

The mechanisms of spelling standardization for written Estonian 1880-1920

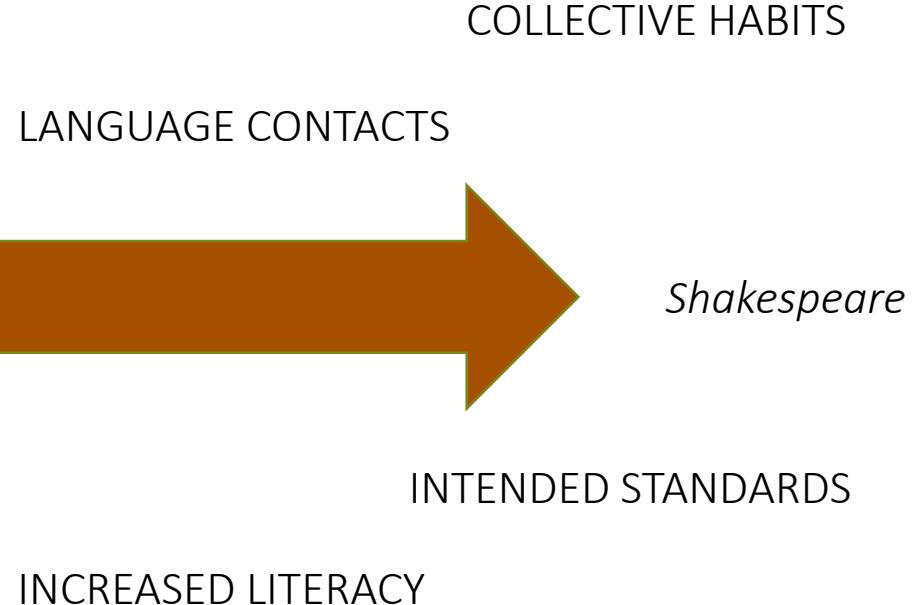
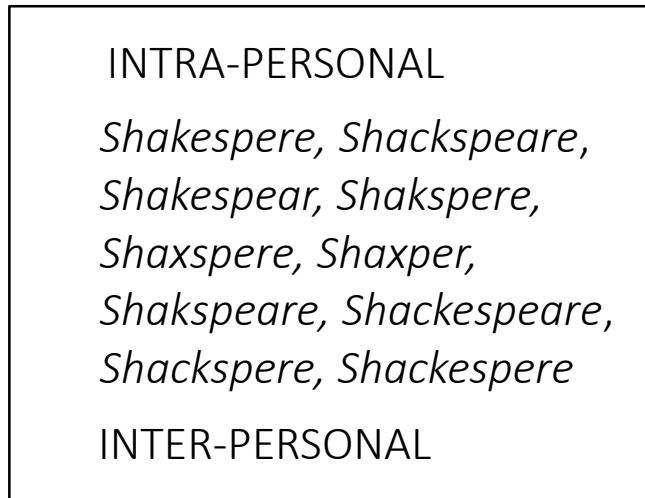
Peeter Tinit

Tallinn University, University of Tartu

DGFS, AG5: The Evolution of Writing Systems

Hamburg, 05.03.2020

Spelling becomes more standard



At different times for different languages and forms => mechanisms can differ

Estonian spelling 1880-1920

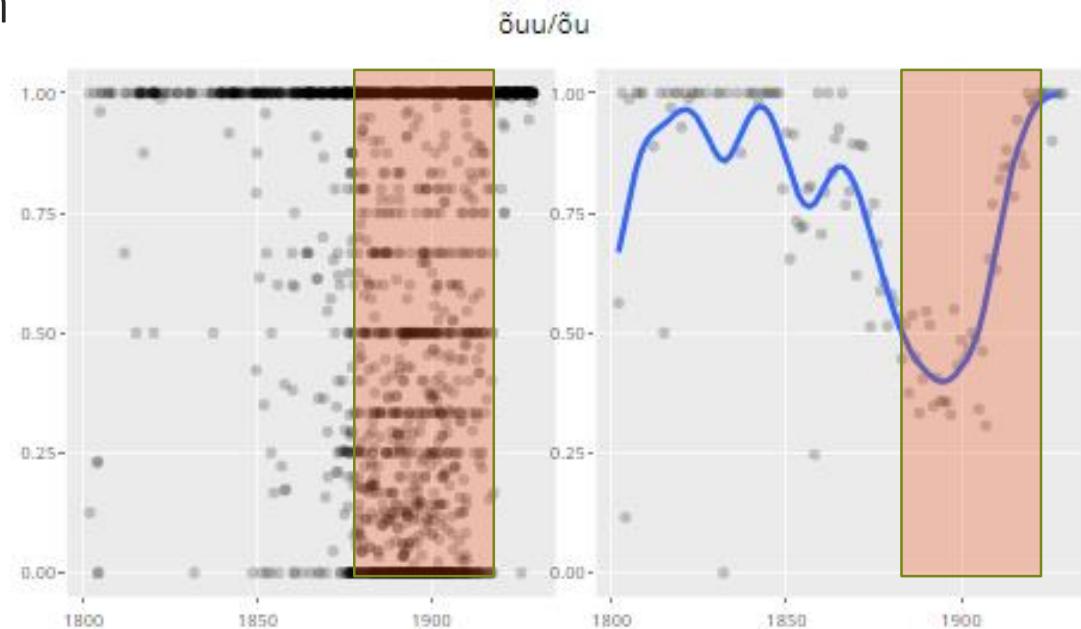
State of the language

Some maturity already,
but a period of transition

Dialectal variants being
levelled

Intentional focus on
standardization

Wide changes in society



Estonian language at 1800

Spoken in the Baltic German special area in Russian Empire

Rural, peasant language

Mostly oral and low prestige

Some writing tradition

Mostly non-native clerics

20% natives read, less write

Migration limited to local counties and parishes



Estonia & Livonia in the Russian Empire 1800

Estonian language 1850-1920

Freedom to move (tsarist reforms)

1826, 1849/1856, 1863

Growth in literacy, schools

1800: 20% read, less write

1897: 91% read, 77% write

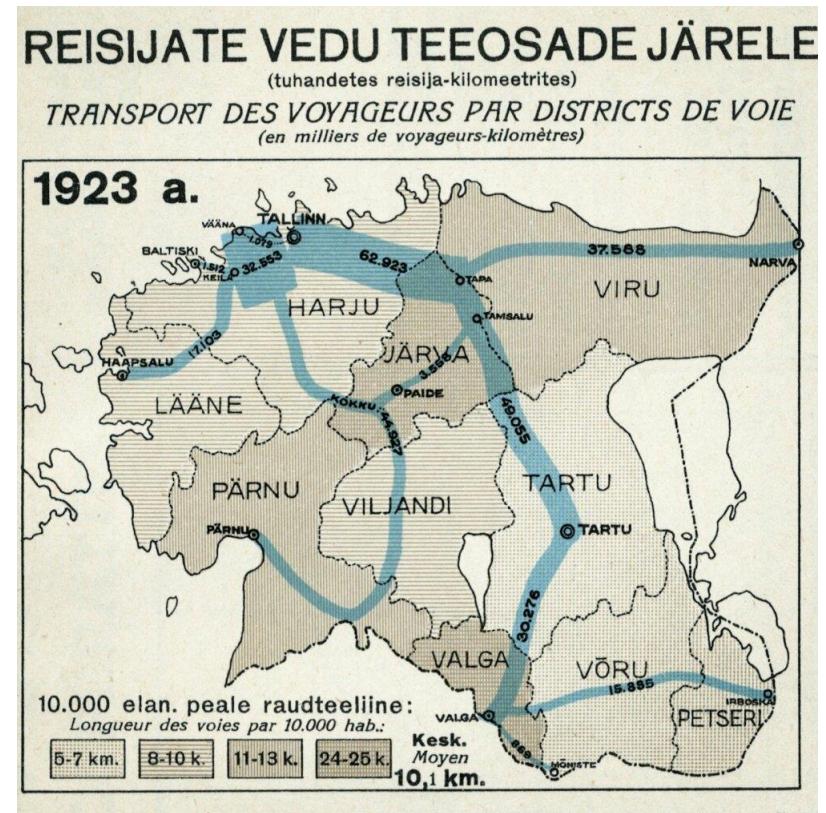
Urbanization

6% 1825 -> 19.2% 1897

Railroads

1870, 1876, 1889, 1896

Newspapers from 1857 onwards



Towards a unified standard

1850s

central figures promote „write as you speak“,
but unified standard also discussed

1870s

transition from Germanic to Finnic spelling

1872, 1886, 1908-1911

dictionaries & discussions on standard

1920s

language policies in Republic of Estonia

1930s

a standard language culture (Milroy 2001)

Transitionary period of 1880-1920

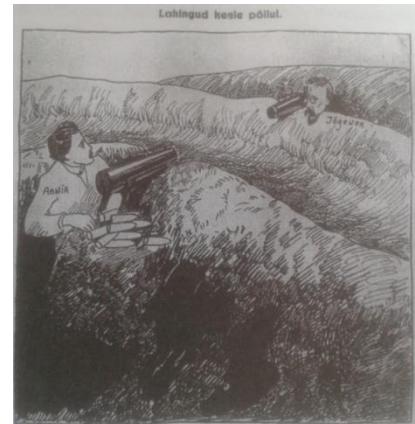
We know that public figures tried to influence language use, and form a standard.

And we know they got there by late 1920s.

How did they get there?

Were the new writers paying attention?

Mechanisms of spelling standardization.



„Battles on field of language“ (1914)

Explaining standard language

Spelling standardization and its mechanisms

Language contacts (spoken & written)

Language prescription

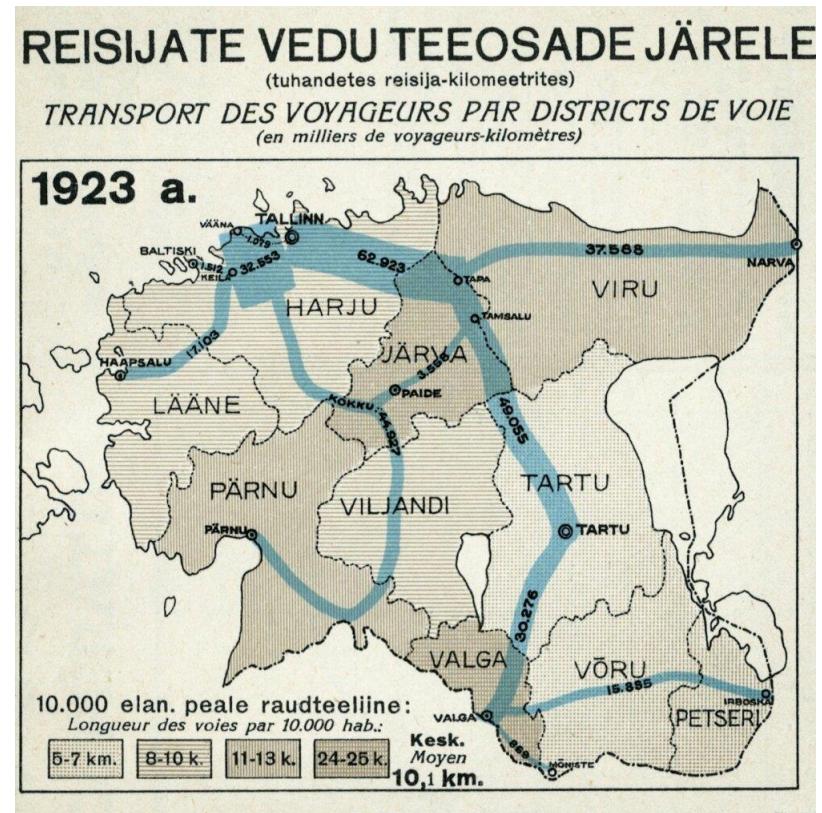
Convergence on the majority

Spoken dialect contacts

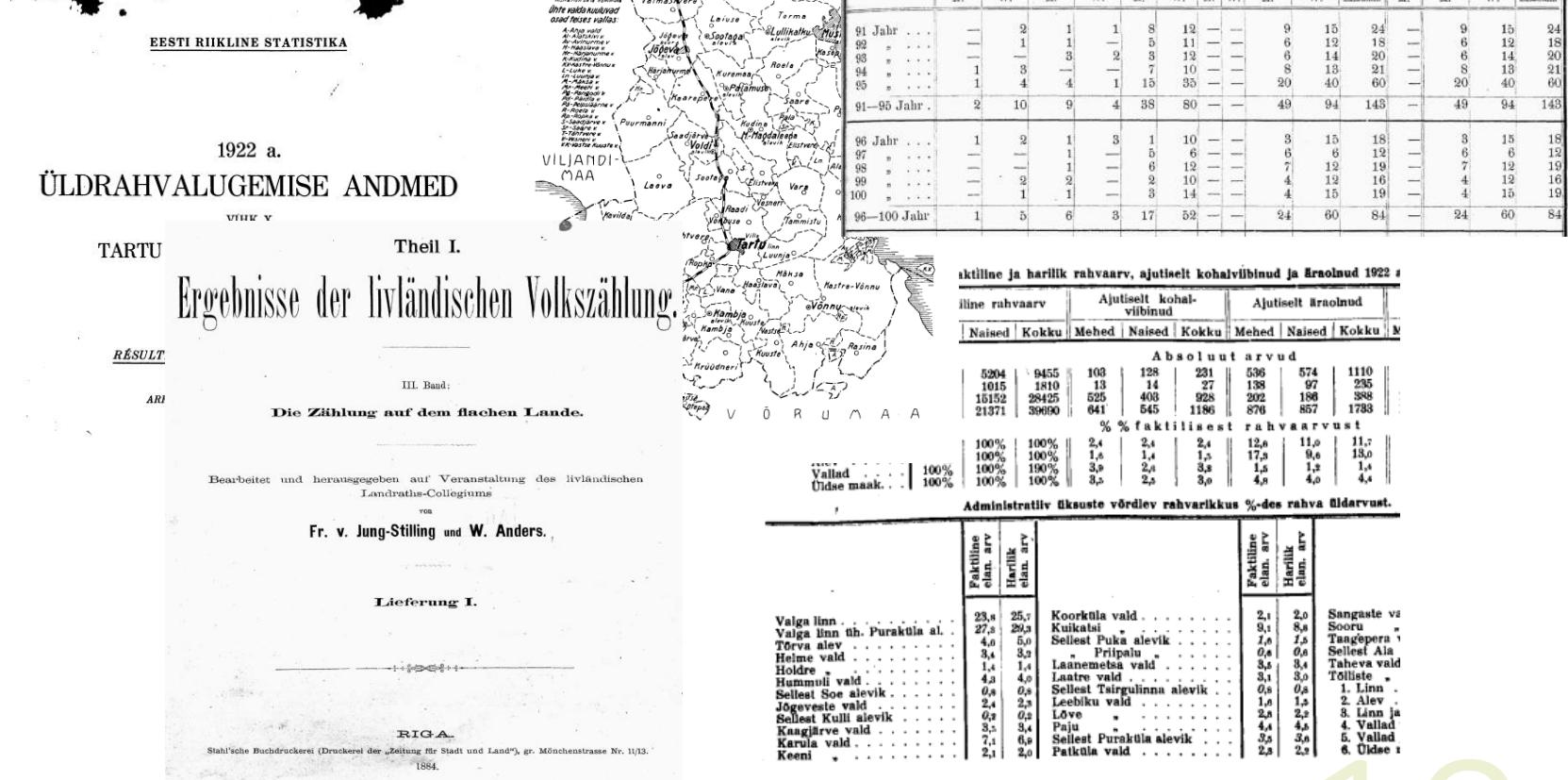
Heavy urbanization & migration
=> dialect contacts

How much?
Which dialects?

=> Need data



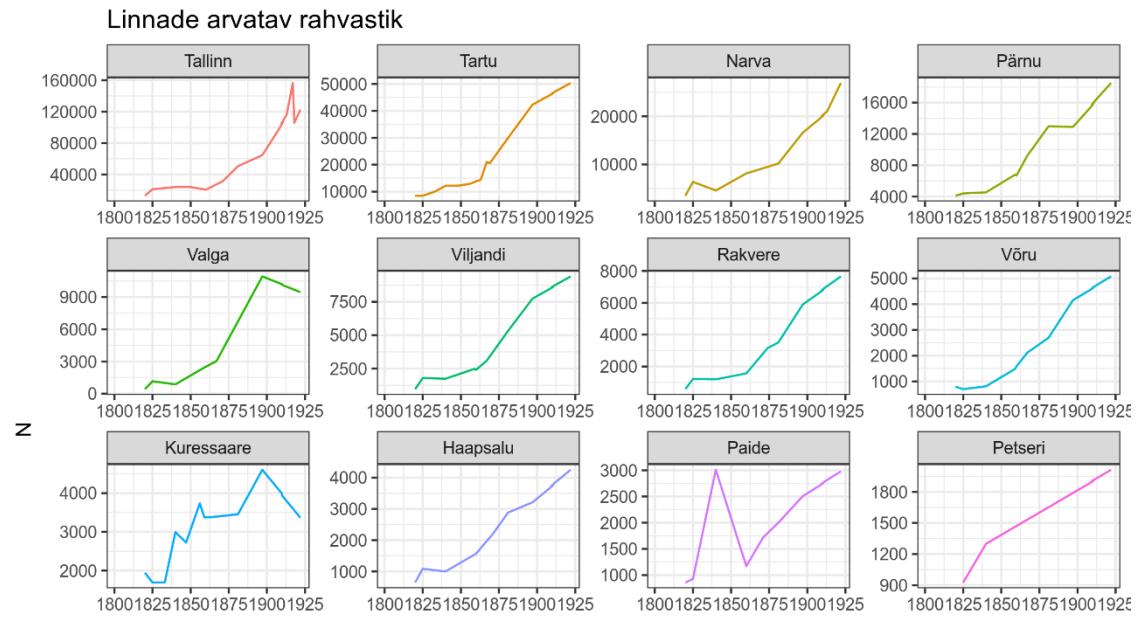
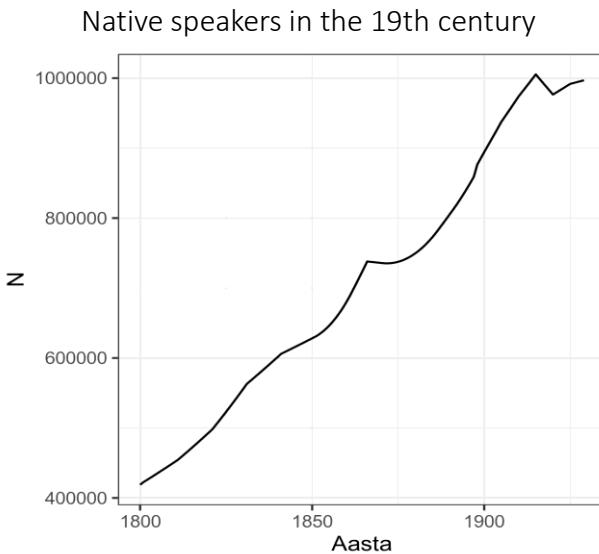
Estimating dialect contacts



Population growth in cities

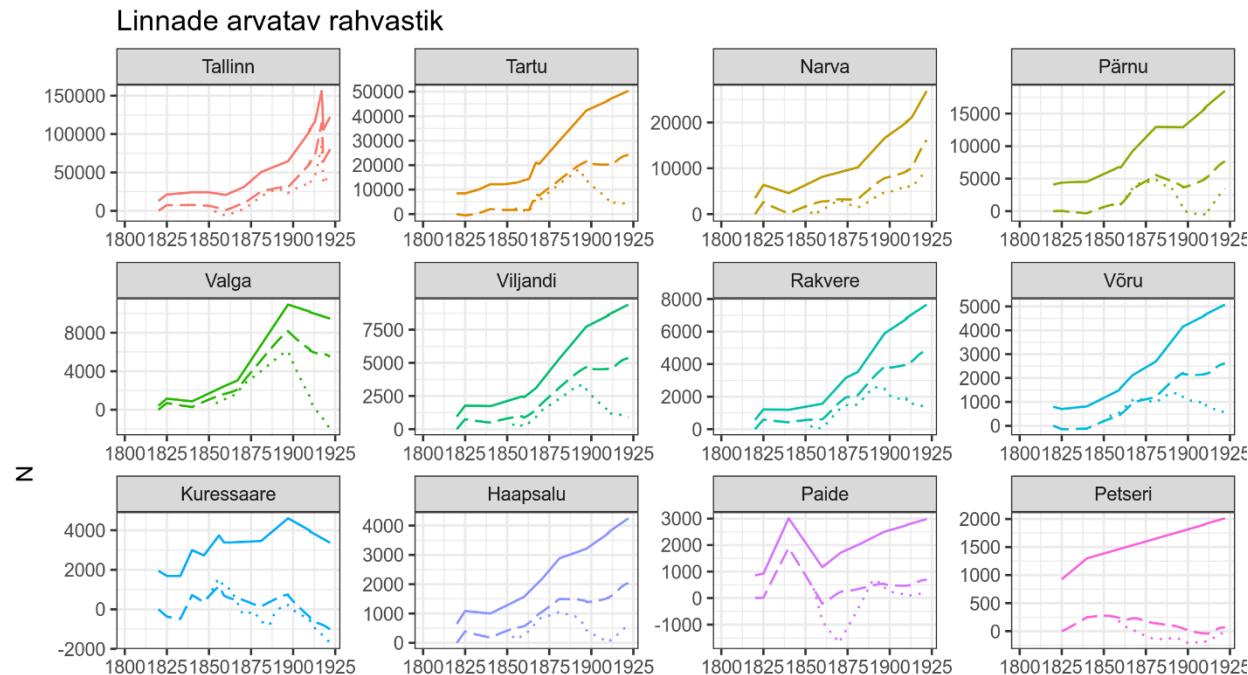
Estonian speaker population grew 2.5x

City population grew 4-6x times



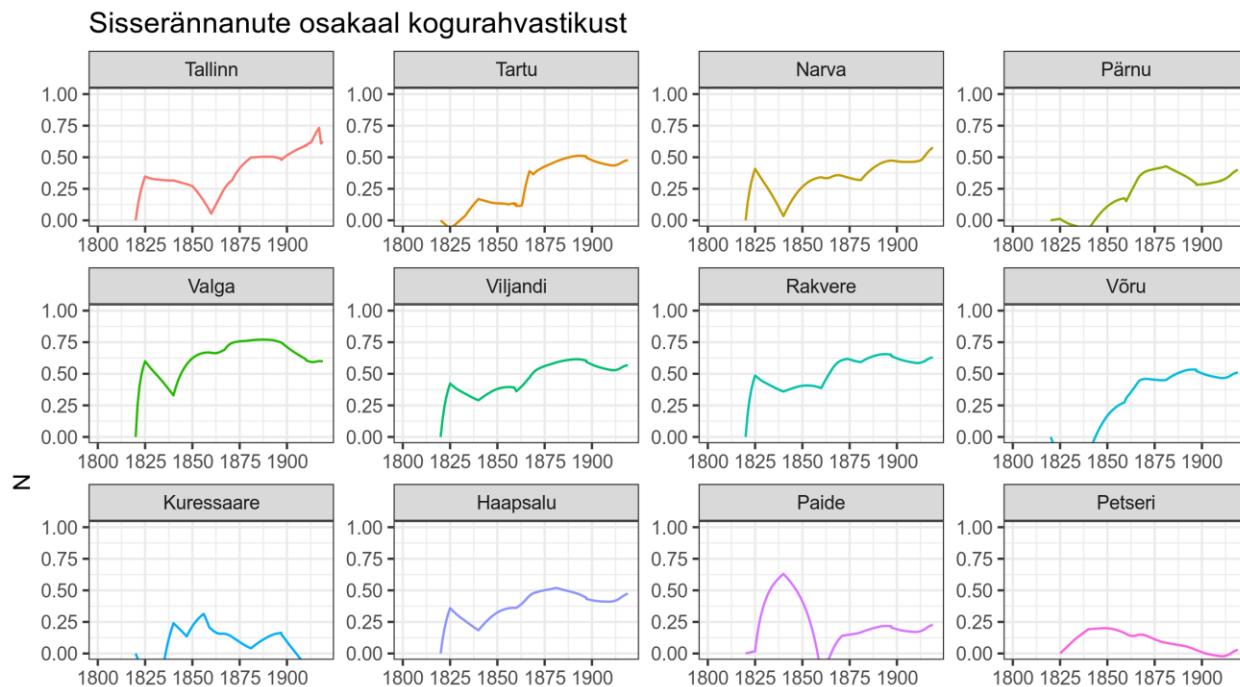
Residual migration

Residual migration = recorded growth – natural growth



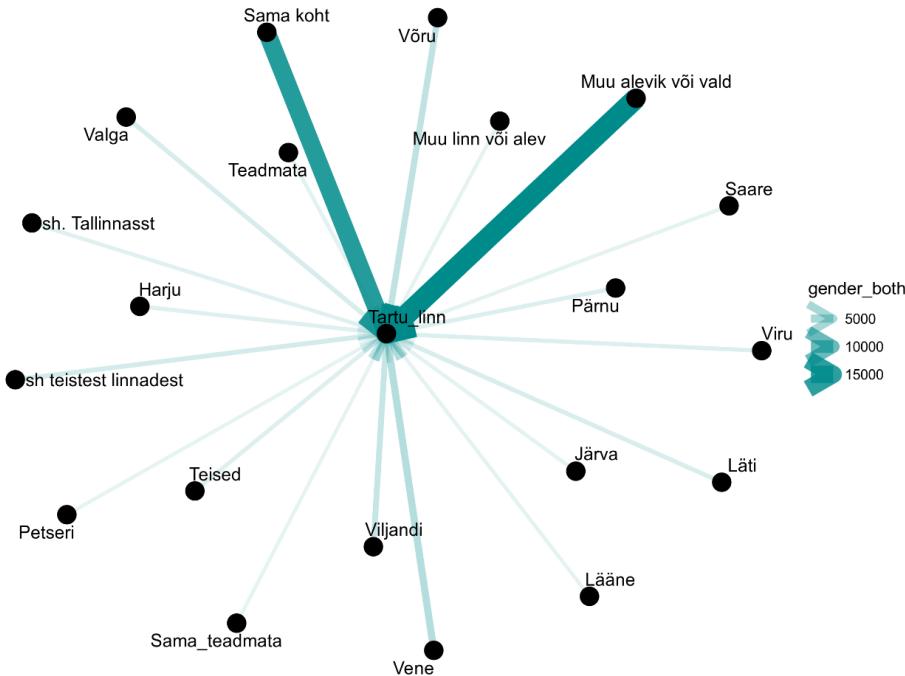
Migrants in cities

Residual migration = recorded growth – natural growth
>50% migrants in most cities by 1900 => intense contacts!



Where did they migrate from

Census of 1922 also asked about birthplace



Sama maakond — Le même arrondissement	Talened maakonnad —																	
	Saare			Läänemaa			Järvamaa			Harjumaa			Pärnumaa			Viljandimaa		
M.	N.	A.	M.	N.	A.	M.	N.	A.	M.	N.	A.	M.	N.	A.	M.	N.	A.	
VALLAD—Com. rurales:																		
53. Roela	605	658	9	11	241	254	—	—	15	16	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	
54. Ropka	220	241	95	115	384	372	36	3	1	15	15	10	10	10	10	10	10	
55. Rõuge	489	505	105	125	345	372	36	3	1	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	
56. Sandavere	370	396	38	53	378	457	36	3	1	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	
57. Saarde	254	264	44	54	262	272	36	3	1	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	
58. Sõnapea	435	442	58	51	262	272	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
59. Tõstamaa	179	182	34	37	178	182	36	3	1	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	
60. Tihkvere	380	394	55	69	311	406	2	2	4	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	
61. Väike-Maarja	289	296	44	47	286	304	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
62. Värska	100	104	24	27	98	104	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
63. Väike-Palo	100	104	24	27	98	104	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
64. Värska	344	353	26	21	246	292	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
65. Veski	190	193	30	33	187	193	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
66. Veskijärve	42	50	13	15	41	51	78	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
67. Väike-Tamme	130	115	29	35	86	111	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
ÜLDRAHVALUGEMISE TÖÖDE	7104	8559	50	109	7230	81723	20	40	331	500	117	173	317	381	62	98	106	115
1. Linnad — Ville —	4061	4061	—	—	4061	4061	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
2. Alused — Bourgs —	8011	10354	117	186	8200	11867	29	44	370	600	134	192	343	416	94	103	100	117
3. Linnad — Ville —	8011	10354	117	186	8200	11867	29	44	370	600	134	192	343	416	94	103	100	117
4. Vall. (lähed. al.) — Com. (lähed. al.)	33156	34075	4091	4843	14824	14810	85	74	510	600	131	197	203	225	52	52	52	52
5. Vall. (lähed. al.) — Com. (lähed. al.)	33156	34075	4091	4843	14824	14810	85	74	510	600	131	197	203	225	52	52	52	52
6. Üldse mkt.—Gr. total	42067	44376	607	1007	2029	23411	113167	841	1226	568	770	230	601	277	333	158	174	174

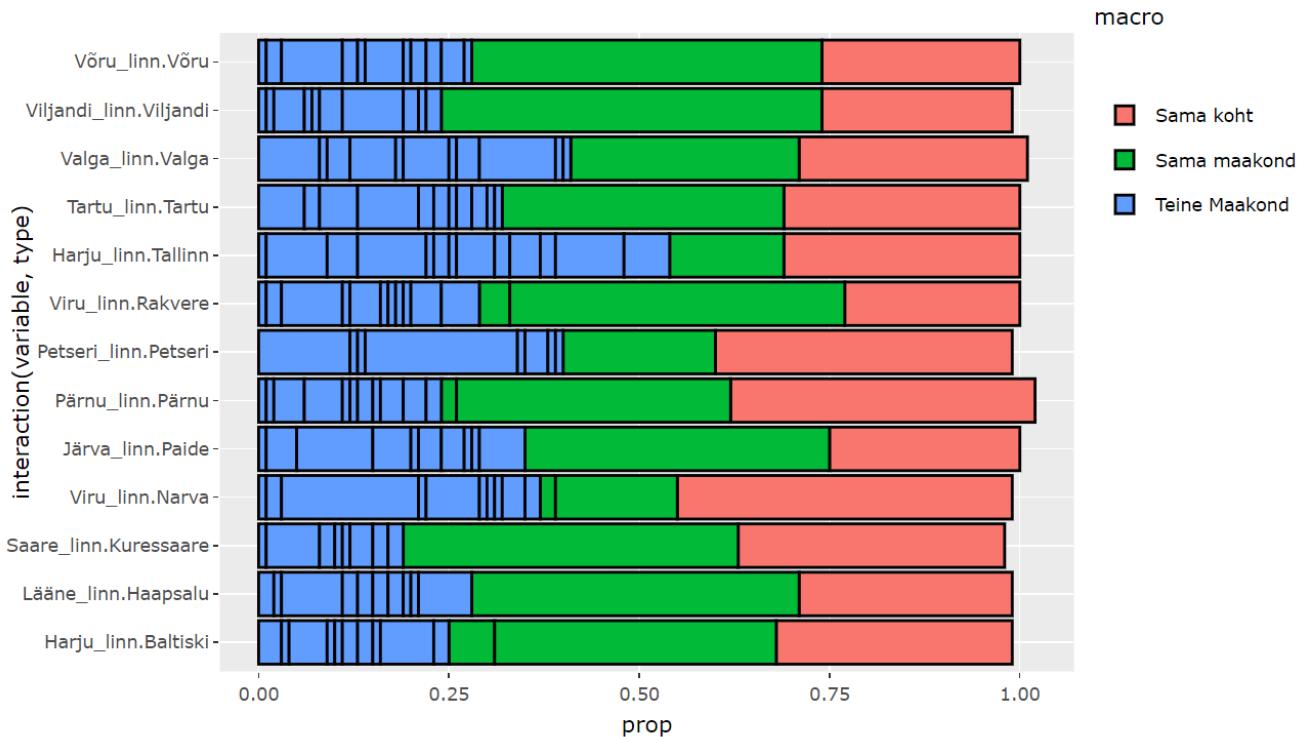
1922 a.
ÜLDRAHVALUGEMISE ANDMED
VIHK X
TARTU ja VALGA MAAKONNAD

RÉSULTATS DU RECENSEMENT DE 1922
TORE X
ARRONDISSEMENTS TARTU ET VALGA

Migration origins in cities

Migration origins

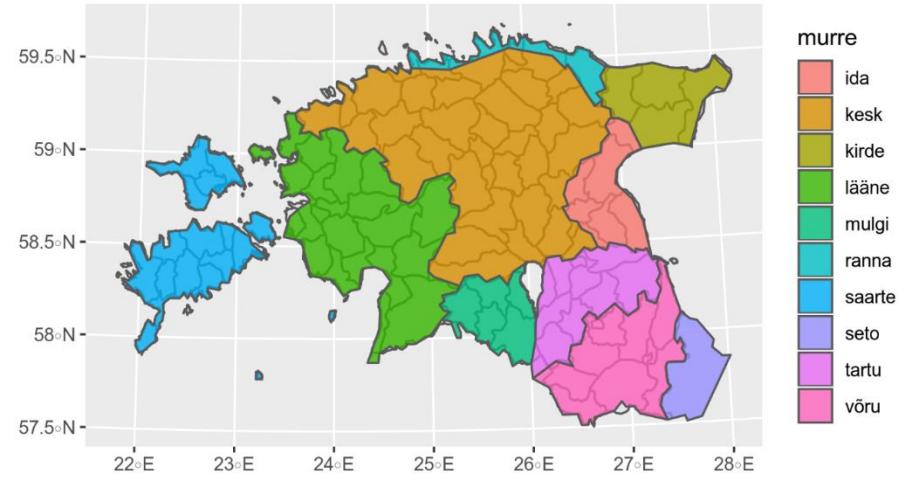
~30% born there (red), but >70% from same county (red+green)



Migration and dialects

Admin areas don't match dialect areas exactly

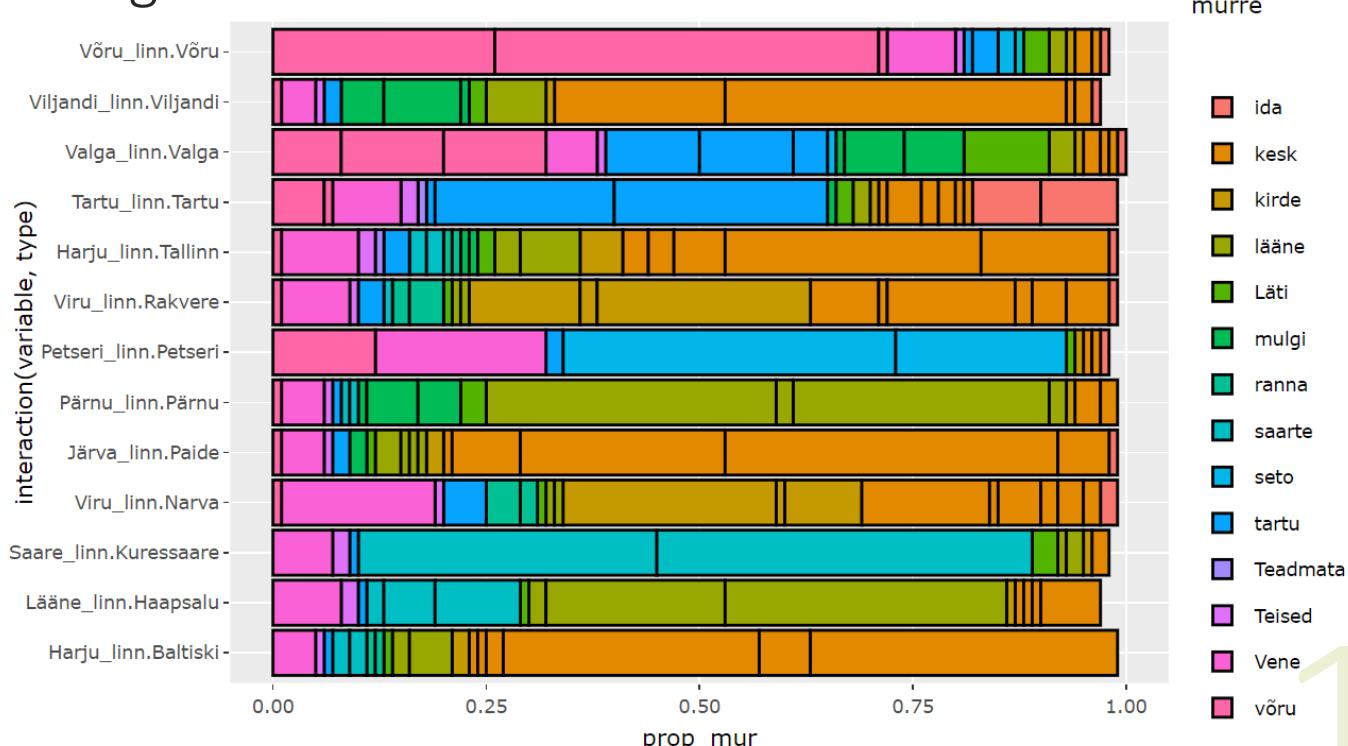
Combine the maps to get proportions of people



Dialect-adjusted migrations

Immigrants are mostly local (despite urbanization and railroads)

Valga, Rakvere (dialect borders), Narva (industrializing) get also neighboring dialects



Explaining standard language

Spelling standardization and its mechanisms

Language contacts (spoken & written)

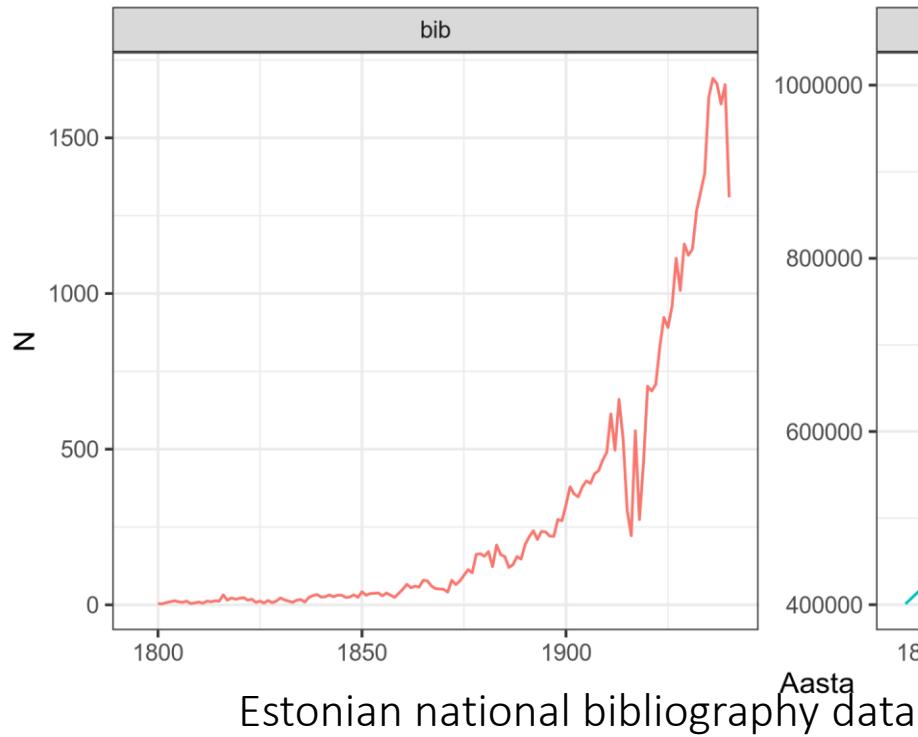
Language prescription

Convergence on the majority

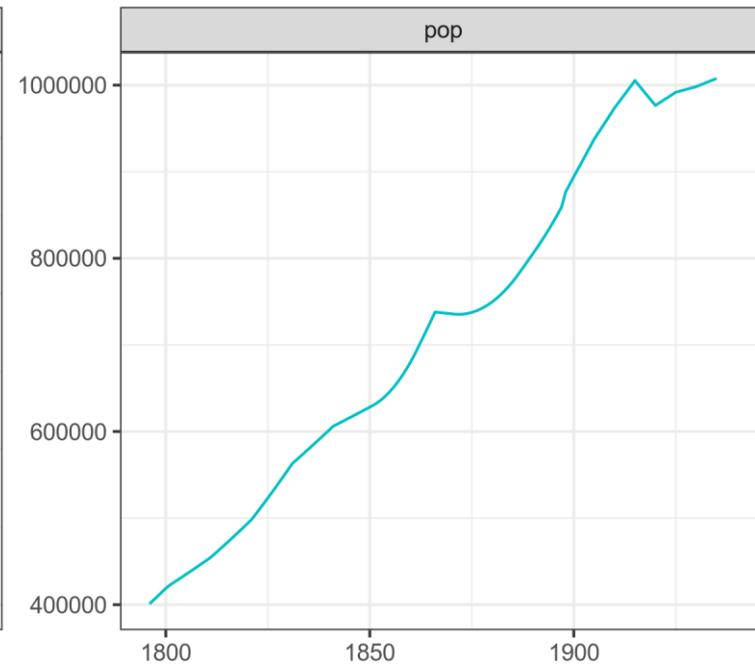
Written language contacts

Also the written language community is in flux

Estonian language books



Native Estonian speakers

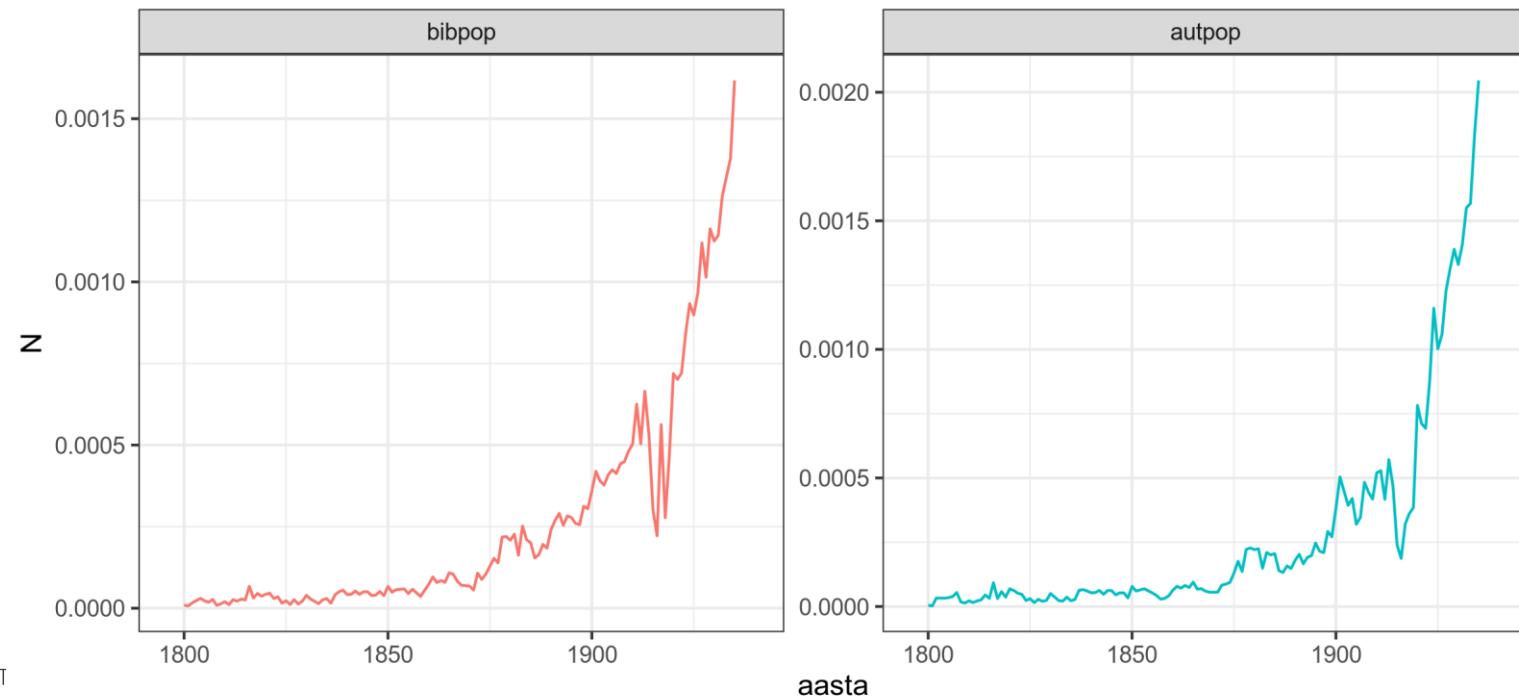


Books/authors per capita

Growth in publications and people per capita

Doubles every ~20 years

Raamatuid ja aktiivset kirjarahvast inimese kohta



Books/authors per capita

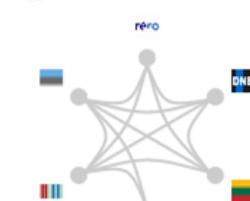
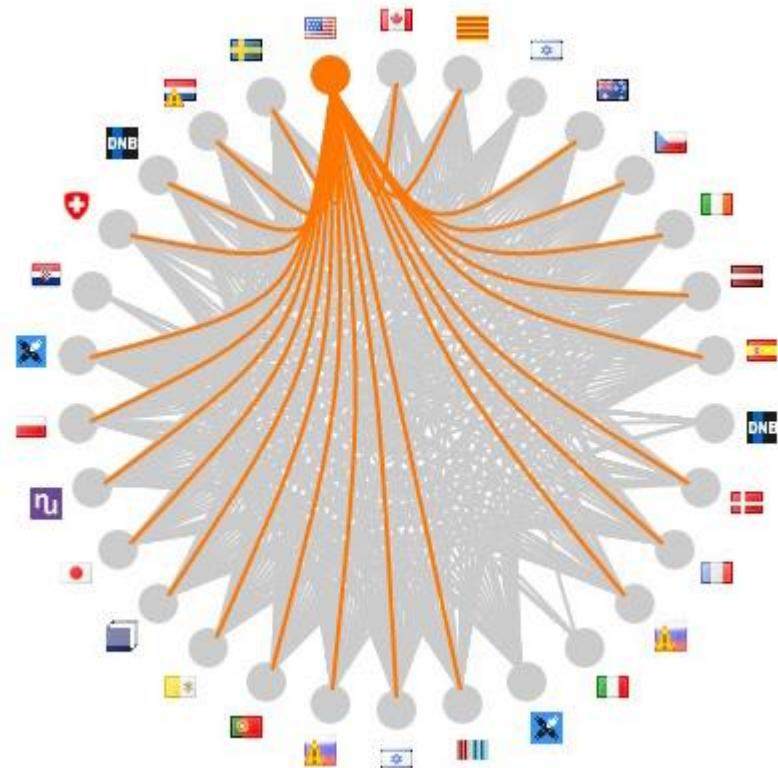
Why this is interesting

Growth = many new people (new to community)

System likely to move towards their preferences

E.g native dialect of writer

Linked biographies



Julius Aamisepp (Q1236553)

In more languages			
Language	Label	Description	Also known as
English	Julius Aamisepp	No description defined	
Estonian	Julius Aamisepp	No description defined	Juulus Aamisepp
Russian	Аамисепп, Юльус Симонович	No description defined	
Finnish	No label defined	No description defined	

All entered languages

Statements

instance of	human
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Linked biographies

Assemble life histories
from various sources

001	ERRR a11124581 (VIAF cluster)
003	ERRR
008	990322 n admnnaabn ja
035	ta (ERRR)a11124581
040	ta ErRR þb est tc ErRR þd ErTUR
043	tc ee
100	1 ta Aamisepp, Julius, þd 1883-1950.
400	1 ta Aamisepp, Julius.
500	1 ta Aamisen, Юнус, þd 1883-1950.
670	ta EE, 1. kd., 1985; EE, 14. kd., 2000.
680	ti Eesti põllumajandusteadlane, sordiarendaja, põllumajandusdr (1947).

100	1 ta Aamisepp, Julius þd 1883-1950
375	ta 1 12 iso6218
500	1 þd (DE-101)1096201100 þd (DE-588)1096201100 þd http://d-nb.info/gnd/1096201100 ta Aamisepp, Ilmar þd 1927-1992 þd bezf þd http://d-nb.info/standards/elementset/gnd#familyRelationship tw r þi Beziehung familiär þe Beziehung familiär þ9 v:Sohn
548	ta 1883-1950 þd dati 14 http://d-nb.info/standards/elementset/gnd#dateOfBirthAndDeath tw r þi Lebensdaten
548	ta 01.09.1883-19.01.1950 dati 14 http://d-nb.info/standards/elementset/gnd#dateOfBirthAndDeath tw r þi Lebensdaten
560	þd (DE-101)04203194X þd (DE-588)04203194-1 þd http://d-nb.info/gnd/4203194-1 ta Agrarwissenschaftler þc berc 14 http://d-nb.info/standards/elementset/gnd#professionOrOccupation tw r þi Charakteristischer Beruf
560	þd (DE-101)04177943 þd (DE-588)4177943-5 þd http://d-nb.info/gnd/4177943-5 ta Revolutionär þc beru 14 http://d-nb.info/standards/elementset/gnd#professionOrOccupation tw r þi Beruf
551	ta Karilepa org 14 http://d-nb.info/standards/elementset/gnd#placeOfBirth tw r þi Geburtsort þ9 v:Gem. Lääne-Harju

TINTS, PEETER – SPELLING VARIATION IN ESTONIAN 1880-1920

Eesti biograafiline andmebaas ISIK

Avalike hulg - nimikiri ja otsing - ametikohad [110] - asutused [470] - isikud [4486] - kaastöö väljaannetele [1133] - nime erikujud [925] - pseudonüümid [9179] - sugulased [309] - sünnikohad [625] - surmakohad [186] - tegevusalas [599] - lühendid ja allikad - admin

AMISEPP, JULIUS

Nimi	Aamisepp, Julius
Nime normitud kuju	Aamisepp, Julius
Eludaatuid	
Sündiaeg	1883-09-01
Sündikoht	Karilepa-Tõnu t. Kloostri v. Harjumaal.
Surmaaeg	1950-01-19
Surmakoht	Jõgeva
Märkus	maetud Tartu Raadi kalmistule
Üldandmed	
Tegevusalas	sordiarendaja

Biograafilised andmed

1.IX 1883 Harjumaa Kloostri valla Karilepa-Tõnl. Taluperemees Siim A., Liisa Vrager. Ae 1917 Anna Maria Volmer. Ants (1918. vt), Valve Jaagus (1920. vt), Ilmar (1927–92. vt). **Vasalemma valjakool** 1893–97. Paldiski alipakool 1897–1900. Haapsalu linnaakool 1902–03. Peterburgi ülikooli õpilas 1903–04. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1904–05. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1905–06. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1906–07. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1907–08. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1908–09. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1909–10. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1910–11. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1911–12. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1912–13. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1913–14. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1914–15. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1915–16. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1916–17. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1917–18. Soome ja Peterburi vangistatud õpilane. 1918 Eesti divisi staabi mobiliatsiooniosaikonna asjajaaga. Vababussõjas ülemjuhataja staabi majandusministri, Eesti Sordiparanduse Seltsi Jõgeva sordikasvatus osakonnajuhataja 1920–50. "Väikeloma-aavikasvataja" toimetaja 1919–21, ENSV TA korrespondentilise 1946, ÜN 1947–50 (II ks); ENSV teelinele teadlane 1945, NE preemia 1947, Stalin preemia 1948. Surnud 19. I 1950 Jõgeval, maetud Tartu Raadi kalmistule. EAT, EE, EBL, EAT2, ENE1, ENE2, EABL, VJ, ENE2(14), ETeadBL – ISOTAMM 2



Sisse logimata Arutelu Kaastöö Loo konto Logi:

Artikel Arutelu Vaata Muuda Muuda läheteksti Naita ajalugu Otsi Vikipeediat

Julius Aamisepp (1. september (vkj 20. august) 1883 Harjumaa, Kloostri vald, Karlepa, Karlepa-Tõnu talu – 19. jaanuar 1950 Jõgeva) oli eesti sordiarendaja.

Julius Aamisepp (Q12365553)

No description defined			
In more languages Configure			
Language	Label	Description	Also known as
English	Julius Aamisepp	No description defined	
Estonian	Julius Aamisepp	No description defined	
Russian	Амисен, Юнус	No description defined	
Finnish	No label defined	No description defined	

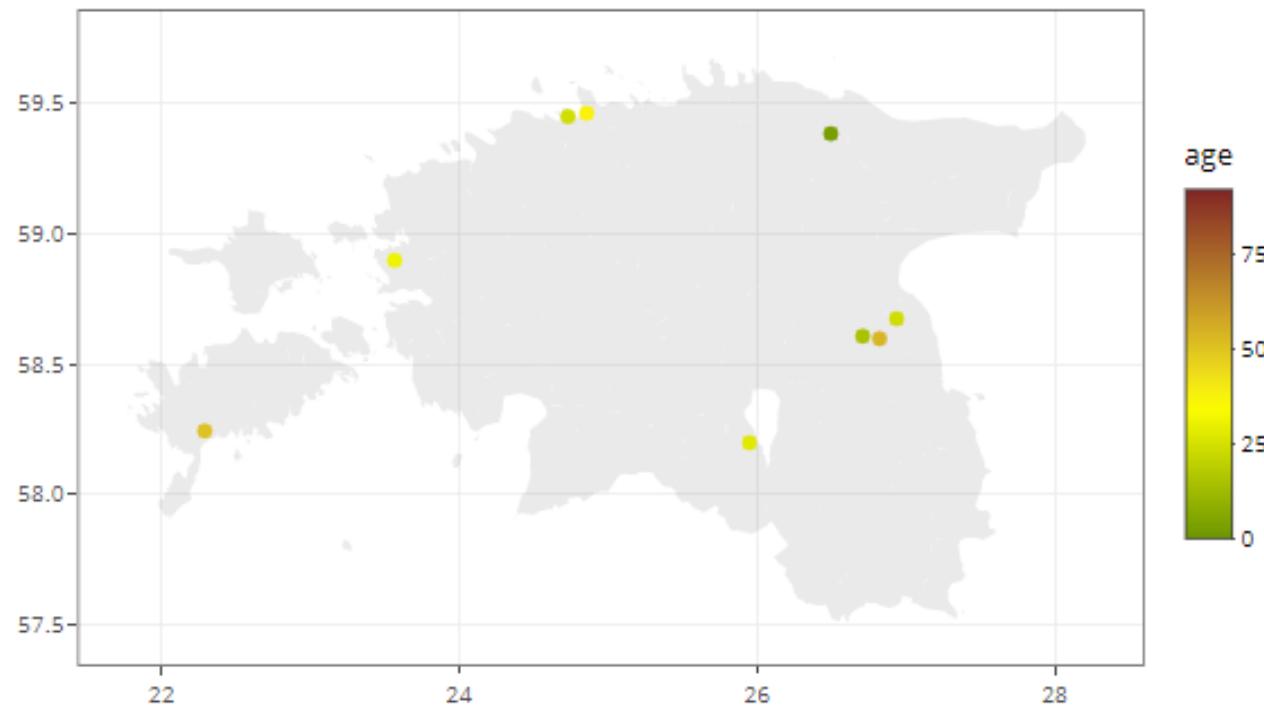
All entered languages

Statements

instance of	human
son	Aamisepp, Julius
schlecht	männlich
Elle	Pressearchiv des Herder-Instituts Marburg Wikipedia (Stand: 25.09.2018): https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Julius_Aamisepp
:	Lebensdaten: 1883-1950
d	Estland (XA-EE)
ografischer	Geburtsort: Karilepa (Gem. Lääne-Harju)
Bezug	Sterbeort: Jõgeva
Beruf(e)	Agrarwissenschaftler

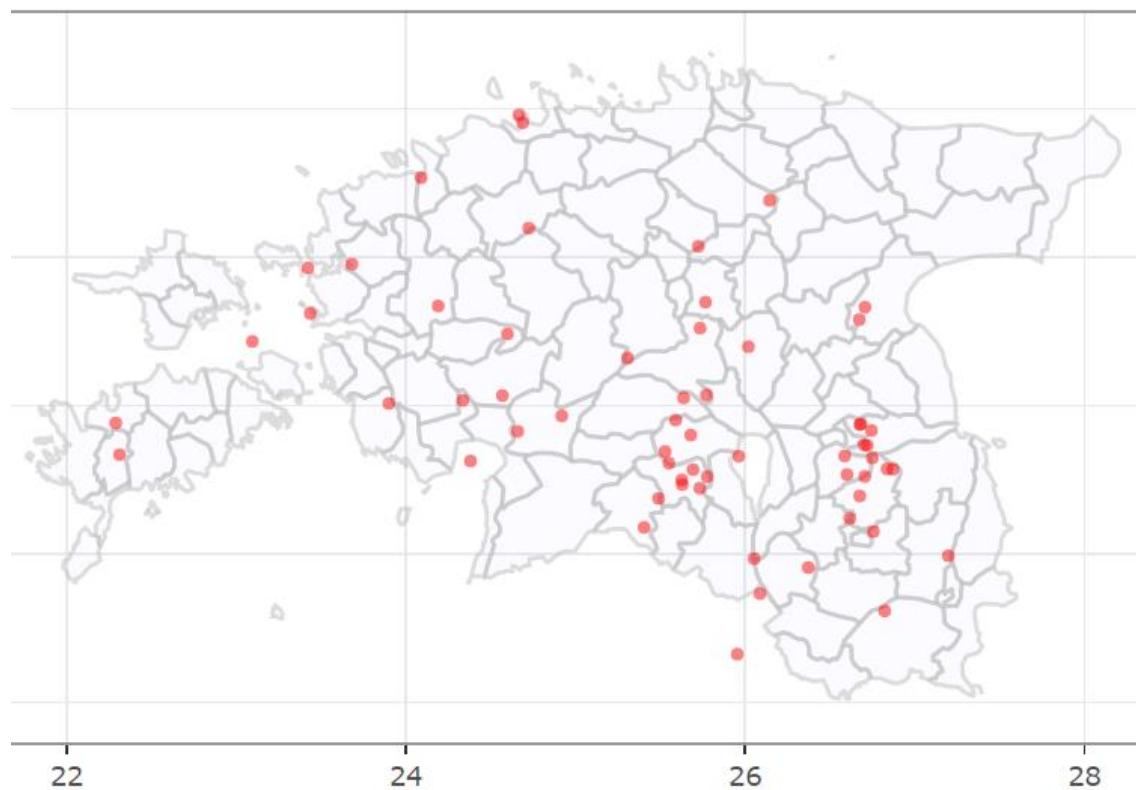
Biographies

Biographies & urbanization



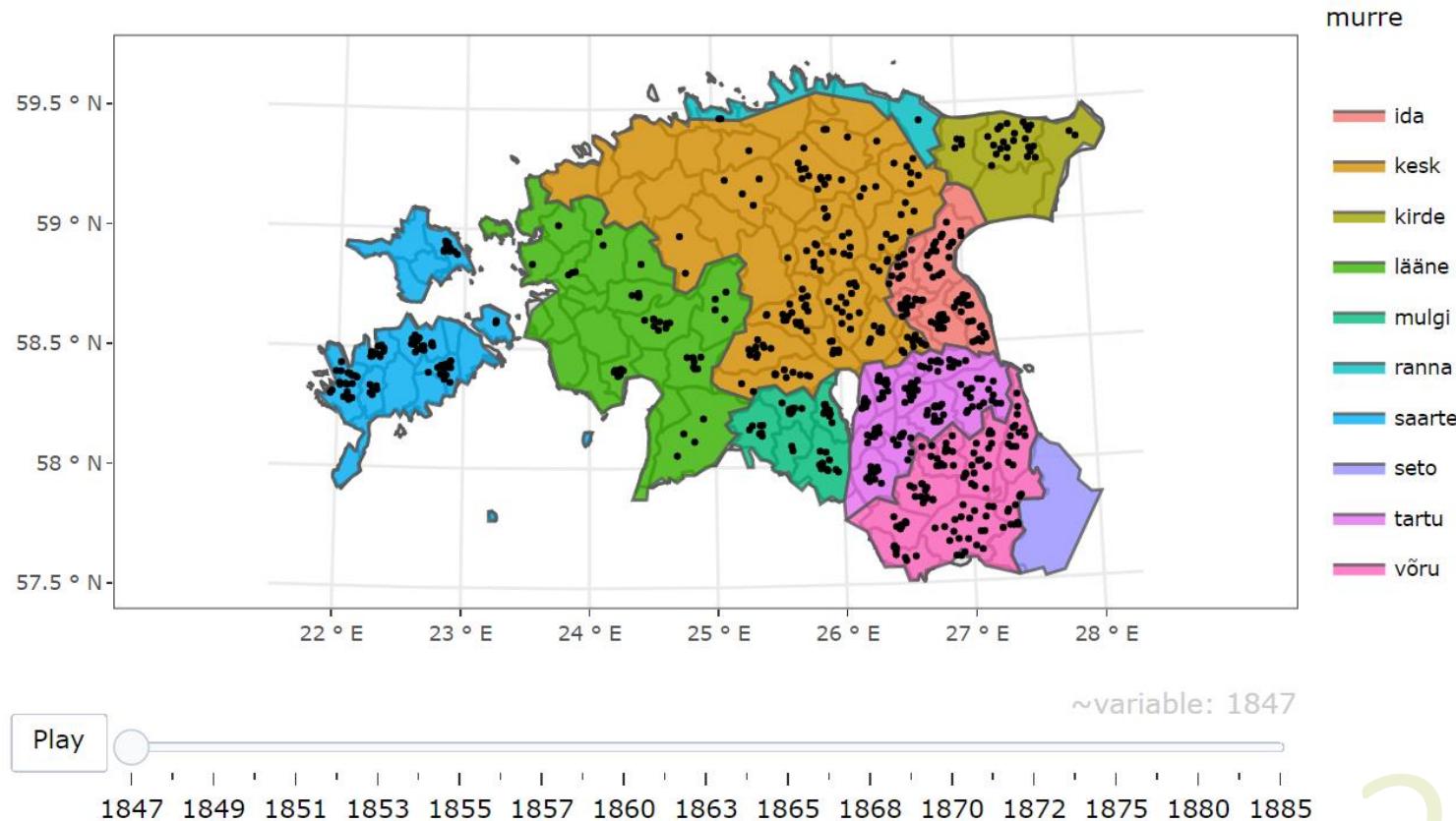
Birthplaces

Birthplaces of the authors



Public schools in 19th century

Are founded from 1830s to 1880s



Estonia & Livonia

Administrative rules differ

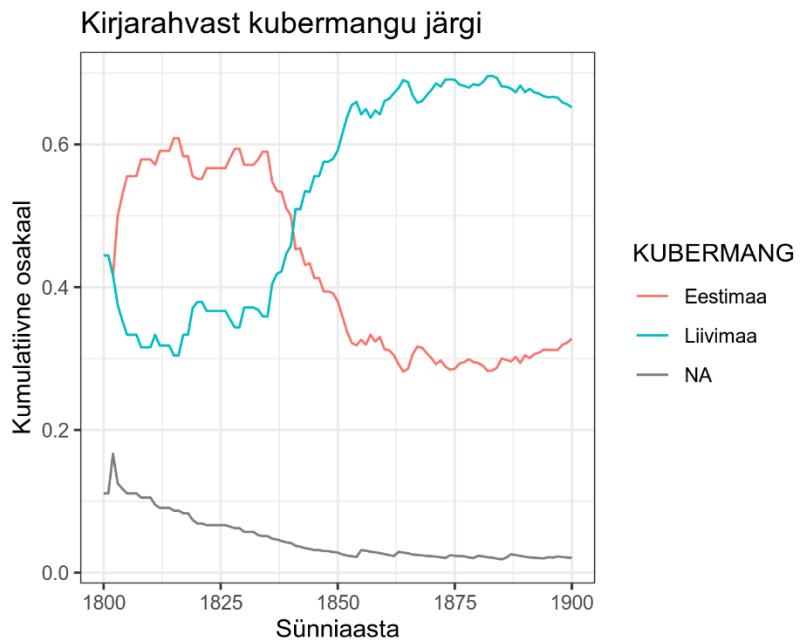
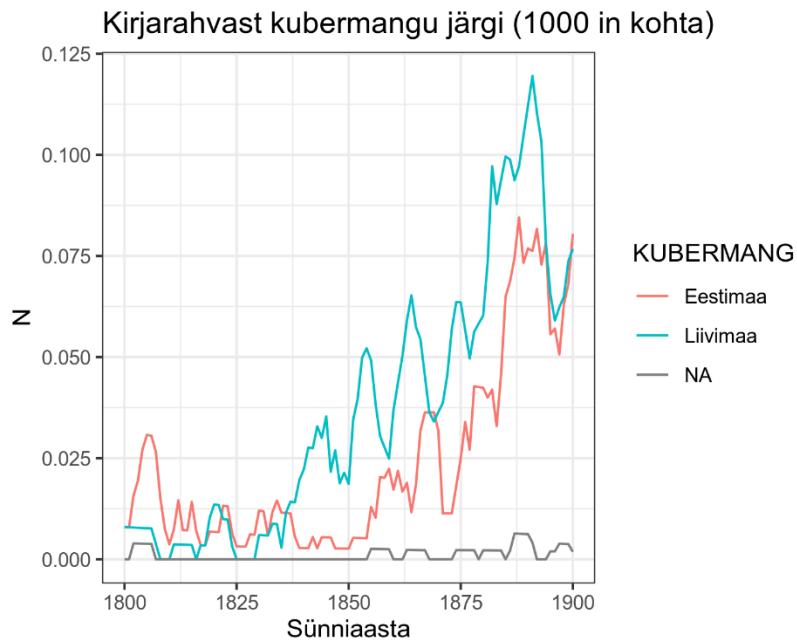
Livonia was founding schools quicker, and peasants grew quicker in wealth

Influence on written language



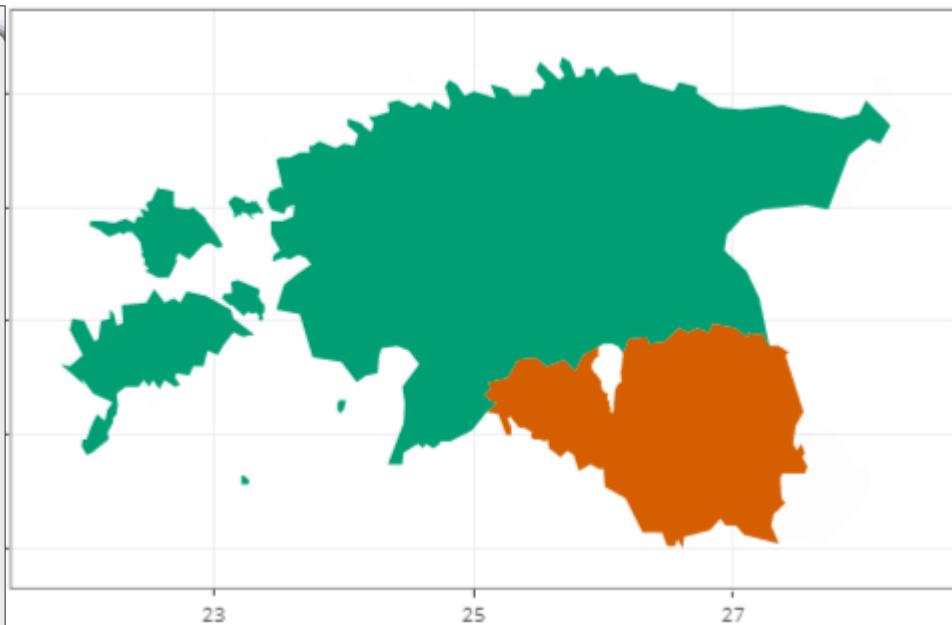
Birthplaces of literati

1840-1900 a lot more literati are born in Livonia



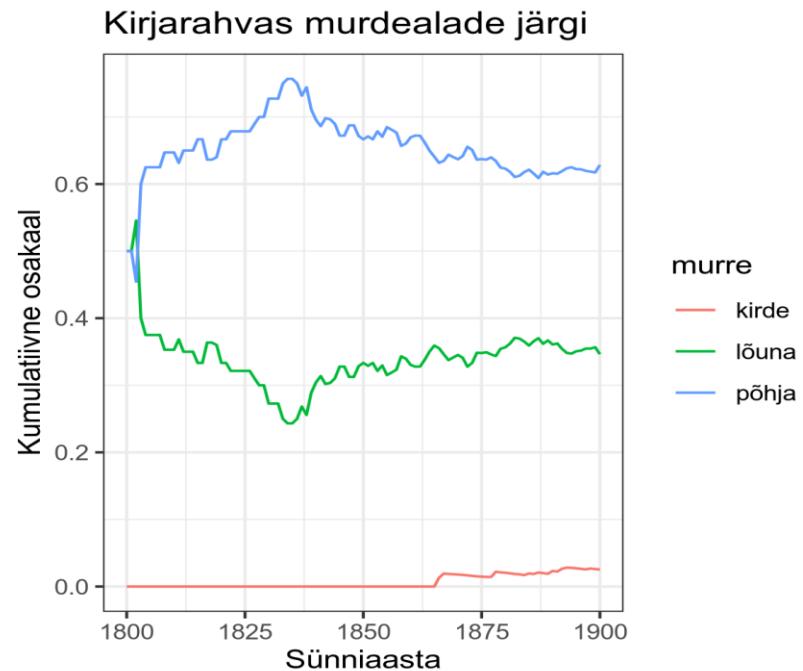
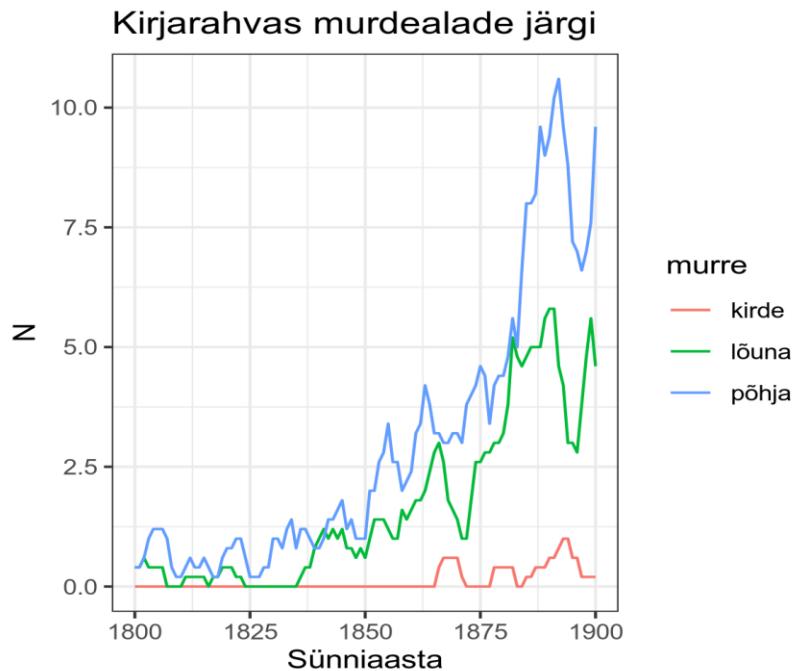
Birthplaces of literati

Dialect borders don't match governate borders



Birthplaces of literati

The language is still biased more towards the northern dialects as they have a strong presence in Livonia



Quick summary

Migration intensive, but spoken dialect contacts low

Influx of many new writers

Can destabilize norms

Origins are biased, but not by main dialects

Position of language standards

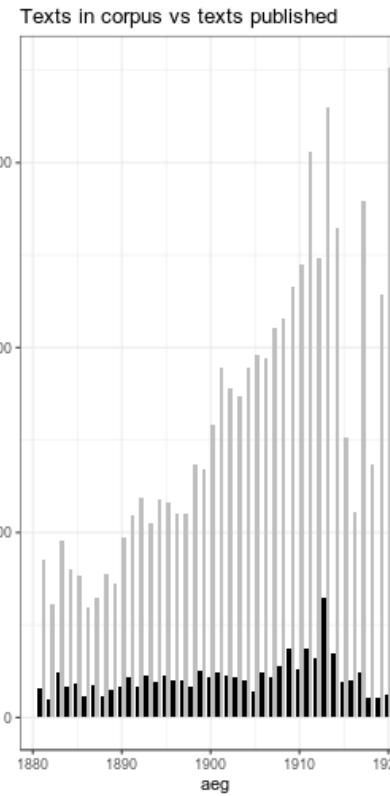
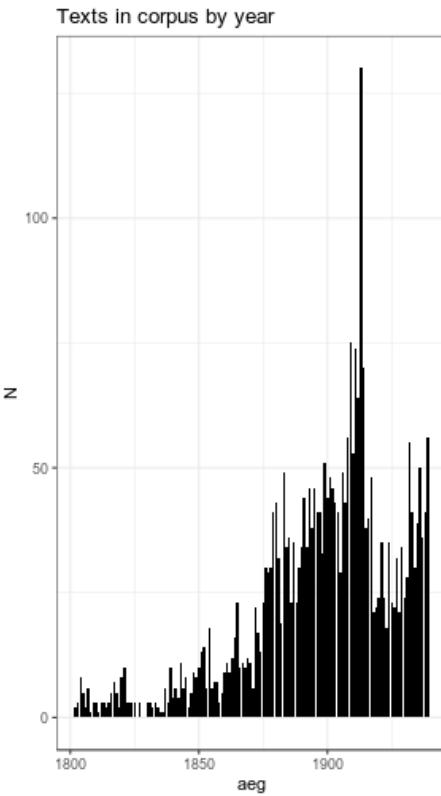
Spelling standardization and its mechanisms

Language contacts (spoken & written)

Language prescription

Convergence on the majority

The texts



Variants and variation

A set of variables:

w / v – wabariik, vabariik

ää / ea – hää, hea; sääl, seal

üi / üü – nüid, nüüd

herra / härra

naine / naene

om / on

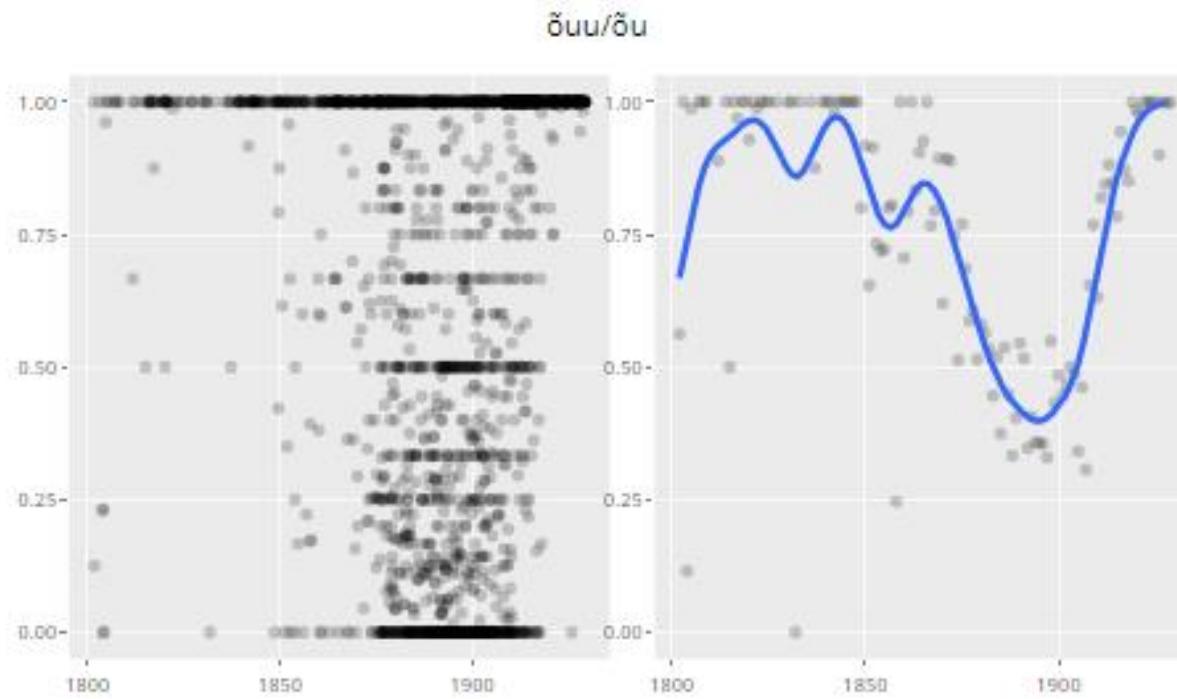
Fairly common in frequency

Have interesting variation in 1880-1920

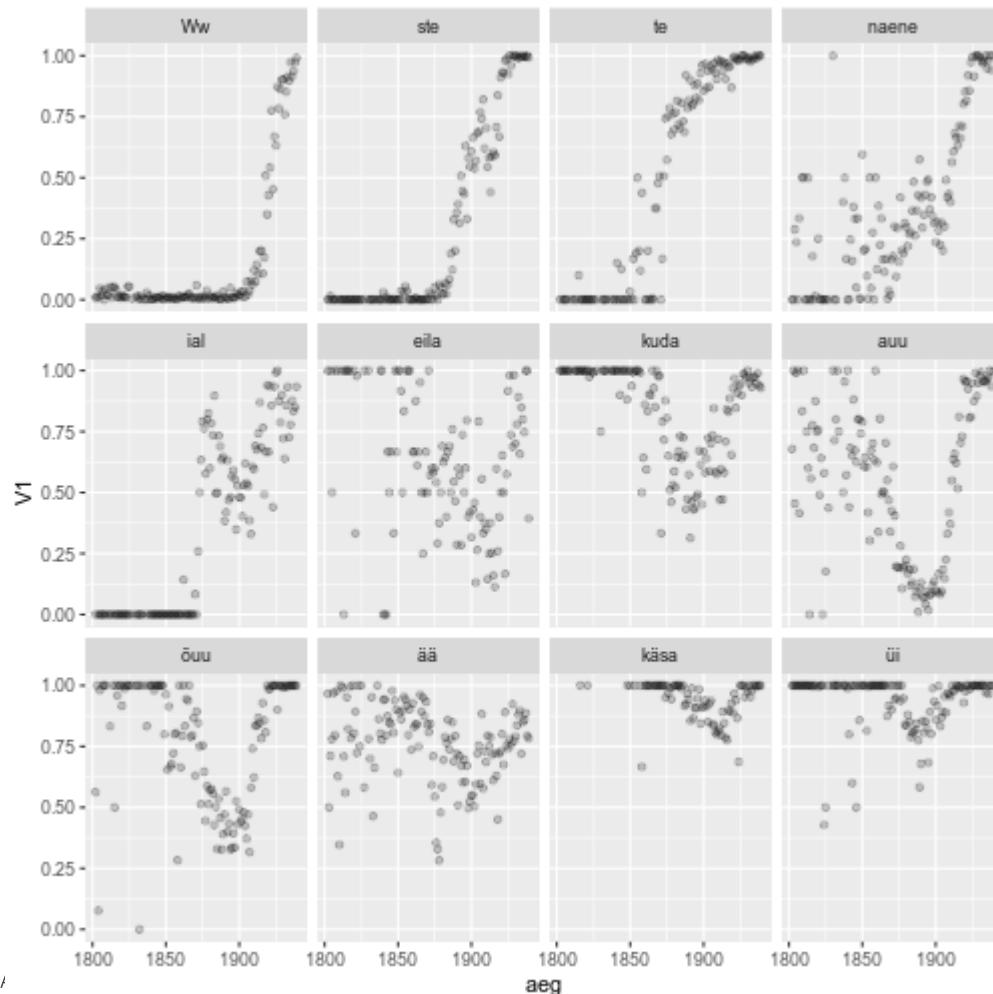
Variants and variation

Average across tokens in book (left)

Average across books by year (right)



Average trends



Language prescription

Historian's overviews



- käänata sôna *juus* (=juuksekarv) järgmiselt: *juukse, juuksed, juuste;*
- käänata sôna *kodu* ainsuse omastavas *kodu* ja sisseütlevas *koju;*
- kirjutada *üü*, mitte *üi* sônades nagu *nüüd, hüüdma, tüütama, süütama;*
- kirjutada *kaine, naine, laine*, mitte *kaene, naene, laene, aga naeris, paene* (sônat *pais), vaene; samuti *aed, aednik*, mitte *aid, aidnik;**
- kirjutada *kullassepp* (kahe *s*-iga), mitte *kullasepp;*
- kirjutada *herra, veevel*, mitte *härra, väavel, aga närvid, mitte nervid;*
- kirjutada *väike, kóik, lóikama*, mitte *veike, keik, leikama;*
- kirjutada *käbar*, mitte *käbär;*

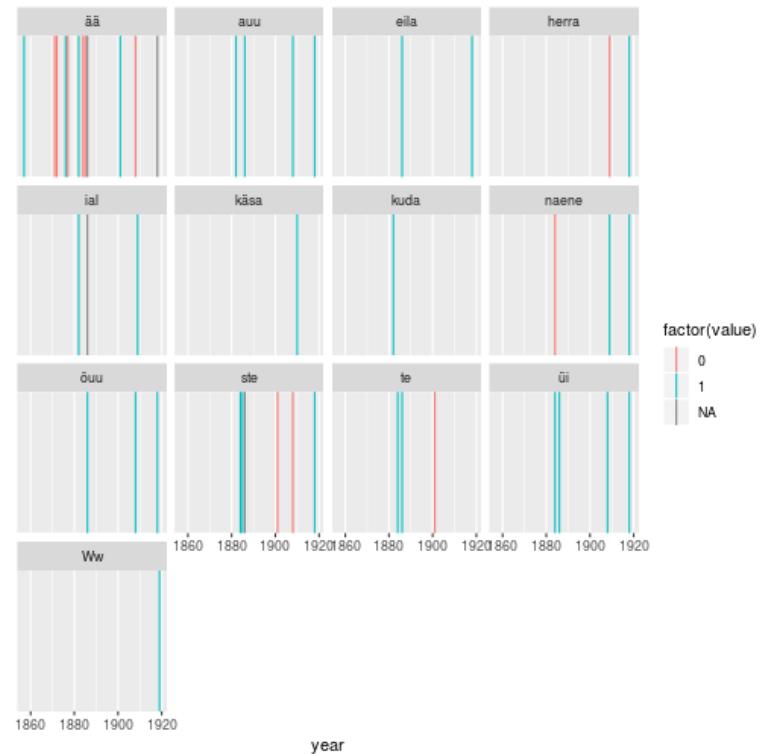
Overview of proposed norms in 1909 (Raag 2008)

Language prescription

Prescriptive events on the timeline

Blue (suggested norm
towards 1)

Red (suggested norm
towards 0)



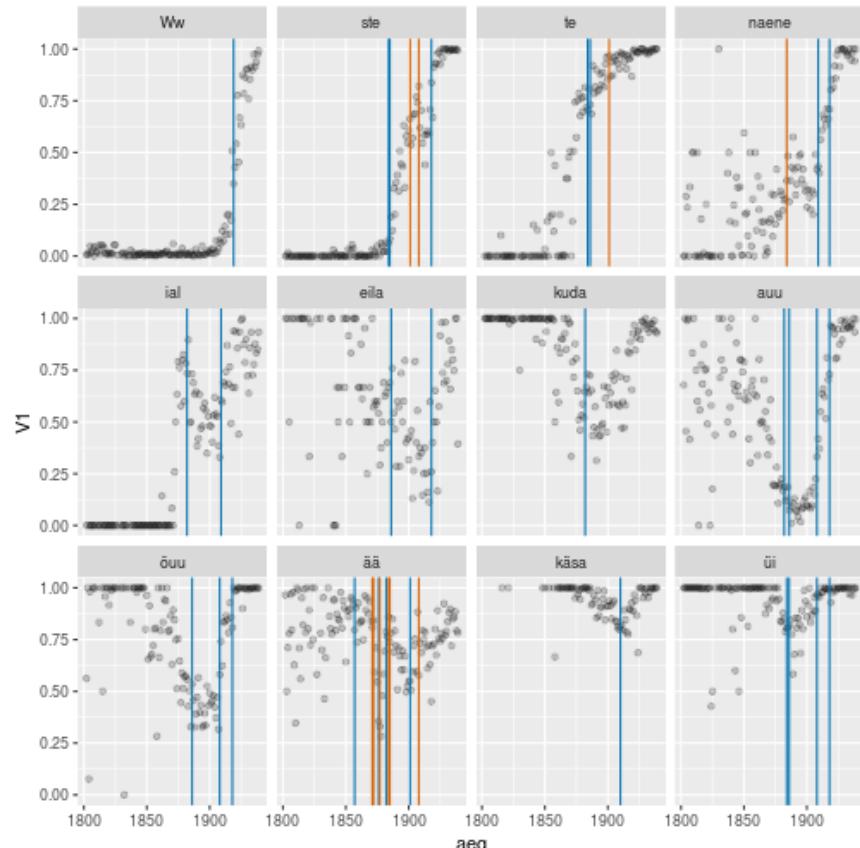
Language prescription

Looking at the aftermath of prescriptive events

Blue (suggested norm
towards 1)

Red (suggested norm
towards 0)

Many prescriptive events are
reverse linguistic trends



Leaders and followers

How did individual backgrounds influence their language choices?

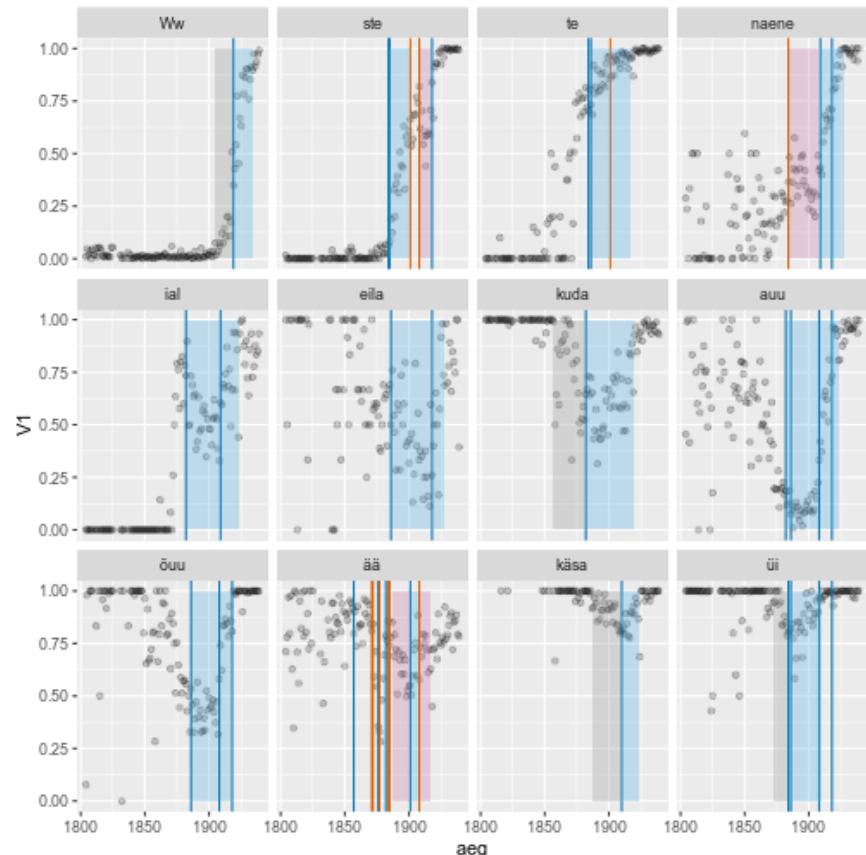
Who were leading the (prescribed) changes, who were following?

Leaders and followers

Looking at the aftermath of prescriptive events

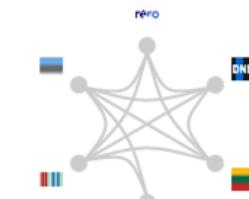
Blue (suggested norm
towards 1)

Red (suggested norm
towards 0)



Linked texts

Linking books and people with bibliographies and biographies



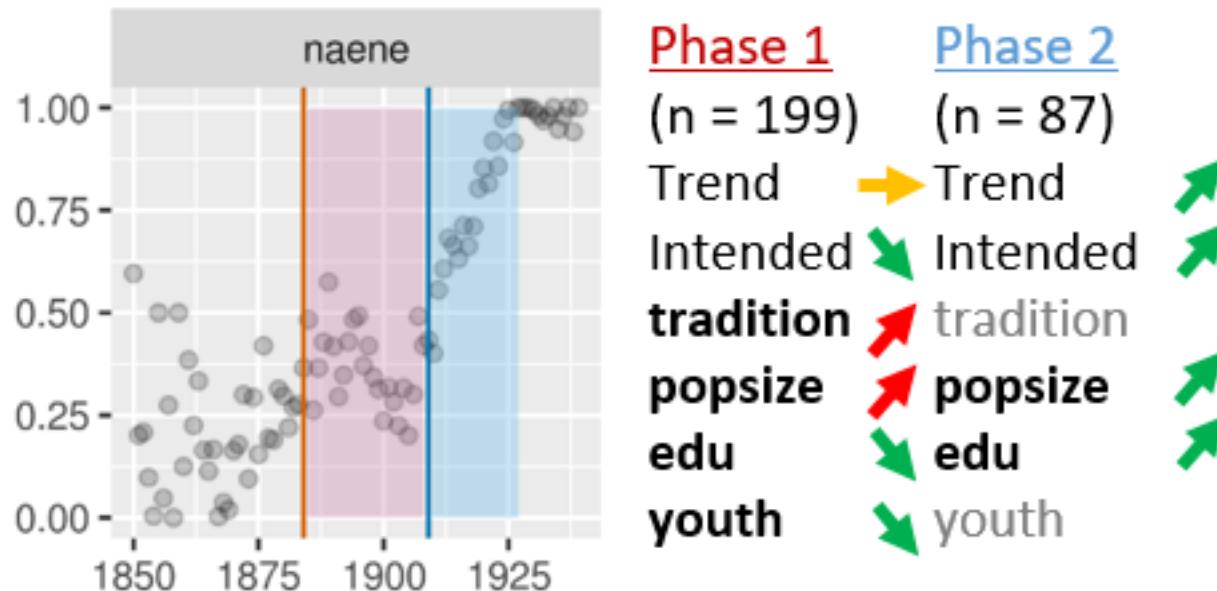
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11640	TRUE							Lorup, Johannes	Lorup, Johannes			1901-1943	SalLorup, Joli	http://eaf.org/eafl300068771			
11641	TRUE							Loskit, Juhan	Loskit, Juhan			1869-1951	SalLoskit, Juhi	http://eaf.org/eafl54814954460250049001			
11642	TRUE							Loskit, Karl	Loskit, Karl			1884-1936	SalLoskit, Ka	http://eaf.org/eafl18414954283870301920			
11643	TRUE	ISIK	1908					Lossius, Eduard	Lossius, Eduard	Lossius, Eduard	1811-09-05	1870-03-29	1811-1870	SalLossius, Edi	http://eaf.org/eafl15540624		
11644	TRUE	ISIK	1908					Lossius, Eduard	Lossius, Eduard	Lossius, Eduard			1870-1965	SalLossius, Ni	http://eaf.org/eafl24696091		
11645	TRUE							Lossius, Nikolai	Lossius, Nikolai	Lossius, Nikolai							
11646	VEPP	1549						Lossmann, Helmar	Lossmann, Helmar	Lossmann, Helmar							
11647	VEPP	4083						Lossmann, Juri	Lossmann, Juri	Lossmann, Juri							
11648	TRUE	VEPP	4084					Lossmann, Arthur	Lossmann, Arthur	Lossmann, Arthur							
11649	VEPP	4084						Lossmann, Arthur	Lossmann, Arthur	Lossmann, Arthur	05.10.1877	01.09.1972	1877-1972	SalLossmann, Ar	http://eaf.org/eafl304960182		
11650	TRUE	ISIK	1909					Lossmann, August	Postimees 1857-1907	Lossmann, August							
11651	TRUE	ISIK	1910					Lossmann, J	Lossmann, J	Lossmann, J							
11652	TRUE	ISIK	1910					Lossmann, Jaan	Lossmann, Jaan	Lossmann, Jaan							
11653	TRUE	unseen	ISIK	1910				Lossmann, Juri	Lossmann, Juri	Lossmann, Juri							
11654	TRUE							Lossmann, Peeter	Lossmann, Peeter	Lossmann, Peeter	24.03.1910	08.10.2013	1891-1984	SalLossmann, Jaan	http://eaf.org/eafl582814954460490049006		
11655	TRUE							Lotarjov, Igor Vassiljevits	-Eesti kirjanike le	Lotarjov, Igor	1887-05-16	1941-12-20					
11656	TRUE							Lotarjov, Igor Vassiljevits	-Eesti kirjanike le	Lotarjov, Igor							

B11643	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R
11640	TRUE							Lorup, Johannes	Lorup, Johannes			1901-1943	SalLorup, Joli	http://eaf.org/eafl300068771				
11641	TRUE							Loskit, Juhan	Loskit, Juhan			1869-1951	SalLoskit, Juhi	http://eaf.org/eafl54814954460250049001				
11642	TRUE							Loskit, Karl	Loskit, Karl			1884-1936	SalLoskit, Ka	http://eaf.org/eafl18414954283870301920				
11643	TRUE	ISIK	1908					Lossius, Eduard	Lossius, Eduard	Lossius, Eduard	1811-09-05	1870-03-29	1811-1870	SalLossius, Edi	http://eaf.org/eafl15540624			
11644	TRUE	ISIK	1908					Lossius, Eduard	Lossius, Eduard	Lossius, Eduard			1870-1965	SalLossius, Ni	http://eaf.org/eafl24696091			
11645	TRUE							Lossius, Nikolai	Lossius, Nikolai	Lossius, Nikolai								
11646	VEPP	1549						Lossmann, Helmar	Lossmann, Helmar	Lossmann, Helmar	07.02.1903	21.08.1961	1880-1951	SalLossmann, Helmar	http://eaf.org/eafl18414954283870301920			
11647	VEPP	4083						Lossmann, Juri	Lossmann, Juri	Lossmann, Juri	04.02.1891	01.05.1984	1887-1972	SalLossmann, Juri	http://eaf.org/eafl304960182			
11648	TRUE	VEPP	4084					Lossmann, Arthur	Lossmann, Arthur	Lossmann, Arthur	05.10.1877	01.09.1972	1877-1972	SalLossmann, Ar	http://eaf.org/eafl304960182			
11649	VEPP	4084						Lossmann, Arthur	Lossmann, Arthur	Lossmann, Arthur								
11650	TRUE	ISIK	1909					Lossmann, August	Postimees 1857-1907	Lossmann, August								
11651	TRUE	ISIK	1910					Lossmann, J	Lossmann, J	Lossmann, J								
11652	TRUE	ISIK	1910					Lossmann, Jaan	Lossmann, Jaan	Lossmann, Jaan								
11653	TRUE	unseen	ISIK	1910				Lossmann, Juri	Lossmann, Juri	Lossmann, Juri								
11654	TRUE							Lossmann, Peeter	Lossmann, Peeter	Lossmann, Peeter	1886-00-00							
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11656	TRUE							Lotarjov, Igor Vassiljevits	-Eesti kirjanike le	Lotarjov, Igor	1887-05-16	1941-12-20						

Leaders and followers

Significant predictors (logistic regression)

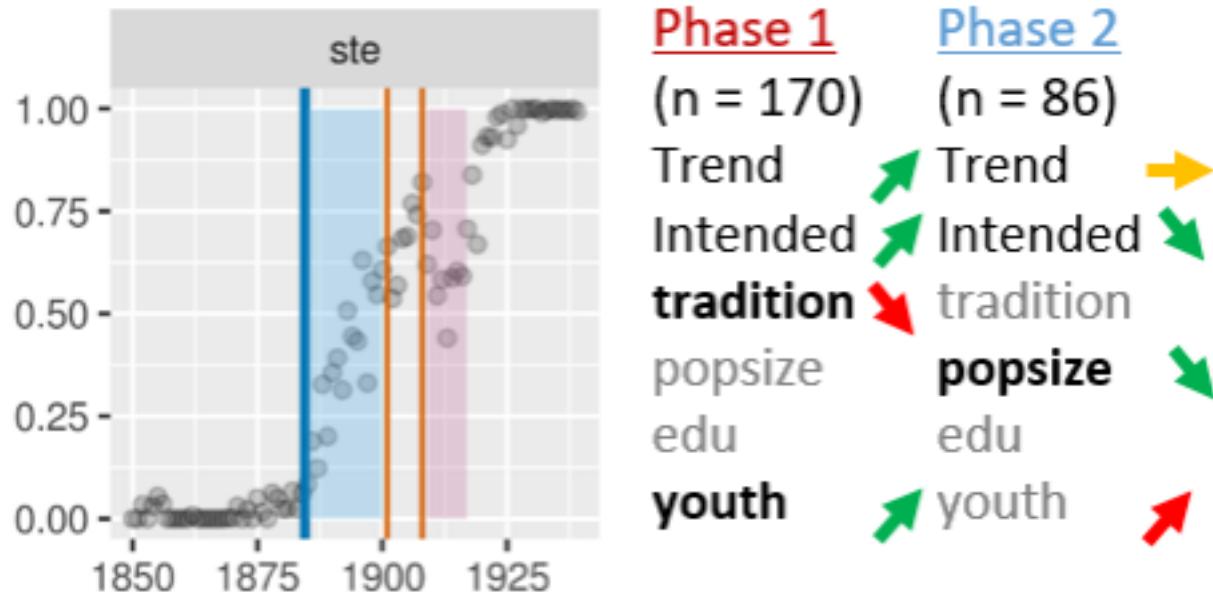
Model does not include dialect info



Leaders and followers

Significant predictors (logistic regression)

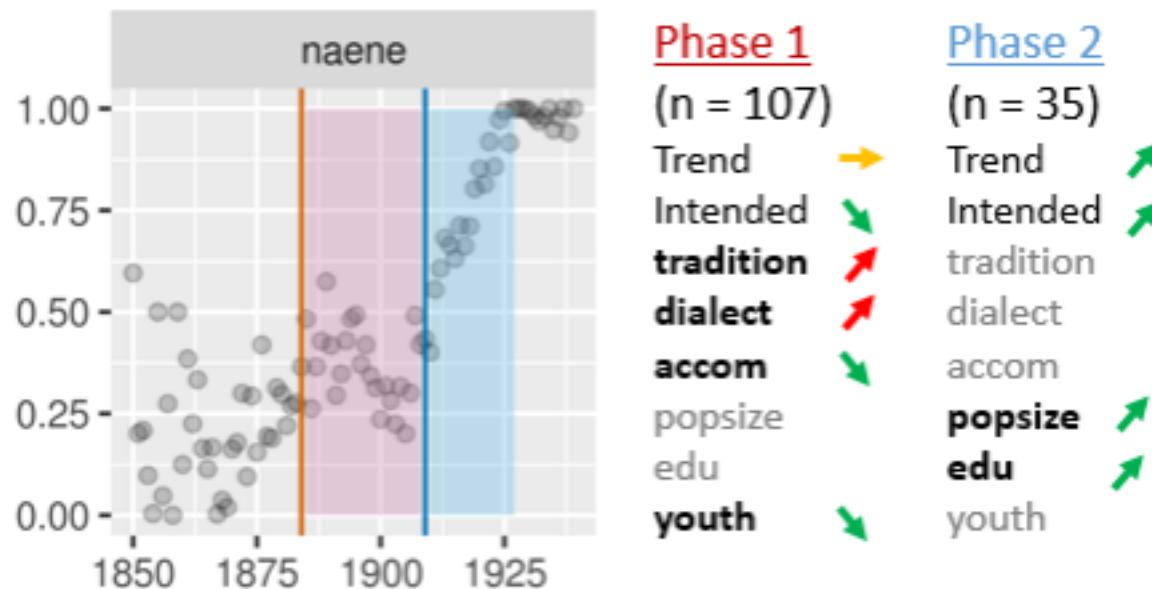
Model does not include dialect info



Leaders and followers

Significant predictors (logistic regression)

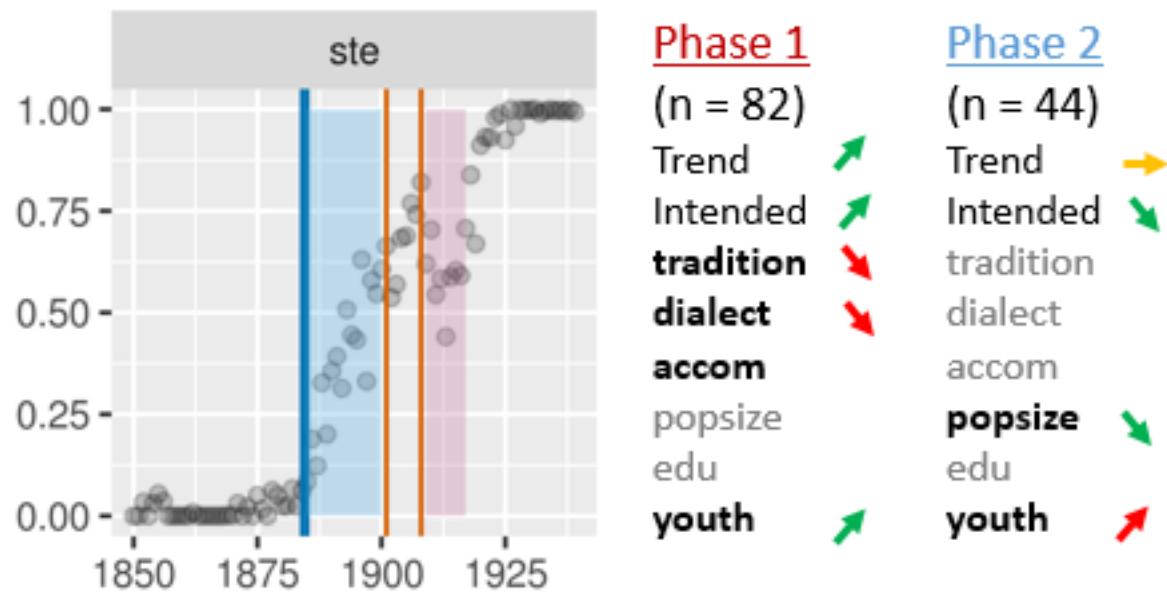
Model includes dialect info

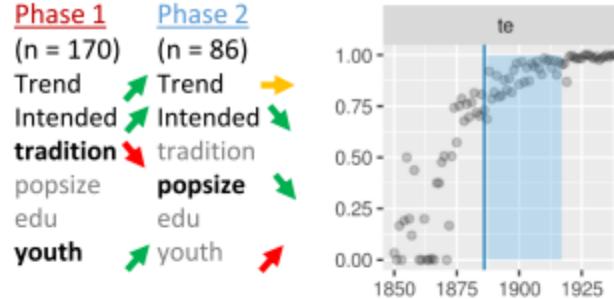
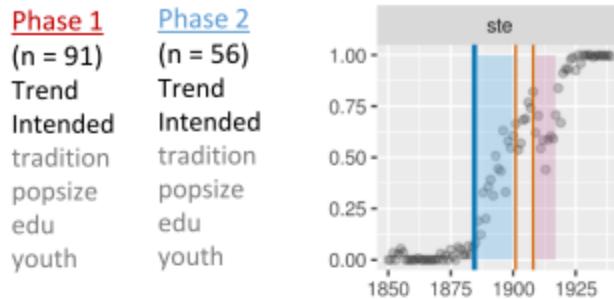
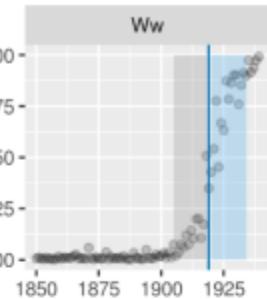


Leaders and followers

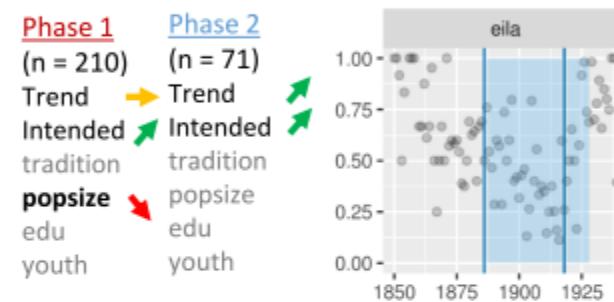
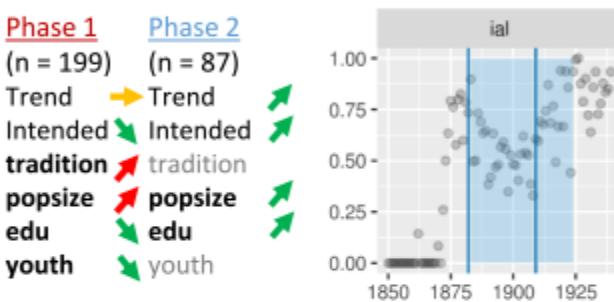
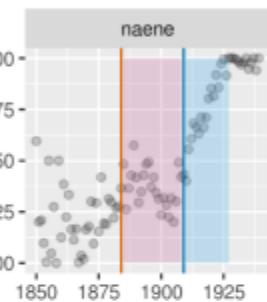
Significant predictors (logistic regression)

Model includes dialect info

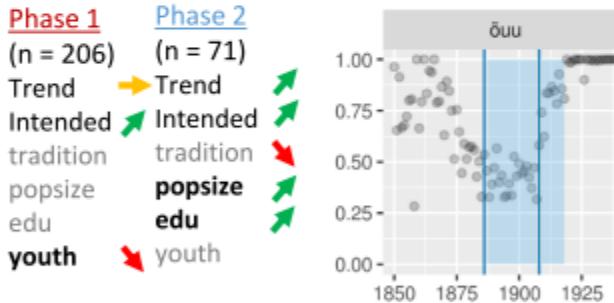
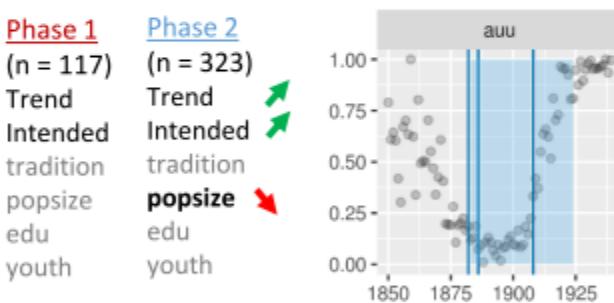
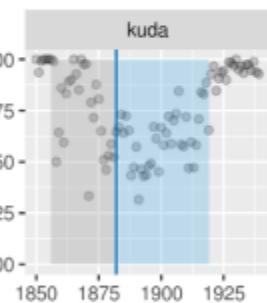




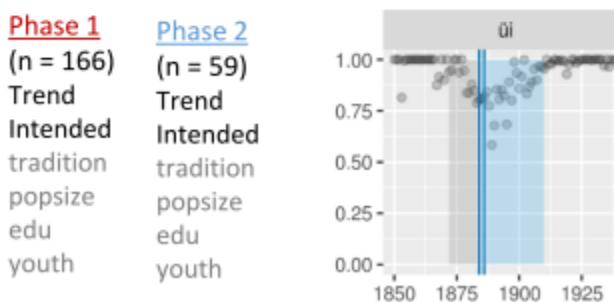
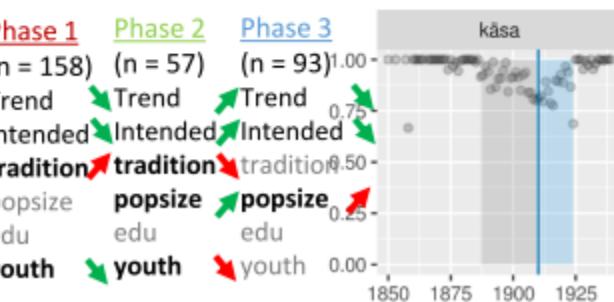
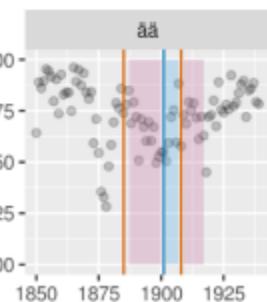
Phase 1
(n = 265)
Trend
Intended
tradition
popsize
edu
youth



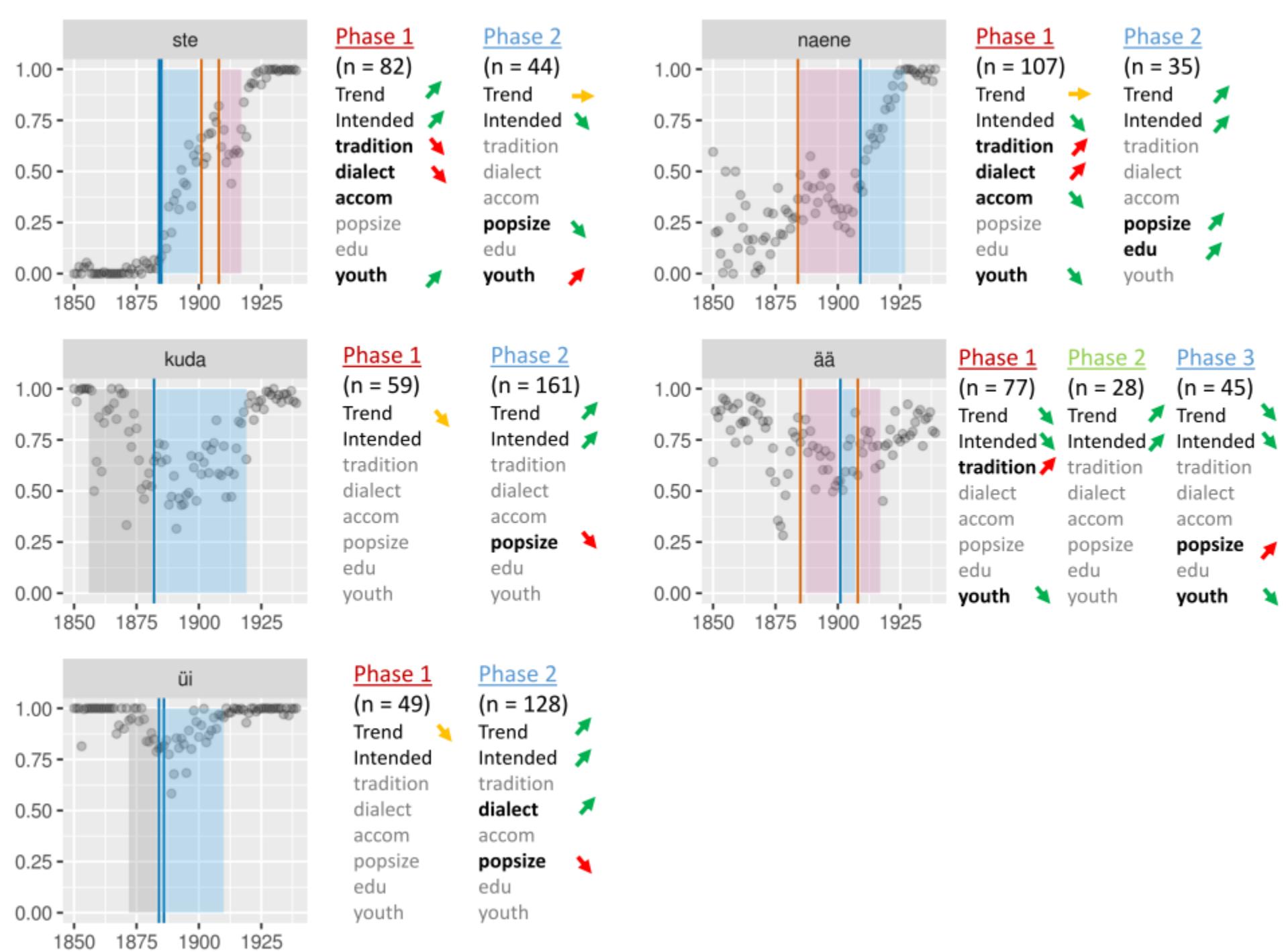
Phase 1
(n = 101)
Trend
Intended
tradition
popsize
edu
youth



Phase 1
(n = 200)
Trend
Intended
tradition
popsize
edu
youth



Phase 1
(n = 110)
Trend
Intended
tradition
popsize
edu
youth



Discussion - data

Multiple possible explanations

Bad and difficult to combine data

But not unusable

Census & biographical data for community reconstruction

Events & timelines for influence estimation

Individual backgrounds as predictors of language use

Discussion - explanations

No expected bias from dialects

Lots of movement, but low dialect contact

Some counties more literate, but not by dialect area

Turning points towards intended norms show significant impact of prescription

Discussion - individuals

Personal biographies mattered less

Native dialects were significant predictors in only 3/9 cases

Education did not systematically influence much (1/9, 2/19)

Youth and large cities dominated

Youth or large cities often led the observed change (5/9, 8/19)

No clear trend when youth and large cities contradict (2/2, 4/4)

Successful changes were driven by them most often (3/5, 6/9)

Summary

Estonian spelling standardization 1880-1920

Low spoken dialect contacts, no dialectal bias in writing

Prescription altered the community mean often

Individual education & dialect mattered less

Youth and large cities tended to dominate the changes



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Thank you!

And thanks to the organizers of EvoWrite2020!