern area of the Byelorussian Poozerie (Lakeland), the village of Sloboda (formerly Svjada) and Svyaditsa of Lepel District, with the purpose of systematically recording the field data from the full programme “Polesie

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<sup>1</sup> “Full” and “short” programmes can be seen in more details in Tolstoy 1983, 21–49.

<sup>2</sup> The first results may be seen in Tolstoy 1983, 120–122.