Language Policy

Maarja Siiner
Kadri Koreinik
Kara D. Brown *Editors*

Language Policy Beyond the State

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Language Policy

Volume 14

The last half century has witnessed an explosive shift in language diversity not unlike the Biblical story of the Tower of Babel, but involving now a rapid spread of global languages and an associated threat to small languages. The diffusion of global languages, the stampede towards English, the counter-pressures in the form of ethnic efforts to reverse or slow the process, the continued determination of nation-states to assert national identity through language, and, in an opposite direction, the greater tolerance shown to multilingualism and the increasing concern for language rights, all these are working to make the study of the nature and possibilities of language policy and planning a field of swift growth.

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Introductory Chapter: Questioning Borders

Kara D. Brown, Kadri Koreinik, and Maarja Siiner

> The east-west border is always wandering
> sometimes eastward, sometimes west
> and we do not know where it is just now:
> on the Elbe, in the Urals, or maybe in ourselves,
> so that one ear, one eye, one nostril, one hand, one foot
> one lung and one testicle or one ovary
> is on the one, another on the other side. Only the
> heart, only the heart is always on the one side:
> if we are looking northward, in the west:
> if we are looking southward, in the east;
> and the mouth doesn't know on behalf of which
> it has to speak, or both.
>
> *Jaan Kaplinski, The Wandering Border, 1987*[1]

Abstract Estonian language policy and planning (LPP) research has begun to expand beyond its decades-long focus on the integration and the Russian minority and on the state's central role in policymaking. These traditional and critically important areas of focus, however, threaten to obscure other important and fascinating trends in Estonian LPP. Critical areas such as the Anglicization of higher education, the practices of transnational families and corporations, the changed security

[1] The opening quote's author, the Estonian poet, philosopher, translator and essayist Jaan Kaplinski, is known for his critical posture towards language planning (see Salumets 2014, 35).

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discourse, dynamic regional language communities, and the emergence of important political agents in LPP, in addition to the state, are also in need of attention. This edited volume aims to help expand our understanding of the dynamism of language policy and planning by exploring the ways in which Estonian-based research in the field reveals shifting borders and new centers of LPP influence and power.

Keywords Borderlands • Space • Time • Estonia • Language policy

1 Introduction

Estonian language policy and planning (LPP) research has begun to expand beyond its decades-long focus on the integration of the Russian minority and on the state's central role in policymaking. These traditional and critically important areas of focus, however, threaten to obscure other important and fascinating, trends in Estonian LPP. Critical areas such as the Anglicization of higher education, the practices of transnational families and corporations, the changed security discourse, dynamic regional language communities, and the emergence of important political agents in LPP, in addition to the state, are also in need of attention. This edited volume aims to help expand our understanding of the dynamism of language policy and planning by exploring the ways in which Estonian-based research in the field reveals shifting borders and new centers of LPP influence and power.

Two cross-cutting borders have dominated Estonian LPP research: the temporal border of past and present and the geographic border that situates Estonia both among the Baltic states and in Europe (for the meanings of the term 'Baltic' see Kasekamp 2010). The temporal border is aligned with the post-Soviet frame, which envisions Estonia among the former Soviet bloc states. The second geographic border positions Estonia in the European Union frame. Estonia hovers both between the Nordic and the Baltic states and between the present and the future. Social issues draw LPP research in Estonia towards the post-Soviet frame, reminding us that language policy is, in its genesis and implementation, a social policy (Jernudd and Nekvapil 2012).

To be sure, Estonia, as a society, and the Estonian state continue to grapple with the social, political, and demographic legacies of its Soviet past. And, post-1991 LPP research in Estonia has shed light on state-initiated reforms that seek to foster a sustainable and smooth-functioning civil society. This post-Soviet frame, however, overwhelmingly defines Estonia's Russian-speaking minority as the main language "problem" for the Estonian independent state to "solve." The core issues in the state's language policy interventions in the transitional society include reforms in Russian-medium schooling (Kempainen et al. 2015; Skerrett 2014; Masso and Soll 2014; Soll et al. 2015), citizenship issues (Gruber 2012; Hogan Brun and Wright 2013; Solska 2011), and concerns about the Russian-language media (Vihalemm and Hogan-Brun 2013). Although the focus has slowly expanded beyond language competences and linguistic integration to address other social issues, the state remains centered as the main agent in driving LPP.

The post-Soviet frame fails to capture the significant diversity across policy contexts. Although the Soviet successor states share a common political contingency, the language policy paths of these countries have diverged radically, with a range of outcomes that Pavlenko calls sociolinguistic "experiments" (Pavlenko 2013, 262). Diverse demographic, political, economic, and social factors influenced the Republics as they regained their independence. Moreover, the histories of these states *before* Soviet incorporation are generally neglected in this post-Soviet frame. In the Estonian case, the Baltic German past shaped the institutions of successor states, including some LPP trajectories (Gibson, Marten, and Pawlusz all this volume)[2]. A Soviet frame neglects the historic scope and dynamic differences of many of these factors and processes, as would potentially other spatial frames used in comparative policy analysis, like the Baltic Sea region. The question thus persists of the usefulness of the post-Soviet frame for understanding the language situation in Estonia today, where globalization and migration decenter the states' language-policy power.

A critical LPP approach, utilizing qualitative, ethnographic, and discourse-analytical methods to study policy "on the ground" (Hult and Johnson 2015) helps to reveal the ways spatial and temporal boundaries are redefined in powerful ways. The ethnographic turn in LPP has contributed, in particular, to the understanding of policy and the policy process as multilayered and involving many actors (Ricento and Hornberger 1996). Ethnographic perspectives on communicative practices reveal motivations, varied agendas, and language policy agents other than those at the state level (McCarty et al. 2011). The research we include in this volume attempts both to understand the habitus of language policy agents (Bourdieu 1991) and to reconceptualize a more diverse, democratic "agent." We are eager to explore language-related developments in a theoretically and methodologically up-to-date and sound way (see Hult and Johnson 2015; Spolsky 2012) that focuses on language users. The title—*Language policy beyond the state*–thus references our proposition that the complex social phenomenon called LPP both transcends the state and engages agents besides the state.

This volume considers the ways language policy and countries can be "re-regionaliz[ed]" (Brüggemann 2003, 348). In the case of Estonia, the "Baltic" body of scholarship on the country was built by several important language-policy scholars (e.g., Hogan-Brun et al. 2007; Ozolins 2011; Pavlenko 2011; Vihalemm and Hogan-Brun 2013[3]). It highlights the significant historic commonalities shared

[2] On one hand, this past embraced Baltic German self-governing institutions exercising hegemonic control over native population over centuries (Kasekamp 2010), on the other hand, different reforms following the spread of Enlightenment ideals, and Estophiles, including Enlighteners of non-Estonian descent, above all Baltic Germans, who initiated the romantic cult of Estonian which in turn boosted Estonian ethnolinguistic communion (Jansen 2007 as quoted in Koreinik 2011).

[3] The spatial reconsiderations can be the result of (forced) migration of scholars themselves. For example, Valter Tauli, the author of *Introduction to the theory of language planning* (1968), fled to

among Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, in particular their political and socio-cultural experiences as small, formerly independent states occupied by the Soviet Union. But today, the evolving geographic, political, and social space of Estonia provides insights into the development and practice of policy. The spatial reconsideration of Estonia beyond its traditional framing as a "Baltic state," exploring new geographic alignments and borders, offers productive frames for exploring language policy and practice. These contextualizations include the Baltic world (Kirby 1995), embracing more or less all states/regions around the Baltic sea, and, more broadly, the rest of the world–as we follow the economic, political and personal ties that Estonia and Estonians are building.

In addition to resituating Estonia geographically, this volume critically reconsiders the importance of time for LPP. We resist a limiting "Soviet" or "post-Soviet" temporal bracket, and have included research that follows the ways lives, ideologies, and policies are sustained or disrupted across shifts in ruling powers. Notions of time are embedded, for example, in discourses of language endangerment (Koreinik 2011), which consider the long arc of language use and power. Punctuated, state-bound, political definitions of time—imperial Russia, interwar, Soviet, and post-Soviet—may fail to capture the dynamic changes in everyday language use that may be only loosely tethered to political regimes.

2 Language, Policy & the State

Three concepts are central to this volume: language, policy, and the state. "Language" is understood as a social construction, discursively created and maintained as the collective good of a community of speakers (cf. May 2015). Of course, "language" has a range of connotations in different languages and disciplines (see Cook 2010 for an outline). The term "national language," for example, captures the complexities of this concept. As an ideological construction for identity, belonging, and commonality of a speech community (Busch 2010), the notion of a "national language" poses difficulties for states attempting, on one hand, to legitimize past struggles for independence with reference to that language, and on the other hand, to persuade language minorities that the same national language serves to promote civic unity.

Discussions of the concept of language are central to the focus and parameters of the field of language policy and planning studies (Ricento 2015, xiii). LPP researchers are increasingly aware that the theory, and concept, of language precedes and informs research on policies. In this vein, LPP researchers are primarily concerned with language use and the conceptualizations of language in private, public or legal discourse. As a robust interdisciplinary field, LPP makes its home in, and draws on insights from, linguistics, sociology, political science, economics, and education; a sampling of this intellectual diversity is reflected in the volume. This rich foundation also contributes to the varied conceptions of language.

Sweden in 1944, and this brought Scandinavian languages and respective language planning to his attention (see Haugen 1969).

Regardless of the academic field, Gramsci (1971, 451) reminds us that without "a critical and historicist conception of language," academic and social practices can lead to erroneous results. The main critique of social scientists' apolitical treatment of language, however, comes from Bourdieu (1991), who conceives of language as a tool of power; it is evermore generative and can thus produce collectively recognised representations. Power is, therefore, embedded in all linguistic exchanges. Specifically, these exchanges function as "relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized" (ibid.: 37).

The second core concept of this volume—policy—merits introduction and clarification. We understand policy primarily as a complex sociocultural practice (Shore and Wright 1997; Sutton and Levinson 2001). This inclusive concept considers policy both as how formal policies are taken up, or appropriated, but also as the ways social actors generate policy through their decision-making. This conception of policy moves the understanding away from the notion of policy as an authoritative tool of government linked with systems of sanctions (and, perhaps, rewards). Instead, language policy is understood as "a *complexity* of human interactions, negotiations and productions mediated by interrelationships in contested sites of competing ideologies, discourses and powers" (Hélot and Ó Laoire 2011, xv).

Importantly, scholars are beginning to recognize the intimate connection between understandings of "language" and "policy"—that concepts of "language" inform those of "policy" and, policy constructs language in different ways (Petrovic 2015). Egon Guba, a leading scholar in qualitative research, draws attention to the primacy of understanding one's definition of "policy" for "the particular definition [of policy] assumed by the policy analyst determines the kinds of questions that are asked, the kinds of policy-relevant data that are collected, the sources of data that are tapped, the methodology that is used, and finally the policy products that emerge" (1984, 63). A starting point for this volume is the recognition that policies develop in particular, dynamic historical, political and social contexts (cf. Bourdieu 1991; Gramsci 1971, 1985; May 2015, 46). In this collection, the contributors approach and understand policy in a variety of ways with these differing policy notions deeply determining the trajectory of their research.

The state is the third central concept of this volume and LPP research. The state, as the legitimate, regulating organization of a sovereign group (e.g., nation), has been foregrounded in language-policy research due to its repository and resources of power. Understanding the state's role in language policy has been crucial in the LPP field given this attention to power and the "striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state" (Weber 1946, 41). The focus on the state has led to a state-tradition (or managerial) approach to language policy, which understands and formulates policy pathways dependent on state traditions. Within this approach, policy is understood as, "(t)he ghost in the machine—the force which breathes life and purpose into the machinery of government and animates the otherwise dead hand of bureaucracy" (Shore and Wright 1997, 5).

This volume aims to question the state-tradition approach to language policy. We are not suggesting that the state is without a role in language policy. We are, however, striving to understand both (1) the ways sub- and supra-state actors also play formative roles in language policy, and (2) the "hand" of the state, or the role of the state, with these sub- and supra-state actors' language policy. Policy-making research on multilevel governance has challenged the capacities of a central state for the sole and legitimate representation of sub-national (sometimes peripheral), social groups' ("the society") and domestic (vs. foreign) interests (Piattoni 2009).

A transnational approach to language policy considers the ways policy actors can be found and operate at the supranational level. Despite autonomy, states only exist within an international order of the state system (Giddens 1985). The state is formally interconnected to other polities at the supranational level, like the EU and NATO, which influence language policy; this interaction of organizations can be considered as a polity-in-the-making (Cotta 2012). Phenomena like increased international communication flows, shifting migration patterns, new labor and education arrangements, likewise challenge the defining and primary role of states in language issues. In a globalised world, traditional institutions of public policy and power, i.e. the state as a legal personhood, are in a need of re-conceptualisation (Arvidsson et al. 2016) and this collection contributes to this reexamination of the state.

3 Language Policies Beyond the State?

3.1 Decentering the State: Globalization, Migration, Regionalism

Multiple developments—including the globalizing economy, migration, and regionalization—work to decenter the contemporary state and shift the boundaries of language policy development and appropriation beyond state borders. First, globalization as "a set of processes by which the world is rapidly being integrated into one economic space via increased international trade, the internationalization of production and financial markets, the internationalization of a commodity culture promoted by an increasingly networked global telecommunications system" (Gibson-Graham 2006, 120) foregrounds the market and transnational corporations (TNCs) as primary actors alongside of or marginalizing the state in several spheres including language policy. Serving, creating, contesting and participating in transborder entities like companies and universities (Jenkins 2014; Phillipson 2015) helps to create particular language needs, priorities, and interactions.

Another defining feature of globalization leads to the second decentering force—migration. The voluntary and forced[4] transnational mobility of people, ideas, and

[4] Migration during times of war and crisis also shapes language policy, which can be found, among many examples, in historical research on the role of language in Displaced Persons' camps and the role of voluntary societies sustaining Estonian in receiving countries after WWII.

money generate new, sometimes hybrid, ideas of belonging, identity, and possibility, while shaping language choice, need, affiliation, and understanding. For example, the expanded possibilities to be educated and work within the EU, but beyond the borders of Estonia, in large part depend on a migrant's language skills typically beyond the major home languages of Estonia. The pan-European migration crisis today also demonstrates how forces and changed political agendas beyond the state affect language ideologies and views on language policy related issues.

Finally, the third decentering force—regionalization, "which binds states—that are usually contiguous—together through their voluntary derogation of sovereign rights into a collective economic endeavor" (Joffé 2007, xiv), creates alternative centers (to the state) of power and pressure over language policy. Studying language policies beyond the state highlights the issue of agency and resources—i.e. attempts to change or reinforce linguistic behavior of oneself and others and the power of reasoning to justify a certain linguistic behavior. The possibility for political agency is framed in different discourses and contexts and can be found in speech communities, among institutions, organizations, families and groups of individuals. Investigating LPP beyond the state focuses on efforts to detect the different policy agents and analyze their attempts for agency.

3.2 Language-Policy Agents Beyond the State?

Established sociolinguistic scholars have identified language-policy agents beyond the state, such as (new) minorities or multinational corporations, and thus recognized language policy taking place in domains other than only on the state level (Fishman 1990). As researchers began in the late 1980s (Hornberger 1988) to embrace ethnographic methods to understand better language policy-making processes, the focus shifted from examinations of state-based implementation of language policies. Instead, ethnographically-inclined LPP researchers delved into the appropriation and contestation of policies on the substate level by language-policy agents like teachers, managers in multinational companies, and parents/children in multilingual families. Populations beyond state borders also have raised fascinating questions about the limits and goals of a state's administrative domain. Around the world, states employ the tools of statehood—the use of public funds and domestic and foreign policies—to reach populations deemed to be "connected" to the state, yet living within the borders of another. One interesting example is the foundation *Russki Mir* (Russian World), created by the Russian Government in 2007, which seeks to cross physical national borders and unite the biggest language group in Europe divided by borders—Russian-speakers (Ryazanova-Clarke 2014). The Russian Government's concern for their countrymen abroad quickly became an efficient foreign policy and propaganda tool, justifying Russia's interventions in the domestic affairs of states with large Russian-speaking minorities.

In the Estonian case, the state actively works both to sustain and cultivate at least two socio-cultural links and language communities that extend beyond the borders of the country. The first community “beyond the state” is Finno-Ugric. The cultural concept of Finno-Ugric “kin,” sustained by what some social scientists identify as a “narrative” (Korkut 2008), across Europe, includes Estonians, Finns, Hungarians, Udmurts, and Mari, among others, peoples. This ethno-linguistic “bond,” which both predates statehood (i.e. a historic beyond the state condition) for many of these “related people” and extends beyond contemporary state borders, helps to animate state programs to support language, educational, scholarly, and cultural development of kin-folk living as minorities, particularly in the Russian Federation (Brown 2010, 280). Finally, another significant community “beyond the state” is the ethnic Estonian speaking community living in Finland, Russia, Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, the United States, Canada, Australia, Ireland, and Norway. Estonia’s Ministries of Culture and of Education and Research actively support language teaching activities and activities related to the preservation and development of Estonian culture in these diasporas.

4 Why Focus on Estonia in Language Policy Research?

4.1 Estonia’s Borderland Existence

The “wandering border” mentioned in the chapter’s opening quote defines Estonia as a country situated on geographic, linguistic, cultural, ecclesiastical, and institutional borders. All these borders are wandering borders, as has happened with the EU and NATO enlargements. Estonia as a political borderland has gained power with discussions about the need to strengthen Estonia’s eastern border as NATO’s border (Siiner and L’nyavskiy, this volume). Estonia’s (socio-) linguistic situation also captures in many telling ways this borderland existence. Linguistic genealogy situates Estonian together with neighboring Finnish on the Finnic branch of the Uralic language family; but Estonians have also long had close contacts with Indo-European languages such as Baltic, Slavic, and Germanic languages. Whether having a different language family background determines Estonian speakers’ practices is disputable as is the question of whether Ugric cultures are less communicative than Western ones instead being more meditative and contemplative (see Kaplinski 2009 in Salumets 2014).

In terms of language ecology, besides common (Standard) Estonian and its traditional varieties, three clusters of foreign languages in Estonia reflect changing migrations, ruling powers, and borders (Hennoste et al. 1999): (1) German, which dominated from the thirteenth century to 1918, (2) more temporary administrative languages, e.g. Latin during the Middle Ages, Swedish, and Russian during the respective rules,[5] and 3) small ethnic groups’ languages like Estonian Swedish,

[5] In Estonian areas incorporated into the Russian Empire (1721–1917), Russian twice had particular prominence as an administrative language— first during the period of Russification starting in the 1880s, and then again during the Soviet occupation of Estonia (1940–941, 1944–1991).

Estonian Russian (Russian Old Believers), Latvian, Finnish, etc. Historically, Russian, together with Estonian and German, has been one of "three local languages" (Ariste 1981). Depending on the era, the ruling power created language hierarchies rooted in the language that favored the dominant; the Estonian state reconfigured these hierarchies during the interwar and post-reindependence (i.e., post 1991) periods. In the twenty-first century, English joins Estonian, Russian, and German as the newest "local language." Estonia's residents together with their Nordic neighbors rank as some of the most proficient English speakers in Europe (Eurobarometer Special 2012, 386) in large part due to deliberate language policies that both permit and perpetuate the English language firmly in schools as the overwhelming first foreign language and in local popular cultural media (see Soler-Carbonell and Jürna in this volume). This history of language diversity coexists alongside existential concern for the only official state language – Estonian. As a small state (~1.3 million), language shifts, migration, and lopsided birth/death rates generate considerable concern about the long-term viability of Estonian in the coming decades (see e.g. Ehala et al. 2014).

4.2 Estonia's Dynamism

Since 1991 Estonian nation-building has been analyzed in the double contexts of post-communist transformation and globalization (cf. Vetik 2012). Both processes are seen as open-ended, requiring the interdisciplinary theory of societal transformation (Kollmorgen 2013). Another, but less common, option is to regard developments through the lenses of postcolonial studies, which emphasize practices of domination and "would give an alternative kind of coherence to postsocialist studies" (Verdery 2002 as cited in Annus 2012, 12). Furthermore, the simultaneous and contradictory processes of decolonization and globalization within the postcolonial studies' field have contributed to language policies receiving greater acknowledgement (Lin & Martin 2005 as cited in Hornberger 2015, 15).

Estonia also merits closer examination due to its rapid developments over the past decades. Although depicted as a transitional state by the return-to-the-West metaphor (Lauristin et al. 1997), becoming "European" is not new; in 1905, one of the leaders of a neo-romantic literary group Young Estonia (*Noor Eesti*), Gustav Suits, stated "*Olgem eestlasted aga saagem ka eurooplasteks!* [Let us remain Estonians, but let us become Europeans, too]" (Matthews 1950, 118).[6] Furthermore, and perhaps more importantly for language policies, legal restorationism, or the claim that Estonia is not the Soviet successor state, but rather the continuation of the interwar, independent Nordic-Baltic state, helps to generate the state identity (Kuldkepp and Marklund 2015; Pettai 2007). The political and economic

[6] "Olgem eestlased, aga saagem ka eurooplasteks!" (Suits 1905, p. 17). "Noor Eesti" stands for the outset of Estonian-language urban culture, the triumph of modernism and neo-Romanticism over realism, and was the framework movement of the language innovation (planning) of Estonian.

transformations that emerged after the decades of totalitarianism of the Soviet Union, aimed at reestablishing of the European values of democracy (i.e., free elections, human rights, rule of the law), free market economy (and restructuring state institutions), and an institutionalized civic society. Broader neo-liberal economic transformations have worked to converge business and language practices that are increasingly influencing language education and use (Hogan-Brun 2017). This tendency has largely remained out of LPP research focus in Estonia.

The Estonian neo-liberal economy has been an example of a “successful,” new, globalized economy of the twenty-first century. The neo-liberal stance was a conscious political choice against corporatist developments typical of, for example, Nordic corporatist societies, but also introduced vulnerabilities *vis-à-vis* economic crises (Kattel and Thorhallsson 2013). Distinct from its typical neoliberal economic policies, the Estonian state embraces a conservative ideological stance in policy areas such as citizenship and language policy, which can be described as ethnic control (Pettai and Hallik 2002). While admitting the existence of radically divergent interpretations on the Baltic (legal and political) situations, some scholars believe that once the status of national languages is re-established (i.e., the undoing of the political, demographic and social legacies of half a century of Soviet rule), the Baltic states can continue their language policies contributing to national and multilingual traditions (Hogan-Brun et al. 2007). Other scholars arrive at the conclusion that neither multinationality nor multilingualism is recognized by the Estonian legal system with its language legislation being a complicated and highly technical area (Meiorg 2012, 25).

Since regaining independence in 1991, Estonia has transformed from a Soviet Republic, which mainly received migrants, into a migrant-sending country: East-West migration and return migration have become common (Anniste 2014). Over the last two and a half decades, large numbers of ethnic Russians and other ethnicities/ethnic groups of the Soviet Union moved to their historical homelands from Estonia. The migration patterns changed significantly after the eastward enlargement of the EU in 2004, especially with many “old” EU member states opening up their labor markets to new member states in 2006. As a result, the biggest community of Estonian-speakers abroad resides today in neighboring Finland (Anniste et al. 2012). Estonians constitute the fourth biggest immigrant language group in Finland, and they are twenty times larger than twenty years ago (Praakli 2009). This emigration of Estonians is paralleled only by earlier episodes of mass movement—mostly to other regions of the Russian empire—from the mid-1800s to World War I, and during World War II, the Great Exodus in 1944 (Tammaru et al. 2010). In sum, diverse communities of practice (i.e., Estonian-speakers) live outside Estonia, as political and economic contexts have changed making it possible to have transnational contacts and experiences (cf. Vertovec 2001).

4.3 Newly Emerging Speech Communities

Recent scholarship points powerfully to the ways that LPP follows language users rather than state borders. Massive migration during World War II and the last decades of the twentieth and in the beginning of the twenty-first centuries has led to a situation where every fifth Estonian is living abroad either permanently or temporarily (Praakli and Viikberg 2010). This dynamic raises the question of how to define who is an Estonian, and what does it mean to have active participation in the state-based processes of democratization? If the development of LPP as a field of academic inquiry can be related to (nation) state building, Estonia is a perfect case to study of how the conceptualization of LPP has changed in the course of Estonia's nation-state building process from gaining the status of independent statehood, Soviet occupation, and finally the transition from a post-Soviet nationalizing state to a decentralized, civic society where one's authority depends on one's ability to persuade the electorate rather than generated by one's position in the political hierarchy. As mentioned above, many of the classical post World War II language planning activities faded in the 1980s, but had their revival in a number countries like Estonia, which, once free from the Soviet Union and its Russification policies, moved to normalize the situation by establishing national language policies. However, as Spolsky (2012) notes, these countries soon met the challenge of globalization forces that followed in the wake of liberal economic policies and an idealistic policy of protection of minority languages as part of their EU integration processes. In Estonia, rather than addressing the need to portray the complexity of challenges involved in defining language policy, many post-1991 language policy analyses continued to produce rationales (often with their roots in the history of how the linguistic situation in the state had evolved) for official state policies rather than contending with the possibility that the desired or "normalized" situation will not return and in all likelihood is unrealistic in the new era of open borders (Hogan-Brun et al. 2007; Rannut 2004).

Twenty-first century Estonian state involvement in language issues signals that LPP follows language users, not only the state borders. The Estonian government has been supporting ethnic Estonians abroad since 2004 via the series of compatriot programs (extending through 2020), implemented by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research, the Estonian Ministry of Culture, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A substantial part of the program budget and activities is directed towards teaching the Estonian language and culture to children born to Estonian-speaking parents abroad, including teaching materials and teacher training. The number of community organized Estonian Saturday schools abroad is increasing and mainly thanks to the support available from the Estonian state (Aksen et al. 2015, 11), but as qualitative and micro/level analysis reveals, this support fails to address the new, transnational identity of Estonians abroad (Siiner 2017). The founding of the NGO Russian School[7] also provides evidence of the power of considering language users beyond state borders. As this NGO suggests, Estonian Russian-speakers are becoming politically active. The flow of people and goods can create supranational groups, but also led to new localism, so the locus of political power, also in LPP issues, is increasingly complex.

[7] www.venekool.eu

5 Spatial and Temporal Reconsiderations: An Overview of the Volume

This volume focuses on how multilingualism is managed on the micro-level in everyday communication practices in different settings not typically studied in language policy research in Estonia. Our aim is to follow language users' actions and attitudes in places that are beyond the control of state, but are crucial for understanding language behavior and policy. The articles are grouped into two parts. The first re-considers the spatial positioning of LPP agency and responsibility within the state in two ways: by globalisation, and by migration. In addition to Estonian, the number of languages reported as mother tongue is increasing (cf. Puur et al. 2016). Moreover, Estonian is used beyond the borders of Estonian state in both established and new settings. The second part focuses on temporal aspects of language policy, in particular the ways language policies from earlier language regimes influence contemporary language practices and policies. These reconsiderations demonstrate in select ways the current decentring of the state in contemporary LPP research.

5.1 Space

Language policy decisions in Estonia have during the last decades followed the common path for many states in the twentieth century—language is used as a tool of state building (Zafran 2015). Within this (nation) state regime, language policy is intertwined with the concept of the state and its central functions: to preserve and protect the Estonian language and culture and to create a common information space for all citizens of the state. The first six chapters of the book offer a spatial reconsideration of LPP by exploring how language users, who are on the move, and their ways of communicating challenge the notion of state-bound LPP activities with the state as the sole body responsible for language policy. One of the biggest challenges to LPP inviting a spatial reconsideration is the new online media. By the end of the twentieth century, Russification was seen as the main threat to the Estonian language; in spite of the intensive de-Russification policies of the post-1991 period, which restricted the use of the language in the public space, Russian did not disappear (Integratsiooni monitooring 2011). Given the new geopolitical information and media space in Russian, more studies are needed in how new media flows decentralize the state (Ryazanova-Clarke 2014, Vihalemm and Hogan-Brun 2013). Besides the technical solutions that make communication across borders easier for individuals, and the task of controlling this information for states is harder, new media also raises the political question of the language in which the information should be spread. While Estonia quickly adopted English as the lingua franca, in private and public settings such as internationalizing companies and news media, respectively, it took several decades to understand the importance of information spread in the Russian language.

The volume opens with an investigation of language policy discourses in online media. Contemporary online media and governmental space (e.g. Berezkina 2015) in Estonia is remarkably multilingual often offering information in Estonian, Russian, and English in parallel. **Maarja Siiner** and **Svetlana L'nyavskiy** compare language ideological debates in Estonian- and Russian-language media spaces in their *Priming language political issues as issues of state security: A corpus-assisted discourse analysis of language ideological debates in Estonian media before and after the Ukrainian crisis*. By applying corpus assisted discourse analytical tool for the analysis of media content, their research examines articles published online during the Ukrainian crisis and Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014. The analysis reveals the paradoxes of the media in Estonia: neither the Estonian-language, nor the Russian-language media has successfully made the voices of Russian-speakers in Estonia heard and understood particularly in pivotal moments like this.

The other contributions to this section explore the consequences of globalization on language use, acquisition, and status. The growing trends of migration and mobility undeniably shape language policy and use. The chapters explore how multilingualism is managed in different spaces like internationalising organisations and in multilingual families. While multilingual workplaces and universities are not new to Estonia[8], the new reconfiguration of power relations between languages takes place along neo-liberal lines, meaning that the value is attached to languages on a global market rather than by a state. **Merike Jürna** and **Josep Soler-Carbonell** compare Anglicization in higher education in Denmark and Estonia in *Doing language policy: Teasing out the tensions for transnational scholars in Estonian and Danish higher education*. In spite of the different language legislations in the two countries and contrasting language strategies adopted by the universities under study, the University of Copenhagen in Denmark and the University of Tartu in Estonia, the process and consequences of Anglicization are quite similar. Because of the marketization of higher education in Europe, nation states are increasingly assigning the responsibility for meeting the global competitiveness agenda to the universities themselves (Siiner 2016). The post-national and neo-liberal universities in Europe are run as corporate entities operating within the highly competitive international education market, rather than only within nation states (Mortensen and Haberland 2012). In this expanded global market, the universities compete for (international) student tuition revenue and research grants from the same international and national pools, and strive to maximize their ranking on global ranking systems. Jürna and Soler-Carbonell draw our attention to the ways that mobile, transnational scholars navigate and adapt to these shifting language policies.

Maarja Siiner analyzes in "*Swedishization or internationalization? Negotiating the common language and culture in a Swedish-Baltic financial institution*" the reasons for and the consequences of choosing English as the common corporate language for internal communication in specific space: a Swedish-Baltic financial

[8] Russian was the main language of communication at many workplaces during the occupation period while German remained the main language of instruction at the University of Tartu throughout the nineteenth century (Marten, this volume; Siilvask and Haamer 1982).

institution. Using the multimodal method nexus analysis that combines ethnographic observations and interviews with discourse analysis of official policies makes it possible to study language management in everyday communications in specific institutional settings and on different scales. The Swedish-Baltic merger institution has adopted English as a value neutral in-house language to avoid potential culture- and language based misunderstandings and with the aim to create a common supra-national corporate culture that signals internationalization. Although English as a no man's land may seemingly offer a neutral ground for communication without having to give preference to any of the national languages, the contest between ethnic cultures in different branches still loom under the surface.

The analysis of the change in migration patterns (see also Sects. 4.2 and 4.3 this chapter) has mainly focused on its social consequences to the Estonian society (Saar and Jakobson 2015). Nevertheless, with changes in mobility such as return migration and the growing in-migration of the EU citizens and others (refugees), to name just few, views on multilingualism and language shift in different family types are gradually changing. According to Schwartz and Verschik (2013), multilingual families play a key role for maintaining and preserving multilingualism and changing views on multilingualism in a society. In Soviet Estonia interethnic families were rare (Laitin 1996) and supporting bilingualism, also within families, was in general interpreted as subordination to the official Russification policies (Hint 1987a, b). Little attention has been given to the language attitudes, habits and intergenerational language transmission of these families and three chapters in this section explore this in Estonia and abroad.

Two chapters take the readers to neighboring Finland with the most rapidly growing Estonian speaking community abroad. In *Emerging language political agency among Estonian native speakers in Finland,* **Kadri Koreinik** and **Kristiina Praakli** explore how Estonian speakers' choices are determined by both locally conditioned Finnish language policies, and the schooling and daycare experiences they bring to Finland. As such, the authors posit that language policy must be considered in transnational space. They focus on two educational sites, the Estonian language day-care and a comprehensive school with an Estonian-Finnish program in Helsinki. By combining ethnographic observations and interview data with critical macro-sociolinguistic analysis of the political discourses and infrastructure of language education in Finland, they argue that the Estonian speakers with multiple transnational affiliations may interpret language choices such as the selection of schooling according to their past experiences and language beliefs.

To understand how the family acts differently from the school in the maintenance of multilingualism, it is important to regard the family as a 'community of practice, a social unit with its own norms for language use' (Lanza 2007, 47). Within a family all of its members, parents as well as children, are important agents who influence language habits and skills. In their article *Parental attitudes and family conversational strategies shaping the family language policies of two Estonian-Finnish families*, **Kristiina Teiss** and **Sirje Perendi** outline the preliminary results of a ongoing longitudinal study of family language policies (FLP) in multilingual Estonian-Finnish families' language practices. Their study demonstrates that while parents claim to implement the One Parent-One Language (OPOL) strategy in language maintenance, (bilingual) children also have a significant say in family languaging. FLP, being constantly negotiated in the course of interaction, depends on the circumstances as well as on the content.

Anna Verschik and **Colm James Doyle** observe language management in multilingual families who have returned to Estonia. In their chapter, *Young Swedish-Estonian returnees to Estonia: Reflections on family language policy and a multilingual upbringing,* Verschik and Doyle answer the question of whether there ever can be a total absence of family language policies in any multilingual family as language choices have to be made on daily basis. Their study also reveals that the absence of purism or explicit family language policies does not necessarily lead to Anglicization. Instead, children's language choice(s) depend on whether they experience positive attitudes towards multilingualism in and beyond their families; no matter whether it originates from their (and parents') lived experiences with differently diverse societies, different language educational policies or the intergenerational transmission of language, which they conclude, is another promising research focus besides the transmission of language *per se*.

5.2 Time

The final five chapters differently investigate and highlight the ways that time can be foregrounded in significant ways to advance language policy research. This volume builds on work and traditions in the field concerned with time. Scholars have already pointed to the way languages policies are situated in a distinctive time and space (cf. Blommaert 2016; Hult 2010). Recently, methodological approaches, like historical institutionalism (Sonntag and Cardinal 2015), have developed centering on time as a way to explore language choices. Typically, however, time is addressed in the field in the form of cursory historic sketches or timelines of policy development; as such, time is typically linked with providing a context for the research. An additional aspect of this descriptive treatment of "time as context" is a state- (and empire-) bound periodization typically found in couplings like Soviet/post-Soviet, and pre−/post-European Union. These state- and empire-linked temporal divisions, and links, can be problematic since they (1) suggest neat delineations of state power that may disguise the continuation and adherence of language policies across (and beyond) government shifts; and (2) distract from long-standing, non-state bound cultural identifications relevant to Estonia like the indigenous Finno-Ugric (see Salumets 2006) and European identities. Movements like Ethnofuturism (especially active from 1989–1997) in Estonia, for example, in which artists, philosophers, and writers advanced ideas of animating, and making relevant, indigenous identities into the future provide an example of a non-state bound wellspring for language activism and policy (Hennoste 2012).

The authors of the second half of the book move beyond "time as context" to think about the ways time plays an integral role in shaping the status of languages, the experiences of language policy actors, and trajectory of enduring (and disrupted) connections around language. In particular, this section begins to uncover the ways time shapes both state and individual constructions of "multilingualism," notions of "desirable [foreign] languages," and as such, the chapters collectively bring to our attention the intimate link between time and the notion of continuity for the development and direction of language policy. The concept of continuity points to the traditions, effects, and connections that endure over time as a result of particular decisions and policies. The five chapters in this second section examine the varied historic threads linking communities and practices over time and the contemporary policies and traditions that facilitate these connections.

The fluid role and prestige of German is explored by **Heiko F. Marten** in his chapter *Negotiating a place for German in Estonia.* German, as a language with the high(est)-status in the territory of Estonia for almost seven centuries, has declined in prestige since 1939 with political changes and the massive outmigration of local Germans. Marten observes how in the new millennium, various policy actors such as Goethe Institute, DAAD, the association of German teachers, as well as influential figures connected with schools and universities, in Estonia and beyond, particularly in Germany and Austria, influence the current functions of and attitudes toward German. Based on a combination of survey, linguistic landscape, census, and document analysis, Marten finds the enduring presence, position, and popularity of German, particularly in the education sector, to be influenced by the combination of top-down and bottom-up policy negotiations.

The parallel, fragile, historic continuity of regional languages and the role of various language policy actors is examined by **Catherine Gibson** in her chapter *From literary languages to dialectal varieties to microlanguages? Historical perspectives on language policy towards South Estonian and Latgalian.* The author identifies the ways South Estonian and Latgalian have developed as regional written forms in their own right since the twentieth century. Gibson investigates the ways the concept of a "language" is historically, socially, and politically contingent with linguists and language activists reconceptualising South Estonian and Latgalian as regional "languages" and contemporary language laws in both Estonia and Latvia framing them regional and historical varieties of standard Estonian and Latvian. In understanding language policies toward these "literary micro-languages" as a fluctuating process of alternating patterns of social and political convergence and divergence, Gibson highlights the importance of taking a historical view to situate and understand notions of language and policy.

The enduring and complex effects of past language policies is explored by **Kara D. Brown** in her chapter *Policy drag & resiliency: Teachers' response to voluntary language policy in southeastern Estonia.* Brown focuses on teachers as language political agents and the ways their own language practices, experiences, and attitudes deeply shape their role in schools. The teachers studied are living and working in the area of the Southern Estonian dialect Võro. The chapter, based on ethnographic research, identifies moments of personal and professional resilience across the arc of teachers' schooled lives, from their time as students to their experiences as professionals. These varied experiences from youth to adulthood determine the ways they take up language policy in southeastern Estonia. The duration of these experiences means that language policies from previous regimes might "drag" extending their influence into new state arrangements and institutions.

The continuity of educational institutions and their language use is the focus of **Hanna-Ilona Härmävaara** in her *Official language policy as a factor in using receptive multilingualism among members of an Estonian and a Finnish student organization.* In this chapter, the author investigates the language policy of an Estonian student organization and its Finnish friendship organization. Formal links, dating from the 1920s, between these organizations were influenced by a national romantic ideology emphasizing the linguistic and cultural similarity of Finnic-speaking people such as Estonians and Finns. This chapter sheds light on the effects of this historical background on the present-day language policy within this organization, but also points to the ways the Finno-Ugric identity both transcends states, while also constituting a state-supported bond.

The enduring tradition and role of the Estonian Song Festival in emotional community building is explored by **Emilia Pawlusz** in *Language as an object of national passion.* The author examines the tradition of Estonian choral singing festivals within the concept of linguistic culture. Pawlusz focuses on the festival as an affective practice that has a potential to unite and integrate, but also functions to keep Estonians apart from Russian speakers in Estonia. The historic development of the Song Festival as intimately bound to the process of Estonian nation building and resistance during the Soviet occupation plays a central role in Pawlusz's analysis.

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Part I
Spatial Reconsiderations: State Decentered by Migration and Globalization

Priming Language Political Issues as Issues of State Security: A Corpus-Assisted Discourse Analysis of Language Ideological Debates in Estonian Media Before and After the Ukrainian Crisis

Maarja Siiner and Svetlana L'nyavskiy-Ekelund

Abstract Soon after the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation in March 2014, a peak moment in the events commonly referred to as the Ukraine crisis, media in Estonia and abroad started to speculate about whether Russia would stop at Crimea, or if Estonia, with its sizable Russian-speaking minority, would be the next Ukraine. With the aim to investigate the link between a country's language policy and the geopolitical changes in the region where the country is located, this article analyzes language ideological debates in the popular Estonian online news portal Delfi, which exists in both Russian and Estonian, before and after the tragic events in Ukraine. The aim of our study was to analyze how events in Ukraine influenced the presentation of language political issues in Estonian media. For that purpose, one corpus of articles published in the online news portal Delfi between August 2013 and February 2015 in Russian and the other in Estonian were created. All of the articles contained references to language policy-related issues, such as language status, integration and the fate of Russian schools in Estonia. The method used for the analysis of changes in language ideological debates combined quantitative and qualitative tools from corpus-assisted discourse studies, tools previously declared to be suitable for the analysis of changes in political discourses. The results of the analysis demonstrate that language ideological debates tend to heat up periodically, and usually around the times of elections, but also that language political issues may become salient at moments of foreign and security political crises. During these moments, a nexus is created through discursive means between language planning and security activities, framing or priming the public's understanding of language policy as completely a question of state security.

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1 Introduction

The link between language policy and planning, and state security, in both political and public discourse, is not new in Estonia (Kudus 2002). In the typology of language planning for security, Liddicoat (2008) classified assimilation of the potential enemy group, aimed at removing linguistic cleavage, as a typical measure for conflict prevention and management (between language groups). Assimilation was also the essence of the post-Soviet language planning that became a central tool for normalizing the situation in Estonia after decades of Soviet occupation and Russification of the public space (Smith 2003). Not only ethnolinguistic differences but also the threat of separatism in areas with a high share of Russian-speakers informed the language and citizenship policies (Feldman 2005). Brubaker (1998) has described the nation-building policies of Estonia and a number of other post-communist states as "nationalizing", where the degree of nationalization and *perception of inter-group stability* depend on to what extent the core nation senses its position as being (extremely) unstable or vulnerable and continuously in need of protection (Verkuyten and Reijerse 2008).

The topos of threat, which Feldman (2005) describes as a distinctive endangered disposition of the Estonian identity, and Kalmus (2003) calls an "almost minoritized" position of the endangered majority, has been deployed as a powerful silencing tool in political debates about language in Estonia. Ehala has analyzed identity construction through confrontation and threats between the two language groups, concluding that this is a zero-sum game, since more positive self-esteem for Russophones can only be achieved by some lowering of the status of Estonian self-esteem (Ehala 2009, 155). Koreinik (2011, 36) found that the themes of endangerment present in academic discourse, which are reflected in public and media discussions, have obvious parallels in the post-Cold-War security debates, making use of discursive mechanisms to effectively suppress contesting views on language that use arguments of threat to the nation-state and combine them with the survival of the idealized and symbolic national language norm.

The normalization policies were mainly intended for the Russian-speakers who had settled in Estonia during the Soviet occupation, as the result of Soviet inner-immigration policy (Matthews 1993), and live now in concentrated enclaves in the capital or in the former industrial towns in Ida-Viru county, close to the Russian border, in the northeastern corner of Estonia. After Estonia re-gained its independence in 1991, the borders were literally "moved across people" (Ryazanova-Clarke 2014a). The Russian-speakers found themselves suddenly physically cut off from their usual routes and relations and living in isolation in terms of their interethnic socialization and communication with Estonians. This division continued in the Estonian Republic because of the two powerful Soviet legacies: separate Estonian- and Russian-medium schools and separate Estonian- and Russian-language mass media.

The normalization of the "asymmetrical bilingualism" (Ozolins 1999) inherited from the Soviet times was based on the logic of "language first", where the Estonian language was seen as the key to integration into the Estonian society and information space. Liddicoat (2008) considers this belief that improved language capacities are seen as necessarily leading to enhanced communication an oversimplified isomorphism, since a shared language does not guarantee mutual comprehension. Indeed, while the older Russian-speakers were left out of the national communication flows due to their limited national language competences and limited contacts with native Estonian-speakers, the younger Russian-speaking generations, whose Estonian language competence was steadily improving, making them more frequent Estonian media users, reported feeling increasing distrust and alienation. In the Estonian-language media, they were confronted with depersonalized pictures of Russian-speakers, categorized as a homogenous group of "them", or "Russians", often depicted in negative terms, such as "civil occupiers" (Vihalemm and Hogan-Brun 2013, Karasawa 2011).

Twenty years after regaining independence, several reports (Estonian Human Development Yearbook 2010–2011, Integration monitoring 2012, and Bilingual learning in Russian-medium schools 2013) concluded that language-centered normalization tools had not been sufficient to create a coherent civic society, and that there was an increasing need for dialogue and the building of mutual trust between the two language groups. The reports were soon followed by an increasing focus on a dialogue in the political discourse, as political parties attempted to attract the votes of Estonian Russian-speakers, which reached its peak during the electoral debates preceding elections to local municipalities in October 2013 (Schneider and Cheung 2015). By the beginning of 2015 the political discourse had changed drastically from dialogue to distrust. The opening parliamentary election debate was on the changed security situation in Estonia after Russia's annexation of Crimea and featured the leaders of the political parties. During the debate that took place on Estonian Public Broadcasting (ETV) on February 20, 2015, language political issues as the transition to Estonian-medium education in Russian schools and the general integration of Russian-speakers into Estonian society were conceptualized as central security topics.

This chapter analyzes the changes in language political debates in the Estonian online media news portal Delfi before and after Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014 by applying a multimodal methodological framework of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS), suggested for the analysis of political discourses by Barker et al. (2008) and Ädel (2010). Our analysis is corpus-driven (Tognini-

Bonelli 2001), meaning that the media texts studied are first analyzed with corpus linguistics tools, and the results of statistical computed calculations are interpreted with tools from qualitative discourse analysis. CADS combines a quantitative approach with qualitative analyses and helps to demonstrate how "concurrent and conflicting language ideologies are historically situated discursive constructs" and include "(re)construction and negotiation of language, national and ethnic identities unfolding in time" (Hult and Pietikäinen 2014, 2). The CADS definition of discourse is based on Foucault's interpretation: discourse is a representation of reality in a way that has consequences for power relations (involving social class, ethnicity, gender etc.), either by preserving or challenging these relations (Baker & McEnery 2015). Before outlining the theoretical and methodological basis of our study, we will offer a short description of the media situation in present-day Estonia.

2 Russian-Speaking Minority and Media

Creating a common space of information in Estonian for all inhabitants was one of the tasks of the process of normalizing post-Soviet policies in Estonia. However, this attempt ran into changes in the global media and information environment as global connections grew and transnational networks challenged traditional national hierarchies of decision-making (Lievrouw and Livingstone 2009). These changes transformed both societies and information networks, as national and sub-national forms of social, political and economic inclusion and exclusion were reconfigured by the increasing reliance on borderless information and communication technologies. Since citizens' media choices influence the development of their political attitudes, especially in countries undergoing political transitions (Loveless 2010), new media habits and transnational information networks meant that citizens' political preferences were no longer "controllable" by national media. One other factor has influenced media consumption in post-Soviet Estonia: language competences.

During the Soviet occupation, the Estonian language served as a compensatory divide for the removed state border between the two language groups (Siiner 2006). The symbolic borders of the Estonian language nurtured a common free space for Estonian culture, where anti-Soviet ideas proliferated. Russian-speakers willingly stayed out of this space since the Russian, not the Estonian language was the language of prestige and a prerequisite for social mobility in the Soviet society. After regaining independence and in spite of the remedial language policies, which aimed to create a monolingual common space in the Estonian language, separate information spaces continued to exist partly due to inertia but also because of need and a lack of desire on Estonians' part to open up their Estonian language information space to Russian-speakers.

Russia, on the other hand, quickly claimed ownership of the Soviet legacy of "the common information space" and continued producing Russian-medium broadcasting for the CIS and for former Soviet countries, including Estonia (Ryazanova-Clarke 2014b, Luhn 2015). This was necessary, according to Putin, since "the Russian nation has become one of the biggest ethnic groups divided by state borders" (as cited in Wilson 2014, 162). While many post-Soviet nation-states, including Estonia, promoted one nation-one language ideologies, in which language, culture and identity are bound together in one territory, historical continuity and a homogenous state (Ryazanova-Clarke 2014b), the Russian language continued to be a pluricentric language, not tied to one center or territory (Berdicevskis 2014). The Russian-speakers abroad were continuously addressed by the Russian media and politicians as compatriots (*sootechestvenniky):* people still concerned about the state and future of the Russian culture and language. In 2007 Putin launched a foundation called *Russki Mir* (Russian World, www.russkiymir.ru), which sought to dissolve physical national borders, create more porous, virtual borders of identity and promote a more positive image of Russia abroad. The Russian-language press in Estonia did not take a clear stance on what sort of space, and in common with whom, it would like to create, and the Estonian government did not see the Russian-language press as an important partner in getting their message through either (Vihalemm and Hogan-Brun 2013). The common media space in Estonian was thus for most of the 1990s defined only by Estonian-speakers, as the Estonian-language media channels also faced the risk of upsetting their mainstream consumers who were not ready to allow more "ethnic others" into their everyday information space (Vihalemm and Hogan Brun 2013).

Rather than merging into the Estonian-language media space as was expected by Estonian politicians, Russian-speakers turned away from over-politicized dailies, where they were treated as objects (Vihalemm and Hogan-Brun 2013). The most frequently and widely used mass-media platform among Estonian Russian-speakers is the Riga-based Russian language First Baltic Channel, often referred to as the "Russian state channel", which mixes originally produced information about local affairs and entertainment (talk shows etc.) with news imported from Russian producers, offering Russian-speakers positive self-identification (ibid, 72). This engaging content makes the Russian media consumers' motivation to switch to the alternative Estonian-language media channels for everyday opinion formation particularly unlikely. However, there is an exception in e-media, especially the freely accessible online news portal Delfi. Recent media consumption analysis shows that 23% of Russian-speakers have posted comments or questions on such internet news portals as Delfi on topics ranging from culture and politics to products and services, thus not only practicing consumption but also contributing in a modest way to content production (ibid.). As language ideological debates are moments when the civil society enters into policy making (Blommaert 1999), Delfi as the primary news portal for media consumers in Estonia has created the basis for data collection to map the topics and agents of public language ideological debates.

3 Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

3.1 State Security and Language Planning

State security and language planning and policy are closely connected in language policy theory, as both areas are of strategic interest to any nation and hence are sensitive to the geopolitics of the region where the country is located (Rajagopalan 2008). Furthermore, as argued by Ricento and Hornberger (1996), major political issues, such as the preservation of power or independence and opposition to state enemies, are often the principal impulses behind state involvement in language matters. Considering that the relationship between languages and national security is not new, language planning and policy studies have dealt surprisingly little with national security-related language planning and policy in a conceptually systematic and sound way. This may be related to the problem at the heart of classical language planning theory: the conceptualization of the nature of the language problems that official policies are designed to solve (Lo Bianco 2004). In his analysis of post-September 11 national language policy debates in the US, Lo Bianco (2008) criticizes technical and rational analysis of language policy issues that fail to capture the discursive dimensions of language policy making. In cases where language planning involves compounding the difficulties of trust and loyalty of a minority language group, defining the problem that has to be solved by a language policy is not at all straightforward (Lo Bianco 2008). In these cases, the problems become essentially ideological artifacts, reinforcements of ideologies used to justify the chosen harsh policy interventions (Edelman 1988).

Liddicoat states that there is an orientation in language planning which is not directly related to conflict management or prevention, but operates indirectly by creating a policy context in which issues of security and responses to threats are decided and enacted (Liddicoat 2008). This discursive practice in language planning is important in the context of the present chapter, since here the creation of perceptions of threat, i.e. the discursive construction of security as language use- and status-related, authorizes or precludes particular courses of action and constructs groups as oppositional on the basis of different languages or as allies on the basis of a shared language. The aim of the present chapter is to focus on this orientation in language planning, i.e. how language planning as a security issue enters into the discourse and into "existence" in language ideological debates in media. In the next sections, we will discuss methodological approaches to analyzing discourses in large data sets.

3.2 Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies

Corpus linguistics-inspired CADS (Partington et al. 2013) has become increasingly popular in the analysis of presentations of certain issues in media text corpora (Taylor 2014), as it makes it possible to conduct the quantitative analysis of language use in large corpora of electronically stored (usage-based) texts with qualitative in-depth analysis of the lexical patterns that appear. Baker and McEnery (2015) argue that, due to the fact that corpus analysis is a computer-assisted method of analyzing naturally occurring examples of language use, it offers the researcher a reasonably high degree of objectivity. However, the subjective researcher's input cannot be entirely avoided in building up the corpus and deciding which computer-detected linguistic patterns are to be analyzed and how. There is, therefore, a large variety of corpus linguistics methodologies (Barker et al. 2008), depending on what is analyzed and what corpora are assembled.

Corpus-assisted methodologies can be especially useful in studies of political discourse, i.e. how power is enacted through discourse in news reports (Ädel 2010, 592). Since the computer-assisted calculations of word frequencies and lexical patterns can be used to detect markedness of discourses (Baker 2010) and central agents and topics in texts in terms of who is mentioned most often, how much space an issue gets etc., CADS also makes it possible to determine the *keyness* of a text or corpus compared to another corpus. Keyness indicates the "aboutness" of a text or a corpus and leads to the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or nodes in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another comparable specialized corpus (Ädel 2010; Barker et al. 2008). Keyness analysis can be used to compare both synchronic and diachronic corpora (Partington 2014). These portions of texts revealed by corpus-based processes are then interpreted "by hand" to detect patterns of meaning making, which are related to the broader, extra-linguistic context to make sense of them (Wodak 2007).

3.3 Discourse Analysis of Language Ideological Debates

Language ideologies are, according to Spolsky (2009), historically situated discursive constructs embedded in daily language practices, and they carry articulations and beliefs about the nature, value and function of languages that are occasionally expressed in media. Blommaert (1999) adopts a processual perspective on language ideologies, demonstrating that these values and beliefs are not just expressed but negotiated in what he calls "language ideological debates". In these debates, often occurring in media, interrelationships between discourses and their networked characteristics are seen in connection with broader historical, social, economic and political practices inside and outside the society where the debates occur (Hult and Pietikäinen 2014). Language ideological debates are thus slowly unfolding processes of discursive exchange that take place when polity enters into policy-making (Blommaert 1999, 5).

Blommaert developed his theory further, suggesting that, in order to give realistic accounts of objects under study that are bound to remain unstable, there is an increasing need for complex, rather than linear models that explain rather than predict the changes that societal developments cause for languages and language values (Blommaert 2015). While debates may become salient at particular moments of political crises, neither the debates nor the ideologies themselves emerge *ex nihilo* from the crisis point. They are, rather, contemporary instantiations and re-contextualisations of historically situated discourses (Blommaert 1999). Blommaert calls this discursive contextualization tool a jump-to-the-past for a chronotope. Chronotopes are chunks of history that are invoked to organize the indexical order of discourses, i.e. to have their parameters expanded or limited, which, in turn, has an effect on how those discourses are foregrounded and deployed in subsequent debates (Hult and Pietikäinen 2014). Inspired by Bakhtin's key notion of heteroglossia, Blommaert explains how the introduction of chronotopes leads to a historical-sociological analysis of different "voices" within the social stratigraphy of the language of that moment. Understanding history means evaluating it from one's own specific position in the sociolinguistic system (Blommaert 2015). We will elaborate further on the usefulness of chronotopes in our analysis section.

4 Corpus-Assisted Analysis of Language Ideological Debates on the Delfi News Portal, August 2013 – February 2015

4.1 Building the Corpora

We would like to emphasize that a corpus-assisted study can only tell us about the language in the corpus one is employing and, therefore, the composition of the corpus will necessarily affect the conclusions reached (Partington et al. 2013). However, in contrast to qualitative discourse analysis, where the starting point depends on the researcher"s standpoint and understanding of the meaning of the discourse, CADS, even in cases like ours where the researchers have to build corpora themselves, does not have to deal with the issue of biased research to the same extent, since the selection of texts in the early stages of the analysis is computerized and therefore free of the researcher's prejudices (Baker and McEnery 2015, 6). Since there is no common and up-to-date corpus of Estonian media texts, we had to create a sample corpus (also known as DIY – do it yourself – corpus, Fitzsimmons-Doolan 2015) for the purpose of our analysis. We chose to create corpora based on texts published on the largest online news portal, Delfi. Delfi has a broad platform and it ranks as the most popular Estonian news website among Estonian internet users, based on an analysis of internet traffic (GemiusAudience) and surveys of self-reported media trust use (Vihalemm 2011). There is no universal measure of the representativeness of a corpus, although a corpus is considered balanced if it consists of a variety of texts, which our corpus does given the variety of texts published on Delfi[1] (our corpora contain news reports, readers' letters, interviews, features and editorials) (Fitzsimmons-Doolan 2015). Two specialized corpora, based on predetermined content-focus words (Fitzsimmons-Doolan 2015), were located through the archival research of online publications on delfi.ee for articles in Estonian, and delfi.ru.ee for articles in Russian. The search parameters focused specifically on the period from August 2013 to March 2014, giving us seven months before the annexation of Crimea, in March 2014, and from March 2014 to the parliamentary elections in Estonia on March 1, 2015. A higher number of language ideological debate articles in the months before the elections for local governments in October 2013 and for the European Parliament in May 2014 was noticed early in our research, and thus we wanted to test whether this also held true for the parliamentary elections on March 1, 2015. The chosen texts related primarily to the debate about the integration of the Russian-speaking minority in Estonia and were identified through keyword list searches of the repositories. All of the archival searches and cross-checks were based on the following phrases: "Russian/Estonian language" "Estonian Russians", "integration", "citizenship" and "Russian school". All of the selected articles had to mention "Russian language" and/or "Estonian language".

The search resulted in 210 articles in Russian and 289 articles in Estonian, which were saved separately as .txt files organized in sub-directories by the corresponding months and then included in two parallel corpora of approximately 200,000 and 300,000 tokens. The collected corpus can thus be characterized as a small, specialized corpus (Barker et al. 2008) that can be processed by computer corpus software in a preliminary way, and the evidence of which can be examined manually and individually, while important features of the context of the production of the texts may become lost in a large corpus (Clark 2007). Since we wanted to detect changes in language ideological discourse patterns before and after the annexation of Crimea in March 2014, our criteria for corpus compilation were broader context, such as events in Ukraine and Estonia, and the narrower context of individual articles, such language policy-related topics as integration, language status, acquisition and citizenship issues. The two corpora, in our evaluation, were both sufficiently representative for our study and large enough to justify a corpus-assisted approach.

In spite of the fact that our analysis of changing language ideological debates in media was cross-linguistic, we did not have to face the challenges common to cross-linguistic CADS, such as finding comparable search terms for collocation analysis (Taylor 2014). Our comparative interest was largely cultural, social and historical, and not linguistic, since we analyzed Estonian and Russian corpora separately.

[1] Delfi is a commercially run internet portal owned by the Estonian media company Ekspress Group. It operates in all three Baltic states and in Poland. Aside from the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian versions, the company offers English- and Russian-language versions of its portal in all three Baltic countries. Besides news and articles produced by Delfi, the portal also publishes summaries of the most important news and articles published elsewhere. Articles published on Delfi are freely accessible and cover a wide range of topics, from politics to fashion.

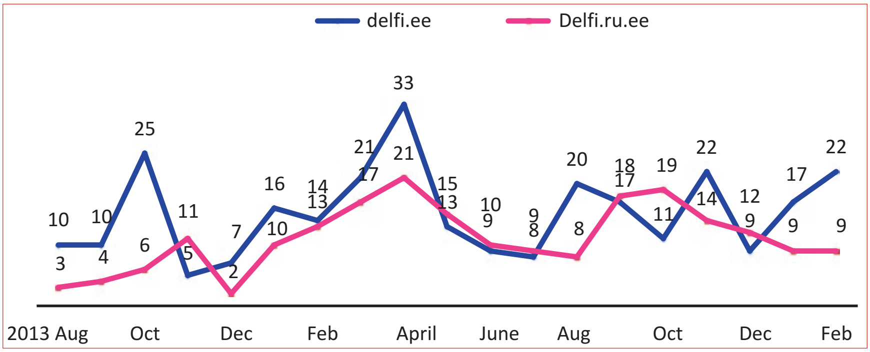

Fig. 1 Language policy-related articles in delfi.ee and delfi.ru.ee

However, since all of the corpus analysis was carried out in the original language, we faced the challenge of literal vs. functional translation and thus could not present the key-word-in-context (KWIC) concordance lines, which are central for illustrating language patterns, as the word order and even the node can get lost in translation (Taylor 2014). Furthermore, since both Estonian and Russian are languages with synthetic-inflectional structures, where nouns and adjectives are declined in cases, automated functions such as "keyness" could only be used tentatively, and the results had to be verified by concordance and collocation analysis.

4.2 *Electoral Debates and Priming*

The chart (Fig. 1) depicting the number of articles on language policy-related issues in Estonian and Russian (in delfi.ee and delfi.ru, respectively) reveals a remarkable increase in articles on LP in both Estonian and Russian Delfi in March 2014 (with 33 and 21 articles, respectively). Another surge in Estonian Delfi occurred in August 2014 (20 articles), in the period of the Day of Restoration of Independence and the Russian military occupation of eastern Ukraine, and the corresponding reaction in the Russian version of the portal (19 articles in September, 2014). The figures also demonstrate an increase in the number of articles in October 2013 and in February 2015, the pre-election periods of the local government elections (in 2013) and parliamentary elections (in 2015). As this indicates a connection between language ideological debates and electoral debates, it is necessary to outline the latter before we proceed, as it is closely tied to the discursive tool of *priming:* how media play a central role in what issues dominate during an electoral campaign.

In the articles published on delfi.ee in October 2013, the tokens "Russians" occurred 52 times and "Russian-speakers" 31 times, having the nodes "Central Party" with "Savisaar" (leader of the party), "media" and "Tallinn" as the most frequent collocations (most often co-occurring words with the node, where the co-occurrence exceeded chance; Baker et al. 2008). The main topics were (number of concordance lines): What do Russian-speakers want/need (25)? Why did Russian-speaking voters vote for the Central Party[2] (24)? Where do Russian-speakers get their information (21)? Supplied with discussions on a need for a TV channel in Russian, where could politicians enter into dialogue with Russian-speakers (20)? How often the media chose to cover a topic in their news stories played a key role in making an issue politically salient, by priming voters regarding it (Mutz 1992), thus being consequential for public opinion formation (Camaj 2014).

Priming theory, particularly psychologically, links agenda-setting effects to the formation of political judgment by offering a comprehensive explanation of how citizens formulate their political attitudes as a consequence of media content they consume (Nowak 2012). According to the priming theory, news media call attention to some issues or problems and ignore others in order to provide audience members with specific political knowledge they tend to use when forming political judgments (Nowak 2012). Russians/Russian-speakers were primed as a homogenous group of voters who unanimously voted for the Central Party. Dialogue with them (for example through an Estonian Russian-language TV channel) and an interest in their needs were of instrumental importance in finding out how to make them vote for other parties than the Central Party. Priming literature emphasizes two separate aspects of media priming mechanisms: issue priming, i.e. increased media salience (frequency) of certain issues, and attribute priming, in which "certain issue attributes emphasized in the media will become significant dimensions of issue evaluation among the public" (McCombs 2002). We will now proceed to our model of analysis.

4.3 Corpus-Assisted Analysis of the Corpora

For statistical analysis of the data, the AntConc concordance tool for Windows, version 3.4.4 from 2014 (Available from http://www.laurenceanthony.net/), was used to create a word list for the most frequent words in the chosen (parts of the) corpora. As frequency in itself is not sufficient to account for the statistical significance of a word, it was supplemented with a collocation tool and a keyness tool (Barker et al. 2008), which was used tentatively. The keyness tool makes it possible to compare two corpora to see how they differ. We compared articles published after the annexation of Crimea (March 2014–February 2015) with articles published before (August 2013–February 2014).

[2] For an explanation of the role of the Central Party in Estonian politics, see Siiner 2014.

Table 1 Key words in the Estonian (delfi.ee) and Russian (delfi.ru.ee) corpora of texts published in March 2014–Feb2015, as compared to the corpora of texts published in Aug13–Feb14

Frequency	Keyness	Delfi.ee	Frequency	Keyness	Delfi.ru.ee
177	98.874	Venemaa [Russia]	76	61.252	Нато [Nato]
89	72.373	Ukraina	68	54.804	Украина [Ukraine]
29	39.165	Kremli [Kremlin's]	40	32.238	Украина [Ukraine]
32	29.621	Nato	49	31.895	Латвии [Latvia]
44	28.567	Ossinovski	37	29.820	Украины [Ukraine]
20	27.010	Krimmi [to Crimea/ Crimea's]	43	27.317	Балтии [Baltic]
27	24.754	piiri [border's]	32	25.790	Путина [Putin]
77	24.393	Narva	118	25.035	России [Russia]
16	21.608	Stalnuhhin	26	20.955	Путин [Putin]
20	20.392	Telekanal [TV channel]	31	7.009	Оссиновский [Ossinovsky]
37	19.230	Ukrainas [in Ukraine]	43	16.124	Евгений [Jevgeni]
18	17.879	julgeoleku [security's]	22	17.731	Латвия [Latvia]

4.3.1 The Tentative Keyness of the Corpora March 2014 – February 2015

According to Partington (2014, 130), keyness can also be defined as the measure of both relative presence and absence of items in one data set compared to another, and the absence can be both relative (lesser use of previously dominating words) and absolute absence and presence (when new words appear and old disappear). He applied a comparison of diachronic corpora to detecting when new words enter and old words exit common usage. We applied a similar method and compared two diachronic corpora in both languages: one from before and one from after the Crimean annexation (the high frequency of articles in Fig. 1).

Keeping in mind the limitations of the keyness analysis mentioned in the previous section, what becomes clear from Table 1 is that both the Russian and Estonian corpora contain the words (in different cases) "Nato", "Ukraine", "Russia", "Putin" and "Crimea" with high keyness factors and high frequency. "Russia" appears alone in the nominative case 177 times and "Ukraine" 89 times in the Estonian corpus, while in the Russian corpus "Russia" appears 117 times and "Ukraina/Ukrainye/ Ukrainy" 145 times. For a more precise analysis, we examined concordance lines to see how Ukraine was related to the language ideological debate (Table 1).

In the Estonian Delfi, almost all occurrences of "Ukraine" from March 2014 (all together 334) were about how events in Ukraine had changed the security situation in Estonia, since a) Estonia, too, had a high concentration of Russian-speakers in its northeastern corner and b) these Russian-speakers, largely due to failed integration, consume Russian-language (and Russian-produced) media. One example from an article published in delfi.ee on April 2, 2014: "Events in Ukraine remind us again about the danger of Russian-speakers' overwhelming consumption of Russia's media".[3] The verb "reminds" is here used as a scaling tool (Hult and Pietikäinen 2014), linking the perceived danger to events in Ukraine and to the occupation of Estonia by Russia.

The debate was similar in delfi.ru.ee, where mainly Estonian politicians and journalists referred to the separate language and information spaces that Russian-speakers in Ukraine and Estonia are living in, and explained why a group of a quarter million, occupying a vast territory in Russian-dominated information space in Estonia, could present a latent conflict potential and a security threat: "Ukraine first, Estonia next". While delfi.ee articles published in March 2014 focused mainly on security issues, delfi.ru.ee published numerous articles during the summer of 2014 describing the Estonian government's efforts to inform the residents in Ida-Virumaa about its firm interest in and attention to the region's problems. The problems listed were cultural, socio-economic and educational; they also discussed access to judicial information in Russian and, towards the end of 2014, a simplified procedure for obtaining Estonian citizenship and the adjustments needed for educational reform in Russian schools. These are topics that local figures, such as politicians, teachers and school headmasters, had desired to discuss for years (Metslang et al. 2013), but finally were taken in account after the events in Ukraine, when "the voice of the Kremlin" entered into the debate (i.e. the high keyness of "Putin", "Kremlin" and "Russia" in both corpora). The Estonian politicians' voices were intended to drown out voices from Russia.

While the massive presence of Ukraine-related topics appearing in the language ideological debates in March 2014 (cf. their high keyness factor) was not surprising, what caught our attention was the high keyness factor of the words "border" and "Narva" in delfi.ee and "Latvia" and "Baltics" in delfi.ru.ee. We will take a close look at these key words by investigating the concordance lines (or key-words-in-context, KWIC).

4.3.2 Concordancing Narva

As has been stressed for years, the problems related to the linguistic integration of Russian-speakers are regional in nature, related to areas with high concentrations of Russian-speakers, such as the Tallinn area of Lasnamäe, Ida-Viru County and its biggest towns, Narva and Jõhvi. Experts have pointed to the need for regionally sensitive solutions for linguistic integration (Uus and Kaldur 2013) and have analysed the complexity of this task in a country with a high concentration of minoritie sin certain areas (Siiner 2014). The concordance lines where "Narva" appeared (in all cases of the word) in the delfi.ee corpus were qualitatively analyzed by hands-on examination. Table 2 demonstrates the main circulating topics NARVA was associated with. For comparison, we have also given the results for delfi.ru.ee.

Table 2 demonstrates that in delfi.ee "Narva" occurred almost twice as often in the corpus after March 2014 as before and was mainly related to the border and

[3] All translations are by the authors, unless otherwise indicated.

Table 2 Concordance lines for NARVA and the main topics March14–Feb 15 (the number of concordance lines in the corpora for Aug 13–Feb 14 are in parenthesis)

Issues	Delfi.ee	Delfi.ru.ee
Total no. of all concordances for Narva	225 (119)	160 (28)
General information about life in Narva and about Narva residents	53 (23)	24 (2)
Issues related to state border security, defense, and Narva as a border town	40 (7)	18 (2)
Issues of loyalty and separatism: Would Narva residents prefer living in Russia, and whose side are they on?	23 (3)	21 (0)
Estonian language competence & education	17 (4)	19 (11)
Narva's weak economy (employment and trade), or the economy in general	22 (4)	16 (3)
(Russian) schools in Narva	8 (24)	13 (2)
Estonian and European politicians visiting Narva	18 (5)	26 (1)
Integration issues	8 (27)	12 (4)
Discrimination issues	1 (0)	10 (0)
Availability of legal information	0(0)	6(0)
Politics (elections)	4 (4)	9(0)
Media	14 (0)	9(0)
Katri Raik and Narva College	17 (11)	11(1)

Russian-speakers' loyalty/separatism issues, and Narva residents' Estonian language competences. The large number of concordances related to life in Narva was directly connected to Katri Raik, who at that time was the director of Narva College. Raik sees as her mission "bringing Estonia to Narva" (30.04.14), and says she often gets the feeling that her real job is being "an Estonian in Narva" (20.12.14). She is often interviewed in the Estonian media about Narva and so her mission seems also to be "bringing Narva to Estonians". The few other proper names mentioned several times were two consecutive Ministers of Education, Aaviksoo and Ossinovski, whose names appeared in relation to the issue of the language of instruction in Russian schools in Narva. In addition, a lot of Estonian and foreign ministers started to arrive in Narva and talk to Narva residents after the events in Crimea. There was, however, a suspicious absence of "local voices", the voices of actual Narva residents, such as ordinary Russian-speakers, school headmasters, teachers and local politicians. There were a few anonymous voices of people on the streets of Narva (they may have remained anonymous for their own safety) who were asked about their loyalty to the Estonian state vs. loyalty to Russia, and whether they would prefer living in Russia or Estonia. In an article in delfi.ee from April 17, an anonymous Narva resident said:

> We do not need protection from either the USA or Russia. But we do not like all the negative stories about Russia. How would you feel if somebody criticized your mother? Russia is our mother. And we support Russia in the Ukrainian conflict, without doubt. On the other hand, we love Estonia as well; our families and friends live here. This is our home. And nobody here would vote to be annexed by Russia.

Narva had a prominent place in the language ideological debate, but not the Narva residents themselves. Narva was primed as a chronotope, a (potential) Estonian Crimea, a synonym for "border" and the impossibility of dealing with the heteroglossia. The "historical bodies" (Blommaert 2015) of the anonymous Russian-speakers cited affiliated them with both sides, "I am loyal to Estonia AND I support Putin" (from March 2014), while in the Estonian national narrative (closely tied to the chronotope of threat from Russia) Russian-speakers" loyalty was a zero-sum game. In delfi.ee, the chronotope of "border" and the alienation of Narva residents were conceptualized as something unavoidable: "Narva is a buffer zone. People living here are friendly to both Estonia and Russia" (Katri Raik, 17.04.14), and "Narva is geographically a perfect danger zone: in no other place in Europe is Russia so close" (Raik 30.12.14). The concordance lines, furthermore, reveal that the increased focus on life in Narva strengthened the view of Narva as an exotic town somewhere far away (and possibly dangerous).

The new historical reality established in March of 2014 dramatically affected the chronotopic organization of language ideological debates, invoking and deploying the chronotopes of Soviet occupation, mistrust, and almost quarter-century-old conflicts, thus changing the indexical orders of the same discourses and giving those debates new ranges and understandability (Blommaert 2015). For example, considering the intensity of language debates after March 2014 in the Russian language Delfi (over three times as many articles in delfi.ru.ee), Ida-Virumaa, which before March 2014 was strongly connected with language issues (cf. the regionality of the language problems mentioned), almost disappeared and was replaced by the node Narva. Hands-on examination of 'Narva' concordance lines showed that though still implicitly related to language, the attention to the region had shifted to the overall loyalty of the Russian-speaking population to the Estonian Republic (21 vs. 0 before March 2014) and integration (12 vs. 1). The quadrupled attention of Estonian and EU politicians (26 vs. 1) and media to the region's life conditions (24 vs. 2) may have been related to the (re)contextualization of language problems and the depersonalization of Russian-speakers, making them again an exotic, homogenous group of aliens (Zazubovich 2014). While the central question in the pre-electoral debate in October 2013 was "what do Russian-speakers want?", the priming of Russian-speakers in the pre-electoral debate in February 2015 was "The issue of the integration of Russian-speakers is a security issue in the sense that there are people in Estonia and politicians in Estonia who support the Kremlin's politics" (Prime Minister Taavi Rõivas in the electoral debate on Delfi TV on February 20).

The impossibility of constructing a hyphenated Russian-Estonian identity (as one is based on opposition to the other) became clear during the Bronze Soldier conflict in April 2007, when Russian-speakers had to choose either the Estonian or the Russian version of the causes, course and impact/aftermath of World War II (Ehala 2009). In their analysis of the Bronze Night events Smith and Burch wrote, "By focusing wholly on the external dimension to this crisis [in 2007], the Estonian government also denied the possibility that its local opponents might have their own voice and subjectivity independent of Russia" (Smith and Burch 2012, 420). The unease that arose from having to deal with the dilemma of the plurality of voices (different accounts of what happened in WWII) was successfully avoided by leaving out the personalized voices of the Russian-speakers. The topic has been discussed earlier by Laitin (1996) suggesting that a Baltic-Russian identity was much more probable than an Estonian-Russian or Latvian-Russian identity. The impossibility of this choice for both Russians and Estonians has not been discussed in the media due to the relatively few voices of Russian-speakers who are Estonianized. This discussion is furthermore effectively silenced by calling the Russian-speakers "occupiers" or supporters of the Kremlin's politics. The high occurrence of the token "Latvia" after and before March 2014 (89 lines vs. 1) and the high frequency of the issue of Russian-speakers in Latvia (in 31 lines) – citizenship issues, integration, ethnic crisis, and discrimination against Russian-speakers in Latvia – reveal the deficit of narratives linking this double-identity to the context of a nation-state/Estonia, and that it may be easier in the broader context of post-Soviet/Baltic states. This echoes similar tendencies in Russian-speakers' media consumption. Since the national television presentations of the "historical homeland" or the "new homeland" do not fully meet the social needs of transnational immigrant consumers because they do not reflect the dilemmas and contrasts these consumers have to deal with, the most popular Russian media channel among Estonian Russian-speakers, the First Russian Channel, has successfully overcome shortages of such phenomena by mixing imported (from Russia) program elements with locally produced news (Vihalemm and Hogan-Brun 2013, 80).

5 Discussion

Linguistic ideology is not something that is only discussed in the media. The influence of the media on contemporary societies, including changes in individuals' ways of speaking (Coupland 2007), is such that it is arguably the single most frequently studied institutional domain of discourse use (including political communication) in sociolinguistics and the (critical) analysis of discourse (Cotter 2001). In this article, we have carried out a corpus-assisted discourse analysis of the priming of language policy-related issues as issues of security in the Estonian online news portal Delfi, before and after the annexation of Crimea. Our aim was to shed more light on the rarely investigated role of language policy and planning in conflicts and in peacemaking: how language and language ideologies play a fundamental role in conflicts and can be used as a basis for differentiation, allowing one group to be identified as an enemy and maintaining separateness by preventing communication between groups (Chilton 1998). We found that the change was mainly due to a shift in focus from local problems (in delfi.ru.ee) and discourses about the need for dialogue between the language groups (in delfi.ee) to the alienation of Russian-speakers (the anonymous voices of Russian-speakers from Narva) and the priming of Russian-speakers as a security risk. The dominant focus on Narva in post-Crimean delfi.ee was not the recognition of the localness of language-related problems but rather a focus on Narva as a border town, where the fate of Estonian indivisibility once more will be decided (with reference both to events in Crimea and to struggles for independence in WW I and WW II). In delfi.ru.ee, language-related problems (citizenship, Russian-medium schools and unemployment) related to Ida-Virumaa, which were actively discussed in delfi.ru.ee before March 2014, were replaced after Crimea's annexation by issues of loyalty (if one had failed to integrate (i.e. speak Estonian) that meant one was disloyal to the Estonian state). The absence of personalized local Russian-speakers' voices in the texts, and the massive presence of "Russia", "Kremlin" and "Putin" raise the question of which agents' influence on Estonian-language ideological debates was most prominent: the people whose language problems had to be solved, or Putin, Lavrov and other Russian politicians, who were repeatedly cited as claiming to have the right to intrude in the life and fate of compatriots living in the "near-abroad"? Asking Cooper's (1989) seminal LPP question "Who plans what for whom and how?", as a way to explore the interplay between policy orientations and how policies are negotiated by different actors to different ends, Estonian Russian-speaking polity has, through discursive means, avoided entering into language ideological debates. One example of attribute priming is labeling the few Russian-speaking politicians' criticism of political decisions as separatism ("Ossinovsky is like a separatist in the government who is firing out criticism of educational reform ", Delfi 20.02.2015). In Estonia, LP has, similar to in Ukraine, been an important part of nation-building and has been driven mainly by the political elite (Polese 2011, 37). Little if any space has been left for what Polese calls spontaneous nation-building by the polity (ibid.), especially in the post-Crimean language ideological debates. The post-Crimean language ideological debate that linked language policy issues to security issues contributed to the preservation of the language-as-problem orientation in the Estonian society (Ruiz 1984, 16). The dialogue taking place between the Estonian state and the Kremlin, rather that between the Estonian state and Estonian inhabitants, has once more moved the focus away from what, according to the human rights researcher Henry Steiner, is the basic conflict-avoiding task of the state: contributing to the creation of a civic and collective "us" identity (Steiner 1999).

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Doing Language Policy: Teasing Out the Tensions for Transnational Scholars in Estonian and Danish Higher Education

Josep Soler Carbonell and Merike Jürna

Abstract In this paper, we address the question of how to find a balance between the use and the role of a country's national language and English at an internationalising university by analysing the examples of the University of Tartu in Estonia (UT) and the University of Copenhagen (UCPH) in Denmark. The aim of the article is twofold: (1) to find out about the position of the national languages and other (foreign or minority) languages in the policy framework of each university respectively and (2) to find out about how transnational scholars adapt to the sociolinguistic realities at these universities. In order to do so, we conduct a qualitative content analysis of the written language policies of UT and UCPH supported by qualitative interviews with transnational scholars on their reported language practices. Language policies in both UT and UCPH protect the status of the respective national language, while also underlying the inevitable use of English. Despite the different mode of the language regulation at UT (legislative) and UCPH (laissez-faire), the reported language practices of the transnational scholars at these universities seem to be very similar and behave independently of written language policies. With this in mind, our analysis of transnational scholars' linguistic practices enables us to broaden the insight into language issues in connection with the mobility of the academic staff.

Keywords Language policy • Language practice • Transnational scholars • National languages • English • University of Tartu • University of Copenhagen

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1 Language and Transnational Scholars in the International University

In the context of globalization, language matters have become increasingly complex at all levels and scales (Blommaert 2010). Old patterns of migration have been substituted by new forms of mobility; technological developments have enabled new kinds of trans-local contacts and information flows (Castells 2010). For language policymakers and planners, this higher level of complexity has evolved into a source of difficulty. The context of higher education (henceforth HE) and its internationalization process is particularly illustrative of such a challenge. In this context, the national and the transnational scales merge and interact in a highly complex manner (Saarinen 2014). Mortensen and Haberland (2012, 191) note that presently, universities find themselves operating in a post-national setting, where the role of English and the market rules are important factors at play. Thus, the international university presents itself as an appropriate setting in order to investigate the interplay between the state, (educational) institutions, and individuals in the process of language policy-making and its uptake at the interactional level.

Indeed, in recent years, issues about language and the internationalization of HE have been placed at the forefront for many universities, particularly in Northern Europe (e.g. Hultgren et al. 2014). An aspect that seems to be of special concern in relation to this topic is how to find a balance between the use and status of a country's national language and English, something that has attracted the attention of language policy scholars and applied linguists to a significant extent (e.g. Björkman 2014; Cots et al. 2014; Dimova et al. 2015; Doiz et al. 2013; Hultgren et al. 2014). In the context of a heightened growth of courses taught through the medium of English (e.g. Wächter and Maiworm 2014), an increasing number of university stakeholders have begun to question what role and what position should be reserved to all languages at play, and how institutions should adapt themselves to these renovated challenges from the point of view of policymaking (e.g. Hultgren 2014; Lindström and Sylvin 2014). This is particularly the case in smaller or medium-sized language communities in Europe (Vila and Bretxa 2015).

Nevertheless, until now little if any attention has been paid to the role of transnational scholars in the overall make-up of the international university. This seems paradoxical enough, given the fact that the internationalization of HE is often defined in terms of the capacity of attracting (highly-qualified) foreign students and staff. Ever since the Bologna Declaration (1999), mobility has become a central concern for both university and state educational authorities, so it seems relevant to try and find out how transnational scholars adapt themselves in their new sociolinguistic environments, what strategies they choose to follow, what language decisions they make, and why.

Jürna (2014) represents an exception to this lack of research, and the present paper builds up on her findings along that very same strand. In her paper on the language practices of transnational scholars in Denmark, the author finds that her informants usually value knowing Danish, but the reasons and the extent to which they do so varies. Commonly expressed opinions among her respondents were that "Danish is often helpful, but not required" (p. 229), and that "everybody speaks English" (p. 233). According to her findings, effectively incorporating Danish into one's repertoire is associated with the prospect of staying longer in the country, having children, being part of a wider social network including local Danes, etc. In other words, it is usually non-work related activities that lead transnational scholars more decidedly to incorporating Danish.

In this paper, we conduct an analysis of the written language policies and speakers' reported language practices at the University of Copenhagen in Denmark and the University of Tartu in Estonia. The research questions that we seek to examine in the paper are:

1. What is the position of Estonian and Danish in the two universities' (language) policy documents analysed here? What stance do these documents project in relation to English and multilingualism?
2. How do transnational researchers 'on the ground' adapt to their sociolinguistic reality? What are their reported language practices?

Firstly, we look at the universities' language policy documents and analyse what stance (Jaffe 2009) they project in relation to the national language, English, and other languages. Secondly, we analyse the reported language practices of transnational scholars at these two universities. More precisely, by means of ethnographically collected data from two respective projects at the University of Copenhagen and the University of Tartu, we analyse what languages speakers report to use, for what purposes, and in what contexts. Of particular interest to us in our paper is to examine to what extent do transnational scholars experience and report to gain access, learn, and use (or not) the societal language, Estonian and Danish respectively (more methodological details below).

Thus, our view of language policy is inspired by scholars who emphasize the multidimensional characteristic of it (e.g. Blommaert et al. 2009; Halonen et al. 2015; Hult 2010; Hornberger and Ricento 1996). The term 'ethnography of language policy' has been proposed as a label to capture the idea that it is in the interactional level where one can explore wider-ranging processes (e.g. Johnson 2013; McCarty 2011). In other words, importantly enough, it is difficult to maintain a clear-cut strict division between the micro and macro layers of reality, since they are intertwined in complex ways. Hult (2010) suggests that ultimately it is always the researchers' choice where to place the zoom of the microscope in their analyses.

Finally, and importantly too, the contrast between Denmark and Estonia from a language policy point of view is of interest as well. As Siiner (2012) has documented, the two polities can be contrasted as cases that illustrate two different approaches to language policy making: an 'overt' (or thick) language policy design (Estonia) versus a 'covert' (or thin) one (Denmark) (Siiner 2012, p. 38). This implies that Estonia's legislation on LPP matters is more explicit, a consequence of the belief that language matters had to be strongly regulated in order to overcome Soviet Russification (Siiner 2006). By contrast, Denmark represents a more flexible approach to LPP, following the country's liberal tradition of governmental non-interference on language matters (Siiner 2010). These are important matters of the overall sociolinguistic context, but the extent to which have an impact on transnational scholars remains unknown. We shall delve in more detail on this question in the discussion of the paper.

2 The Internationalization of HE in Two Contexts: Theory, Method and Analysis

In the context of the international university, several authors have already guided their attention towards the direction of trying to capture the complexity of language policy-making (e.g. Hult and Källkvist 2016). Institutionally, there seem to be at least three strategies to approach the language question (cf. Risager 2012): (1) by favouring a monolingual use of English; (2) by fostering a bilingual use of English and the national/local language (or the application of the 'parallel language use' policy); and (3) by promoting a trilingual approach, with English, a national, and a regional (minority) language, as in the case of (some) universities in Finland (Lindström 2012), in Catalonia (Cots et al. 2012) or the Basque Country (Doiz et al. 2014).

In Estonia, the tension between Estonian and English in the context of HE appears quite clearly in several policy documents of the country (Soler-Carbonell 2015), a tension that has also emerged in public (heated) debates discussing the position of different languages in higher education (Vihman and Tensing 2014). This is provoked because, on the one hand, Estonian is a powerful marker of the Estonian nation and 'is perceived by many Estonians to be at the core of what it means to be an Estonian (Soler-Carbonell 2013). On the other hand, in recent years universities have experienced a growing need to actively incorporate other languages (particularly for teaching purposes) in order to raise their competitiveness in the international scene, attracting international students and scholars by making the medium of instruction more accessible.

In Denmark, by contrast, the concept of 'parallel language use' has been on the agenda of key stakeholders for nearly a decade in order to strengthen the idea that both Danish and English should enjoy the same status and treatment within the university context. The concept is "largely rooted in Scandinavian society" (Kuteeva 2014, p. 333), but its meaning and specific applications are still fuzzy (Gregersen 2014), and for that reason "it remains an unoperationalized political slogan" (Kuteeva 2014, p. 333). Some authors (e.g. Kuteeva and Airey 2014) have also problematized the concept from the language policy point of view, since it suggests a "one size fits all" practical approach, which does not match the different disciplinary realities that higher education encompasses. In addition, it appears that there is a tension between institutional and state level policy documents regarding how exactly 'parallel language use' is to be understood. Institutional documents seem to translate this into a more active presence of English in the domain of higher education, whereas state level policies may adopt a more protectionist stance towards Danish in that context (Hultgren 2014).

With these issues in mind, we now turn to presenting the data, methods, and results of our research. In the paper, we draw on two datasets stemming from two different projects, but despite the fact that the two projects were conceived independently from each other, they had very close objectives in mind and adopted similar methodological approaches.

2.1 Language and Strategy Policy Documents at the University of Tartu and at the University of Copenhagen

In this article we examine the institutional documents from UT and UCPH where the respective universities' overall language policy is stated:

- *Language Principles of the University of Tartu (2009–2015)* (University of Tartu 2009a), *A2015 – The University of Tartu Strategic Plan 2009–2015* (University of Tartu 2009b), and *A2020 – Strategic Plan for the University of Tartu 2015–2020* (University of Tartu 2014).
- *Destination 2012. Strategy for University of Copenhagen* (University of Copenhagen 2007a)*, University of Copenhagen's ACTION PLAN – Destination 2012* (University of Copenhagen 2007b) and *2016 - Strategy for the University of Copenhagen* (University of Copenhagen 2012).

A qualitative content analysis (Mayring 2000) of these documents was conducted, looking for the instances when specific keywords were mentioned in the documents. By using a set of keywords (e.g., Estonian/Danish, English, foreign/other language(s), Russian) and locating them in their immediate co-text, carefully examining how the relevant issues were formulated, we were able to identify the themes emerging from these documents in relation to the position of the languages in question in the university context from a policy point of view.

From the analysis of the policy documents at the University of Tartu (UT), the first and most relevant theme that emerged was in relation to the need to protect, promote, and develop the Estonian language in the context of HE. *A2020 Strategic Plan for the University of Tartu* states in its opening section that "The University of Tartu as a national university of Estonia bears the responsibility for solving problems faced by the society by ensuring the continuity of Estonian intellectuals and language and culture and by contributing to the development of education, research and technology and other creative activities throughout the world." (UT 2014). Similarly, the *Language Principles of the University of Tartu* contain the following statement: "The preservation and development of the Estonian language in higher education and research creates the preconditions for the survival and promotion of culture and contributes to the preservation of the cultural and linguistic diversity of Europe and the world" (UT 2009a).

At the same time, English is regarded as necessary and important for instrumental or pragmatic purposes from the institution's point of view (its internationalisation aims) and from the perspective of students and future graduates (their competitiveness in the contemporary labour market). The *Language Principles* again express that it is important to "give students the opportunity to learn English, including specialized academic English, and to study in English, to ensure that graduates have competitive English language competency for the international labour market" (UT 2009a).

English also appears in connection to the idea that it has to coexist with other languages, hinting at the notion of 'parallel language use' without explicitly mentioning the concept. For example, according the *Language Principles*, UT should "create the conditions to enable students to study at least one foreign language in addition to English;" it should also "offer language support in publishing research results in English and other languages;" and it should "create a language environment where the information and digital work environments necessary for studying and working are in both Estonian and English" (UT 2009a).

Finally, and importantly enough, the labels 'foreign language(s)' or 'other language(s)' are also used in order to avoid mentioning any specific foreign language in particular. On the one hand, this is sometimes a way to refer to a multilingual scenario of the kind outlined in steering documents at UT; on the other hand, it sometimes gives the impression that the desire is to invisibilize these 'other' or 'foreign' languages without having to mention any in particular (e.g. English or Russian). The Language Principles state that the university will "promote the development of curricula taught in foreign languages on all levels" (UT 2009a) - note that UT offers programmes taught in Estonian and English. Other languages are used as well but just at the level of individual subjects, not programmes or curricula.

These themes are found not only in the policy framework of the University of Tartu, but also in policies and development strategies from all of the other major HE institutions in the country (Soler-Carbonell 2015). In addition, these themes can also be detected in the documents produced by the Ministry of Education and Research (Soler-Carbonell 2015), so they are recurrent themes in HE policy documents in the country.

Turning to the University of Copenhagen (UCPH), the institution's language policy is laid out in 238 words (in Danish), in section 14 of UCPH's action plan *Destination 2012*. In this section UCPH sees the need for a language policy in the dual situation of internationalisation of HE and acting as a local culture-bearing institution. The language policy describes three overall aims in terms of languages: firstly, to operate on the bases of parallel language use; secondly, to maintain and increase both students' and staff's foreign language skills, with a special focus on academic English, and thirdly, to make information both for public and internal use equally available in Danish and English (UCPH 2007b).

Parallel language use gives by definition equal status to the languages involved and offers the users a choice in terms of the language they deem most appropriate and efficient in a given situation (Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel

Language Use (CIP n.d. a). Although thought to operate on a parallel basis, Danish and English have different roles:

> The starting point for language policy is the principle of parallel language use. English will increasingly be used as a medium of instruction and especially textbook language, where appropriate in teaching and in research as the emerging lingua franca. It should also be ensured that Danish will be maintained as a fully operational language, also in Higher Education and dissemination of research results. As something special for the University of Copenhagen, we must seize the opportunity that lies in the fact that we already research and teach in a variety of languages. The students must have easy access to qualify themselves in yet another language and another culture alongside the Anglo-Saxon. (UCPH 2007b, English translation from Danish by Jürna).

This extract from the language policy section expresses a protective perspective to Danish. The text recognizes the dominant position of English in today's HE activities, but the aim is to maintain Danish as a complete, functioning language in all spheres, including HE. Here the protective stance is taken to Danish as a national language, although Danish as a second language is not mentioned (see also Jürna 2014, 244).

While Danish is only mentioned once in the language policy section, English, on the other hand, occurs four times. The role of English is seen as a lingua franca in teaching and research. The focus should also be on maintaining and raising both students' and staff's competencies in English as a foreign language. Finally, information, both for public and internal use, should also be available in English in order to guarantee the same level of information as to their Danish colleagues and Danish students (UCPH 2007b).

Other languages "alongside the Anglo-Saxon" are talked about without mentioning them by name. The language policy section draws attention to seizing "the opportunity that lies in the fact that we already research and teach in a variety of languages" (UCPH 2007b, translation from Danish by Jürna) and recognises the potential of using the already available resources at UCPH.

2016 – Strategy for UCPH is a further development of *Destination 2012* and *UCPH's strategic action plan 2008–2012*. In *2016 – Strategy for UCPH* the central focus is on the interplay between the local and international roles and functions of the university and collaboration both within and outside UCPH as well as the mobility of both students and staff. It is in this context that the continued focusing on parallel language use is stated and the aim to "work to improve students' and employees' language skills, also in foreign languages other than English" is put forward (*2016 – Strategy for UCPH*, 31) (UCPH 2012: 31). In *2016 – Strategy for UCPH* Danish does not occur as a separate mention and English only occurs once. Languages are talked about in general terms: "parallel language use", "language competencies", "foreign languages other than English". It is first in the strategic initiative *Language Strategy – more languages for more students,* that other languages and Danish as a second language are involved by name:

> The focus area of the Strategy is the improvement of students' language skills in a number of languages, including English, German, French, Arabic, Spanish, and other languages as well as Danish as a second language. The Strategy in particular focuses on implementing

different opportunities for relevant language skill development for students outside the language programmes. (CIP n.d. b).

The Language Strategy – more languages for more students **and** *2016 Funds – Internationalisation and language skills* are two research-based strategic initiatives that deal with enhancing the students' language skills in an internationalised learning environment across the whole UCPH (CIP n.d. c). Both projects are direct implementations of the *2016 – Strategy for UCPH's* target plan.

2.2 Transnational Scholars' Language Practices

In this section, the reported practices of transnational scholars at the University of Tartu and the University of Copenhagen are compared.

Fieldwork at the University of Tartu was conducted during the academic year 2013–2014. In the autumn semester, a series of seminars on English for academic purposes were observed and recorded; subsequently, in the spring semester, a series of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were conducted among scholars at the university. 20 of the participants were transnational scholars, whom we concentrate on in this paper. They represent different nationalities, most of them were of European origin, but also Asian. Their time of residence in the country varied, from less than a year up to seven years. The range of disciplines present in the sample also varies, from Social Sciences and Humanities to Science and Technology.

In addition to these in-depth interviews, one focus group discussion was conducted with ten scholars from the IT Department. The ten faculty members came from mixed backgrounds and academic ranks, from Ph.D. students to Professors. Only two of them were Estonian nationals, the rest were international members who had been living in the country for at least one year. The group discussion lasted one hour, it took place in English and it was held in the university premises.

The empirical data from UCPH was gathered in the academic year 2010–2011 and consists of a questionnaire with 203 respondents and 14 individual questionnaire-based interviews. The questionnaire on Danish language needs, including 39 questions on language use in academia and outside, Danish language courses and professional and personal background, was distributed to transnational faculty members of all the disciplines through UCPH's International Staff Mobility mailing list, including at the time of the survey approximately 750 transnational scholars. All faculties and job positions from Ph.D.-scholars to professors are represented by the respondents, the majority belonging to the natural- and health sciences and being between twenty-five and forty years old. All together, the respondents share 34 different first languages. Subsequently to the survey, 14 in-depth interviews were conducted to delve more into the topics that arose from the preliminary analysis of the questionnaire. The empirical data from UCPH included in the comparison has been published in Jürna (2014).

Some dominant tendencies that emerged from our ethnographic fieldwork can be summarized in the following four points:

- Estonian/Danish are useful, but not really necessary ("everyone speaks English")
- To learn Estonian/Danish is seen as an extra effort, not always considered worth the investment of time and energy it demands
- The former may lead the transnational scholars to actually focus on improving their English instead
- The route towards Estonian/Danish is externally-motivated (non-work related)

During the interviews in Tartu, one of the first topics of discussion was about their personal situation and how they felt, in general terms, in Tartu and in Estonia more generally. Those who had been staying in the country for a shorter period of time at the moment of the interview normally explained that they felt well and that generally speaking, they could manage well enough in English, a language sufficiently well known by most of the population (in their perspective). This had the consequence of them not being particularly forced to learn the language. This was expressed, for instance, by an Urdu L1 speaker who had stayed in the country for ten months in the following terms:

Excerpt 1

A: and I'm trying to learn slowly but you know I almost never had to ah how to say it like English is always you can use it pretty much everywhere here so it has been very smooth

Q: mhm mhm yea so you don't find the need to actually push yourself more to learn Estonian

A: yea exactly even if I'm taking some courses this push is not there you know so that's also on one hand it's very ah it's good because you can survive without it on the other hand it doesn't force you to learn Estonian if people wouldn't speak English here I would have put more effort to learn Estonian and I would get more opportunities to practice

Similarly, a respondent from the informants at the University of Copenhagen, a French associate professor, who has been in Denmark for over seven years, expressed himself in the following way:

Excerpt 2

I think that's probably the trap in Denmark the fact that everybody speaks English … in other countries you don't have a choice I was working for one year in [X land] and I think that my [X language] is almost as good as my Danish because [there] I did not have the choice I could try to speak French Spanish English whatever language nobody would understand me (234)[1]

In addition, some of the transnational researchers perceive themselves as being in some kind of bubble, detached from their immediate surrounding. This can be a rather discipline-specific element, but it is an important aspect guiding their lan-

[1] The numbers here and henceforth after the illustrative quotes from UCPH data refer to the page number in Jürna (2014).

guage behaviour. A postdoc in natural sciences with English as L1 and who has been working at UCPH for two years, describes the bubble as such:

Excerpt 3
We are very much in a bubble I mean I could almost not be working in Denmark because the institute language is English because our group is so mixed … everybody speaks English in the lab all the communications from the administrative staff is in English and all the institute notices are in English so you could almost be in any country you know in any international scientific institute (233)

As a consequence, learning the local language can be regarded as an extra investment they need to make, something that demands an extra effort (of time and energy) that they are not necessarily ready to make (Norton 1995), especially given the prospect that they would leave the country in perhaps one or two years. A Russian L1 researcher who had worked at Tartu for one year expressed this idea thus:

Excerpt 4
No the truth is that no because I don't believe in my own capacities to learn Estonian my husband who has been here already for three years started learning Estonian he is talented for foreign languages but the result is not so good because sometimes we still have trouble talking in Estonian sometimes my husband who has studied the language for three years taking courses and so on he is able to read the menu in the restaurant […] And the truth is I don't think we'll live here for many years

The exact same idea of not wanting to engage with the language because of a lack of perspective to stay in the country was expressed by several respondents in the questionnaire at UCPH:

Excerpt 5
As I am only appointed on a contract basis for three years, it doesn't make sense to learn Danish. Danish lessons take too much time … I rather work on my academic career than learning a language that I'll never use once I leave Denmark (242)

However, the notion of time is relative, and another respondent of the questionnaire expressed an opposite view:

Excerpt 6
Since I'm doing a three year Ph.D. in Copenhagen, I believe that is "natural" and polite to learn Danish, even if it is not necessary. Moreover, it is always useful to know a language, or at least to try to manage it. (242)

The extra investment they perceive they need to make in order to learn Estonian or Danish may lead some of them to actually decide to focus on improving their English language skills, especially for academic purposes. This was the case of the L1 Russian speaker quoted above as well as an L1 Chinese researcher in Tartu. The latter did take some Estonian language lessons, but realising she was not able to keep up with the pace of the group and that the results of her learning were not paying off, she decided to drop out of the course and concentrate on improving her English.

Excerpt 7

A: yea like most of them yea most of them have some I mean the language they have some connection, but for me totally different
Q: very different yea
A: so they made good progress and I had little bit difficulties
Q: aha
A: aha and a maybe I'm not work so hard as them because I think I just want to learn some basic skills
Q: yea
A: but I don't want to be so good as them
Q: yea of course
A: yea so after some time I found English lessons, so I talked to this teacher so she agreed and I gave up

In Copenhagen, a German Ph.D. scholar commented that:

Excerpt 8

So this Danish thing is helpful can be helpful but as for me it's not strictly speaking it's not really necessary but whereas taking a course for example in scientific English or written English they would something I would really really need for to publishing my Ph.D. thesis (233)

Finally, the informants' level of engagement with Estonian or Danish respectively on a general level was a topic that emerged from the interviews and the questionnaire. In the cases of the informants that expressed a clear and active engagement with the language, the reasons that were given in support of that were factors of influence coming from outside the university, i.e. non-work related factors. A L1 Spanish researcher, for example, although he had never studied Estonian formally, he felt that at some point he was able not only to understand, but also to speak more than some basic messages. This happened, on his account, when he and his family moved from the city centre to a residential suburb, where their neighbours (with whom they started interacting more and became good friends) were exclusively Estonian, and in some cases not as fluent in English.

Respondents to the questionnaire at UCPH also manifested that if they speak Danish, it is more often in places outside work like when shopping, at Danish class, with family and friends, daily life in general, in town (café, restaurant, bar), and hobby/sports (Jürna 2014, p. 237–8).

In addition to the four dominant tendencies presented above, the data from UCPH also shows other aspects that can be pointed out in connection with the linguistic practices of the informants. For example the need for Danish was reported for specific tasks at work, as in communication with administration or the technical personnel, who might not be professionally skilled enough in English. Also, informants expressed a differentiated need between receptive and productive skills in Danish. Understanding written and spoken Danish was considered notably more relevant than speaking and especially writing. The scholars with a longer job perspective in Denmark or higher academic rank acknowledge the need for Danish competencies more clearly than those for whom Denmark is only a temporary place in their academic career. (For more details, see Jürna 2014).

3 Discussion and Conclusions

In this paper, we wanted to address two main questions: what is the position of the different languages (Estonian/Danish and English) in the policy documents of the two contrasted universities, on one hand, and which practices transnational scholars report, on the other. In this section, we offer some comments by way of answering to these two questions, in light of the results presented above.

Our main finding from the analysis of policy documents is that at first sight the two institutions, UT and UCPH, do not differ substantially in terms of how they frame the language question. They both present, on the one hand, the need to protect and promote their national language respectively, while acknowledging the importance of English in the context of HE, and the necessity to promote its knowledge among their members (students and staff). A closer look, however, reveals interesting shades and differences. It appears that UCPH focuses more on fostering the knowledge of English and other languages among its members, whereas UT seems more concerned about the protection and promotion of Estonian at HE. In that sense, the fact that Danish is hardly mentioned in the analysed documents, with only a few instances, highlights this idea, whereas Estonian appears much more frequently mentioned, in contrast, in the UT documents. Note, in addition, that UT has a separate language policy document (the *Language Principles*), whereas UCPH does not have an equivalent document, and LPP matters are scarcely mentioned. This matches Siiner's (2012) contrast between Estonia and Denmark, with the former presenting a context where more explicit language policy exists as opposed to the latter, where there is more of a laisser-faire attitude towards LPP issues.

In relation to the use and status of English and other languages, the two sets of policy documents analysed here present some similarities as well as relevant differences. As noted above, both UT and UCPH acknowledge the central role of English in present-day academia and the necessity for its members to have a good command of it. However, it appears that UT tends to make less direct reference to the language and instead it uses other kinds of labels, such as 'foreign language(s)' or 'other language(s)', thus alluding to English only indirectly in these institutional documents. At UCPH, by contrast English is more directly referred to; in fact, we found more direct references to English than to Danish, as noted above. In line with Hultgren's (2014) findings, this would indicate that institutionally, the notion of 'parallel language use' is dubbed as 'more English'; state-authored policy documents, on the other hand (although not analysed here), tend to show a different stance, and in their case it is 'more Danish' that seems to be implied (see Hultgren 2014).

Within the context of the internationalisation of HE public officials in the country are caught up between the rhetoric of the protection and promotion of the national language and culture, and the need to promote policies for the opening up its HE system, effectively losing some ground to English. It is thus crucial to understand the importance of the context when examining language policy initiatives, and the relevance of the past in shaping that context is of utmost significance. As

Halonen et al. write, "language policy is, after all, often history politics where the remembrance of the past experiences by communities and individuals (historical bodies) play a fundamental role" (2015, 16).

Turning to the second question of the paper and looking at the reported language practices by transnational scholars, we observe notable similarities between the two cases. As the interview data show, most of the time the route towards the respective national language is externally motivated, i.e. it is motivated by elements from outside the university. At work, and to a significant extent outside work too, the idea that "everyone speaks English" is strong and present in both scenarios. This is not surprising, given the fact that both the Estonian and the Danish societies have consistently been reporting quite high levels of command of the English language (see, for instance, *Eurobarometer 2012*, European Commission 2012). As a consequence, Estonian and Danish are perceived as not really necessary (at least at an initial stage), and learning them and effectively incorporating them into one's repertoire is costly and demanding. For those who are not highly motivated, it then becomes more difficult to actively engage with the language. A side-effect of this is that instead of learning the local language, some choose to improve their English instead, which they perceive as more useful for their job and their future careers.

Interestingly, regardless of the different language political regimes in the two contrasted settings, transnational scholars seem to reflect quite similar trends. This, however, does not strike as a surprising finding, given that transnational academics seem to live more in a kind of bubble, as we saw above in one of the quotes from one of the informants from Copenhagen: "you could almost be in any country you know in any institutional scientific institute". In essence, his comment highlights the fact that transnational scholars are some kind of a *sui generis* type of mobile people and represent a very specific kind of mobility. They are not transnational workers or migrants in the sense that they do not move to a given place and try to settle there. Instead, they know that their time span is limited and that shortly, in a matter of two or three years, they may be moving somewhere else, having to readapt themselves to a new context and in a different language environment. Indeed, it tends to be people who do expect to establish themselves in the country for a longer period of time, that will engage with the local language more decidedly.

The example of transnational scholars nicely illustrates that in globalised post-national societies (Pujolar 2007) it is becoming increasingly more difficult for states and institutions to regulate language use in practice. It is rather in the interaction of different agents in the field that we can better understand how language policy is negotiated, be it top-down or bottom-up. Whether in an 'explicit' or a 'looser' LPP context, transnational scholars (one of the key components of the international university) are seemingly impermeable to the rhetoric of the protection and promotion of a local language. Clearly, policy-makers and state officials still have food for thought if their aim is to overcome the pressure of English and spread the knowledge of their local language, also among transnational academics at their institution.

From the transnational scholars' perspective, there is a mismatch between their reported language practices and needs on one side and institutional policies and their aims on the other. This might partly be explained by the fact that the policies analysed here are written from the perspective of understanding language as a separate entity. This observation (the mismatch between policy regulations and speakers' realities) is indeed not new in our field, but it certainly is revealing that in contexts of enhanced mobility flows such as internationalising universities, institutions continue working within a traditional, modernistic frame. Particularly in Estonia, scarce reference is made to language as a set of resources (e.g. Blommaert and Backus 2011), and multilingualism tends to be equated to a set of bounded monolingualisms.

Comparing the two datasets, we were able to point out many similar reported linguistic practices of transnational scholars, independent of the respective universities and their written language policies. For the future research, it would be interesting to examine, whether there are any differences in their linguistic practices and if yes, what are the possible differences and what argumentation there could be found to understand them. Also, in order to tease out the tensions and be able to investigate the effectiveness and applicability of a language policy at an internationalised university, it is necessary to analyse the language practices from the perspective of all parts involved, including local faculty and transnational scholars as well as students and administrative staff.

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Swedishization or Internationalization? Negotiating the Common Language and Culture in a Swedish-Baltic Financial Institution

Maarja Siiner

Abstract Not all multinational companies adopt corporate language policies to regulate language use. However, as several researchers have pointed out, there is seldom a true absence of a language policy in multilingual communication settings, and language management takes place whenever it is possible to identify language managers. In companies with no language strategies, internal communication managers often take decisions on language use and status. With the aim of detecting language management in a Swedish financial institution operating in the Baltic states with no explicit language policy, a nexus analysis of internal communication managers' weekly telephone conferences was carried out. Since nexus analysis examines how discourses of multiple scales interact in language policies as social actions, the recordings of the interactions during the conferences were supplemented with interviews with the participants and with analysis of the company's official policy texts and reports. Language management is a complex social phenomenon influenced by the social, cultural and institutional contexts it takes place in and in which different, sometimes even contradictory discourses related to language use and status, such as internationalization, multiculturalism and multilingualism, intersect, depending on the participants backgrounds and positions in the institution.

Keywords Nexus analysis • Multinational companies (MNC) • Estonia • Sweden • Covert language management

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1 Introduction

Increasing globalisation has made the use and management of languages a vital component of international business activities (Duchêne and Heller 2012; Lauring and Selmer 2012). While an extensive cross-country comparison of language management in Europe already exists (Sanden 2015; Bellak 2014; Lønsmann 2011; Piekkari et al. 2014), research on language management in multinational companies (hereafter MNC) operating in Estonia is almost non-existent, which is surprising since a number of Estonian companies have merged recently with companies abroad, especially in Sweden and Finland. In 2013–2014, I carried out research on language management in internal communication in Swedish companies that have merged with Estonian companies. While negotiating access to the companies, I faced the problem that the internal communication managers in the Swedish multinational companies operating in Estonia that I approached denied having any (need for) language management. In the words of an internal communication manager from one of the companies, which had adopted English as the corporate language, but otherwise had an ad hoc approach to language management:

> (-) Language management in our case must be an artificial construction; you can see how implicitly or sort of how we work here but we do not have conscious language management.

These words are in line with Bergenholtz and Johnsen's (2006) findings that not all multinational companies adopt formal language policies. Instead, many companies adopt communication policies or a communication manual that may include some guidelines on the choice of language in external or internal communication. The choice of corporate language is seen as a matter of communication style, i.e. how to improve the company's public image and brand, rather than a decision on language status (Sanden 2015, 203). At the same time, the number of international business and management researchers for whom the management of language is a precondition for efficient internal and external communication is increasing (Brannen et al. 2014). In fact, from being a virtually absent topic in the international business management literature (Marschan et al. 1997), we are now talking about a "language-sensitive research agenda" (Sanden 2015; Piekkari and Tietze 2011).

This also means a better awareness of language being not merely a means of communication but also a compound, value-laden marker of cultural and social identity (Hinds et al. 2014). In studies of language management in MNCs, languages should thus be understood as systems of meanings which are central to understanding organizational, social and global realities (Tietze et al. 2003). Avoiding the term language management may itself reveal a desire to remain purely instrumental and to avoid taking an ideological position in preferring one language to another (Lønsmann 2011). Choosing English as the corporate language can thus be presented as a pragmatic choice to facilitate cross-border communication and reporting to headquarters, as well as to ease access to technical literature and relevant policy documents and regulations in the area (Tietze 2010; Piekkari et al. 2014). However, even pure instrumental language choices may be made with identity goals in mind, e.g. to signal belonging to an international community (Piekkari and Tietze 2012). "Englishization" has for decades been seen as a foundation for global expansion, especially in Nordic-based firms (Piekkari et al. 2014). Furthermore, language management in MNCs – especially in Europe – is cross-national management of an issue(s) closely bound to the history and the very existence of nation-states (Wright 2012). Since multinational companies often operate in nation-states where English is not an official language, a hands-off attitude towards language use (e.g. a lack of an official corporate language policy) is also a decision (Fishman 2006) taken to avoid potential contradictions with national policies on language status and use.

The emerging language sensitive approach sees language as an integral part of international business management processes that both creates and reflects organizational realities (Piekkari and Zander 2005). Even where there is a lack of official language strategy, language management is always present in communication practices in MNCs (Golsorki 2010). The language sensitive approach therefore focuses on individual language strategies and how they depend on job functions, i.e. whether one belongs to the staff at headquarters or whether one works on "the (front) line", i.e. as an operator. Communication and language strategies are also specific to business areas (such as manufacturing or financial services) and the product produced, which in turn dictates the characteristics of employees (Sanden 2015, 321). The present chapter will study internal communication and language strategies in a Swedish-Baltic financial institution, which I will hereafter refer to as N. N has no explicit language strategy and has adopted English as the language of internal/corporate communication. What is specific to multinational financial institutions (Sanden 2015, 78) is that local communication in particular areas and markets is handled by decentralized communication units, while corporate group-level communication is handled by a centralized communication department located at the top of the organizational hierarchy. The internal communication managers, who navigate between the group communication management in the headquarters and the communication teams in the local branches, can therefore be expected to play a crucial role in language management. The central questions of my analysis are therefore: How do internal communication managers perceive their roles as language policy practitioners, and how do they practice language management? My main challenge was to study a phenomenon whose existence was denied by the actors involved in this activity. I therefore had to adopt an ethnographic method that made it possible to observe communication practices and detect hidden language management. I will start by explaining the methodological and theoretical considerations that form the basis for my study.

2 Methodological Challenges

2.1 Asking the Right Questions

How things are talked about is one of the major discursive processes by which our worlds are constructed, legitimated, ratified and contested (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 9). This is why language management as a practice in multinational companies may remain hidden since it is not verbalised as such (Hult 2015) by managers at headquarters, and this requires a careful approach while negotiating access to the company. In the context of the present study, this means that in order to detect language management activities and discourses in the company, I had to gather a lot of data through observations of communication, interviews and analysis of mediated discourses (in existing policy texts or regulations) before I was able to ask informed questions. Corporate language management as a field of study aims to offer insight into globalised new economies and into how language, in interaction, features in who gets to decide what and how things should be done in multinational companies (Lauring and Selmer 2012). The focus in these studies is often on how macro-level decisions on language impact micro-level language practices: a research interest that is inherent in most language policy and planning research (Hornberger and Johnson 2011; Spolsky 2009). The issue of hyper-control or organised management from above versus non-organised non-management or on-site management of language on the grass-roots level, and the consequences of these choices, is therefore central to language management studies in MNCs (Lüdi et al. 2013; Van den Born and Peltokorpi 2010). However, as demonstrated in the latest developments in language policy and planning research, similar to the ethnographic approach to language policy and planning (Shohamy 2006; Hornberger and Johnson 2011), this two-scale, micro-macro understanding of the complex social phenomenon of managing multilingualism is too narrow, since it removes the possibility of studying language management as a multidimensional phenomenon, for which data from multiple scales need to be gathered and discursive relations between these scales analysed.

Spolsky (2012, 15) has remarked that rather than offering handy solutions, language policy as a field that studies dynamic and changing systems should re-evaluate its methods and theories so that researchers can better explain the complexities of human behaviour regarding language. Adopting English as the lingua franca in communication between people with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds may serve multiple purposes (Cogo 2012), some of which may remain hidden because the processes that lead to the decision to use English are complex and at times contradictory. Also, since they are not explained or articulated, they also remain hidden from researchers looking for traits of organised management, and researchers thus apply analytical tools that are not suitable for uncovering the covert language policy and planning processes (Spolsky 2004). As established policy representations can contrast with personal, dynamic and fragmented positions in individual representations, an ethnographic approach is most suitable for mapping these contradictions. In 2006–2011 the research project DYLAN (www.dylan-project.org) studied how linguistic diversity in Europe affected the development of knowledge-based societies. Studies of multilingual practices in EU institutions and MNCs were largely carried out by applying ethnographic methods. DYLAN's research results demonstrate how well-established policy concepts such as multilingualism clash with actual language choices, as well as attitudes towards languages, on the micro level of everyday language use (Grin and Gazzola 2013). While multilingualism is valued as a tool of internationalisation on the managerial level in international institutions and companies, ethnographic observations and interviews have revealed that the use of different languages is important for employees in MNCs for many other reasons, from socializing to being able to construct and transfer complex knowledge. These tensions revealed language management in companies to be a complex and contextual social phenomenon that different employees in different positions have different understandings of (Bothorel-Witz and Tsamadou-Jacoberger 2013).

2.2 *Nexus Analysis as a Tool for Studying Complex Social Phenomena*

All of these dynamic, communicative and socio-cultural processes that can be detected in communication behaviour are usually not made explicit in language strategies or policies (Spolsky 2004, 8), and are therefore seldom conceptualized or understood as such. In my fieldwork, I observed that while communication managers at the headquarters had denied a need for language management, the audible and visual language use in the public sphere in the companies' different branches (contacts with customers, signs, labels, information folders etc.) indicated that a rich variety of local immigrant and foreign languages were used and that the languages differed from branch to branch and from location to location. These observations indicated that other languages besides English (the corporate language) had been mastered and were valued, and the use of these followed some informal rules that were not conceptualized as language management by the corporate actors whom I had been in touch with. In order to study practices that I did not know how to indicate, I decided to apply an essentially ethnographic tool, nexus analysis (hereafter NA), to explore this complexity. NA sees language as a historically and socially situated resource, and language use as studied in relation to human social action, taking the "constitution of human social groups and languages as a problem to be examined together" (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 68). The strength of NA lies in multimodality; it employs ethnographic observations, interviews, analysis of interaction and textual or discourse analysis of relevant (policy) texts. The opening task of the NA researcher is to get acquainted with the specific social phenomenon being studying by mapping the central agents and actions that characterize the phenomenon (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 9). Only after doing this can the researcher find a zone of identification within which he or she can begin to analyse the social phenomenon: *from the inside out*. The research questions and problems are thus "given" by the data and observations (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 82). Hult (2015) suggests that NA is especially appropriate in studies of hidden language management in institutional settings, since a broader ethnographic approach makes it possible to reveal valuable information about the organisation itself and the discursive practices in it.

The data gathered in NA about human interaction thus forms a “triangle”: (1) generalising or normative expectations, (2) what actually happens in real time interaction, and (3) contextualizing descriptions of individual experience of what happened. The last point necessitates follow-up interviews that are important because the analytical categories used to explain what happened (or after-the-fact descriptions) involve a different logic than the decisions taken “under pressure” during the real-time interaction, where structures of grammar are a result of conversational inference (Gumperz 1982). In this way, the researcher begins to see discourse cycles circulating through interactions and personal encounters and is able to trace the trajectory of the discourse cycle across personal, institutional and social lines (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 81, 87).Tracing a discourse cycle also involves finding out how long it takes to traverse the full discourse cycle, i.e. when a discourse gets “landed” or starts to make sense in a particular context. Discourse in NA means how language relates to “ways of thinking, acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, believing, and using symbols, tools, and objects in the right places and at the right times so as to make certain sorts of meaningful connections in our experience, and privilege certain symbol systems and ways of knowing over other ways” (Gee 1999, 13, as cited in Scollon and Scollon 2004, 4). NA operates with three kinds of discourse that may intersect in a social action (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 13–14). The first of these is *discourses in place*, in which the circulating beliefs/ideologies co-present in the moment of action. The second is the *interaction order*, which is the set of situated norms for how individuals relate to each other during an action. The third is the *historical body*, or embodied life experiences of the individuals involved in an action, which appear in the personal explanations of what happened (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 13–14). The triangular data gathering stage is also called the engagement phase of NA, where the analyst obtains data from people and places that are “information rich” (Perry 2011, 67–68) in order to make informed decisions about which activities and agents to focus on (see Fig. 1).

3 The Case Study of the Swedish-Baltic Financial Institution N

3.1 Obtaining the Necessary Data

During fall 2013 I negotiated access to N, now a Swedish-Baltic merger financial institution and a former Swedish bank of farmers, households and small- and medium-sized businesses. In 2005, N made a buy-out offer to the minority

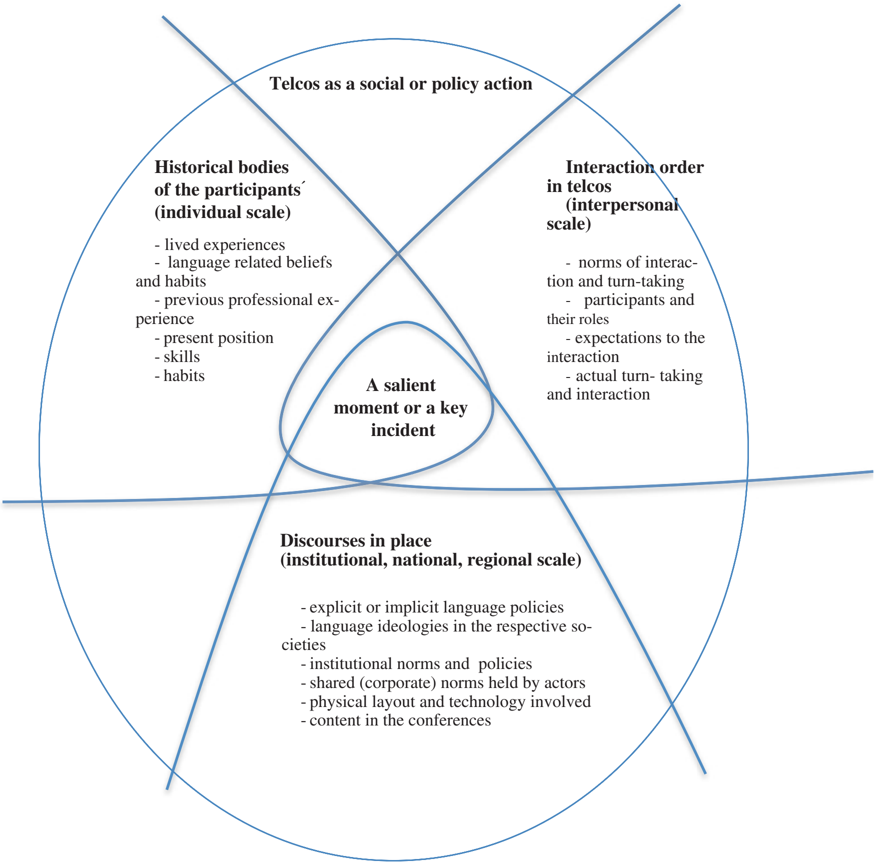

Fig. 1 The semiotic ecosystem of the nexus of practice (Adopted from Hult (2015, 244))

shareholders of an Estonian financial institution that I have chosen to call X in this chapter, which was a strong international brand with home markets in Estonia, Russia, Ukraine, Latvia and Lithuania. This Nordic-Baltic international alliance was undertaken by the Swedish banking company in an attempt to meet its customers' changing needs, and reflected the fact that key customers had expanded or were expanding from their home market to the Baltics and to other Nordic countries. The Swedish financial institution, having only limited previous internationalisation experience, decided to use the Baltic experience gathered by X in order to enter all three Baltic countries via investing in the existing network. Similar to other Nordic financial institutions, such as Nordea and Saxo Bank, (Sanden 2015, 76), N has several business areas. Administration and support functions are partly centralized and partly decentralized between business areas. The centralized/partly decentralized set-up is also how the company's communication department is organized, consisting of a group communication unit, a communication unit for Baltic banking and four home market-based communication units in Sweden, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

N's communication policy reflects the same centralizing-decentralizing tendency in its dual aim of remaining local, but becoming an international brand:

> As a relationship bank focused on building long-term mutually beneficial relationship stakeholders, the Group's Communication shall be conducted on the 'receivers' terms'. This means that communication shall be adapted to the culture and conditions prevailing on the relevant market, where the main target group is customers. /--/ Internal communication in general shall focus on stimulating dialogue, engaging employees to act as brand ambassadors and cross-cultural communicators (The Group's communication policy).

This internationalization and localization discourse was present in several other official statements and texts, such as the annual report, and had clear implications for what languages were used, valued and studied in different branches of the company. My interview with the Head of N's Internal Training Academy in Estonia revealed that courses in Russian and Finnish were very popular among N's Estonian employees, since there was a need for those languages in the Estonian market. The Estonian branch also offered in-trade training in Estonian for the Russian-speaking employees, if needed. Swedish was valued among those planning to work/working at the Swedish headquarters. Swedish was, however, not required in these functions. About internal communication, the Group's Communication Policy states:

> The Group's language is English. (-) Internal regulations shall be published in such language that the relevant employees are able to understand their duties.

This indicates that the internal communication managers played a central role in language choice-related decisions. Furthermore, my interview with the Estonian Head of Internal Communication revealed that communication managers frequently not only translated internal messages in English into local languages, but also adjusted and adopted the texts so that they fit with the local culture of communication in order to ensure that everybody read and understood the message: "While Latvians prefer more emotional texts, Estonians would rather receive their information in bullet-points". Intranets in home market languages were also much more essential and busier than the Group's intranet in English. As the Estonian Head of Group Communication explained: "It is not that much about language competences, but more about a habit to communicate and receive info in one's own language". The fact that N is a merger of several financial institutions also affected the way in which respondents experienced the identity and the communication culture of N. Many had already worked in X and the way things were done in X was part of their historical bodies that they carried with them to N, as we will see below.

Mapping the communication flows in the organisation revealed that many language management-related decisions (about language use, status and acquisition) were taken in different country-based branches in relation to the history of N. It quickly became clear that internal communication managers negotiated not only between different levels of the organization but also between different communication cultures: the old (X and the former N) and the new, and the country-based cultures. Internal communication management thus played a crucial role in facilitating information and communication flows and the choice of language in different communication situations.

> Internal Communication shall enable each employee to become engaged and committed to the values and challenges of the group, as a whole, as well as each employees local units' specific challenges. The group will always strive to ensure that all information reaches employees through the Groups' Internal Communication. (-) Internal communication in general shall focus on stimulating dialogue, engaging employees to act as brand ambassadors and cross-cultural communicators (Group's Communication Policy).

Based on Spolsky's (2009) claim that language management takes place where it is possible to detect "language managers", I decided to focus on the internal communication managers' activities. Besides daily contact via e-mail, the heads of group and local internal communication teams "met" on a weekly basis for half an hour through telephone conferences (or telcos), which had taken place on the same day and time since N had become a Group. Based on that information, I chose the weekly telcos as my site of engagement (see Fig. 1), from where I could start to navigate and map the most important cycles of discourse (related to language) activated at the nexus points where historical bodies (see the definition in Sect. 2.2) met in interaction (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 153). The telcos were furthermore part of what Scollon and Scollon (2004, 5) would call management discourse, i.e. the way managers and administrators talk among themselves, carry out their everyday work, and construct and maintain certain identities and power relations, and thus were an ideal place to trace language management.

3.2 Navigating the Cycles of Discourse in Interaction Order and Historical Bodies

Language practices are influenced by the participants' historical bodies and organizational heritage, as was mentioned earlier, but also by the technology that mediates the discourse (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 90). Telephone conferences help communication managers who are located in different countries communicate across space (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 4). Although they are a substitute for more frequent live meetings, as "it is important to have live meetings, you have to know the person on the other side" (the Group Internal Communication Manager), telcos are seen as a flexible and an easily accessible tool. Telcos took place regularly on Tuesday afternoons, making it easy to join in wherever one was. However, as they are not face-to-face meetings, they need more structure in interaction order (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 90). This was exemplified by the time limit and the semi-structured content, as the core members were expected to send in the topics they wanted to discuss. One person, the Group Internal Communication Manager (in this case the Swedish L1 speaker M), had the task of managing the turns during the meetings, guaranteeing that fair and objective procedures were followed to ensure that everybody was heard. Scollon and Scollon call that type of communication flow controllers "gatekeepers" (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 109). "When we have meetings, face-to-face meetings as well, we do have make sure that we speak common language, so nobody is excluded" (M, from a pre-recording interview). She expressed an unwritten rule in N, that a teleconference was institutionalised talk that had to follow certain rules, but also had to guarantee a relaxed and friendly atmosphere. Furthermore, M as the gatekeeper found it important to relate communication policy to a broader discourse of English as a tool for inclusion, guaranteeing equity in options (Kjær 2001; Soukup and Kordon 2012).

Telcos were also structured in terms of participants, consisting of the core group - the heads of home markets' internal communication teams: Estonia (L), Latvia (B), Lithuania (I) and Sweden(C) - the head of the Baltic Banking Communication Team (D) and the Head of Group Communication (K). The extended group of participants consisted of representatives of related areas, such as the representatives for Group IT, HR etc., who were always invited, but who usually joined in only once a month or less. In addition, representatives from different group functions, such as Group Risk, Functions and Products, were occasionally invited to join in and provide news from their sections.

I recorded three consecutive telcos in October and November 2013 and conducted pre-recording interviews with the main participants involved to determine their historical bodies since: "People carry in their bodies the expectations for communication" (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 88). I also conducted post-recording interviews to let the participants reflect on what had taken place during the recorded interaction: what Scollon and Scollon (2004, 153) call the mediated discourse. Interaction order and turn-taking in a real time communication situation reveals the style of communication or discourse practices of the participants. But one has to look "deeper" than interaction turns to detect how the issue of language choice is related to broader topics.

The following example is from the last recorded telco from the beginning of November 2013. The participants at the beginning were the gatekeeper M, MT, who is the Head of Communication of Group IT and a Swedish L1 speaker, and KR, who is the Group's HR communication manager and an Estonian L1 speaker who also speaks Swedish. By the end of the extract, K, who is the Head of Group Communication and an Estonian L1 speaker and a non-Swedish speaker, joined them:

Excerpt 1

1. MT: Hello!
2. M: Hi! Who is there?
3. MT: It's MT here! Hi!
4. M: Hi! Welcome back! How was [your] vacation?
5. MT: Thank you! It was great! No work.
6. M: Well, let's hope!
7. MT: How are you guys?
8. M: We're fine, I think. I don't know. I can only answer for myself. We were

9. just… We actually made it early, so we need to wait before we start. Hmm…
10. MT: You launched an event last week?
11. M: Vad så du? …[Sorry…?]
12. MT: Ja men okej! Vi behöver inte prata engelska? [OK, we do not need to speak English?]
13. M: Nej, det skal vi för. Hej! [Yes we do. Hi!]
14. K: Hi, it's K here!
15. M: Hi K! Now we're turning back to English again.
16. MT: Ah okay.
17. K: So I won't understand. Ah, okay. So it was actually…
18. M: We were speaking English very politely, but we were only Swedes online.
19. So it's like okay, hey, hang on! It's very good to be paying attention, but
20. anyway…
21. KR: I'm Estonian.
22. M: Sorry?
23. KR: I'm Estonian, so… We were not only Swedish [online]
24. M: Yeah I know, but full Swedish-speaking, you do that very well.

The language of telcos is English (cf "The Group's language is English"), which is violated in this excerpt (line 11). The gatekeeper, the telco manager M excuses it with "we were only Swedes online" but is corrected by the Estonian L1 speaker KR (line 21). Using Swedish in a telco violates invisible power and identity relations. The finding that English is seen as an inclusive "we" (contrary to "Swedish", which is more "us" vs. "them") tool in cross-lingual communication is in line with the findings of Soukup and Kordon, who applied NA to studies of how non-English speakers using English as the lingua franca for professional reasons relate to it during their interaction (Soukup and Kordon 2012, 327). NA revealed that, contrary to the common negative discourses about English as a lingua franca, the participants actually experienced many positive psychological side effects from their common use of English as the common "neutral" ground where they could meet.

3.3 Tracing the Cycles Further

A lot of discourses circulated in the weekly telephone meetings between internal communication managers and it was the ethnographers' job to identify which were the most relevant and how they related to language management. I had identified communication managers as language policy stakeholders and telcos as the social practice where communication managers interpreted institutional policies. The three recorded telcos were my sites of engagement, where I was looking for a key incident or a salient moment where noteworthy discourses intersected. According to Scollon and Scollon (2004, 87), the nexus of practice is a semiotic ecosystem taking place in the intersection of three cycles of discourse from multiple scales, the historical bodies of the participants (personal scale), the interaction order (interpersonal) and discourses in place (institutional, national or regional) (Fig. 1). Those discourses can be detected in interviews, interaction or general policies, or regulations (Hult 2015, 224).

I found this salient moment (Fig. 1) from which to trace the three discourses from the second telco. The participants in this telco were the telco manager M, the Head of the Group Communication K, the Head of the Baltic Banking communication D D, the internal communication manager for Estonia L, and the internal communication manager for Sweden C.

Excerpt 2

1. M: Hi L! Welcome! D, do you have anything on your side?
2. D: Actually I do. I wanted to.... we just had a small talk with girls from the
3. Baltic countries and we are turning one activity, which is related to this,
4. not only this Sweden-Baltic idea, but I would say this understanding
5. of us working in the multinational organisation, and we have a fun activity
6. planned, because the Latvian Independence Day on November 18th is
7. approaching. We're going to have a Latvian National Day in the country

For approximately two minutes, D explained the general idea and the planned activities for celebrating the Latvian National Day, including introducing Latvian food, places to see and things to know in Riga. The length of her turn demonstrates that this topic – celebrating national holidays - was important to "us girls from the Baltic countries" (line 2). What she meant was raising the Swedish employees' awareness of their new home markets in the Baltic States and their respective cultures. Several Estonian employees expressed their concern that their Swedish colleagues did not recognise a difference between Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania but saw them as one entity: the Baltics. It was also important for the "understanding of us working in the multinational organisation" (lines 4–7). While N's Swedish predecessor was a Swedish local bank, X already was a multinational organization operating in several countries, and the Baltic internal communication managers wanted to continue the traditions from X. D continued with an invitation to the Swedes present in the telco "room", the telco manager M and the Swedish internal communication manager C.

Excerpt 3

1. D: I thought that maybe Swedes could join as well. So I could send the list of
2. activities and you could take a look. Yes?
3. M: What you said about…
4. D: You don't have to decide now, I will just send it to you and then you can
5. think on your own. We haven't decided, but some of it might be interesting,
6. because we were thinking that maybe in the future we could also turn
7. in for the Swedish National Day in. the very same way. Then it would be
8. Baltics communicated with Swedish aspects and then we would have the same
9. article of things to do in Sweden, Stockholm or whatever.

M: I think it would be a cool idea to get this, to review some of the cultural differences that we believe that we have, I think that this is a nice way of addressing that. But I think it's important we are doing it together in all four home markets, because otherwise we're not reaching out properly, so I think it's an excellent idea. Then we can see what we can do, what is practical, because November 18th is not far away, but I think it's a very good idea also for the future.

D: And also we're starting very small. You know this is kind of a pilot one for Latvia; we'll see how it goes, what do the colleagues say, do they pay attention, are they interested, maybe we need to change something. And you know all of a sudden we'll also see if it grows into something more regular.

L: Uhm-hmm.

D: Okay, but then I will send it, but who else would need to be in the loop. K? If you…

K: Yeah, uhm-hmm

M: You can also send it to me, M. I will make sure that C reads it.

D: I will send it then to both of you.

C: I need some personal approach for reading e-mails.

M: An efficiency course.

C: So I hope I will be better at reading tons of e-mails.

M: Let's hope, because he said that I'm now going from 6,000 mails in my mailbox, I have like 1,000, then I started to wonder what he did with the rest.

C: Today I'm down to sixty-four.

In spite of D's repeated invitation (lines 1 and 6–7) to the Swedes to join in, the Head of the Swedish Internal Communication Manager C did not respond at all and changed the subject (line 27) to reading his e-mails. This change was facilitated by M, who operated as a buffer, offering to make sure C got the information (line 27.) To trace C's reluctance to comment on the topic further, some background information was gathered from the follow-up interviews, where the participants were asked to comment on the communication and topics in the telcos. By looking at how it was different from the group's experience or the official discourse (appearing in the company's strategies, reports, etc.), possible discursive struggles were revealed. In a follow-up interview, the gatekeeper M explained why she and C, as Swedes, did not think that celebrating Swedish national holidays would be a good idea:

Excerpt 4

> We [Swedes] do not celebrate national days, so it's very much a cultural tradition that is different to what you can find in the Baltics. In Sweden it is almost hard to be proud, saying that there is a national day that we should celebrate; it is almost difficult to do that without being suspected to be against integration in the society and become almost racist.

As the gatekeeper, M managed the topics and turns so everybody could participate equally (in English) and have equal time to present, and that the discussion remained on the group level. She explained her task in the pre-recording interview:

"I always think group". However, she also had a more hidden role as what Chapple (1970) calls a pacemaker: somebody who sets the rhythm of the encounter, representing the institution, and whom the non-pace-makers follow by adjusting their (personal) rhythms according to that of the institution. The objectivity of the gatekeeper can, according to Scollon and Scollon (2004, 109), be undermined by co-membership between the gatekeeper and another participant in the communication with whom the gatekeeper shares some significant particular attributes. Being a Swede, M advocates for C's reluctance, i.e. that it would not be appropriate to display national pride in Sweden the way it is done in the Baltic countries. She also blocks further engagement in the topic of introducing each other's cultures by connecting the topic with the word "racist". Her historical body is thus positioned in the Swedish way of perceiving the issue, rather than in an international way.

From the topic of finding a common ground for the Group's brand (as an international company), she jumps to the discourse of political correctness and neutrality in Swedish society, making a discursive connection across the scales of space (Hult 2015). When she advocates for a culture-neutral common N culture (in English) as part of the internationalisation of the N Group, she undermines it a bit by saying that N (still) is a Swedish institution. On the group level, however, a certain matrix, unification or common culture is needed to make the organisation work horizontally and vertically. This process is - as demonstrated - neither smooth nor balanced, as can be detected from the following interview between M and me (Q).

Excerpt 5

1. M: Some people might probably say that yeah [N is a Swedish [financial institution]]
2. in why we work in that special way; of course, we are Swedes [and Swedes]
3. but I would say the Swedish character will still be shared in our economic
4. standing or are in numbers more than the other ones
5. Q: you mean the number of customers
6. M: no I mean the number of employees

X, N's predecessor, was a very strong international brand operating in Latvia, Lithuania and Russia (and later in Ukraine) (Alas and Vanhala 2013). In spite of that, the Baltic home markets are moving more towards Swedishness than the Swedish part is towards the culture that was present in X. Hult (2015) suggests that one of the ways to avoid the characterisation of complex social phenomena in dual terms of micro-macro layers (or relationships between them) is to see social phenomena as situated in particular scales of time and space (Blommaert 2005, 7). TimeSpace scales are interdependent, as people and discourses can jump back and forth within and across these scales. Based on Fishman's remark "there are no large-scale relationships between language and society that do not depend on individual interaction for their realisation" (Fishman 1972, 3), Hult (2010, 18–19) suggests that language management should be seen as a construction of social interaction that, being repeated across TimeSpace, can create a meaningful and related pattern or nexus of practice. Those jumps across the scales are contextual, which is why the same person can utter contradictory views depending on the context.

During the follow-up interview, M said that, although learning about different cultures was interesting (to her personally), in N they had to combine these national cultures into one corporate culture, which, she explained, is the other reason why today culture is not communicated at all in the Swedish branch of N. Later on she talked about the busy period they had had in the Swedish N, to explain why the Swedish Internal Communication Manager C had 6,000 emails in his inbox (Excerpt 2, lines 30–32.):

Excerpt 6

> We have organisationally changed and now we have 6 regions [in Sweden], so this has been going on for a year, getting all the pieces in the puzzle on place, so the different regions have a bigger brand now than they did before, which is that the regional character will of course come out stronger than it did before. (-) [N has] very strong regional banks in the Sweden; then business is of course extremely local [….] if you are strong in retail locally, then you face the local costumer, then perhaps need [somebody] who speaks Croatian or, I mean, in certain areas there are more people who are Lebanese or something; they speak Arab, or I mean because of the customers, what they require. So if we look at the contact centre, they need to have that sort of skills as well or competences, so we can service our customers who do not have Swedish as their first main language.

This is in line with the identity of N as a private savings bank and its basic communication principle:

> As a relationship bank, focused on building long-term mutually beneficial relationship stakeholders, the Group's Communication shall be conducted on the 'receiver's terms'. This means that communication shall be adapted to the culture and conditions prevailing on the relevant market, where the main target group is customers (Group Communication Policy).

Sweden is not only bigger, but since it became the destination of labour migration in the 1970s it has become more multicultural and multilingual, while the Baltic States are small and both culturally and linguistically more homogeneous due to the histories of the countries. Estonia had several ethnolinguistic minorities before WW II (primarily Jews, Russians, Germans and Swedes), but by the end of the Soviet occupation in 1991 those groups had become either extinct or Russified. Estonia and Latvia turned largely into bipolar Estonian/Russian and Latvia/Russian societies, and today have large Russian-speaking minorities (which, however, consist of different "Russified" ethnic groups: Jews, Tatars, Ukrainians, etc.) constituting one-third to one-half of the entire population. Except for the Russian-speakers, there are very few foreigners present in the Baltics, giving the impression that the Baltic states are not multicultural and not diversity-friendly. As the Estonian L1 employee working in the Swedish branch of N explained:

Excerpt 7

> N does not have the same [internal] culture in all home markets, or every country has a different shade of it, depending on the values of the state, what is valued in the society. I had an interesting conversation with a colleague [….] together we were developing an internal training course and had to choose some pictures for the promotion of the course that would work in all four countries. We were browsing through a brand-book with a selection of pictures that everybody in the group could use. And there were very many…. there were pictures with coloured and black people and I commented 'this is a really nice picture, but we cannot use it', to which my [Swedish] colleague said: 'I do not understand what you have against coloured people in the Baltics? Every time I suggest using this picture, they reply: no way! That those who work in the Baltics are not used to that.' I just imagined for a moment how it would work in a conference room with only white people and I can understand the reaction the employees there might have. But still, it reflects the degree of tolerance; probably we are a more closed society, and real multicultural values have not yet taken hold.

Even though the Swedish Language Act delegates authority to the society to value the linguistic diversity present in the Swedish society (Språklag 2009 §2 and § 14), valuing such immigrant languages as Arabic, Chinese, Somali, Urdu and Turkish in N is not done directly, but through measures of social responsibility. The Swedish branch of N, in cooperation with local municipalities' internship programmes, runs "Young jobs" and "Finally a job!", where young unemployed immigrants with higher education can work in the SB for a year, gaining competences and polishing up their CVs (salaries are partly paid by the state). Of the 400 who worked as trainees at the Swedish branches, just over half have been recruited since. It is especially their competences in immigrant languages that are highly valued. From the "Annual report 2012": "Here in Älmhult, IKEA is the biggest employer with 4,000 employees, many of whom come from other parts of the world. (-) Besides of being good at her job, Awras (participant in 'Young jobs') speaks five languages, which is an asset to us." The fact that also in the Estonian branch of N competence in Estonia's "immigrant" language Russian is highly valued and in-trade training in Russian is available for functions with direct contact with customers, and that young Russian-speakers are hired for service positions and trained in Estonian in-trade was, however, not enough to give the Estonian branch of N the reputation of being culturally or linguistically diverse and tolerant.

4 Discussion and Conclusion – Nexus Analysis of Hidden Language Management

The aim of the present study was to identify and examine the actions of language policy stakeholders (internal communication managers) in the Swedish-Baltic financial institution N, which has no explicit language policy. The present study investigated how language issues are negotiated on a decentralised level, since N lacks language policy documents and directives, which Norris describes as "frozen actions" (Norris 2007). The ongoing language management took place on a discursive level, where different agents with different historical bodies negotiated what was right and wrong. Policy actions took place between actors who were members of different discourse communities and who accordingly made different vertical intertextual references to historical and cultural grand narratives or texts in the past (Hult and Johnson 2015). NA analyses every policy action as a nexus point, bringing together three types of discourses: the historical bodies of the participants, the discourses in place and the interaction order, or who are participating, what the agenda is and how well it is negotiated (Fig. 1). NA demonstrates how connections are made between discourses and policy actions in the meaning-making process and that these meaning-making processes are potentially conflicting, since they connect participants with different historical bodies as members of various discourse communities. The most difficult part of NA is to analytically identify a key incident or a particularly salient moment within the nexus of practice to focus on. Since NA studies language management as a contextual activity connected with language that might go in many, and even contradictory, directions and touch upon topics that are not directly language related (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 161–163), I chose to focus in the discussion on whether to celebrate the national holidays of N's home markets and how. Since the internal communication managers also represented the communication and language cultures of the respective home markets, my study revealed that corporate language policy actors also had to face the emotionally charged factors of ethnic identity and pride: topics common to language management in general (Spolsky 2012) (Fig. 2).

For the Baltic communication managers, English was the neutral common language, the only option where the "we" identity could be created, since in the Baltics the national languages are markers of ethnic, not civic identity. For Swedes, Swedish serves as a common, neutral ground for communication. However, an Estonian employee in N did not find Swedish to be a neutral "we" language. While for the Baltic managers, a multinational company meant valuing and celebrating different cultures, for the Swedish employees it meant that the common culture should be linguistically and culturally neutral. Although no ethnic culture or language was supposed to be given precedence in the Group's internal communication, the Baltic communication managers still found that the Group's culture was Swedish (as the largest market and the original home market of N). This was also demonstrated by the gate-keeper M, with her Swedish background, who could not remain entirely neutral, but advocated on behalf of the behaviour of the Swedish Head of the Internal Communication, who was reluctant to discuss further the topic of celebrating national holidays in all N home markets. NA makes it possible to get a more holistic picture of language policy actions and discursive connections made to different grand narratives. The three different types of discourses gathered in NA contribute to the social construction of an institution, or how language policy actions are embedded in institutional settings, and the broader societal context.

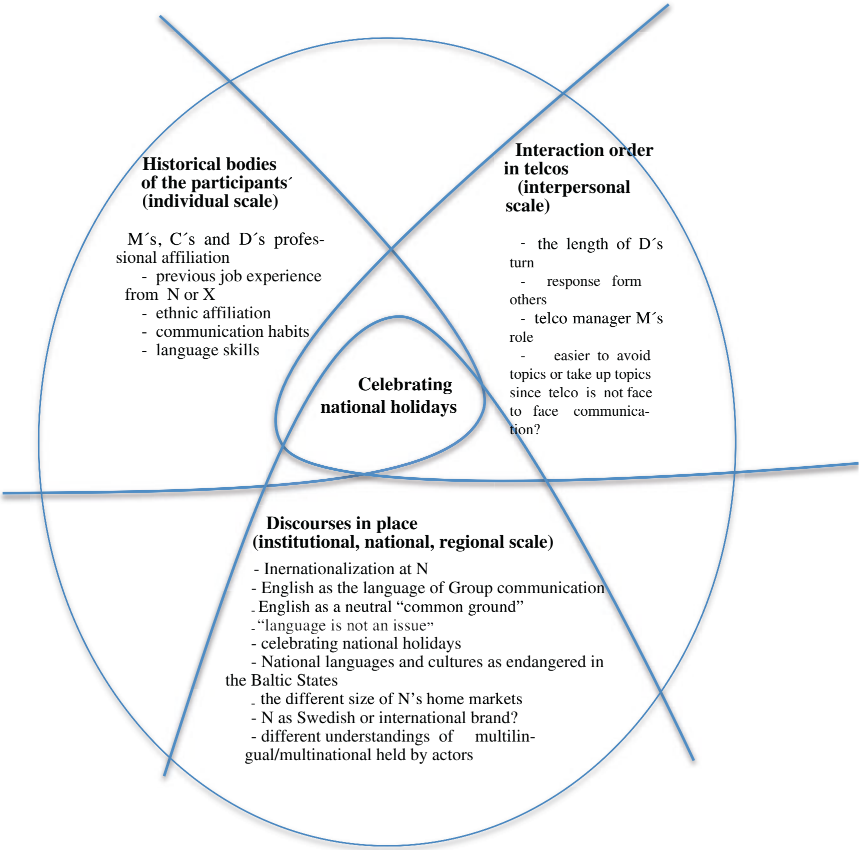

Fig. 2 The semiotic ecosystem of the nexus of language policy as practice in the financial Institution N (Adopted from Hult (2015, 244))

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Emerging Language Political Agency Among Estonian Native Speakers in Finland

Kadri Koreinik and Kristiina Praakli

Abstract Finland grants exclusive status to Finnish and Swedish as national languages and has had a relatively homogenous language situation so far. Among four bigger immigrant groups, Estonian-speakers make up the second largest community of practice in Finland; their number increased by more than thirtyfold between 1990 and 2015. We support the idea that Estonian-speakers' practices should be looked at in the context of the emergent Estonian–Finnish transnational space. This means that their language political (LP) agency should be analyzed in terms of Estonian-Finnish transnational relations. After providing an extensive historical account of the emergence and development of Estonian-speakers' diaspora in Finland, the paper briefly addresses the legal and institutional aspects of the Finnish state language policies. Then we go beyond both the state and the family by offering a *preliminary exploration* of different aspects of language management, language practices and ideologies which may affect Estonian-speaking families' choices of Estonian-language day-care and a comprehensive school with a bilingual, Estonian-Finnish program available in Helsinki. Our preliminary findings contribute to the understanding of LP as a situated sociocultural process which is however further complicated by the multi-sited nature of LP and speakers' transnational relations.

Keywords Estonian-speakers • Finland • Language policy • Day-care • Bilingual (pre-)school • Transnationalism

1 Introduction: The Research Agenda

Although Estonian immigrants who were born in the former Soviet Union and moved to Finland before 2000 appeared to be socially and economically well-integrated, they had "the weakest co-ethnic connections" compared to ethnic (including Ingrian)

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Finns and Russians (Jääskeläinen 2003, 49). Estonians' community formation seems to be held back by weak associational traditions, the diversified nature of migration, and the lack of more settled groups of migrants (Jakobson et al. 2012, 200–1). While ethnic Estonians in Finland "do not fit into the picture of the stereotypical immigrant, for whom the immigration legislation was developed" (Grans 2012, 8), they potentially contribute to the expansion of the meaning of the immigrant to include the transnational. Jakobson et al. (2012, 201) argue that neither the Estonian community in Finland nor the Finnish community in Estonia is a diaspora in terms of its widely understood constitutive elements: dispersion, homeland orientation and boundary maintenance (Brubaker 2005, 5–6). Estonian-speakers and their practices should instead be looked at in the context of the emergent Estonian–Finnish transnational space, migratory patterns, cross-border activities, and political and economic participation (Jakobson 2014). Given the increasing number of Estonian-speakers and their *prima facie* well-integrated condition in the Finnish society, as well as the transnational relationships in both countries, our main concern is to evaluate their emerging language political agency by observing two educational sites where different LP actors (family and educators) meet and by analyzing emergent LP discourses about the maintenance of Estonian in Finland. Estonian-speakers' seemingly successful integration into the Finnish society and Saukkonen's (2013, 202) observation that in 2010 only about a tenth of Estonian-speaking schoolchildren learned their native language in Finland served as the main impetus for our study.

Next, we introduce the theoretical and methodological considerations which underpin our study. Then, after briefly addressing the legal and institutional aspects of the Finnish state (language and educational) policies and describing the emergence of the Estonian-speaking community of practice, we describe the position of the Estonian language in day-care and compulsory education sites in Helsinki. Then we present our findings. In the last section, these preliminary explorations are interpreted in order to suggest further research directions.

2 Theoretical and Methodological Considerations, and Data

So far, most migration research has generally focused on migrants' adaptation to or social exclusion from their places of immigration; during the last couple of decades it is "recognised that migrants maintain various forms of contact with people and institutions in their places of origin" (Vertovec 2001, 574). To describe cross-border social relations, the concept *transnationalism*, denoting "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick et al. 1992, 1), has been increasingly used. Most Estonian-speaking immigrants in Finland can be profiled as transnationals, even though they have been classified by migration patterns into three different groups: transnational commuters, circular migrants and bi-national migrants (Anniste 2014). Despite differences, all demonstrate multiple affiliations and experiences and have (relatively) strong connections with Estonia (ibid.). Thus, to explore the emerging language political agency of Estonian-speakers, one has to consider language policies in *both* countries, i.e. all of the factors that may possibly influence language choices.

Beyond transnational ties, LP is "a complex and chaotic non-hierarchical system in which each domain within a sociolinguistic ecology has its own variety of language policy, and each influences and is influenced by all the other domains" (Spolsky 2012, 3). Given this multi-sitedness, instead of analyzing family language policy, i.e. "how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families" (King et al. 2008, 907), we focus on Estonian-speakers' agency in organizing Estonian-language child-care and taking advantage of the option of an Estonian-medium school within the Finnish educational system by also considering the national and local public language management in Finland. While family is "the location of the significant choice of language, the maintenance of intergenerational language transmission or of the language shifting that marks changes of social and demographic environment typified by migration, urbanisation or conquest" (Spolsky 2012, 6), choices are not made in a vacuum. Theoretically, the study departs from an understanding of language policy as a situated sociocultural process (McCarthy 2011, 2015). We adhere to the understanding that individual language choices, in particular the choice of maintaining a minority or immigrant language, can be explained by the everyday social practices of interpretations or meaning-making (of past experiences, future expectations, etc.). We equally maintain that the (re)construction of meanings can be investigated via *argumentation* in discursive practices, for example in contextualised interview transcriptions or in anonymous online discourse. To that end, in terms of methods, we analyze argumentative strategies, in particular the *grammar of legitimation*, known from and applied mainly within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (van Leeuwen 1995; see also Koreinik 2011). In an anonymous discourse, argumentation schemes presented in favor or against the maintenance of Estonian in the Finnish educational sites have been analyzed.

Our main data sources are semi-structured, transcribed and anonymous individual interviews (a total of 65 minutes) with three teachers of the Latokartano school. These interviews were conducted as part of *The Comparative Study of Teaching the Official Language in Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Finland, Ireland and Canada* and used for analysis in this chapter with permission (see Klaas-Lang et al. 2015). Below, text samples from one of the interviews are presented. Although our initial plan also included examining potential concerns with enrollment in Estonian-medium day-care and schools, we had difficulties reaching those Estonian-speaking parents whose choice was *not* an Estonian-medium educational institution. This was the main reason for including the analysis of a computer-mediated discourse in the study. To describe language ideological debates involving day-care and school, we also collected data by online ethnography (Hine 2000) and conducted "persistent observations" of (Estonian-based) popular social network sites (SNS) (e.g. Delfi Naisteleht and Buduaar) (Herring 2004). As their user-profiles are rarely on public display, it is impossible to tell to what extent those sites are maintained, moderated and used by Estonian-speakers in Finland. Nevertheless, we believe that anonymous discourse informed by hegemonic but also contesting language ideologies can be an important source for investigating language ideologies. In online discourse, we searched specifically for the topics of Estonian-medium day-care centers or schools (e.g. eesti kool Soomes, eesti lasteaed Helsingis and Soome kooli) starting from 2006, the year of the opening of the Finnish labor market to the citizens of new EU states. The text samples employed here are from 2010–2012. Mainly to determine methodological rich points (cf. Hornberger 2013), but also for contextualisation, we also analyzed a number of official and unofficial national and local (educational language) policy texts, census and survey data, and (classroom) field-notes obtained by participant observation. Permission for fieldwork was obtained from both the head of the school and the Educational Department, City of Helsinki (Helsingin kaupungin opetusvirasto) (see Klaas-Lang et al. 2015). Additionally, several informal but documented interviews (conversations, to be precise) were conducted with the head of the day-care center.

In this paper we go beyond both the state and the family by analyzing Estonian-speakers' (discursive) practices concerning their day-care and (pre-)school choices in the Estonian language in Finland. This paper is a preliminary exploration of different language practices, management and ideologies connected with the nexus of the family and the state LP, where "the home language managers" meet educators and face dominant language ideologies. While the studied factors definitely need further, more detailed research, most of them determine Estonian-speakers' choices, which in the long run may affect the maintenance of Estonian and Estonian-speakers' multilingualism.

3 The Multilingual Situation and Legal Framework in Finland in Brief

The Finnish language situation has been traditionally depicted as relatively homogenous, with a predominance of Finnish-speakers and a Swedish-speaking minority (e.g. De Vries 1973; McRae et al. 1997; Latomaa and Nuolijärvi 2002; but see Pöyhönen and Saarinen 2015). As a matter of fact, fast growing multilingualism characterizes the Finnish society. In 2015, more than 150 languages were spoken as mother tongues by 5,487,308 permanent residents of Finland, the majority (88.7%) of whom speak Finnish, which is one of the two national languages (Population 31.12. by Region, Language and Year). The share of speakers of the other national language, Swedish (290,161 speakers), has been decreasing: it is less than that of the combined total of other mother tongues (329,562 speakers). The number of foreign language (i.e. other than Finnish, Swedish and Saami) speakers has increased more than 25-fold in the last three decades; the most dramatic growth took place in the new millennium, "boosted by immigration not only from Russia and Estonia but also from Asia" (Rapo 2011). According to their mother tongues, the biggest immigrant language group is Russian-speakers (72,436), which is followed by Estonian- (48,087), Somali- (17,871), English- (17,784), Arabic- (16,713), Kurdish- (11,271), Chinese- (10,722), Albanian- (9,233), Persian- (8,745), Thai- (8,582) and Vietnamese-speakers (8,273). The indigenous Sámi languages – Northern Saami, Skolt Saami and Inari Saami – are spoken by approximately 2,000, 350 and 300, respectively (Saamen kieli). Karelian is spoken by about 5,000 and understood by four times as many people (for details, see Sarhimaa 2013, 3).

Since its declaration of independence in 1919, Finland has been a bilingual state, and the Constitution (1919/1999) and the Language Act (1922/2003) designate Finnish and Swedish as its national languages. Thus, given the constitutional provisions, four types of languages exist: 1) Finnish and Swedish, as the national languages, 2) Saami, the minority language[1] with its own language law, 3) Romani[2] and Sign Language of Finland (Finnish Sign Language and Finland-Swedish Sign Language) as languages of the other minority groups mentioned, and 4) other, e.g. immigrants' languages, such as Russian, Estonian and Somali (Mantila 2005, 300–1). The linguistic rights of Saami are regulated by the Sámi Language Act. While the indigenous Saami languages have had official status in the traditional Saami habitat since 1992, their legal status is not comparable to that of national languages. The national languages include, for example, Karelian, which has been considered a Finnish dialect for a long time but since 2009 has been defined as a non-territorial language for the purposes of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

According to the Basic Education Act (1998), the languages of instruction are Finnish and Swedish, as well as Saami, Romani and Finnish Sign Language. In addition, local municipalities, as providers of education, may offer basic education in separate groups or schools in other languages (§ 10), and may teach native tongues other than those listed above (§ 12). Additionally, some teaching may be offered in a language other than the pupils' native language referred to above, provided that this does not impede the pupils' ability to understand the teaching (§10/1). The extent of instruction in preparing immigrants for basic education corresponds to a one-year syllabus (§ 9/3). Preparatory education is usually available for immigrant minors whose Finnish-language skills are not adequate to study in Finnish-speaking groups. When the pupil's language skills are sufficient, (s)he can move to regular classes at the level corresponding to his/her age and skills. Teaching immigrant mother tongues is a part of basic complementary education (two hours per week), and aims to strengthen an immigrant child's identity and build a foundation for functional bilingualism and multiculturalism (Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004). The student follows the learning objectives and core contents of the syllabi offered by the education provider and meeting the parent's or the guardian's choices. In addition, the government may authorize a registered association or a foundation to provide education, for example, via a foreign language medium (§ 7). Pre-primary education is compulsory (since 2015) and regulated by the Act on Children's Day-care (*Varhaiskasvatuslaki*). The legislation is aimed at providing all children with equal pre-school opportunities, promoting gender equality

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[1] Also called an "indigenous language".

[2] Romani has the status of a non-regional minority language under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

and providing the capacity to understand and respect common cultural heritage, as well as diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and world-view backgrounds (§2a/6). It also guarantees parents or other caregivers opportunities to participate and influence the planning, implementation and evaluation of pre-school activities (§7 b).

Additionally, there is the Act on the Promotion of Immigrant Integration*,* which regulates the measures and services of acquiring a sufficient command of Finnish or Swedish and building a personalized plan of integration (§ 11). In the case of a minor, particular consideration is given to the interests of the child and his/her development (§ 4, 15). While providing support and guidance, the plan requires an immigrant to regularly attend a Finnish or Swedish course (§17).

The Finnish language legislation has led to divergent opinions. Allardt (1985, 95) has concluded that it "has functioned fairly well as a conflict-regulating and minority-protecting instrument" as far as individuals' language usage is concerned, but given, for example, the shrinking number of Swedish-speakers, it does not prevent the minority's assimilation into the majority. Sarhimaa (2011, 2), on the other hand, found that educational legislation generally safeguards the rights of the speakers of all other languages to learn and to maintain their heritage languages, but it favors recent migrant groups and their languages at the cost of the traditional minority languages, such as Karelian. Nikula et al. (2012) found that speakers of languages other than Finnish and Swedish get little attention within Finland's increasing multilingual reality. However, regional and immigrant minority languages seem to have more in common, e.g. in terms of their spread, their domestic and public vitality and their status in the compulsory stages of primary and secondary education, than is often assumed; in fact, immigrant minority languages are much less protected by affirmative actions and legal measures (Extra and Yağmur 2004, 17–18). Saukkonen (2013) notes the achievements of Finnish LP, but also cites divergent interpretations and criticism of it (e.g. only half of minority language speakers learn their native languages). Furthermore, according to Saukkonen, Finland has arrived at a crossroads, with multilingualism as a major challenge to its previous policies (ibid. 205). Therefore these policies seem to require a profound revision (Saukkonen 2012, 11).

4 Estonian-Speakers in Finland: From Sporadic Emigres to the Second- Largest Immigrant Group

Due to geographical proximity and cultural and linguistic ties[3], there have always been Estonian-Finnish contacts and Estonian-speakers living in Finland, and vice versa. With the Estonian capital and main transportation hub, Tallinn, only 80 kilometres south of Helsinki, commuting between Estonia and Finland is easy and

[3] Estonian and Finnish are relatively closely related Finno-Ugric languages with similar morphological systems. The languages are to some extent mutually comprehensible/intelligible (for details, see Metslang 2009; Kaivapalu, Martin 2014).

cheap. Furthermore, Petersoo (2007), drawing on a number of authors, concludes that Finland has been an important *external positive Other* for Estonians since the beginning of the nineteenth century national awakening (cf. Alenius 1997; Raun 1985, 1987). Media have played an important role in constructing a positive image too. For example, Finnish Television (then *Suomen Televisio,* now *YLE*) was accessible to the northern Estonian audience from 1958 on, when its regular broadcasts started, and served as an "electronic window to the West" for Estonians (Kionka, Vetik 1996,136). Despite these deep-rooted contacts, Estonian-speakers in Finland, as a result of recent intensive immigration, constitute a relatively recent community of practice (cf. Praakli 2009; Praakli, Viikberg 2010).

Earlier immigration to Finland can be described as sporadic and caused by either economic or political conditions in Estonian areas. For example, the deteriorating standard of living caused Estonian peasants, especially from the coastal regions, to flee to Finland in the 1500s (Pullat 1992, 72–82). Due to the Russification of the University of Tartu, many student candidates chose to study abroad, including in the University of Helsinki, in the mid-1890s (Rausmaa 2008, 9; Raun 1991, 80). Small-scale migration continued in the 1900s. According to Nigol (1918), there were about 2,000 Estonians in Finland by the early twentieth century. The unrest and repression that followed the revolution of 1905 increased the number of Estonian refugees fleeing to Finland (ibid.), which was then used mostly as a transit country to Sweden or back to Estonia. The roles of Saint Petersburg, the rapidly growing *fin de siècle* imperial capital, and the events of, and subsequent to, World War I (e.g. the Russian revolution of 1917, and the Estonian War of Independence in 1918–20) in connection with Estonian migration are still rather under-researched (personal communication with Kaja Kumer-Haukanõmm). After World War II and the Paris Treaties (1947), those Estonians who had fled to Finland, including Estonian volunteers in the Winter War (1939–1940) or escapees from mobilizations into the Red Army in 1941 and the German army in 1943 had to re-migrate to other countries, mostly Sweden, as the Finnish government did not acknowledge Estonian citizenship[4]. Due to the extremely restrictive emigration policy of the Soviet Union, the number of Estonian-speaking immigrants remained small (Pungas et al. 2012). For example, only a couple of hundred permanent residents with "Estonian as a language best spoken" were counted in the 1950 population census (Väestölaskenta 1950). Until the 1990s, immigrants, including Estonians, moved to Finland mostly as a result of marriage; inter-marriage also became an important factor in later immigration (Jääskeläinen 2003). Since the early 1990s, Finland has been the main destination

[4] Raun (1991, 159): "An important consequence of the 1943 mobilizations was the significant wave of Estonian men (perhaps 5,000 in all) who crossed the Baltic Sea to Finland, a risky venture in wartime, in order to avoid the German draft. Over half of these men volunteered for service in the Finnish armed forces [to fight] against the Soviet Union; about 2,300 joined the army and 400 [joined the] navy. In addition to avoiding the German army, the volunteers' goal was to acquire military training and experienece in order to be of future service to their homeland." Based on different authors, the number of escapees to Finland is estimated at 3,500-5,000, of whom over 1,300 remained in the West and 1,800 returned home; some fled further to Sweden (Kumer-Haukanõmm 2011, 100; see also Laar et al. 2010).

country for the westward migration of ethnic Estonians, including Estonian transnational commuters, i.e. “migrants who work in Finland, but remain simultaneously active in their social and family lives in Estonia” (e.g. Anniste et al. 2012; Anniste 2014).

The number of Estonians living in Finland is at a historical high, reaching over 0.84% of the Finnish population in 2014. The dramatic growth of Estonian-speakers in Finland in the twenty first century is due to a number of factors, such as changes in the political and socio-economic situation in Estonia, particularly Estonia regaining its independence (1991), the opening of borders, and the eastward enlargement of the EU (2004). Intensive labor migration of Estonian citizens to Finland started in the spring of 2006, when restrictions on the free movement of labor were removed for the countries that joined the EU in 2004. Given the different official and unofficial estimates presented in the media in both countries, the actual number of Estonians living and working permanently and temporarily in Finland could be even higher than reported, perhaps 60,000–100,000. In terms of age and gender, Tammaru et al. (2010, 1170–1) have profiled Estonians in Finland as an emerging diaspora with a considerably younger population and with minor gender differences, factors which make it different from old Estonian diaspora communities in the East and West. As is characteristic of other immigrant groups in Finland (Rapo 2011), Estonians tend to concentrate in the metropolitan areas (i.e. Helsinki, Vantaa and Espoo) in the Uusimaa region of southern Finland and in the other major cities (e.g. Tampere, Turku and Lahti) situated within a radius of a couple of hundred kilometers from Helsinki[5]. According to Helsingin Sanomat, the largest daily in Finland, Estonian is the second most spoken language in 70 regions of Helsinki (Hänninen 2014).

5 Estonian in Day-Care and Compulsory Education Sites in Helsinki

Since the opening of the Finnish labor market to Estonian citizens in 2006, the number of children under 14 speaking Estonian as a native tongue has increased by fourfold in the Uusimaa region, numbering 5,642 in 2015 (Population 31.12. by Region, Language and Year). During the last ten years, the number of children who attend classes of Estonian as a native language twice a week has doubled: from 515 in 2004 to 1,088 in 2013 (Finnish National Board of Education). Their number has also increased in Helsinki. According to the city administration of Helsinki, Estonian was studied by 133 pupils and taught at 16 elementary and basic schools (19 groups) by four teachers in Helsinki in spring 2015. Additionally, there are extra-curricular paid courses of Estonian at the *Anni lastentarha* in Helsinki. For a teacher of Estonian, it is common to teach different groups and be employed by

[5] According to Statistics Finland, in 2015 31,937 Estonian native speakers resided in the Uusimaa region, and 3,881, 2,203 and 1,511 lived in Varsinais-Suomi (with its centre in Turku), Pirkanmaa (Tampere), and Päijät-Häme (Lahti), respectively.

different schools. According to the Estonian Institute, an Estonian non-governmental organization funded by the Estonian state that introduces and teaches the Estonian language and culture abroad, there are 180 and 521 pupils who started studying Estonian in 2015 in two other towns in the metropolitan area, Espoo and Vantaa, respectively. There are one and four teachers of Estonian for that work, respectively. Teaching varies from school to school. In general, Estonian classes are co-curricular but are scheduled after the school day[6]. Most teachers majored in Estonian at an Estonian university; some have continued studying at the University of Helsinki.

As for municipal day-care centers in Helsinki, most of which are Finnish- and Swedish-speaking, more than three-quarters of all children attend Finnish-speaking and slightly over 15% attend other than Finnish- or Swedish-speaking day care centers. In addition, there are many private foreign-language day-care centers where other languages are spoken (Day care in day care centers). The three biggest groups are Somali- (1,090), Russian- (940) and Estonian-speakers (670). While most (59%) one- to two-year-old children of Estonian origin were in home care, 30% attended municipal day-care and the rest attended private day care; of the three- to six-year-olds, 87% attended municipal day care and the rest were in private day-care or in home care (Haapamäki, Ranko 2015).

Despite the increasing number of Estonians, there is only one Estonian-Finnish basic school (*Latokartanon peruskoulu*, est. 2009) and two Estonian-language private day-care centers (*Anni lastentarha*, est. 2012 and *Olavin lastentarha*, est. 2015) in Finland. The school is run by the city of Helsinki. Both day-care centers were founded by Estonian-speakers.

5.1 Estonian-Language Day-Care Initiatives and Language Ideologies in Connection with Day-Care in Estonian

The founder of the day-care center *Anni lastentarha*, Annika Madisson, had earlier long-term experience in managing kindergartens in Estonia. Her initiative (plus intensive studies of Finnish and entrepreneurial training) and the demand for primary education and day-care in Estonian provided favorable conditions for an Estonian-language day-care center to be founded. Moreover, according to Madisson, different municipal officials, including from the Department of Early Education, provided assistance, such as searching for suitable premises and funding for female entrepreneurs. The *Anni lastentarha* is located on the premises of a former municipal day-care center and is easily accessible by public transportation, approximately 2–3 km from the center of Helsinki, in Sörnäinen. It has a branch in Espoo. In addition to Helsinki and Espoo, in Vantaa parents have demonstrated interest,

[6] In order to constitute a whole class, facilitate instruction and make Estonian-language learning feasible, students from one area/district are usually brought together in one school for instruction.

through personal inquiries via phone calls to Madisson, in establishing a third Estonian-language day-care center.

Depending on a child's age, the fee is from 786–954 euros per month, of which parents must pay 283 euros, the regular kindergarten fee. The difference is covered by the local municipality and the Finnish Social Insurance Board. The clientèle of the day-care centers are families in which one home language (or the only home language) is Estonian. The private day-care centers are run as monolingual Estonian kindergartens. To prepare children for Finnish schools, Finnish is taught two times a week to groups of pre-schoolers by a Finnish-speaking teacher. The limited number of places (40) does not come close to meeting the demands of Estonian-speakers for primary education and day-care in Estonian, and parents continuously inquire about vacancies.

According to Madisson, families' reasons for choosing Estonian-language day-care vary. Some wish to maintain their children's Estonian language skills while in Finland, and others are staying only briefly in Finland and do not want their children to go to a Finnish-language kindergarten. Still others want their children to develop reading and writing skills and be prepared for Estonian schools, opportunities which are not available in Finnish-language day-care. While the Estonian kindergarten is seen as an important factor in maintaining the Estonian identity and the Estonian-speaking social network in Finland, as well as supporting learning both Estonian and Finnish, the great majority of Estonian-speaking children still attend Finnish language day-care centers (Haapamäki, Ranko 2015). Despite the growing interest in Estonian-language day-care, revealed in the inadequate number of places available, there are opposing voices regarding the maintenance of Estonian in Finland in the anonymous Estonian-language online discourse. One line of argumentation (*causal schemas towards the future*) deals with instrumental motivation for learning Finnish early (Extracts1–2) or future hardships in Finnish-medium schools (Extract 3):

(1) Nevertheless, if [there] is a plan to stay in Finland, a child could be placed in a Finnish-language kindergarten. Children learn [Finnish] fast and later it is easier at school.
(2) [I] personally would also suggest placing a child in a Finnish kindergarten, even if there is no intention of staying long in Finland. The child will learn the language very quickly, especially since it is similar to Estonian. Your child will be grateful to you for that in the future.
(3) Why do you want to put a child in an Estonian [-language] kindergarten? /–/ What about school? In one Estonian school [there was] Estonian until the sixth grade, and after my acquaintance's child [almost] burst into tears: what can you do?

Another discursive move common to different argumentation strategies, *comparison* (Rojo and van Dijk 1997), was also employed in the anonymous discourse. Estonians in Finland were compared with immigrants who fail to learn languages of destination countries (Extract 4), Russians in Estonia (Extract 5) or other negative examples (Extract 6). Some of the following quotations also represent *moral evaluations* (Extracts 4–5). *Negative other-presentation* is represented in all of them.

Furthermore, most of them are underpinned by some kind of zero-sum-game logic characteristic of monolingual ideologies: one language cannot gain without the other losing.

(4) /–/ [there] should be no separate Estonian or other such kindergartens. If you are somewhere in another country (whether a neighboring country or some other country on the other side of earth) which is not your state of birth, then also speak this language and respect this state/–/ Finland is just next door and some [Estonian people] may feel that this is not a foreign country, but nevertheless they [Finns] have their language, their life and their ways, which should be accepted and respected, not to go there with the stance "I am Estonian, speak Estonian" and a moose [ethnic slur caricaturing Finns] [should] not grumble. How would we take it if a Ugandan, Iranian or whatever kindergarten were founded in Estonia? I deeply doubt we would be tremendously happy about that.

(5) If you live in Finland, then place [your] children in a Finnish kindergarten. Why should children living in Finland attend an Estonian kindergarten? If a Russian here asked to be recommended a good Russian kindergarten, then [he/she] would be called a *tibla* [ethnic slur derogating Russians] and (s)he would get scolded: what the hell, in Estonia [one] must speak Estonian and not put his children in a Russian kindergarten. The same in Finland: it is normal that people, also children living there, are able to communicate in the state languages. /–/ Behave in a foreign country like you want a foreigner to behave in Estonia.

(6) I do not want Finns to see Estonians as vulgar/cheap and impolite stupid hicks who living in a foreign country do not condescend even to learn the state language and think that [they] can go to a foreign state like they please.

The next two extracts represent rather different *causal schemas towards the future,* where Estonian and/or Estonian-Finnish bilingualism is seen as a resource (Extract 7) and another opinion which refers to unwanted outcomes, such as the loss of Estonian (Extract 8).

(7) If [I] had small children myself and lived close to a kindergarten, [then I] would definitely take the opportunity [to use the services of the kindergarten]. An especially good option is a kindergarten for families where one parent is Estonian and another is Finnish. A proper knowledge of Estonian is a big advantage. [I] know cases where a second generation Finn chose Estonia [instead of Finland] as a place of residence.

(8) Two small children of a family that I know of go to the Finnish-language kindergarten and now they do not want to speak/are ashamed of speaking Estonian! The Estonian-language kindergarten is welcome!

To conclude, while day-care in Estonian seems to be in demand in Finland, there are a number of language political aspects, which require further research. In the anonymous discourse on the subject, there were opposing language ideologies represented. We do not know whether those representations encouraged or discouraged families in making their choices in favor of Estonian-language day-care in Finland. However, in addition to language ideologies dominant in Finland, transnational spaces can embody diverging ideologies, which all may affect Estonian speakers' LP agency.

5.2 Language Practices and Management in a School with an Estonian-Finnish Bilingual Program

The Latokartano comprehensive school grew out of a preparatory (native language) class (1992) of the Roihuvuori elementary school where immigrant children of different ethnic backgrounds were taught. A few years later, Anne Ribelus, a teacher of Estonian, initiated the founding of a Finnish-Estonian bilingual language class for Estonian-speakers, where the main subjects (native language, mathematics and science) were taught to first-graders in Estonian. The elementary school operated until 2009, when it was closed for renovation. In the course of restructuring the school network in Helsinki, due to a significant increase in the number of pupils[7], Estonian-Finnish classes were opened in Latokartano the next school year. Since 2010, the school, now located about 10 km from the center, has provided Estonian-Finnish instruction[8]. The bilingual program is targeted to all Helsinki-based pupils whose native language is Estonian or whose home languages are Estonian and Finnish. One of the objectives of the instruction is to develop a pupil's active bilingualism; additionally, the knowledge of Estonian culture is emphasized. While the residents of Helsinki are given preference, if there are vacancies the children from other municipalities can also be admitted. First and second graders have to take entry tests in Estonian. Beginning with the third grade, both Estonian and Finnish are tested. Testing is conducted in January in all schools delivering bilingual study in Helsinki; there is an additional intake session just before the beginning of the school year, in August.

Of a total of about 700 pupils, slightly more than a fifth have Estonian-speaking backgrounds. While the number of Estonian-speakers in Finland has increased, the number of Estonian-speaking pupils has not. The declining number of pupils has been interpreted differently by the media, by school management and by teachers. It has been attributed to strong motivation to acquire Finnish as quickly or as early as possible, low interest in the maintenance of Estonian and a lack of awareness of the options of the Finnish educational system for mother tongue maintenance/bilingual education. However, in addition, there is another, seemingly minor factor of language management at the school and local level which came up in both the anonymous discourse and in interviews. In the anonymous discourse, the issue of *language testing* arose, as shown in the following extract:

(9) We went for testing this year /–/ and our child failed the test of Finnish, as we lived in Estonia and did not know the language. [We] got counseling from the school about what to do next. For one year [our child] will study Finnish and other subjects in a preparatory class and then next year [we] will try once more to get into this school or continue in the Finnish-language school.

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[7] According to Anne Ribelus (2011, personal conversations in 2015), there were 60, 93, 78 and 121 pupils in 2008/2009, 2009/2010, 2012/2013 and 2014/2015, respectively.

[8] In total, there are nine municipal, state or private schools which provide bilingual (Finnish and English, Spanish, French, Chinese, Russian or Estonian) programs in Helsinki.

Indeed, language testing creates some barriers for those Estonian-speaking families who move to Finland in the middle of a school year and/or whose children are entering the third grade or higher. Thus, pupils who do not speak or pass tests in Finnish in January cannot continue their education in Estonian in August. Obviously, this policy favors those children who have already acquired Finnish at home, in the Finnish-language school or in Estonia.

Still another impediment involves acquiring Finnish as L2, an area which involves immigrant children whose Finnish skills are not at the level of L1 speaker and whose main objective is acquiring Finnish for further studies[9]. The pupil is supposed to acquire Finnish in a Finnish-speaking environment and gradually develop a diversified proficiency in Finnish, in addition to their own mother tongue (POP 2004, 95). While learning/teaching is conducted according to the national core curriculum, municipalities can organize studies differently depending on the circumstances (the number of immigrants, their language skills, etc.). The Latokartano school has experimented with the teaching methodology of Finnish, mainly by grouping pupils according to their different abilities, i.e. regrouping L1 and L2 speakers into one group or separate groups (Extracts 10–11). While earlier Estonian-speaking pupils were taught Finnish separately from Finnish-speaking pupils, recently pupils have been taught together, but the fact that Finnish is not their native language is taken into account when assessing Estonian pupils' progress. One of the teachers whom we interviewed was not sure whether the new system works better:

(10) I am not sure but, the way I see it, it [the method] did not work when there were only Estonians in the class and the Finnish-speaking teacher did not know Estonian. Considering the attitude towards Finnish – the one that many pupils have – the pupils quickly switch to Estonian among themselves. /–/ the groups differ a lot. When the atmosphere in a class encourages no opposition between Estonians and Finns, then the motivation to learn Finnish increases. However, there are some classes where this group dynamic does not work. Then [it] is easier to be simply among other Estonians.

The same teacher explained the testing of different solutions but did not see any solutions that worked for all classes, which vary in terms of group dynamics:

(11) /–/ An attempt was made to have an Estonian-only group/class and to make it feel safe to be [learn] there, so that when [immigrants] moved to a foreign-language country they felt safer being in a native-language environment than being alone without knowing the language in a group [of Finnish-speakers]; then they could find it easier to start learning Finnish. We have done this; when [a pupil] reaches upper school [Grades 7–9] then groups are dissolved, because

[9] The national core curriculum in Finland specifies 11 syllabi for the subject of mother tongue and literature. These are Finnish, Swedish, Sami, Romany and Finnish sign language as mother tongues, other mother tongues, Finnish and Swedish as second languages, Finnish for Sami pupils and Finnish and Swedish for users of sign language (POP 2004, 42).

when [a pupil] happens to be in his/her own [language] group, then the contacts between Estonian- and Finnish-speakers diminish, but the adjustments have been problematic too. Then it might happen that their intra-group relations are so bad, that [pupils] stay separated. We have not found any solutions; we try different ways each year (an interview from 27 March 2015).

Finally, the issue of parents' involvement was brought up by all the teachers. One of the teachers mentioned examples of family-school cooperation, and the teacher also said that, for different reasons (e.g. PISA results), the Finnish educational system seemed to have a positive image of Estonian-speaking parents. One of the teachers explained the reliance on the Finnish educational system in terms of the experiences Estonian-speaking parents may have had in Estonia (Extract 12):

(12) /–/parents quite easily trust [the Finnish school]: that if they have placed a child in a Finnish-language school, the school will take care of everything and parents' responsibility is perhaps in the background. I do not know whether it [the trust] comes from this or it proceeds from what Estonian schools are like. That parents have a kind of experience from an Estonian-language school – I don't know what it is like – and when [it is] in Finland, (for whatever reason) their belief or experience is that there is no need to be in touch with the school (an interview from 27 March 2015).

All of the teachers additionally said that, due to poor Finnish, some recently immigrated parents may have difficulties in communicating with educators and thus avoid contacts with the school (Extract 13).

(13) /–/[parents] are afraid of contacting the school, because they perceive their [Finnish] competence to be a bit weak (an interview from 27 March 2015).

6 Discussion and Conclusion

The 2015 Estonian parliamentary election, which involved an outdoor advertising campaign in Helsinki, can hardly be described as a sign of a transnational political domain, i.e. horizontal and vertical participation, developing in the Estonian–Finnish space (cf. Jakobson et al. 2012, 179). However, there are a couple of initiatives, those of Estonian-medium day-care and the bilingual school, where Estonian-speakers' emerging LP agency in Finland is most visible. While the above-mentioned outdoor campaign remains an example of nation-centered political participation, demonstrating the emerging role of Estonian in Finnish language landscapes, Estonian-speakers' LP agency seems to be influenced by transnational relations. LP dimensions and factors which affect Estonian speakers' choices are situated neither in Finland nor in Estonia, but rather within the Estonian-Finnish transnational space.

In this paper, we have described the workings of day-care centers and the bilingual school and also explored factors which may affect Estonian-speakers' choices concerning them. While the Finnish state and municipalities have generally created conditions to support immigrant children in their native language education and multilingualism, there may be other reasons why Estonian-speaking families choose Finnish-language schools or day-care centers instead of Estonian-language or bilingual ones. The specific issues of language management can explain families' choices, e.g. how language testing is scheduled, and what parents expect from a day-care center (i.e. kindergarten), but also how multilingualism and multiculturalism are represented, taught or interpreted (see also Saukkonen 2013). While Koreinik and Praakli (2013) earlier found that Estonians in Finland often leave the responsibility of the maintenance of Estonian up to the Estonian state, we observed a few initiatives of Estonian-language day-care that showed the opposite tendency. Our preliminary exploration confirms emerging LP agency among Estonian-speakers in Finland, but also reveals that within the Estonian-Finnish transnational space, where immigrants bring their own experiences and relations, multi-sited LPs interact and speakers' choices are determined by the complexity of LPs. To determine whether and how locally conditioned Finnish LPs are influenced by Estonian-speaking transnationals, each aspect explored in this paper requires further long-term analysis, as the language situation involving an increasing number of speakers of immigrant languages has appeared only recently in Finland.

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Parental Attitudes and Family Conversational Strategies Shaping the Family Language Policies of Two Estonian-Finnish Families

Kristiina Teiss and Sirje Perendi

Abstract In this paper, we present an overview of the language negotiation of bilingual Estonian-Finnish families at the micro level of family language policies (FLP) by studying family interactions through the conversation analysis. Estonians are the fastest growing minority group in Finland. The close geographical proximity of the two countries, the closeness of the languages, the late-developing nature of the Estonian community in Finland, weak community formation, and mixed-culture marriages present the possibility that the minority group may experience language change. Studying Finnish-Estonian bilingual families provides valuable information on acquiring two closely related languages and shows how one of the largest minority groups in Finland, the Estonians, maintains its language and identity at the family level.

The methodologies used in this longitudinal case study include parental conversation strategies, family attitudes, code-switching and code-mixing cases in adults and children. Our aim is to see how certain language negotiation strategies, such as the "one parent, one language" strategy (OPOL), appear and change in the long term. The study's initial findings reveal that children play a significant role in family language policies, and that the families do not necessarily apply the OPOL strategy in daily interaction contexts.

Keywords Estonian-Finnish bilingualism • Language choice • Attitudes • Conversational strategies • Code-switching

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1 Introduction

Estonians are a growing immigrant group in Finland. There is also a significant group of Finns in Estonia; Finns began immigrating to Estonia in the 1990s (Hyvönen 2009). Language acquisition in Estonian-Finnish bilingual families is a current theme, whether it be from the perspective of immigration or multilingualism. Estonian and Finnish are cognate languages, and the immigration of Estonians and Finns in both directions is eased by the structural and lexical similarities of the languages (Metslang 2010) and the relative closeness of the cultures (Hofstede 2001; Tulviste and Ahtonen 2007). From an integration point of view, the relative proximity of the languages and cultures can be helpful, but from the point of view of growing up bilingual or maintaining bilingualism, it can present a challenge.

Although there have already been studies on Estonian-Finnish bilingualism in children and adults (Hassinen 2002; Praakli 2009; Frick 2013; Jokela and Paulsen 2010), perspectives that approach family language policies through longitudinal studies have not been researched. The reason behind our choice of data and research method are the findings of many researchers about how age, conversational strategies, and context play important roles in successful family language policies (Lanza 1997; Döpke 1992). Döpke has reached the same hypothesis: once a child reaches school age, the development of their minority (home) language becomes difficult. The reasons for this are the increased use of the majority language and influences outside of the home. One of the focuses of this on-going Ph.D. study is to compare how bilingual children's language usage – and that of their families – changes between the ages of 2 and 10.

One of the interesting perspectives of bilingualism research is the study of family language policy (FLP) agency: how and by whom language choices are made, how attitudes affect the choices, how the attitudes change as children get older, and how these choices and changes manifest themselves in everyday language usage. This article is based on the first author's (Teiss's) on-going longitudinal dissertation on two Estonian-Finnish families' attitudes and strategies in conversational situations. Many themes concerning family language policies arise from the study, including the children's influence on the family's language choices in everyday conversational contexts and their opinions of their bilingualism.

2 Theoretical Background of FLP in Bilingual Estonian-Finnish Families

In this section, we focus on elements that can aid in describing and analyzing the formation and development of a bilingual family's explicit language policy. The study approaches the families' interaction from different perspectives. We examine conversational strategies and code-switching in interactions, and compare them with the families' language policies, i.e. their attitudes towards language and culture, and their thoughts and behavior (we rely on the studies of Palviainen and Boyd (2013), Fogle (2013) and, with certain additions, King et al. (2008) for our definition of FLP). Our theory overview concentrates on studies that focus directly on FLP, and others that concern conversational strategies, language attitudes, and beliefs. Since our area of study is Estonians in Finland and to a lesser extent Finns in Estonia, we also provide a review of this subject area.

The doctoral study behind this article grew out of studying Estonian-Finnish children's bilingualism; the study was preceded by a master's thesis study (Teiss 2005) which investigated a two-to-three-year-old boy's language acquisition from the point of view of parental conversation strategies and code switching. Hassinen (2002) studied simultaneous bilingualism in young Estonian-Finnish children, focusing on language mixing. Her results show that the similarities between Estonian and Finnish probably caused appearances of language mixing. Jokela and Paulsen (2010) describe the code (structure) combining of a school-aged Estonian-Finnish child. They argue that code combining is a typical process in closely related languages and that it can be either conscious or unconscious. The language usage of Estonians in Finland and Finns in Estonia has been studied, for example, from the point of view of language contacts and code-switching (Praakli 2009; Frick 2013).

2.1 Studying Family Language Policy

The research field of FLP is a rather new one, although it is closely connected to other bilingualism studies. As King et al. (2008) mention "The family unit [--] can be seen as a site in which language ideologies are both formed and enacted through caregiver-child interactions" (p. 914).

In this study, FLP is understood as a family's opinions and attitudes on multilingualism, and the everyday practices the family employs. Those attitudes, opinions and practices can be both explicit and implicit (King et al. 2008). We will study explicit FLP through questionnaires given to both the children and their families. The implicit will surface through observation of the interactive situations within the families.

Spolsky's (2004) language policy includes three components: language beliefs or ideologies, language practices, and language planning or management. Schwartz and Verschik (2013) have pointed out the importance of researching multilingualism both at the micro and macro levels. Many researchers demand micro-level approaches, because what happens at the micro level can be generalized to the macro level (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, p. 4).

While studying Swedish-Finnish bilingual families, Palviainen and Boyd (2013) found that the families' language policies were a result of both explicit planning and unplanned practices. Their findings also showed that the children played a major role in shaping the FLP. In addition, Haque (2011, p. 58) claims that the language policies of a family are not necessarily explicit, and that the policies vary from family to family, despite the official language policy. Gafaranga (2010, p. 245) stresses that such studies are needed which observe the role of children as interaction partners from a language-shift perspective.

According to Tuominen (1999), who studied multilingual families in the USA, some of the factors contributing to the positive development of children into bilingual speakers may be the existence of a minority language community and parental involvement in its activities, the ability of both parents to use the majority language, the tertiary education of the parents, wealth or resources making it possible to invest in bilingualism, the parent's gender, and the children's individual characteristics. Tuominen stresses that the children's attitude in the studied families was of high importance (1999, p. 68). Many families changed their language to English because of the children's initiative. Tuominen's (1999) results show that parents who had mastered the majority language (i.e. English) well but had decided not to use it at home succeeded better in transferring the minority language to their children.

Would the results have been different if the parents' mother tongue had been relatively small, internationally less used languages, and if the majority language had not been English – as was the case in Tuominen's study – and thus the language power relations had been more balanced? The multilingual adolescents of Estonia in Doyle's (2013) study mentioned that it was essential to know Estonian in Estonia, but that in the rest of the world the language was useless.

As discussed above, children play an important role in the formation of the FLP. One of the important functions of this study is to present children's bilingualism and its development, and to map out the opinions of these children. According to Schwartz and Verchik (2013), studies published so far have not concentrated on the perspective that children are also active participants in the language socialization process, though Ochs and Schieffelin (1994) refer to children's agency in their language socialization theory. According to Fogle (2013), there are some recent studies (De Houwer 2010) where the active role of children in forming the FLP has been stressed.

Gafaranga (2010) concentrates on family interaction situations, describing the interactional order within families and pointing out how in the practice of medium or language negotiation (Auer 1984, 1995) children manage to push through their medium request through their own language preferences. Gafaranga´s study describes "how key features of medium request can be explained by reference to the prevailing macro-sociological order [--] and the manner in which the macro-sociological order can be seen as talked into being in the micro-conversational order" (Gafaranga 2010, p. 243). His study focuses on specific practices in adult-child interaction in language-shift situations, while our focus is on those same practices in a situation where families are trying to raise their children to be bilingual.

Lanza's (2001) classification of conversational strategies indicated that the parent may switch his/her language to suit the one the child is using, which means that the child makes the decision about which language is used in interactions. At the same time, children may negotiate regarding the FLP and strengthen their parents' language choices when they sense what is acceptable and what is not (Palviainen and Boyd 2013).

As we approach code-switching through conversation analysis (see Auer 1998), and thus we are focusing on FLP on the micro-level, we can also better investigate children's roles in bilingual interactions.

2.2 Studies Concerning Conversational Strategies, Code-Switching, and Attitudes

We base our study of parental conversational strategies on those defined by Lanza (1992, 1998, 2001) and supplemented by Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal (2001). The strategies can be placed on a continuum, where one end is represented by strategies strictly leading to the usage of just one language – the minimal grasp strategy (MGS), expressed guess strategy (EGS) and repetition strategy (RS) – and the other end is represented by strategies allowing for the combining of languages: the move-on strategy (MOS) and the code-switch strategy (CS). Teiss (2005) has further supplemented these with the bilingual borrowing strategy (BB), a strategy of bilingual families where a word is borrowed from one language and used in the context of the other language. This word may be an unestablished word or a word used only within a small language community. The strategies are intentional or unintentional choices by parents to respond to their children's code switching. Strategies can also be seen as a part of language or medium negotiation (see Gafaranga 2010). The way we see it, observing conversational strategies is a suitable approach to studying family language policies, parental language strategies, and their realization in practice. At this point in our data analysis, it seems that at the time when informant CHI1 was two years old his father mostly used the MOS, while his mother employed strategies leading to monolingual language usage. In our data it seems that conversational strategies were more used in interactions with small children as they offered a more implicit way to lead the children to the desired language use.

In our study, we saw code-switching (CS) as the unintentional mixing of languages by children, as well as intentional code-switching in the speech of children and adults. CS was also connected with the conversational strategies used by parents, and strategies were often reactions to CS or the mixing of codes (CM). According to Genesee (2006, p. 57), the features of CM can vary depending on the norms or models used in families and even by two parents in the same family. We understand CS as a conversational event (Li Wei 2005) in cases where it occurs clearly as (a conscious) CS and not as the CM of small children. In our data not all cases were CS and that will be taken into account in the analysis.

We approach CS at the practical level, basing it on the tradition of Gumperz's interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982) and Auer's (1984) conversational analysis of CS. This offers an opportunity to note the recurring patterns that present themselves after analyzing short sections of conversation (Auer 1998). Therefore, by studying conversational strategies and code-switching through conversational analysis we approached FLP on the micro level.

We based our examination of parental attitudes and beliefs about languages and bilingualism on De Houwer's (1999) study. De Houwer argues that the language choices and interactional strategies of parents are influenced by their attitudes and beliefs concerning languages, bilingualism, and language acquisition. We also support De Houwer's claim that choices made in everyday situations do not always correlate with those stated in public (1999, p. 84).

Pavlenko (2004) points out that there are two types of language choices: the overall and the local. Overall choices are general and made by parents in language use with the child, whereas local ones are made in certain interactional contexts or speech acts. When a local choice is made, it may be the result of a more emotional choice rather than an overall choice, such as the OPOL model.

2.3 OPOL: Model or Strategy?

The "one parent, one language" model (OPOL) is the most described language strategy by researchers in families with parents who speak different mother tongues (Ronjat 1913; Döpke 1992, 1998; Lanza 1997). Using one's own mother tongue when speaking to one's child is the most common and most accepted way of raising bilingual children. Döpke (1998) argues, however, "that the OPOL-principle is not actually a strategy, but a language choice framework" (p. 10): in other words, at the macro level within which the choices of the micro-level practical language usage are made. At the same time, other researchers have questioned the OPOL model, claiming that it is not easily or naturally put into practice (Hassinen 2002; Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal 2001).

Juan-Garau and Pérez-Vidal (2001) also refer to results that show choosing the OPOL model does not guarantee balanced bilingualism in bilingual Western middle-class (educated, working and rather economically stable) families, because such families are often well integrated into mainstream society and contact with the minority language may have become scarce.

Palviainen and Boyd's (2013) study indicates that parents who claim to use OPOL do not follow it consistently in their everyday lives, and that following the OPOL strategy can lead to different practices in different families and different contexts. While De Houwer (2007) reports the failure of the OPOL strategy, our findings do not support this finding. Instead, our findings support the hypothesis of a "positive" bilingual role model – parents demonstrate to their children that they are bilingual and that both languages are used in similar amounts in the home context – and children use both languages, although the majority language is generally used more. Tuominen (1999) notes that parents who speak both languages fluently have more opportunity to influence the development of their children's bilingualism and especially the acquisition of the minority language.

Döpke (1998), on the other hand, stresses that at the family level the OPOL strategy is worth using consciously, as it brings about factors promoting the acquisition of two languages: the consistent decision to use the minority language, the usage of one's own language for various purposes, the child's age-appropriate language usage, and a child-centered way of introducing the child to the language.

In reference to the above-mentioned results, it can be concluded that OPOL functions as a macro-level framework, as a matter of principle. Its realization depends on the everyday micro-level choices of the parents.

2.4 Estonians in Finland, Finns in Estonia

Next, we present an overview of the Estonian minority group in Finland. We also give a short overview of the Finnish minority group in Estonia, as both of the studied families had a history of living in Estonia and as Family1 moved there during the data collection period. The overview is based on studies and statistics for the 1990s–2010s, as the time before Estonia's independence from the USSR was eminently different in terms of mobility and immigration.

According to statistical studies (Statistics Estonia 2014), by the end of 2013 there were 63,000 (1.1% of the entire Finnish population) Estonian citizens living in Finland, of whom approximately 44,000 lived in Finland permanently.[1]

At the end of 2013, Finland was the main target country of emigration from Estonia. Estonians who had migrated to Finland by the end of 2013 were the largest group of expatriate Estonians (cf. Ehala 2010), a group whose special characteristic was its late-developing nature.

Estonians have been the fastest growing minority group in Finland this decade. In 2012, there were 38,364 people speaking Estonian as their mother tongue in Finland, which represents 0.7% of the population and ranks Estonians as the third largest minority language group (Statistics Finland 2013). The statistics in Finland do not provide a comprehensive picture of how many bilingual Estonian speakers live in the country. The statistics are based on either foreign citizenship or mother tongue. Bilingual second- or third-generation Estonian speakers may not be mentioned in the statistics if their mother tongue is Finnish, Swedish or some other language, or if they hold Finnish citizenship.

The backgrounds of Estonian-speaking children are varied: there are children of both Estonian-speaking and bilingual families who have lived in Finland for a long time, as well as monolingual Estonian-speaking newer arrivals who now commute regularly between the two countries. Migration to Finland increased after Estonia regained its independence, especially in the 2000s, when the main reason for migration was employment (Pohjanpää et al. 2003; Liebkind et al. 2004). Migration owing to family reasons has increased since 2000. Besides the official reasons for family migration, there may be other reasons, such as the dream of a better life and a brighter future for one's children (see Hyvönen 2009).

[1] The stay was considered permanent if the migrant lived in Finland for at least a year, and if they had registered themselves with the local authorities.

The Estonians who moved to Finland in the 1990s had some knowledge of Finnish since some of the returning Ingrian Finns from Estonia spoke Finnish and many of those who had moved to Finland from northern Estonia had acquired at least passive Finnish through watching Finnish TV channels (see Liebkind et al. 2004; Hyvönen 2007, 2008). Approximately two thirds of Estonian women in Finland use mainly or solely Finnish when speaking with their children, and this can be explained by the large number of intercultural marriages in the surveyed group (Liebkind et al. 2004). On the other hand, subjects with advanced degrees (with the exception of those re-migrating) use their mother tongue when speaking with their children more, regardless of how high their level of Finnish is (Liebkind et al. 2004).

According to Ehala's (2010) study on the newly settled Estonian minority in Finland, a dynamic language is one that is used on a daily basis and that is passed on from generation to generation. Preserving or even replacing the language in the community may indicate how able the community is to retain its cultural identity and continuity (Ehala 2010). Schwartz and Verchik (2013) point out that the retention and passing on of the Estonian language to the next generation is not assured among families living overseas. They refer to Doyle (2013), who mentions that while families are living overseas they need to attend to the quality as well as the quantity of input in Estonian. Ehala (2010) claims that one of the factors affecting the retention of the minority language and identity is multicultural families, for whom maintaining the language and identity is more challenging. Our case study does not completely support this assertion, however. Our study shows that when one of the parents speaks the majority language and the other the minority language, special support and careful examination is needed.

As mentioned in the previous section, forming mixed families is common among the late-developing Estonian community. According to Lagerspetz (2011), a little over a third of the Estonian-speakers were in relationships in 2009; of them, 2642 women and 792 men had Finnish-speaking partners (p. 4). In their answers to Lagerspetz's questionnaire, parents were worried about their children's weaker Estonian language and cultural identity, and they expressed concerns about problems with organizing Estonian-language classes for their children and getting them to attend (Lagerspetz 2011). At the same time, Jakobson et al. (2012) highlight that "among their [Estonian] respondents, teaching of the mother tongue at [the Finnish] school was generally deemed crucial to the child's identity and future prospects" (p. 193).

Between 2008 and 2013, 3,839 Finnish citizens moved to Estonia, which made them the second largest group of immigrants after those from Russia (Kallas et al. 2014). According to the embassy of Finland in Tallinn (2015), there are more than 6,000 Finnish citizens living in Estonia, most of them located in Tallinn or nearby. Finns have moved to Estonia since its restoration of independence from the USSR for family reasons or to study at Estonian universities, establish businesses, offer expertise or run mainly Finnish-owned companies (Jakobson et al. 2012).

According to the previously mentioned studies (Liebkind et al. 2004; Hyvönen 2007, 2008, 2009; Jakobson et al. 2012), Estonians in Finland and Finns in Estonia have much in common, despite different background factors. Their influence on second-generation language and identity and family language policies has not been researched sufficiently. Kalev and Jakobson (2013) found that the self-definition of both migrant Estonians and Finns was surprisingly very primordial – i.e. based on origin and defined primarily through roots or country of birth. Nevertheless, Finns [in Estonia] felt more often that they were both Finnish and Estonian (Kalev and Jakobson 2013). The respondents in Jakobson et al.'s study (2012), who included both Finns in Estonia and Estonians in Finland, felt it challenging to maintain their mother tongue in the face of the influence of the dominant language of the country of settlement.

When comparing Estonian and Finnish societies, Finland offers stronger societal support for retaining one's own language and culture as well as one's multilingualism. According to the Finnish Constitution, everyone has the right to maintain and develop his/her own language and culture[2]. Finland offers the opportunity for language lessons for native speakers in comprehensive schools that support minority languages and their retention (Opetushallitus 2016). In addition, Finland's policy highlights the activity of minority communities and support their community associations. Such support reaches Finnish communities overseas too: the Finnish state supports and finances the two official Finnish schools in Estonia. Estonia does not offer such services or support, with the exception of guaranteeing the autonomous cultural activities of national minorities[3].

3 Research Method

3.1 Data Collection

In order to investigate FLP from a broader perspective, a range of data collection and data analysis methods were used. The following tools were employed in the study: (1) a questionnaire, (2) recordings of conversations between family members, and (3) individual interviews with parents and children. The interviews were conducted by the first author.

In the data collection, emphasis was placed on observations made in the subjects' natural environment. This is in line with the methods required for empirical case studies. Recordings of everyday face-to-face interaction were needed in order to describe and study in detail the children's acquisition of two languages, the subject families' language usage, and attitudes influencing language usage. The data collection method was longitudinal, which offered insight into the language development and the influence of attitudes on the same subjects over a longer period.

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[2] Suomen perustuslaki (731/1999) 17 §.

[3] "National minority" refers either to a traditional historical minority group or a minority group that has more than 3,000 members (RT I 1993).

Recordings were transcribed using the CHAT program, and analyzed using the CLAN program. The data will be attached to the CHILDES database (McWhinney 2014).

This research method was chosen as we considered it the best way to approach multilingualism and the language choices of the families. Studying the perspectives of both children and parents is also one of the innovations of FLP research, as detailed by Schwartz and Verschik (2013). They argue that adding children's perspective improves the validity of the data from their parents. As Palviainen and Boyd (2013) argue, "In order to describe a family's language policy, there is thus a need to analyze, on the one hand, language strategies as a reflex of the language ideology, social context and personal experiences of the family members, and on the other hand, how these language strategies are enacted in interaction" (p. 27). Both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed in the data analysis.

This study follows the guidelines for responsible conduct of research established by the Finnish Advisory Board on Research Integrity TENK (Tutkimuseettinen neuvottelukunta 2012). The researched families were informed about the topic of the study, the nature of the study, and the data collection methods. In addition, the families were informed about the issues related to the purpose of data collection, its storage and further processing, as well as the fact that the identifying information about the informants would not be visible in the study or in the storage section of the electronic data. The researched families gave their permission for the data collection. The families will later be asked separately for their permission to transfer the data to the CHILDES-database/corpus; the files will be transferred to the database anonymously and they will be protected by passwords. Similarly, clear terms for further processing will be devised. All direct information concerning the informants will be removed from the completed study.

3.2 The Setting

Bilingual families from the Tampere region were chosen for this study. The reason for this was the fact that the Estonian language of Estonians living in Tampere had been researched before (see Praakli 2002, 2009; Teiss 2005).

Two children were chosen for the study, along with their families. They were selected from families with two-year-olds who were participating in Tampere's Estonian Children's Club. The chosen subjects were bilingual. In this study, bilingualism was defined as having two languages in the family and the parents speaking different mother tongues - Estonian and Finnish – to each other.

3.3 Interviews with the Parents

Open-ended questions were used in semi-structured interviews. The following main themes were covered with both parents separately:

- language usage between spouses
- language usage with the children
- language usage at home currently
- bilingualism

The questions covered practical language situations and the parents' thoughts and beliefs about each other's languages, bilingualism, and the future of the children's language use. In addition, language usage in a wider context was investigated, i.e. language usage between siblings and other important people in the children's lives (relatives and friends), and in various language contexts, such as school, public spaces, in Estonia, and in Finland. Also mapped out were the families' language and cultural backgrounds, as well as the subjects' language contacts (such as their annual contacts with representatives of the minority language and the surroundings where the language was spoken).

The interviews were conducted by the same interviewer using the parents' mother tongue (Estonian and Finnish). Since the interviewer was already known to both families at the time of the first data collection phase, and since some of the data had been collected from the families in advance, the interviews did not strictly follow the themes of the inquiry. Naturally, it is of the utmost importance to create a trusting and relaxed atmosphere when talking about sometimes potentially intimate family facts and to ensure that the subject feels comfortable talking. Both of the interviewed families had strong opinions that the method of upbringing they had chosen for their bilingual child was the right one, and hence during some of the meetings some slight reservation could be sensed, or perhaps worry as to whether the researcher was trying to check if the families were doing the right thing.

All interviews were conducted in Estonia: one of the families lived there at that time and the other family was there on a holiday at their summerhouse. Since context plays an important role in families' language choices, it should also be noted that in this study the contextual background of the interviews influenced the language usage of the interviewees. In addition, the interviewer's own language background, and how she related to the interviewed parents was significant: the subjects were used to seeing the interviewer as a member of the Estonian minority community in Finland. Therefore, it was important to agree with the Finnish-speaking parents that Finnish be used in the interviews, even though Estonian and/or Finnish may have normally been used in day-to-day contact with the interviewee. Three of the interviews were conducted with the children close by. In two of them, the children added their comments to the interviews. The identity of the interviewer had an influence on the parents' responses by emphasizing the Estonian identity, language and culture-related issues.

The goal of the interviews was to reveal the parents' everyday language usage and conscious decisions within it. It has been discovered that OPOL does not always occur in practice, and the majority of (middle-class) parents' language contacts are monolingual and in the majority language (Juan-Garau and Perèz-Vidal 2001). Parents' cultural attitudes and interests may also have an influence on what language their children will generally operate in. These can have a bigger impact than the parents' actions in supporting the bilingual development of the children through speaking their own language to them.

3.4 Recordings of the Conversations with the Children and Their Families

There were 310 min of recorded data from the time when the informants were two to three years of age, and 390 min of recorded data from the time when the informants were ten years of age. The choice of age for the first recordings was based on the discovery by a number of studies (Rontu 2005, Juan-Garau and Perez-Vidal 2001) that when a child reaches the age of three years, parents begin to more strictly employ strategies that guide the child towards monolingual language usage. Child language research, however, shows that at two to three years of age children go through a sudden change in their language development.

As a rule, the researcher was not present at the recordings. Instead, families were encouraged to record some of their everyday situations where both the mother and the father were interacting with the child. In some recordings, other people were also present, for example siblings.

3.4.1 Interviews at the Age of 10–11

The goal of the interviews was to discover the children's opinions of bilingualism and compare the children's language usage with the early stages of their language acquisition, as well as how parental input and attitudes influenced it. The researcher interviewed the children in Estonian (as it was their shared language of communication). The interviews included the themes of language usage in various situations and the children's thoughts and attitudes on bilingualism. The assumption was that at the age of 10–11, the subjects were sufficiently aware of language to be able to observe their own language usage (see Jokela and Paulson 2010).

Table 1 First phase of the study: information on the participating families

Family	*Target child*: Gender/age (years; months)	*Other children* in the family: gender/age (years; months)	*Mother*: background	*Father*: background
1	CHI1 : Girl	Girl	Estonian	Finnish
	3;1 – 3;2	1;2 – 1;11	Ten years in Finland	Two months in Estonia, and one month per year on holiday
2	CHI2 : Boy	Girl	Finnish	Estonian
	3;7 – 4;1	8;3 – 8;10	Ten years in Estonia	Three years in Finland
		Girl		
		5;1 – 5;8		

Table 2 Second phase of the study: information on the same participating families

Family	*Target child*: gender/age (years; months)	*Other children* in the family: gender/age (years; months)	*Mother*: background	*Father*: background
1 (moved to Estonia two years before data collection)	CHI1 : Girl	Girl	Estonian	Finnish
	10;8 – 11;0	8;8 – 9;0	Ten years in Finland;	past two years in Estonia
			past two years in Estonia	
2	CHI2 : Boy	Girl	Finnish	Estonian
	10;8 – 10;10	15;4 – 15;6	Ten years in Estonia;	Ten years in Finland;
		Girl	past ten years in Finland	past six months in Estonia
		12;2 – 12;4		
		Girl		
		6;4 – 6;6		

3.5 Informant Children and Families

The subjects of the study were children who were growing up bilingual, and their families.

Language usage situations and language acquisition are influenced not only by parents but also by other people who interact with the child. Many research findings show that siblings most commonly use the majority language with each other (see Hassinen 2002). Rontu (2004) argues that bilingual Finnish-Swedish-speaking children may decide on the language of play depending on which parent they are with. However, when one language is more commonly used in situations and places outside the home, it is more likely to become dominant and be used as the language of communication between siblings. Exact information on the informant families is given in Tables 1 and 2.

3.5.1 Child 1 (CHI1) and Her Family (Family 1)

CHI1's mother was an Estonian-speaker and her father was a Finnish-speaker. CHI1 had a little sister who was two years younger, and who was a baby during the first recording session. When CHI1 was nine years, two months of age, she moved to Estonia with her father and sister. Her mother had moved there some months earlier. Both parents started working in Estonia in Estonian-speaking surroundings.

At three years of age, CHI1 started day care at an English playschool in Finland. The day care program included daily lessons and other activities in English. She attended the local English school for over a year. The school conducted all lessons apart from Finnish lessons in English. In Estonia, CHI1 enrolled at an Estonian school where four lessons per week were conducted in English. CHI1's father spoke fluent Estonian when the family was still living in Finland. He had learned the language while working and living in Estonia for a few months, and he used it often with his wife, with his Estonian friends, and with his wife's relatives later. In Estonia, the family had started using Estonian in more varied contexts, owing to work and extended family. CHI1's mother spoke fluent Finnish. She had studied at Finnish institutions on a number of occasions and had worked in Finland for a long time. The family had a rather strong bond with the Estonian culture and language, and with relatives living in Estonia, even while living in Finland. The family had usually spent about two months a year in Estonia before actually moving there. While living in Estonia, they would spend about 2–3 weeks in Finland every year. While living in Finland, the children and the whole family spent approximately a few weeks each year together with local Estonians. In Estonia, they did not have any Finnish contacts other than the relatives who came for a visit from Finland, which they did for approximately 3 weeks per year. While living in Finland, CHI1 had attended Estonian lessons (for natives) between the ages of six to nine years. In Estonia, she did not attend Finnish lessons. CHI1 had a friend in Finland whom she still kept in touch with in Finnish. When meeting Estonian friends who still lived in Finland, the children usually chose to communicate in Finnish.

3.5.2 Child 2 (CHI2) and His Family (Family2)

CHI2 had a Finnish-speaking mother and an Estonian-speaking father. In addition to CHI2, there were three siblings in the family; the youngest sibling had not yet been born during the first recording session. The parents met each other in Estonia while CHI2's mother was studying there. They started a family while still in Estonia. CHI2's mother spoke fluent Estonian. CHI2's two older siblings were born in Estonia, while CHI2 was born in Finland the year the family moved to the country. All of the children attended a Finnish school and participated in native Estonian speakers' lessons outside school hours.

CHI2 started at day care at the age of two years. Prior to that (at the age of one to two years), a Finnish-speaking babysitter cared for him at home. CHI2's family spent time in Estonia regularly, usually about one or two months per year, and longer periods during the summer. While in Finland, the family met with other Estonians approximately once a month. While in Estonia, the family met with other Estonians weekly. Both parents were educated with tertiary qualifications, and working: the mother worked outside the home, and the father worked mainly at home while in Finland. The father spent a large part of the year in Estonia.

4 Findings

The preliminary findings of our longitudinal study reveal that even though families claimed to apply the OPOL strategy, it was not always applied in daily interactions, and that in family language practices, the children, who participated in conversations, played a significant role as well (see Palviainen and Boyd 2013).

So far, we have analyzed the parents' interviews and obtained tentative results about family interaction situations. The parents in both families expressed their wish to have their children grow up bilingual, and thought it natural to use their mother tongue with their children. Through the interviews, both families' language strategy proved to be OPOL. Similar results were also obtained by Palviainen and Boyd (see above). The usage of this strategy was detected in the tentative analysis of the interaction situations. However, some interesting exceptions were also found. In our view, such exceptions do not necessarily indicate a failure to raise the children bilingually; rather they may turn out to be valuable resources for a bilingual family. This claim cannot be confirmed until the analysis has been completed. Although the interviewed parents spoke their spouse's language, they seemed to possess distinct language competencies and distinct cultural values. It would be useful to research the families' identities and cultural orientations from the point of view of the children's language acquisition in terms of which issues create a positive bond to the language.

Both families had planned to support the acquisition of the children's minority language by taking them to minority language (Estonian) classes. These classes are provided by the Finnish government and are held in local schools. Tuominen (1999 p. 69) refers to the same problem as our informant parents reported: they had experienced difficulties taking their children to the language schools. The parents of Family 2 talked about motivation problems and difficulties with the teacher. Family 1 had neither the opportunity nor the interest to take their children to Finnish classes after moving to Estonia: this can be seen as either a sign of the differing language policies of the two societies or as a change in the focus of the family's own FLP.

If children are being socialized in the majority school system, the majority language may have a monopoly on certain kinds of information (see Tuominen 1999 p. 72), for example, when doing homework. In our results, the father of Family 2 reported that he was not capable of helping his children with their homework. Although the father spoke both languages, he could not be classified as bilingual. In addition, he did not define himself as bilingual. As Tuominen argues, “children in multilingual families are socializing their parents instead of being socialized by them” (p. 73).

On the other hand, CHI1 reported that her Finnish father helped her with her math homework in Estonian. So for this father the different language and the different educational system did not cause a problem. The father identified himself as bilingual.

According to the interviews, the recordings, and the observations of the researcher, Family 1 was strongly orientated towards the Estonian culture. The Finnish-speaking father used Estonian in everyday situations and, after moving to Estonia, the family members admitted to using mostly Estonian, as can be seen in the following excerpt (italicized texts in Finnish; English translations follows below).

Excerpt 1

Tutkija: *No kuinka paljon nyt tänä päivänä teidän kotona käytetään, et mitä kieliä ja kuinka paljon joku arkipäivä siis kun kaikki on kotona tietenkin et?*

Researcher: Which languages do you use and how much [do you use them] in a normal day, when everyone is at home?”

FAT1: *mhm. No kyl se eesti on päällimmäisenä ja mää nyt yritän sitä suomee välillä vääntää, mutta lipsuu välillä.*

FAT1: Well, it’s Estonian mostly and I try to add Finnish at times, but then I let it pass at times.

In Excerpt 2, the father explains why he uses the mother’s language, i.e. Estonian, in situations where other Estonian-speakers are present.

Excerpt 2

Tutkija: *mm, jos oot lasten kanssa ja sit siinä on vaikkapa vaimosi vanhemmat tai muita vironkielisiä sukulaisia tai ystäviä, niin minkäkielistä se keskustelu sitten on, sulla ja lapsilla?*

Researcher: When you’re with the kids and your wife’s parents are there too, or other Estonian-speakers, what language is the conversation in, between you and your kids?”

FAT1: *niin sitten eestinkielistä, koska siinä pitää toisetkin ymmärtää, ei me siinä tykätä (.) vaihtaa.*

FAT1: Well, in that case, it’s in Estonian, because the others have to understand too: we don’t like to change in that situation.

Family 2 attempted to use OPOL when the children were small, at least in theory. Other studies have also shown that this language model is used more consistently with small children (see Hassinen 2002; Lanza 1997). The data from the first phase (when the children were two to three years of age) confirms that this choice was usually employed in interaction situations. Example 1 demonstrates this.

Example 1 *CHI2 (two years, seven months) talks with his Finnish-speaking mother; the dominant language of the interaction is Finnish. Italicized text = Finnish,* **boldface text = Estonian**.

1 CHI2:	*Muumipeikko Pikkumyy*. Moomin Troll Little My.	
2 CHI2:	*ei eikö pitäis* [--]. shouldn't it [--].	
3 MOT2:	*eikö se sovi?* it doesn't fit?	
4 CHI2:	**ei sobi.** no, it doesn't fit.	lexical code-mixing
5 CHI2:	***see sobib***, *Mörkö*. this fits, Groke.	lexical code-mixing
6 MOT2:	*Mörkö sopii vai?* does Groke fit?	expressed guess strategy
7 CHI2:	*joo Mörkö sopii.* yes Groke fits.	
8 CHI2:	*muumipeikko sopii.* Moomin Troll fits.	
9 MOT2:	*muumipeikko sopii.* Moomin Troll fits.	

CHI2 starts the interaction by singing in Finnish in line 1. In line 2, he responds to his Finnish-speaking mother in Finnish. Although the mother provides the child with the Finnish form in Line 3 of the example, CHI2 still reacts to the statement by repeating the verb in Estonian in Statements 4 and 5. CHI2's statements are classified as (unintentional) lexical code-mixing. This is to say that his language development is still incomplete and he combines the different forms of two similar words (from related languages) into one inflectional paradigm. The mother uses an expressed guess strategy in her next statement in line 6. This is in the form of a question, which in turn urges the child to actively use the form offered by the mother. In the following statements, the form accepted by the mother is repeated and further established. Although this kind of interactional situation could be interpreted as a language negotiation, our observation does not support that interpretation because of the above-mentioned facts of CHI2's language development.

The aforementioned results further validate the perception that OPOL was a macro-level decision rather than present in all micro-level interactional situations. Based on our data, OPOL appeared to be a decision of principle within which both parents' language and cultural identities were accepted and valued, and flexible language choices were allowed. Therefore, a situation in which one parent used the other parent's language may have partially even supported the goals of OPOL: one parent's language was used by the other parent (and vice versa) because they were interested in it and the culture attached to it. This idea is supported by Schwartz (2010, p. 174), who claims that one of the important factors affecting family language policies is the parents' acculturation in the culture of their country of residence, as well as their cultural identification concerning both the target and source cultures. In our study, the parental attitudes towards the two source cultures and their own relationship to the cultures emerged as a distinguishable factor. The parents in both families seemed to regard the other's culture positively; almost all replied to the question "How did you regard your spouse's culture prior to meeting him/her" by saying they had no bias or preconceived ideas. Both Finnish-speaking parents mentioned, however, that they had learned about Estonian culture and they believed they knew it reasonably well, whereas the Estonian-speakers said that they knew Finnish culture rather superficially. MOT1 even described how her superficial knowledge of Finnish art had been an obstacle for her in applying for a position as an art teacher in Finland (she currently works in that role in Estonia).

Judging by the interview results, both families seemed to exhibit a rather strong orientation towards the Estonian culture: Estonian parents felt at a distance from the Finnish culture, but the Finnish parents were interested in and believed they knew Estonian culture and even believed they were transmitting the culture to their children. One point that seemed to show the importance of the Estonian culture over Finnish was how the children engaged in both their parents' cultures. When Family 1 lived in Finland, the children attended an Estonian playgroup, as well as Estonian lessons for native speakers (which both stressed culture), and they used to spend their holidays in Estonia, participating in cultural festivals. However, when living in Estonia, the children did not attend activities that stressed Finnish culture (but rather watched English television programs).

The children of Family 2 also attended an Estonian playgroup; furthermore, they participated in Estonian lessons for native speakers, and spent their summer holidays in Estonia. Besides the similarities, some differences emerged. CHI2's father spent approximately six months a year in Estonia, which on its own highlighted for the son the father's Estonian heritage and the importance of Estonia. However, this leads to the fact that the daily input of language and culture was the mother's responsibility, and hence the mother's cultural background was emphasized. CHI2's Estonian (in comparison to CHI1) was weaker, which can be seen in problems with vocabulary and pronunciation, and an insecurity of a sort. On the other hand, CHI2 was used to using Estonian and was able to employ replacing strategies with both his bilingual and monolingual speaking partners. As MOT2 explained: "so if they don't know a word, then they say, 'I don't know what this is in Estonian' and they kind of ask". FAT2 also explained: "When he understands that I know Finnish but grandma doesn't, then he tries to get it across by using his hands and feet". As Schwartz (2010, p. 174) argues, "Finally, cultural identification with the host country and the country of origin are significant factors in the formation of FLP among immigrants".

In both families, FLP was shared between both parents just before the children were born and when they were still small. However, in the interviews, both mothers claimed they had done their part well enough and now expected the fathers to take on a more active role in maintaining their mother tongue and keeping the input diverse. Although the analysis of the second-phase interviews of the longitudinal study and the analysis of the children's interviews is on-going, the data has revealed some preliminary information on how the children influenced their parents' language choices. Other researchers have also found evidence of children's code-switching and language preferences influencing their parents' language choices in interactional situations (see Muranaka-Vuletich 2002, p. 178). In our data, in some cases a child's utterance could make a parent change language or code, as can be seen in Example 2. Father 1 changes his language to Estonian because of CHI1. The language context of the situation is Estonian. The mother and the child's sister are actively participating in a play situation and the father slips into the situation smoothly by using Estonian (instead of Finnish).

Example 2 *CHI1 (two years, six months), four-way conversation with MOT1, SIS1, and FAT1.*

Italicized text = Finnish, **boldface text = Estonian**.

1 MOT1:	**õde tuli ka majasse.**
	sister came also into the house.
2 CHI1:	**jaa võib ära [--].**
	yes she can [--].
3 CHI1:	**[--] tuleb ära.**
	[--] comes away.
4 CHI1:	**tsau tsau** (*nauraa*)**, noh minul on nüüd kiire.**
	bye bye (laughs), well I'm in a hurry now.
5 MOT1:	**[--]** (*epäselvä lausuma*).
	[--] (unclear utterance)
6 CHI1:	**jah ma lähen.**
	yes I'll go.
7 SIS1:	(*jokeltelee*)
	(babbles)
8 FAT1:	**[--] on sul vaja joosta kui sul on kiire!**
	[--] do you have to run when you are in a hurry!
9 MOT1:	(*nauraa*)
	(laughs)
10 CHI1:	**mhm jah jah [--].**
	mhm yes yes [--].

It seems that this kind of influence of the child's language choices on the parental language choices happened as a rule in Family 1. CHI1's language development in both languages was early and she was able to use both languages in a versatile way for her age. In Family 2, CHI2 did not exhibit similar ability at the same age. This is where a substantial difference between the two researched children can be seen: CHI1 appeared to use CS as a conscious choice, whereas CHI2 used a non-conscious CM which was due to the current stage of his language development. In fact, CHI2's general language development differed greatly from CHI1's general language development at a similar age: CHI2 showed phonetic and morphological immaturity (he was not mature for his age) and therefore his verbal interaction was more limited. Still his parents held onto their language choices in a rather goal-oriented manner and seemed to utilize the move-on strategy and repetition strategy the most, which also guides language usage that is compatible with the OPOL strategy.

We are aware of the fact that there are some limitations to our study. In the early stages of our research, there were six children from different kinds of families in which parents utilized varying language policies. However, due to the empirical and partly ethnographic character of the study, it was impossible to study so many families. Two children were chosen from the preliminary data. Their parents' languages and language choices were similar, meaning that the results were more comparable. In fact, the families turned out to be quite similar. Still, similarity itself does not mean that the results will be similar. On the contrary, there are often very different outcomes of bilingualism and family language policies under similar sociolinguistic conditions (see Döpke 1998). The results of this case study are not generalizable to a larger group, but they may still offer some information and suggestions about family language policies in Finnish-Estonian families.

The limitations of a case study mean that it does not usually allow for predictions. Rather, case studies describe phenomena. Taking into account that this study is longitudinal, we can formulate assumptions about the future based on the data collected at different points in time, and with certain reservations.

In summary, our findings suggest that some of the factors influencing the FLP choices and their practical realization are the child's age, the child's language ability, and the level of the linguistic and cultural identification of the child's parents. Although the families had chosen OPOL as their model, the analysis of the recordings revealed more varied conventions of language usage, which can probably be explained by the considerations mentioned above.

5 Conclusion

In this article, we have offered an overview of an on-going case study of Estonian-Finnish families' bilingualism, and the factors affecting their family language policies. Given the fact that the study is being conducted as a longitudinal study, it provides a rare vantage point into the development of bilingualism in children and into changes in family language policies. The topic of the research is an interesting and topical one given that the number of Estonians in Finland is still increasing, and yet as a minority community Estonians do not actively participate in Estonian organizational activities, nor do they nurture their children's bilingualism.

Our aim was to focus on what happens at the micro-level of FLP, but also to ascertain through interviews references to the families' explicit language policies. According to our preliminary results, the researched families did not always employ the OPOL strategy; however, they used it almost constantly when the researched children were two to three years old. If we choose to define OPOL as a macro-level strategy rather than a practical language usage model, then our results support what earlier studies have found: family language practices are diverse in interaction situations and are governed by code-switching situations in conversations. At the same time, on a more general level, families do take care to provide sufficient input in both languages. Also our data shows that FLPs consists of both explicit planning and unplanned practices, as shown by Palviainen and Boyd (2013) in their study.

In explicit planning, the OPOL was seen to occur as a language strategy during this longitudinal study in both of the families, although in actual interaction practices there appeared to be some differences between parents. In the second phase of our study, when the Family1 informant CHI1 was ten years old, her mother still followed the OPOL strategy consciously and determinedly, while the father did not employ OPOL as clearly. In Family2, the Estonian-speaking father was the one who permanently employed OPOL, including in the second phase of our study. In addition, he clearly defined himself as a monolingual parent, using mainly Estonian in family interactions, while the mother used more bilingual strategies in practice but explicitly also claimed OPOL to be their FLP planning strategy.

The interview results show how family language practices, culture, and identity influence family language choices and children's attitudes towards their languages. One important issue that arises from our findings is that the parents' attitudes and interest in both cultures and languages seemed to considerably influence the bilingual family´s language maintenance.

Our preliminary findings support the assumption (see Palvianen and Boyd 2013) that children are also active in family language policies and that they too can influence their parents' language choices, such as code-switching in interaction.

Our findings show that when the children were two to three years old they influenced their parents´ language choices through their code mixing as well as through code switching. In the second phase of data collection (when the children were ten to eleven years old), the families still claimed that they avoided code-switching or "mixing languages", as they mentioned in the interviews, but the practices revealed more flexible ways of bilingual interaction.

At this point in the study, the results of the children's interviews have not yet been analyzed. Therefore, conclusions about the children's attitudes and thoughts remain to be made in the future.

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Young Swedish-Estonian Returnees to Estonia: Reflections on Family Language Policy and a Multilingual Upbringing

Anna Verschik and Colm James Doyle

Abstract The present paper reports the findings of a study into the recollections by four Swedish-Estonian young adult informants of their multilingual upbringing and their parents' family language policy (FLP). With the narratives of the young adult children and their experiences growing up the focus, the paper investigates the outcomes of the respective FLPs and concerns itself with a form of 'unofficial' language policy that operates at a level far below that of the state.

Born in Sweden, the informants all now live in Estonia. The sociolinguistic context of the small nation of Estonia, a post-Soviet situation, provides some insights for a discussion of FLP; namely, the notions of 'minority' and 'majority', and how the manner in which Estonian-speakers perceive their 'smaller' country and language affects their FLPs.

Two semi-structured interviews (one in Estonian and one in English) were conducted separately with each of the informants (eight interviews in total). Alongside matters to do directly with the FLPs and upbringing, the issues of Estonian as a 'smaller' language and Estonia as a multilingual place were investigated from the perspective of the informants. This study contributes to the as yet small body of literature on children's perspectives of FLP.

Keywords Family language policy • Youth multilingualism • Estonian • Heritage language

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1 Introduction

Family language policy (FLP) has become an increasingly popular research subject in the past decade (Schwartz 2010; King and Fogle 2013). The discipline of FLP presents 'an integrated overview of how languages are managed, learned and negotiated within families' (King et al. 2008, 907). Scholars in sociolinguistics have come to realize that it is not only language policy research in a more general sense which matters, but that a closer look also at the level of the individual family unit provides valuable information for further generalizations. FLP becomes especially relevant in multilingual settings where either the family in question employs a different language than the local majority or the parents have different ethnolinguistic backgrounds (see Romaine 1995, 181–240; Piller 2001, 63–64 for possible combinations). Yet, recent studies (see Schwartz and Verschik 2013 and accompanying contributions in same volume) demonstrate that choice of language(s) and decisions about FLP are anything but straightforward.

As Doyle (2013) argues in his study of intermarried families in Estonia, the number of speakers of a certain language and the self-perception of a linguistic community matters greatly in FLP choices. For instance, the sociolinguistic situation of immigrant communities with a steady influx from the homeland (e.g., Spanish-speakers in the US or Turks in the Netherlands) provides a completely different picture from that of Estonian-speakers residing outside Estonia as described in Doyle (2013); one of the reasons for this is the relatively tiny number of total Estonian-speakers worldwide (one million). Annexed by the Soviet Union in 1940, Estonia experienced almost half a century of Soviet occupation (1940–1941, 1944–1991), which brought with it an inward migration of Russian-speakers and Russification policies; in such a context, the terms 'majority' and 'minority' take on new meaning (Skutnabb-Kangas 1992). As a result, Estonians often perceive Estonian as an endangered language, despite this not being confirmed by research (Ehala and Niglas 2007). A reasonable question, therefore, for a scholar in FLP would be how FLP is conceptualized in situations of perceived fragility of a language such as Estonian.

This article presents the results of a study into how four young Swedish-Estonian returnees to Estonia reflect upon their multilingual upbringing and their family's language policy. We try to answer the following questions: (1) What are the components of the FLPs of the four families, the similarities and differences between the FLPs, and the linguistic outcomes?; (2) How do the adolescents reflect upon their upbringing and how do they want to parent in the future?; and (3) What do the narratives of the young adults tell us about perceptions of place (Tallinn and Stockholm) and the situation of the Estonian language (i.e., perceived stability or endangerment)?

We argue that the cases presented are examples of successful FLP, i.e., a desirable outcome is achieved and the children are happy with their upbringing (see Kopeliovich 2013 on 'happylingual'; Schwartz and Verschik 2013, 1, 15). Harmonious linguistic development does not necessarily presuppose 'balanced' multilingualism but all the informants are fluent in Estonian and several other languages; all are balanced bi- or trilinguals; and all have a wide network in Estonia, while at the same time maintaining connections with Sweden.

The idea to conduct this study came from reading a paper written by Fogle (2013), who investigated the reflections made on FLP by young multilinguals living in the southern United States, thus placing a retrospective discussion of FLP by young adult children resident in a particular geographic context at the centre of her study. Johnstone (2011, 217) tells us that language is linked with place through the ideas its residents negotiate about language, language varieties and place, and that these ideas get 'produced and circulated in talk and taken up in individuals' experience of the linguistic landscapes they encounter'. Place then has an impact on how bilinguals 'perceive' themselves and how they show, hide, construct and reconstruct their identities as bilinguals (Fogle 2013, 179). The authors of this paper argue that the narratives of the informants paint Tallinn as a place where multilingual individuals can be comfortable being multilingual and practising their multilingualism.

This paper is organized as follows: First, we discuss the importance of FLP research in the context of the linguistic narratives and retrospections of multilingual children (Sect. 2). Then we briefly describe the Estonian community in Sweden and the phenomenon of returnees (Sect. 3). Next we introduce the informants and discuss data collection (Sect. 4), and follow this with a presentation of the findings (Sects. 5 and 6). Finally, a discussion of the data of the study as a whole in light of the literature is had (Sect. 7) and conclusions are drawn (Sect. 8).

2 FLP and Children's Retrospective View

FLP is an interdisciplinary field that uses a wide range of perspectives (for a short overview see Schwartz and Verschik 2013, 3–6). While language policy research usually focuses on the macro level (society), there is a trend in some subfields of sociolinguistics towards shifting focus to the (multilingual) individual and micro-communities, because it is here where innovation in language use, linguistic practices, etc., is introduced (Matras 2012). Spolsky (2004) understands language policy as a sum of three components: ideology, practice and management, components which can be said to also exist at the micro level of the individual or family. The family occupies an intermediate position between community and individual; it is a 'place' where 'community and the individual meet' ('place' as in Johnstone 2011; Schwartz and Verschik 2013, 8). Within a family, psychological and emotional aspects of a language policy appear more prominent: oftentimes a particular language holds emotional value for the respective family or members therein, which can affect FLP in one or more ways.

Most FLP studies concentrate on parental views, beliefs and practices or on parent-child multilingual interaction in the home setting (see King and Fogle 2013 for a research timeline). However, as Luykx (2005, 1408) points out, child agency is also relevant, because children play a role in the socialization of adult family members (particularly that of immigrant parents (Tuominen 1999). Palviainen and Boyd (2013) point out that family language strategies are not solely controlled by parents; rather, their construction and reconstruction are negotiated by all family members. As aforementioned, Fogle (2013), in the same vein, views the children as agentive participants, rather than passive passengers, in the (re-)construction of FLP. From an applied point of view – keeping in mind the practical application of the fruits of such research in the informing of educators and future parents – the retrospection provided by young adults is a tool for triangulation that compares parental expectations, goals and actions to the outcomes of (multilingual) parenting.

To make a more theoretical point, the retrospection and reflection on FLP of the children is, in fact, an autobiographic linguistic narrative or a linguistic biography of a kind. Linguistic biographies can be defined as a life history that focuses on languages in the life of the narrator (Pavlenko 2007, 165). They are a source of information where other sources are scarce (Franceschini and Miecznikowski 2004; Nekvapil 2003; Pavlenko 2007, 165); they also provide rich sociolinguistic data, complementing those collected by other methods. As Pavlenko (2007, 165, 169 and references therein) mentions, in the European tradition in linguistic biography research life stories are collected in order to reconstruct sociolinguistic circumstances of multilingual families or communities, with the understanding that languages play a central part in one's life. Examples of recent research on autobiographical linguistic narratives by Estonian scholars include Tammekänd (2013a, b) and Verschik (2002, 2010).

Linguistic autobiography research is not in and by itself concerned with the retrospective view on FLP; nevertheless, as such an autobiography may include reflections on family language ideologies and practices, expectations of the larger society and childhood experiences of the multilingual, we see a potential link between study on linguistic autobiography and the angle we have chosen to taken on FLP with this paper.

3 Swedish-Estonians, Estonian Language and Identity

While the informants in the current research can be (self-) categorized into various groups, one is certainly that of Swedish-Estonian. These are descendants of Estonian refugees who fled Estonia in 1944, escaping from the advancing Soviet Army. Estonians (as well as Latvians) settled predominantly in Southern Sweden and formed communities in many urban centres, including Stockholm. It is not possible to provide an exact count of the number of Swedes of Estonian origin living in Sweden because not all refugees and their descendants necessarily have Estonian citizenship, and because after the restoration of Estonia's independence in 1991 some new Estonians came to Sweden. As of 2008, 9,763 persons born in Estonia reside in Sweden (see statistics and difficulties in their interpretation in Raag 2010, 390). Swedish-Estonians have developed a wide range of community and cultural institutions (clubs, churches, choirs, periodicals, publishing, etc.) and founded the Estonian school and kindergarten in Stockholm. Currently, Estonian is taught only as a subject at the Estonian school, while the language of instruction is Swedish. Nevertheless, as it became apparent from the interviews with our informants, their parents' decision to send them to this particular school probably fostered the maintenance of their Estonian ethnic and linguistic identity.

Estonian language maintenance varies in subsequent generations (on difficulties in defining proficiency see Keevallik 2012, 5). Varieties of Estonian as used by Swedish-Estonians have been amply investigated (Allik 2002; Klaas 2003; Keevallik 2006a, b, 2012; Laagus et al. 2004; Oksaar 1972; Raag 1982, 2010). Since contact-induced language change is not a topic of the current article, we shall only briefly touch upon Swedish-Estonian features in the informants' speech. Suffice it to say, the informants have acquired fluent Estonian, which is definitely a result of FLP and the parents' determination.

Research on Swedish-Estonian identity has been undertaken by both social scientists and linguists (Klaas and Laagus 1998, Valk 2010, 2014 and references therein). We follow Valk's practice and use the term ethnic identity because national identity (*rahvuslik identiteet*) in Estonia(n) often means a combination of ethnic and civic identity in a nation-state. Émigré-Estonian identity often has a broader basis, i.e., proficiency in Estonian is important but not obligatory, while association with Estonians, Estonian ethnicity, visits to Estonia, interest in things Estonian, etc., is a sufficient basis to claim an Estonian identity, while for 'home Estonians' command in Estonian remains the most relevant criterion alongside allegiance to the country (Valk 2010, 125, 2014, 236–8).

We now turn our attention to data collection and an introduction to the multilingual young adult informants, followed by an analysis of the principal results of the study in Sects. 5 and 6.

4 Data Collection and Informants

This study employs a micro-sociolinguistic, qualitative approach with the semi-structured interview as its data-gathering tool. The first author has previously outlined the benefit of employing a micro-sociolinguistic approach in the study of multilingualism (Verschik 2005). Research of this type compliments that undertaken in common macro-sociolinguistic approaches, as it helps produce a more nuanced picture of a phenomenon, shining a spotlight on micro-communities overlooked by macro-research and also seeking to uncover the 'why' to a speaker's speech acts. This study employed semi-structured interviews to collect linguistic biographies, which is an approach to investigate the dynamics of language choice, linguistic preferences and competence in a multilingual individual (Verschik 2002).

4.1 Interviews

The data were gathered by means of eight semi-structured interviews. Each informant was interviewed once in Estonian by the first named author and once in English by the second named author. This is because multilinguals are likely to produce different stories in different languages and reflect differently on their experience of growing up multilingual (Pavlenko 2007, 172). The interviews were conducted in a café in Tallinn, a 'neutral' location for both the researchers and participants, in September 2014. The participants were made aware of the research through mutual contacts, and three of them were known to one or both of the researchers prior to the study. In total, 5.7 h of interview audio were recorded and analysed. The recordings ranged in length from 30 min to 53 min, with a mean length of 43 min.

4.2 Informants

As can be seen in Table 1 below, there were two male (M) and two female (F) participants in the study. All four were born in Stockholm and spent their early years in the city. F1 had spent the majority of her life in Tallinn, whilst the other three had spent, at the time of the recordings, the majority of their life in Stockholm.

The informants are known to one another. In fact, all attended the same schools in Stockholm and Tallinn, M1 and M2 were in the same graduating class, and F1 and F2 are first cousins and were in the same graduating class. The ages of the participants at the time of the interviews are given in the table in the format 'years;months'. The average age of the participants was twenty years and eight months.

All come from monolingual Estonian-speaking households except M1, in whose household Latvian was spoken in addition to Estonian. The native language of all the participants' parents is Estonian, bar the father of M1 (Latvian) and the father of M2 (both Swedish and Estonian, but stronger in the former). All fathers had grown

Table 1 Informants: age and residence, and ethnolinguistic background

Respondent	Age	Residence in Tallinn	Home language(s)	Mother grew up in:	Mother's native language:	Father grew up in:	Father's native lang(s):
M1	22;4	Nine years	Est. & Lat.	Turku (FIN)	Estonian	Stockholm	Latvian
M2	21;10	Five years[a]	Estonian	Tartu (EST)	Estonian	Stockholm	Sw. & Est.
F1	19;0	Twelve years	Estonian	Stockholm	Estonian	Stockholm	Estonian
F2	19;6	Three years	Estonian	Tallinn	Estonian	Stockholm	Estonian

[a]At time resident in South-Estonia on military service

up in Stockholm; two of the mothers had grown up in Estonia (Tallinn and Tartu), one in Finland (Turku) and one in Stockholm.

The ethnic identity of the informants is Estonian (more complex in the case of M1) and their linguistic identity can be characterized as 'Estonian +'; that is, the Estonian language is an important component, but not the only one. In addition to Estonian, another language central to the informants' identity is Swedish (and Latvian in the case of M1). Link with a group as such and link with the members of that group are distinct things (Larsen et al. 1992, quoted in Valk 2010, 117), but in our data there is evidence of both types. The informants' social networks include both Swedish-Estonians and 'home Estonians'.

Additionally, our informants belong to the group of Swedish-Estonians returnees to Estonia. To the best of our knowledge, this group has not so far been studied. The decision to return was made either by the parents while the informants were children (F1) or teenagers (M1 and M2), or, in the case of F2, by the informant herself in order to attend high-school and university in Estonia. Moving to Estonia may be considered as an act of FLP; motives are both language and politics related, as Estonia had regained its independence and one could live in an Estonian-language environment (see Doyle 2013 on the importance of an Estonian-language environment for language maintenance). The informants' high proficiency in Estonian made the move rather smooth. Indeed, in the first author's estimation and that of the informants themselves, both M1 and M2 can pass for 'home Estonians'.

5 Strategies

Let us now turn to the data from the interviews. In this section we present the FLP strategies of the informants' families while in Stockholm and Tallinn as reported in the interviews. For ease of comprehension, an overview is provided in tabular format in Table 2 below. The narrative of each informant is presented separately below in Sect. 6.

In three out of the four families the informants were first introduced to Swedish outside the home ('consecutive introduction'), at kindergarten for M2 and F1, and interaction with a neighbour girl for F2. Therefore, the families of M2, F1 and F2 were solely Estonian-speaking (interaction between all family members was in Estonian) and both parents conversed with their children in Estonian also outside the home. Swedish was the language of school and the larger society. It is often assumed by parents that the majority language will 'take care of itself', so to say; however, we shall demonstrate that the parents in our study realized that this is not necessarily the case (this matter is discussed by Kopeliovich 2013).

The family of M1 is a more complex case because of the presence of an additional language (Latvian). The strategy here was a case of 'one parent, one language' – Latvian from the father and Estonian from the mother; the children were introduced to Swedish 'passively' inside the home as the parents spoke Swedish to each other.

Table 2 Language strategies of the families

Informant	Comment on strategy in Stockholm	Comment on strategy in Tallinn
M1	**One parent, one language.**	**One parent, one language.**
	Father spoke Latvian, mother spoke Estonian.	(Continuation of strategy.) M1 and his brother spoke to their younger sister in Latvian.
	M1 spoke to his brother in Estonian.	
	Parents spoke Swedish to one another.	
	Consecutive introduction to Swedish (kindergarten).	
M2	**Estonian-speaking household.**	**Estonian-speaking household.**
	Consecutive introduction to Swedish (kindergarten).	
F1	**Estonian-speaking household.**	**Estonian-speaking household.** Unsuccessful attempt by F1 to get family to use Swedish some of the time.
	Consecutive introduction to Swedish (kindergarten).	
F2	**Estonian-speaking household.**	n.a. (Informant moved to Estonia on her own.)
	Consecutive introduction to Swedish (neighbour girl/kindergarten).	

6 Narrative Summaries

This section presents a summary of the narratives of all four informants, focusing on the major themes and points of discussion from the interviews.

6.1 M1 – A Diasporic, Multilingual Identity

M1 is a twenty-two-year-old male who has had a multilingual upbringing, having been exposed to Estonian, Latvian and Swedish in his immediate family, Swedish and Estonian (at different periods) in the surrounding society and Finnish from some members of his extended family. M1 stated that his parents in his opinion had ‘no intellectual interest [in] languages; they're simply bilingual’. He stated that it seemed to him that the family's language policy was not something had that been greatly planned but that his parents felt it was ‘a good idea’ and something worth doing.

As a child, M1 did not intellectualise his and his family's multilingualism; it was simply, in his words, ‘just the way things were’. He remembered being fascinated watching code-switching in operation at the dinner table (especially at gatherings of his extended family) and stated that he does not remember there being any rules around language use in his childhood.

M1 told the present authors that while his parents knew each other's languages to a certain extent, Swedish was their shared language. This 'one parent, one language' strategy with the societal language of Swedish as the language of inter-parent communication created a well-balanced linguistic environment that provided the children with input/exposure to all three languages. Furthermore, despite each parent speaking his or her native language to the children, the other parent could follow the conversation and not feel excluded (see Okita 2002 and Doyle 2013 on parental feelings of exclusion).

He reported that his identity is very much rooted in him being a multilingual member of two diasporic communities – Swedish-Estonians and Swedish-Latvians. He stated that he feels that it is the particular Swedish-diasporic varieties of the Estonian and Latvian languages (rather than the 'home' varieties of the languages) that he feels closest to. M1 rejects the exact mapping of language onto identity, a point he says that non-multilinguals have difficulty understanding.

M1 is thankful to his parents for raising him with both languages in Stockholm and feels that the transmission of the languages is intimately intertwined with the narrative of the Baltic refugees. Later, when he studied Estonian history at school, in particular nationalism and language nationalism, as well as linguistics at university, he was able to further reflect upon his childhood, his family, and his being a multilingual. In his words, of all the things he has been given he can hardly think of anything more 'valuable' than the opportunity to grow up multilingually, which has afforded him 'the opportunity to think about who [he is] in such a different way'.

He has received formal education in both Swedish (primary level) and Estonian (both primary and secondary levels), but not Latvian; with this in mind, M1 remarked that Latvian is very much a 'personal' language for him, while Swedish and Estonian are more 'functional' and academic in comparison. Estonian is his primary language for interacting with his brother, at university and in society; Swedish he uses as a 'secret code' with other Swedish-speakers.

He moved with his family to Tallinn at the age of 13. His Finnish-born mother was eager to relocate to Estonia, especially since Estonia was independent and then a new member state of the EU. Though living in Estonia, M1 and his brother speak to their younger sister in Latvian. This decision was made by the brothers themselves as a way to maintain Latvian in the family, therefore being an example of children's input (agency) in the shaping of a family's language policy and demonstrating sociolinguistic awareness and a keen interest in linguistic heritage.

M1 stated that the exact combination of languages that would feature in any future family of his would be dependent on where he would reside and what languages his partner would speak. However, he also stated that children should be allowed freedom over what language(s) they choose to speak at home and that parents should not decide to transmit a particular language or languages for ill-thought-out or superficial reasons.

6.2 M2 – Dislike for Language Mixing

Twenty-one (21) year-old M2 was raised in a monolingual Estonian-speaking household. This was, as M2 stated, not so much policy as it was something that was simply 'self-evident', despite his father having weak Estonian relative to his fluency in Swedish. In his own words, M2 stated: 'When I was a child, I don't think that he really got into sophisticated discussions with me /…/ you could get the idea what he wanted to say but it perhaps wasn't grammatically correct'. M2's mother had an interest in languages being a philologist. Responsibility for teaching reading and writing in Swedish was largely left to the school, while M2's mother made sure to teach him reading and writing in Estonian. That said, M2's father assisted his son with literacy and grammar in Swedish and even moved his son back to Stockholm for one year to attend high-school there, as he felt that his Swedish was beginning to become 'rusty' after having lived a few years in Estonia. M2 moved with his family to Tallinn at the age of 14. At the time of the interview he was taking a break from his bachelor's in business studies in Riga, Latvia, to complete his compulsory military service in southern Estonia.

M2 spoke a number of times of his dislike for mixed-language utterances. He felt strongly that languages should be kept separate and that utterances should be monolingual; he warned that (in certain contexts) the speaker of mixed-language utterances may risk having their intelligence questioned by some in society, e.g., by potential employers. At the same time, he did not believe that Estonian is endangered or threatened by increasing use of English, especially amongst the youth and in commerce (e.g., advertising).

There was a more serious, macro aspect to his attitudes towards language correctness, and that concerned immigrants into Sweden and their wish to be seen as Swedish, despite speaking a variety of Swedish that differed from the standardised variant. M2 felt that they should bring their language more in line with standardised Swedish in order to be taken seriously in their demands to be seen as *Swedes*. In a similar vein, acquisition of the Estonian language is seen by M2 as a very important part of being Estonian. He is glad that his parents raised him with Estonian and that he didn't, in his own words, turn out as a 'dull' Swede. In his mind, the Estonian language is the key to understanding the Estonian nation (read 'nation of Estonian people') as an 'insider' does, for example at the Singing Festival held every five years in Tallinn. Simply being an ethnic Estonian was not enough – one requires fluency in the language as well (cf. Valk 2010, 2014).

M2 made an interesting comment as regards the Estonian school in Stockholm, stating that were he to raise any future children in Stockholm – he stated that he feels Stockholm is a great place to raise children and wants his children to have the same childhood as him – he would not send them to this school as he does not believe the educators there provide a good enough model of correct spoken or written Estonian. He said that this opinion as to the quality of Estonian used in the school is also supported by comments his parents made in his childhood.

Given the above, it is likely that Swedish will play an ever-present, if somewhat practical and pragmatic, role in M2's life in the years to come. At present he converses with M1 in the language (the two were in the same graduating class), and has mentioned that he has been offered work in Norway because of his fluency in Swedish.

6.3 F1 – Language as a (Creative) Tool

Nineteen (19) year-old F1 has been living in Estonia for twelve years, having moved to the country aged seven years old. Of all the informants, she has lived for the longest time in Tallinn, and even started school there. Both of her parents are Swedish-Estonians, both grew up speaking Estonian and graduated from the Stockholm Estonian school, and both spoke/speak Estonian to their children. The informant stresses that her parents are fluent also in languages other than Estonian and Swedish and that her mother is interested in languages, being a teacher of English and Swedish. F1's parents have a good deal of linguistic awareness, especially the mother, who enjoys using various languages.

F1 does not remember strict rules or explicit policy being in use when she was a child. Estonian is the main language in the family and other languages (in particular Swedish) are used for certain pragmatic purposes: making jokes, puns, etc. In childhood it appeared to F1 that 'Swedish was far, far away', because the parents' immediate network consisted mainly of Estonian-speakers. The circle of Estonian-speakers seemed large enough that they did not feel isolated or too different from the majority in society. Still, Swedish was present from the beginning because the immediate neighbours were Swedish-Swedes and the two families were on friendly terms.

The move to Estonia was a conscious decision and may be considered as an act of identity policy. The family decided to move because Estonia had since regained independence and there were no political/legal/emotional obstacles to moving. The informant identifies herself as Estonian, but in her own words stated: 'I am not saying I am a Swede, but Sweden is also my home'.

F1 cannot imagine herself as a monolingual speaker, regardless of the language involved. Although this is speculation, she firmly believes she would have been a different person if she had not been raised speaking Estonian. Knowledge of Swedish is an additional resource for her, as would knowledge of any language, both for practical matters and for entertainment (e.g., books, TV, etc.). She even mentions that she would have liked to have stayed longer in Sweden in order to achieve a higher level in Swedish. Yet there are opportunities to use the language among Swedish-Estonians in Estonia, if there is a need for a 'secret' language, e.g., F1 and F2 converse in Swedish, especially when out in public. F1 learned several languages at school and is especially fond of French. There are few opportunities to use French in Estonia, but she tries to create a network of French-speaking friends on the internet. Her Facebook profile page is in French.

6.4 F2 – Proud to Be an Estonian(-Speaker)

F2's story is different from those of the other informants because she moved to Estonia alone on her own initiative, while her parents and two younger brothers remained in Sweden. At the time of the interview she was in first year of a bachelor's degree. F2's father has roots in the Swedish-Estonian community and her mother was born and raised in Estonia. Understandably, F2's mother did not have Swedish upon arrival to Sweden; she wanted it to be the language of communication between her and her husband, so that she could learn it. However, Estonian won out because F2's father wanted to speak Estonian at home. Eventually, F2's mother mastered Swedish sufficiently, although she has retained her Estonian accent somewhat.

According to F2, it was easy to maintain Estonian because of the close-knit Estonian community. Speaking Estonian at home appeared natural; while F2 admits there are people of Estonian extraction who are not fluent in Estonian, such is not the case with her relatives. Like the other informants who have siblings (M1 and F1), F2 grew up speaking Estonian to her brothers. Her Estonian was reinforced by summer visits to Estonia and summer camps. F2 started learning Swedish at the age of five or six from a neighbour girl.

As in all previous cases, the family did not have explicit rules or a strictly formulated policy. Occasional insertion of Swedish words into Estonian was not a problem: interestingly, F2 emphasizes that there is a difference between mixing languages in order to joke and filling in gaps in one's own Estonian lexicon. She does not think 'mixing languages' was ever a problem at home.

F2's Estonian identity is rather strong, and she rejects Swedish (monolingual) identity as 'boring'; she is glad that she is not '*just* Swedish'. Fluency in Swedish is a practical thing for her; for instance, she pointed out that when doing research, when she needs more information than what is available in Estonian, Swedish comes in handy. Estonian is, however, the language of emotions for her. She suggested that if she did not know Estonian, she would be a different person. F2 did not think that Estonian is endangered by English, but she mentioned that she did not like young Estonian people seemingly randomly throwing in English words into their Estonian utterances. However, she does not see any problem with using a word once it has become rooted in the language.

F2 is grateful to her parents for her being able to speak Estonian; she stated that she feels at home in the language and said that it would be strange to speak in another language to any future children. Because there is a great emphasis on languages in Estonian schools, it is not a problem, according to F2, to raise multilingual children in Estonia.

7 Discussion

The following is a brief discussion of the creation and implementation of FLP, and place, purity and multilingualism, all in the context of the present study and existing literature.

7.1 Policy Creation and Implementation

The present authors put forth that the FLP of each of the families in question has been successful – all four informants are fluent in both Swedish and Estonian (Latvian also in the case of M1), are successfully rooted in Estonia and have strong links to the Swedish-Estonian community in Stockholm, have a healthy regard for their linguistic and cultural heritages and are secure in their diverse identities. However, this has all occurred despite the *apparent* lack of explicit and strict policy measures (at least as seen by the narratives constructed in the interviews). Is it that children are not fully aware or understanding of their parents' policy decisions and measures? Or perhaps it is the case that the young adults have forgotten, or maybe that the policies in question were subtle and passed unnoticed? In such a case, what are the elements of successful but subtle policies?

In a study on the transmission of Russian in a 10-member strong immigrant family to Israel, Kopeliovich (2010) found that the father was more successful in getting the children to communicate with him in Russian (despite his lack of (explicit) ideology and management strategies) than the mother, who attempted to force the children to speak Russian at every turn. It seemed that the mother's strong ideological stance and unwavering management caused the children to be oppositional to her strategies and speaking Russian, whereas the father's willingness to make jokes in Hebrew and his relaxed manner were more conducive to the children speaking Russian.

Who creates policy at the family level? It should be clear that, in the early years of a family, when the children are small, it is the parents/guardians who make the policy decisions, whether or not those decisions are made on the back of much discussion or are taken for granted by the couple in question. However, as the children in the family grow and acquire ever-increasing degrees of autonomy, their agency is increasingly brought to bear on the family language policy (Palviainen and Boyd 2013). There were two cases of reported attempts by the children to amend the family's language policy: F1 was *un*successful in her attempt as a teenager to get her family to use more Swedish in order to practice, while M1 and his brother decided independently of their Swedish-Latvian father to speak to their younger sister in Latvian.

Harding-Esch and Riley (2003, 87) and Kopeliovich (2013, 273) emphasise above all else the importance of the child's happiness and emotional well-being, while Piller (2001) warns that unrealistic expectations of 'balanced' bilingualism can put an unnecessary and damaging strain on a couple's relationship with its children and can lead to disharmony in the family. In the present study, however, not only were all the FLPs 'successful', all informants were thankful that the Estonian language (and Latvian in case of M1) was transmitted to them by their parents. Reasons stated for this revolved around a connection and closeness to Estonia and/or the diasporic community, and the ethnolinguistic identity that the language gave them, setting them apart for their mono-lingual/cultural Swedish peers. The emphasis placed on these points varied between the informants, but they were present to some degree in all the interviews.

Just like no informant produced narratives in which explicit language management was discussed, no informant stated that they passed through periods of opposition to the FLP. Might the reason for this be connected to the socio-geographical context of the children's upbringing?

7.2 Place, Purity and Multilingualism

The importance of 'place' and how it is constructed has been a topic of discussion in sociolinguistic literature (Johnstone 2011) as well as in FLP research (Schwartz and Verschik 2013, 16). Estonia is described by the informants as being a multilingual place because everyone studies several languages at school, and for the fact that Estonian being a 'smaller' language, there is a greater necessity to learn and speak foreign languages.

Education and educational establishments can be supporters of multilingualism and multilingual identity. In the case of the current informants, the Estonian School in Stockholm established and reinforced a network of speaker role models, thus creating a context for an Estonian-language upbringing even outside of Estonia. Hence the comment by F1 that Swedish felt 'far, far away'.

The question of purism intersects with FLP, just as it does with anything connected to multilingualism. Kopeliovich (2013) argues for a 'delicate balance' between cultivating the non-societal language on the one hand, and 'avoiding futile fights against natural sociolinguistic forces' that push the children towards the majority language of the society (p. 273). The idea being that a purist language management climate at home proves to be counterproductive and the children, having left the family home, distance themselves from the parents' language because of its association in the children's mind with rigidity and conservatism. This is why we decided to ask our informants whether their parents strove to keep Estonian and Swedish separate.

All informants were quite unequivocal as to the relaxed atmosphere around language of their childhood, stating that there was no talk of 'pure Estonian' or there having been any proscription against mixing. This relaxed attitude also concerned the use of different varieties of Estonian ('home' Estonian and Swedish-Estonian); the informants indicated that they are aware of differences between 'home' and diasporic varieties, especially given that M2's and F2's mothers were born and grew up in Estonia. This kind of awareness is usual for Swedish-Estonians (Keevallik 2010).

8 Conclusions

Returning to the questions posed in the introduction, we present the following conclusions. The four families are quite similar in their FLPs, despite there being differences in family history, i.e., in two families the mother is a 'home' Estonian and in one family the parents are of different ethnolinguistic backgrounds. The similarity between the families lies in the commitment to a multilingual upbringing and maintenance of Estonian, which appears to the children to have occurred as a matter of fact, seemingly effortlessly and without explicit regulation. Remarkably, rules around purism and avoidance of 'contamination' were not reported by any of the informants. The above, however, does not point to a 'lack of policy'.

Firstly, even were parents hypothetically not to pay any thought to policy matters, they would nevertheless linguistically behave in a certain way, using or not using a certain language (languages) in certain situations, etc., and by so doing set up a pattern and shape the children's attitudes. Secondly, an absence of purism is not necessarily a sign of 'going with the flow', so to say, but may be a policy in and of itself. Finally, one must question to what extent children's memories or 'remembered reality' can adequately describe actual events in childhood, but also whether that matters and how much, given the power of one's memory of events and experiences to continuously shape our (language) attitudes. These are ambitious questions to be tackled by further research.

The legacy of the FLPs of all four families is that the adolescents express gratitude to their parents for the 'gift' of multilingualism and in their turn plan to bring up their own children multilingually, maintaining both (all) family languages – Estonian and Swedish (and Latvian also in one case). It could be said that the FLPs of the four families were (in part) 'inherited', being continuations of the FLPs of the families that came before (when the informants' parents themselves were growing up). The informants see their prospective FLP as something flexible, its eventual shape dependent on where they would live and what language(s) their partner would speak. Thus, choice in partner and future residence will understandably come to play a significant role.

While the informants reported some degree of tension between the diasporic-Estonian and home-Estonian aspects of their identity, all adolescent see Estonia as a favourable place to bring up multilingual children. The informants demonstrate linguistic awareness in discussing multilingualism: they realize that the sociolinguistic nature of multilingualism in Sweden and in Estonia is rather different; in the former, the ethnolinguistic composition of the population is quite diverse, while, in the latter, the educational system has a long tradition of teaching at least two second languages to all, and being a small country encourages its population to be multilingual.

It is hoped that this paper has satisfactorily demonstrated that the present language practices and attitudes of the four young adult informants have been equally shaped by their respective family's FLP and the sociolinguistic contexts of Stockholm and Tallinn, which have together prepared all four to successfully, confidently and happily navigate a multilingual future. The intergenerational transmission of language policy, all the way from an informants' grandparents to the informants' future children, strikes the authors as a worthy topic for future research.

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Part II
Temporal Reconsiderations: State Decentered by Enduring Connections and New Patterns

Negotiating a Place for German in Estonia: Contemporary Functions, Attitudes and Policies

Heiko F. Marten

Abstract This chapter investigates policies which shape the role of the German language in contemporary Estonia. Whereas German played for many centuries an important role as the language of the economic and cultural elite in Estonia, it severely declined in importance throughout the twentieth century. Mirrored on this historical background, the paper provides an overview of the current functions of German and attitudes towards it and it discusses how these functions and attitudes are influenced by policies of various actors from inside and outside Estonia. The paper argues that German continues to play a significant role: while German is no longer a lingua franca, it still enjoys a number of functions and prestige in clearly defined niches involving communication within German-speaking circles or between Estonians and Germans. The interplay of language policies of the Estonian and the German-speaking states as well as by semi-state and private institutions succeed in maintaining German as an additional language in contemporary Estonia.

Keywords German • Estonia • Language attitudes • Language functions

1 Introduction: Past Contexts of German in Estonia and Theoretical and Methodological Agenda

From the Middle Ages until the first half of the twentieth century, German played an important role as the language of the economic, administrative and cultural elite in the areas of current-day Estonia. As a result of mostly German-speaking crusaders' conquests, the territory of contemporary Estonia was divided among the Sword Brethren and later Livonian Order and German-speaking bishops, and an increasingly independent merchant rule in the towns. In all of these political units, German was the dominant language of the elite – at first Low German, which, after its

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decline as a written language, was replaced by High German. The German aristocracy kept its privileges when the territory came under successive waves of Polish, Swedish, and, finally, Russian rule. As a result of its societal status throughout centuries, the Baltic German nobility had long-term influence on the Estonian culture and language; German, for example, is one of the most influential contact languages for Estonian as reflected in hundreds of (Low and High) German loanwords. German remained the strongest language of the economy and of education even when it was increasingly replaced by Russian as the language of administration during Russification policies of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In the early 20th century, the Russian empire carried out a language policy of "three local languages" in Estonia, German alongside Estonian and Russian (Rannut 2010, 13–14). In the first period of Estonian independence (1918–1940), Estonian became the official language of the state, but Germans like other minorities enjoyed cultural autonomy and German continued to be used as a language of the economy and, not least because of its international role as a major language of e.g. culture and science throughout Europe, was the most popular foreign language at school. The importance of German in Estonia has severely declined since 1939 when ethnic Germans were ordered to "return" to the Reich. During the Soviet occupation, Russian became the second language of Estonian society, with both English and German being strong in foreign language learning (Rannut 2010, 14). Since German is not one of the major languages in the country today, it is usually used as a foreign language learnt through formal education. Yet, German continues to be used in Estonia in various domains. Importantly, its historical role continues to influence its current position, e.g., when it is used for a commodification of the past in tourism.

Mirrored on the historical role of German in Estonia, this chapter aims to shed light on the various functions German inhabits in contemporary Estonia, and on language-policy players from inside and outside Estonia who influence these functions. Language policy is understood in this chapter in a broadest possible way in the tradition of language policy and planning, including all aspects of Spolsky's (2004, 2009) framework of beliefs, ideologies, practices and management (language policy or planning in the narrower sense), all of which influence each other reciprocally. At the same time, the paper discusses which types of language policy and planning – frequently distinguished as status, corpus, usage, acquisition, prestige, discourse planning, (cf. e.g., Hornberger 2006, 28–29; Haarmann 1986; Lo Bianco 2005) – contribute to shape the current position of German in Estonia. The discussion follows partly Ammon's (2015) classification of roles of the German language in international contexts, with German as a language of an officially recognized traditional minority, of the economy, as an academic language, in tourism, in politics and diplomacy, as a language of media and art, and in education. Accordingly, this paper discusses attitudes towards German and German skills among the Estonian population, traces of the historical role of German particularly as taken up by language users and policy makers for contemporary purposes, policies and practices regarding German as an L1 in Estonia today, "exterior" language policy, i.e., policies by the predominantly German-speaking states and other actors from outside Estonia which aim at strengthening the status of the German language in Estonian society, and policies affecting German as a language of business, tourism, and in the educational system. In addition to analyzing practices by speakers of German as an L1 and as a foreign language and top-down policies, the chapter also focuses on the role of activists who as individuals or as bottom-up organizations influence the role of German in Estonia today. In total, the interplay of these different language practices and policies provide a regular presence of German in various domains of contemporary Estonian society.

The data was collected by different methods and from various sources. In particular, the 2011 census data on Germans skills is presented along with some results of a survey on language attitudes and learning motivation conducted among high school and university students in Estonia between 2010 and 2014. Additionally for this chapter, policy documents and statements by language policy actors made in various official and unofficial contexts were analyzed. The overview of relevant language-policy actors from Germany and their interplay with policies originating from Estonia is based on the author's six-year-long involvement (2009–2015) in Germany's exterior language policy. This picture is completed by ethnographic observations made both by the author and his colleagues from Tallinn University, in particular with regard to Linguistic Landscapes studies, and their analysis of individual instances of the use of German, e.g., in ergonyms. In this, the chapter also follows methodologies of "Spot German" (cf. Heimrath 2017; Marten and Saagpakk 2017), i.e., the systematic collection, classification and didactic application of the presence of the German language and symbols relating to German-speaking countries in a previously defined area in which the German language is not one of the main languages of contemporary society.

2 German Language Skills and Attitudes Towards German in Estonia

The people of Estonia have a high level of competence in German, though not at the same level as Estonian, Russian and English. In part, these numbers reflect native-German speaking residents. Among the 1,294,455 permanent residents (2011 Population and Housing Census), there were 448, 21, and 24 individuals with German, Austrian, and Swiss citizenship, respectively.[1] There were 1544, 25, and 23 people with German, Swiss, and Austrian "ethnic nationality", respectively (Eesti Statistika PC0428). Altogether 522 individuals claimed German as their mother tongue (Eesti Statistika PC0431). Slightly more than a tenth of population (130,191 individuals) claimed knowledge of German as a foreign language, compared with 38.3% who claimed knowledge of English, 12.9% of Finnish and 6.2% of languages labeled as

[1] Eesti Statistika PC0421; note that the statistics do not differentiate between Swiss with a German-speaking and with other backgrounds.

Table 1 Estonian population according to 2011 census by age group and command of foreign languages (Eesti Statistika PC0438)

	Total	English	% of age group	Finnish	% of age group	German	% of age group	Other foreign language(s)	% of age group
Age groups total	1,294,455	495,420	38.3	167,315	12.9	130,191	10.6	79,616	6.2
0–14	199,891	366,35	18.3	1,165	0.6	3,241	1.6	2,615	1.3
15–29	254,857	198,936	78.1	31,232	12.3	45,593	17.9	26,152	10.3
30–49	352,517	179,153	50.8	82,362	23.5	40,311	11.4	27,776	7.9
50–64	257,750	59,924	23.2	38,133	14.8	23,598	9.2	13,705	5.3
65 and older	229,440	20,772	9.1	14,423	6.3	17,448	7.6	9,368	4.1

"another foreign language" i.e., excluding non-native knowledge of Russian and Estonian (see Table 1 above). Notably, in all age groups, except for 30–49 and 50–64, a slightly bigger share of people reported knowledge of German than of Finnish.

The relatively high proportion of individuals with competence in German is arguably based partly on its historic importance, in particular in the 80+ group which may still have had German-language classes before the Soviet occupation, but also reflects the role of German as one of the major foreign languages in the Soviet educational system. Practical use of German could have been somewhat higher than for English because of exchanges with Socialist East Germany, even though the practical use of languages other than Estonian and Russian was generally low. In the youngest age groups, the higher number of individuals claiming knowledge in German in contrast to Finnish is one of the results of Estonian public schooling where few students choose to study Finnish; Finnish has been learnt at a later age for job purposes and by the parts of the population which have worked in Finland, and among the generations socialized in Soviet times because of the importance of Finnish TV for Estonian society (see also Koreinik & Praakli this volume).

Besides language skills, in order to understand the role of German in contemporary Estonia, attitudes toward the language also play a role in its presence and function. The following are some of the core results of the survey "Language Learning Motivation in the Baltic States" (LLMBS) conducted between 2010 and 2014 by a group of lecturers of German in the Baltic States. For the Estonian sample, more than 1,000 respondents, mostly high school and university students from different parts of the country and with different language backgrounds, were asked about the importance and functions that they assign to the German language today (cf. Breckle and Johanning-Radžienė (2013) for a more detailed insight into the methodology of the survey).

Questions focused on the role of German indicate that German is considered an important language and an asset. Figure 1 shows that slightly less than 60% either "entirely agrees" or "rather agrees" that "it is useful to have a German language certificate or a school report which includes German", as opposed to only 8.1% who

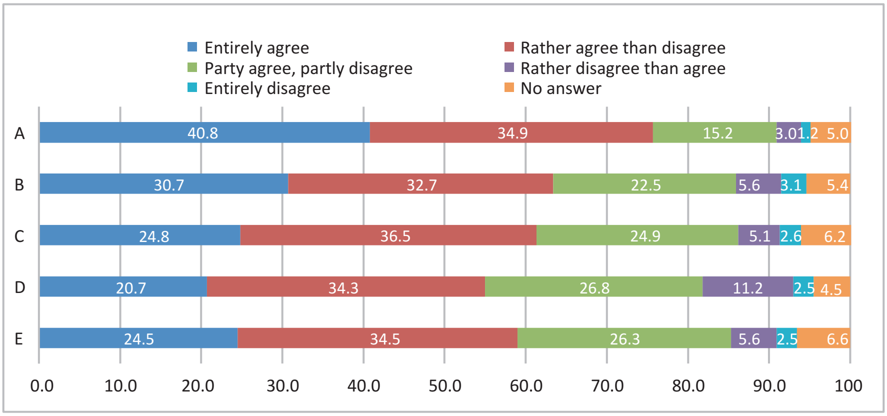

Fig. 1 Usefulness of a German language certificate, importance of German as an international language and for being well-educated, German culture as interesting, and usefulness of German when travelling in %; n = 1009
A: The German language is useful when travelling, B: German culture and language are interesting, C: It belongs to a good education to have knowledge about the German language, culture, authors, philosophers or similar, D: Also in our times German is an important international language, E: It is useful to have a German language certificate or a school report which includes German

entirely or rather disagrees. More than a half of the respondents support the statement “also in our times German is an important international language”. In addition, respondents consider the German language and culture useful when travelling (75.7%), relevant for being well-educated (61.3%), and interesting (53.4%).

A comparative perspective of German usefulness vis-à-vis a number of other languages was also surveyed. Figure 2 shows that German is considered the fourth-most relevant language for both work and leisure purposes, after English and Estonian, but for working purposes ahead of Russian and well ahead of Finnish, French and others. Notably, usefulness for work was considered higher than usefulness for leisure for all languages except Estonian.

The survey also revealed that pragmatic attitudes dominate with regard to the motivation of foreign-language learning. In summary, this implies that knowledge of German as an additional language is still quite high, and it is also valued as an important language.

3 Practices and Policies: A “Taking Up” of the Historical Role of German

The historical role of German in Estonia contributes to shaping the language’s role in contemporary Estonian society. Besides the enduring influences of historic German-language contacts in Estonian in personal and place names, it is of interest

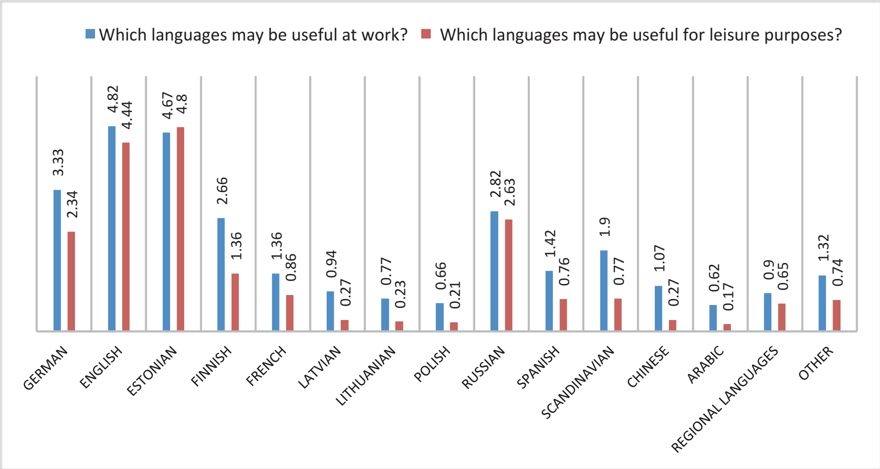

Fig. 2 Usefulness of Languages in Estonia (n = 1009; mean scores; 0 = not useful at all; 5 = maximally useful)

to understand what implications history has for the awareness of historical multilingualism and for the acquisition of skills in the German language among the Estonian population today. Data from the LLMBS survey reveal that history is of little importance for evaluating the role of German today – neither in a positive (i.e., history would encourage people to learn German) nor in a negative way (i.e., people would be discouraged by history). Only slightly more than one tenth of the respondents “entirely” or “rather” agreed with the statement “because of historical events people have a negative image of Germany and therefore don’t choose to learn German”, which more than half disagreed with. On the other hand, slightly less than a quarter (23.3%) either entirely or partly agreed that “in my country, many people learn German because Germany is historically connected to my country”.

The survey thereby confirms my observations while working as a lecturer of German linguistics at Tallinn University (2009–2015). Findings revealed that even among students of German philology, the awareness of German in today’s Estonia was surprisingly low. For example, students were not aware of the German origins of the name of famous historical sites and tourist attractions such as the “Kiek in de Kök”[2] artillery tower in the old town of Tallinn. In a more systematic way, Saagpakk (2017) reports how she investigated the role of German with students in a number of projects following the Linguistic Landscape approach, with the purpose not only to document the presence of German, but also to contextualize the historical role of German among the younger generations. According to Saagpakk, many students were puzzled when they were asked to collect 10 German texts in public space , and when doing their research mostly found German in its historical role (e.g. on church

[2] ‘Peep into the kitchen’ in Low German.

epitaphs). In a similar way, the project,[3] conducted by the Estonian Association of Teachers of German (*Eesti Saksa Keele Õpetajate Selts*) and the German Embassy in Estonia, collects examples of German found by school teachers and their students across Estonia.[4] The project is not limited to past language and culture contacts, but also includes examples of German organizations, product and brand names; at the time of writing (September 2015) the category of historical contacts has the highest number of recorded examples (62 out of 195). This project stands in the tradition of "Spot German," which aims at analyzing the presence and functions of the German language and symbols like flags, products, brands in regions without a strong obvious connection to Germany (e.g., as conducted in Malta, cf. Heimrath 2017).

Another frequent example of the presence of German is the commodification of the German-speaking past in ergonyms, such as the chain cafés "Kehrwieder" or the "Löwenruh" restaurant in Tallinn.[5] Whereas the latter is an example of taking up a concrete historical German place name,[6] the former plays with history by evoking associations with the German past among tourists of all backgrounds and additionally by creating nostalgia among Germans with a family background in the Baltic States. These examples show both how the historical role of German, in a limited way, but also the commodification of German, influences language choices in domains such as tourism, business or education.

The influence of the past on language policies is more evident in the continuing relevance of German as a dominant language for specific sub-domains, e.g. academic disciplines as history, religious studies, law or linguistics as well as for specific professions such as lawyers. Since the Estonian law is to a large extent based on German law (cf. e.g., Pärnamägi 2014), it is highly advantageous for Estonian lawyers to be able to consult legal commentaries on German law, of which there are by far higher quantities than commentaries on Estonian law. Notably, the *Bibliographia iuridica Estonica*, the annual bibliography of Estonian law, appears in Estonian, English and German. In a similar way, academic staff in the history departments of Estonian universities report that the limited abilities of many students to read German which, limits their access to historical sources and restricts research of Estonian history to the twentieth century (cf. e.g. an interview with Tallinn University professor of history Ulrike Plath, Sakova-Merivee 2014). Sakova-Merivee (2015) summarizes that German is "absolutely essential" for people with an interest in Estonian culture and history. The policies by representatives of historical, legal or other institutions, thereby, favor the German language and its acquisition based on its historical role.

[3] "Discover places in Estonia with a connection to Germany".

[4] saksa-eesti.ee.

[5] "Come back" and "lion's rest" in German, respectively.

[6] The restaurant is located in a building which once belonged to a manor of the same name; the nearby park with a well-known lion's statue also carries the name in the German version.

4 Policies Influencing the Role of German as an L1 in Estonia Today

In contemporary Estonia, German is learnt mostly as a foreign language, but, as the census results (shared in Sect. 2) indicate, there are also some L1 or L2 speakers. Individuals belong to two major groups with largely separate profiles and needs, even though these groups overlap to some degree. The present-day traditional German minority in Estonia consists overwhelmingly of Soviet-time migrants from other parts of the Soviet Union rather than descendants of Baltic Germans.[7] Ethnic Germans whose ancestors had settled close to the Black Sea or in the Caucasus were deported during the Stalin era, mostly to Kazakhstan and Siberia. After their rehabilitation, they were allowed to move to other parts of the Soviet Union. Yet, many of these ethnic Germans, in particular those from the younger generations, had by that time become dominantly Russophone. According to the 1989 census, there were 3,466 ethnic Germans in Estonia, of whom only 739 were born in Estonia (1,391 were born in Russia, 639 in Kazakhstan, 345 in Ukraine; Statistikaamet 1997, 18–27). The majority of these Germans subsequently migrated to Germany during the 1990s: between 1992 and 1997, an average of 322 ethnic Germans from Estonia settled in Germany each year, declining to an average of 82 persons between 1998 and 2003 and to 17 individuals annually between 2004 and 2009, in total amounting to 2,520 persons between 1992 and 2009 (Worbs et al. 2013, 32–33).

In terms of language policies, Germans in Estonia founded organizations at the end of the 1980s, with the purpose both to revitalize German traditions and to serve as language activist organizations. Today, the umbrella organization of Germans from other parts of the former Soviet Union in Estonia, the Union of Germans in Estonia (*Eestimaa Sakslaste Selts*), is a member of the Federal Union of European Nations (FUEN) as well as of the Estonian Union of National Minorities (*Eestimaa Rahvuste Ühendus*). These organizations are carrying out language policies directed both to the minority and to the general population without a German background. The main organizations and local groups promote awareness of the German minority and the German language in order to get support for cultural activities. In addition, language acquisition policies aim at younger persons who see themselves as ethnic Germans and who have the wish to learn their parents' (and often grandparents') culture and language. *Eestimaa Sakslaste Selts* receives modest funding from the Estonian state and, for specific projects such as language courses, from the German government. There have been several groups in different towns throughout Estonia within the organization, but as chairwoman Erika Weber reports (personal communication), the critical mass of active members has been diminishing because of migration to Germany since the 1990s.

The second group of German L1 speakers in Estonia are German-speaking migrants who are part of a new diaspora of Germans who have come to Estonia in recent years as part of the broader processes of European integration and globalization. Reasons for migration to Estonia are manifold; some members of this group

[7] Very few Baltic Germans stayed in Estonia after 1939/1941.

have a spouse from Estonia, others are in Estonia permanently for job purposes, still others are part of international transnational groups such as students, academic staff, or diplomats. Most members of this group use L1 German on an everyday basis at home and in their personal and professional networks, thereby giving German a regular place on the linguistic market of Estonia.

Members of both L1 groups – the Soviet-era population and more recent immigrants – engage to varying degrees in language policy and other activities in a network of German-language institutions with other non-L1 speakers, including activities based at schools with a strong German element or related to German businesses. Some of these activities enjoy support from Estonian or non-Estonian state institutions. The arguably strongest nexus of these activities is the German congregation within the Estonian Lutheran Church. It has a priest from Germany, church services, leisure activities for adults and children, and a regular informal pub meeting.[8] In terms of language policy, the network may be seen as a result of language practices aiming to support a German-language space within Estonian society, mostly for the members of the German-speaking minority, but which is open to others and thereby spreads the German language into mainstream society. Both L1 groups are largely separate groups of society, but may overlap in individual situations, e.g., regarding membership and participation in the German Lutheran congregation.

In total, language policies by individuals or activist organizations, other institutions created for the needs of the German-speaking minority, and the state (mostly through the funding of activities) interact in creating space for L1 speakers of German and their descendants. These policy actors frequently relate to the historical role of German, but mostly aim at providing possibilities to use the German language in certain niches in contemporary Estonia and strive to improve the status of German in society at large.

5 Exterior Language Policies by Germany and Austria

An important element in language policy with regard to German in Estonia is what the German Foreign Office calls its "exterior cultural and educational policy". This concept denotes the "third pillar of foreign policies" besides political and economic policies which explicitly includes the aim to "support the German language in Europe and the world" (cf. Auswärtiges Amt). Whereas the Estonian state's language policy towards German is largely shaped by acquisition policies in formal education (see below), which interact with language choices and activities by other policy actors, major state players from Germany and other German-speaking countries react to existing practices and demands by institutions and individuals in Estonia. State or state-supported institutions in Estonia include the Goethe Institute, the German Academic Exchange Service (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, DAAD), and the Central Office for German Schools Abroad (Zentralstelle für das Auslandsschulwesen, ZfA). These institutions conduct a series of active support for

[8] http://baltische-wochenzeitung.de/index.html

language policies, often in close cooperation with Estonian partners (e.g. the German Cultural Institute Tartu, Deutsches Kulturinstitut Tartu). The German Embassy has a coordinating position and, for instance, helps organizing and financing German Language Days with games, discussions, readings and similar elements at schools all over Estonia, but the institutions are independent and not part of the Embassy (even though a large share of the funding stems from sources by the German government). The Austrian Embassy conducts similar policies on a smaller scale. Prestige and awareness campaigns are organized by various institutions, most dominantly the "Saksa kevad" ("German Spring") series of educational, academic, business and other events conducted every spring since 2010 in Tallinn, Tartu and other places. As an example, the exhibition "Eine Sprache – viele Geschichten" ("One language – many stories") held in the Solaris shopping centre in Tallinn and at the Tallinn Goethe Institute throughout 2015[9] displayed the importance of the German language in the lives of a number of famous as well as ordinary Estonians, including figures as prominent as Arvo Pärt. The German state and non-state organizations are present in the educational field on all levels (see above), but also with film screenings, theatre and concert events and similar. The DAAD runs scholarship programs, conducts information meetings at schools and universities, and finances several positions of German academic staff at Estonian universities. Language courses are available at the German Cultural Institute Tallinn (in cooperation with Goethe Institute) and at the German Cultural Institute Tartu. The ZfA finances a network of teachers from Germany who teach at schools throughout Estonia.

An exceptional example of joint state language policies are the German, Austrian and Swiss reading rooms at the National Library of Estonia, which are co-financed by the governments of Estonia (rooms and staff), Germany, Austria and Switzerland (books and other media). This long-term commitment was threatened in 2014 when the leadership of the national library announced the closure of the rooms and the incorporation of the existing media into the library's general collection, which would in turn have resulted in a disbandment of the support by the German, Austrian and Swiss governments. However, a massive campaign by the three governments, a users' petition and lobbying by the Estonian Association of German Teachers was able to stop these plans, thereby providing an example of how different layers of language policy actors may successfully interact. In total, the activities by German institutions succeed in providing a space for the German language in Estonia through a combination of status, prestige, acquisition, and usage policies.

6 German Language Policies in Business and Tourism

In addition to policies and practices by and for L1 speakers or conducted by the German-speaking countries, German plays also a role within the language policies of other institutions in Estonia, in particular in the economy. This part of the chapter

[9] http://www.goethe.de/ins/ee/de/tal/ver.cfm?fuseaction=events.detail&event_id=20549179

draws on "Linguistic Landscape" research and on a number of micro studies, partly within the context of familiarizing students of German philology with the presence of German in their everyday surroundings. Qualitative as well as quantitative Linguistic Landscape (LL) research including interviews and ethnographic observation carried out in Estonia since 2008 has revealed that German is of rather limited importance in public space in Estonia. Pošeiko (2015) investigated the LL of 9 cities: Narva, Pärnu and Viljandi in Estonia, Valmiera, Ventspils and Daugavpils in Latvia and Druskininkai, Alytus and Visagina in Lithuania, and found German on 0.8% of all signs. Estonian, English and Russian are – not surprisingly – by far more present. Yet, in comparison with other major European languages such as French, Spanish or Polish or the languages of neighboring regions such as Finnish or Swedish which one might assume to have a certain presence, German is more prominent in a sense of being "best of the rest".

However, when looking at specific niches within Estonian society, the result changes. One of the institutions in the network of German institutions in Estonia is the German-Baltic Chamber of Commerce. Germany is among the most important trade partners of Estonia; in 2014 Germany ranked second in imports to Estonia and sixth in exports from Estonia, compared to Austria: 20th imports/30th exports, Switzerland: 22nd imports/25th exports (Statistics Estonia 2015, 260-261). A qualitative study of language needs among member companies of the Chamber (Sikamägi 2015) shows that German is the dominant language in business communication between German and Estonian companies being ahead of English, while Estonian and Russian play only a marginal role. Even though the respondents presume that the role of English is going to increase in the future, the study concludes that German is still an important asset when doing business, in particular with regard to so-called "soft factors" such as how to develop confidence in a business partner: "There is no doubt that German language skills create a clear advantage in Estonian-German business communication. One third of the respondents (9 out of 27 respondents) even claimed that they could not fulfill their work duties without knowledge of German" (Sikamägi 2015, 73).

In a panel discussion on the role of German studies in Northern Europe at Tallinn University in June 2015, Maren Diale-Schellschmidt, CEO of the German-Baltic Chamber of Commerce, confirmed that competence in German is badly needed: "If someone wishes to have concrete connections with German business partners, they are intensively looking for people with a good knowledge of German." This focus on the practical applicability of German is thereby in line with the pragmatic attitudes to language learning revealed in the LLMBS survey in which cultural or historical aspects of German played only a minor role.

The role of German in the economy is also confirmed when looking at the data of the saksa-eesti web site project (see above). Besides historical connections, German companies, advertisements or brand names are a second important category which participants identified in their search for signs relating to German in Estonia. Also the study by Pošeiko (2015, 118) summarizes that the most common presence of German in public space is in shops and on construction sites.

Companies frequently use and promote German as an additional language when addressing an explicitly German-speaking audience. This applies to a call center opened in Võru in 2013 by a German energy supplier, which exclusively serves the German market in German.[10] Similarly, Hütt (2015) reports of internal language practices within a call center in Tallinn working on behalf of an international airline. Of the 22 employees, 7 use German and English, 5 Chinese, 3 French and English, 3 Italian and English, 3 Russian and 1 Spanish, which makes German the language of second-highest importance (after English) in customer care. Yet, her research also reveals that German is used exclusively in communication with customers from Germany; English is used with persons of other backgrounds (including many people with a native language not represented among the company's staff), and English is also (besides Estonian) the language of internal communication.

In tourism, language policies which support the use of German are influenced by the fact that tourists from German-speaking countries are among the biggest groups in Estonia: in 2014, 112,877 tourists from Germany were registered in Estonian accommodation establishments, thereby amounting to the third-largest group behind tourists from Finland and Russia and on an equal level with visitors from Latvia (Eesti Statistika 2015, 377). Sikamägi reports from an interview with a tourism manager that German tourists increasingly know (at least some) English, but that they still overwhelmingly wish to hear and use German during their holidays; if there is a lack of German information this may even lead to German tourists choosing not to travel to a certain location (Sikamägi 2015, 62).

Linguistic Landscape research of touristic settings in Estonia reveals that German is a possible additional language which appears regularly in addition to the main languages of Estonian society, even though there are also domains in which German is less prominent than might be suspected. For instance, there is a lack of German on restaurant menus: Rajasaare (2015) investigated the restaurants elected as the "50 best restaurants of Estonia" in 2014. Her research reveals that only one of these restaurants' web sites has a German version. Estonian was present on all web sites, English on 26, Russian on 18, and Finnish on 12. Interviews with staff of eight of these restaurants explained that Estonian, English, Russian and Finnish are also used in oral communication in the restaurants; few Germans visit these restaurants, even though the interviews revealed that two restaurants explicitly take up the German tradition of the region. Similarly, an LL project on tourism conducted in six medium-size towns in the Baltic states including Narva and Pärnu (Marten et al. 2012) found that German is a regular, although not omnipresent language on tourism information centers' or hotels' web sites. Yet, German is hardly present on signs in public space relating to tourism: Of 415 tourism-related signs (relating to museums, cafés, information stands or similar) in the six towns, German is present on only seven. On written signs in the Old Town of Tallinn, German has been found to be the fifth-common language after Estonian, English, Russian and Finnish (Haas 2015). German is most frequent in historical contexts, which also explains a discrepancy between Lower Old Town where a lot of shops and restaurants are located and where Finnish is more common, and Toompea, the Cathedral Hill with mostly administrative buildings, where German is more frequent (Haas 2015).

[10] http://www.danpower.ee/tutvustus

7 Beliefs, Policies and Practices in the Educational Sector

The educational sector is the place where the presence of German and German-language policies is most usual for Estonians. The principles of the Estonian state's policies towards German were stated in the Foreign Language Strategy 2009–2015, in which German is labeled as one of "the most common languages in global communication and key languages in the economic, cultural and social spheres" (Eesti võõrkeelte strateegia 2009–2015/2017, 5). The importance of German is further stressed because of the "close cooperation between Estonia and German-speaking countries in a number of fields and the contemporary and historical traditions we share in terms of history and culture" (Eesti võõrkeelte strateegia 2009–2015, 16). In particular, the strategy stresses that German should be learnt as a first or "A language", taught from grade 2 or second or "B language", taught from grade 6 rather than third foreign language, since "studying it as a C or D language will not ensure that Estonia has an adequate number of good and very good speakers of German in the future" (ibid.). Diale-Schellschmidt[11] confirms that "we help our membership companies (…) to find staff, and we are still surprised how many candidates with good German skills there are, but this is decreasing."

Statistics show that, of the 142,515 students who were enrolled in schools of general education in Estonia in 2014/2015, German as a foreign language was learnt by 14,120 students (9.9%). German is thereby far behind English (115,371) and Russian (50,851), but far ahead of French (4,199) and all other languages (in total 3,185).[12] The number of students who learn German has been in decline in absolute and relative numbers, in the year 2008/2009 25,095 out of 154,481 (16.2%) learnt German after it had reached its peak in the mid-1990s with 22.4% of students learning German in 1997/1998 (Eesti võõrkeelte strateegia 2009–2015, 13). In 2014, 219 students took the final school exams in German, of whom 44 candidates did not reach B1 level of the Common European Framework for Reference of Languages, whereas 58 passed B1, 54 B2 and 63 candidates C1 exams.[13] This indicates that there is still a balance between candidates who manage to reach a good level and those who don't.

The LLMBS survey also reveals that German is still an important language in the educational sector, and that those people who choose to learn German are generally satisfied with their decision. Table 2 shows the languages which, according to the respondents, should be learnt in Estonia as foreign languages at school:

The findings demonstrate that the role of English as the most important foreign language is uncontested. Russian dominates as the second language, whereas German clearly leads the list of third foreign languages introduced mostly in secondary school from 10th grade onwards. German also scores considerably higher than

[11] Panel discussion on the role of German in June 2015.

[12] Numbers for the school year 2014/2015, http://www.haridussilm.ee/?leht=alus_yld_6

[13] http://www.innove.ee/UserFiles/Riigieksamid/2014/Statistika/Koolid_saksa_keel_2014.html

Table 2 Which languages should in which order be learnt at schools in Estonia

1st Foreign language (%)	2nd Foreign language (%)	3rd Foreign language (%)
English 69.9	Russian 46.9	German 31.6
Russian 10.8	German 19.7	Russian 13.1
Estonian 4.5	English 12.3	Finnish 10.1
German 4.3	Finnish 3.7	French 5.2
Finnish 1.2	French 2.0	English 4.0
Others 2.0	Spanish 0.8	Chinese 1.7
No (valid) answer 7.4	Others 2.7	Spanish 1.6
	No (valid) answer 12.0	Swedish 1.0
		Others 2.9
		No (valid) answer 28.9

n = 1009

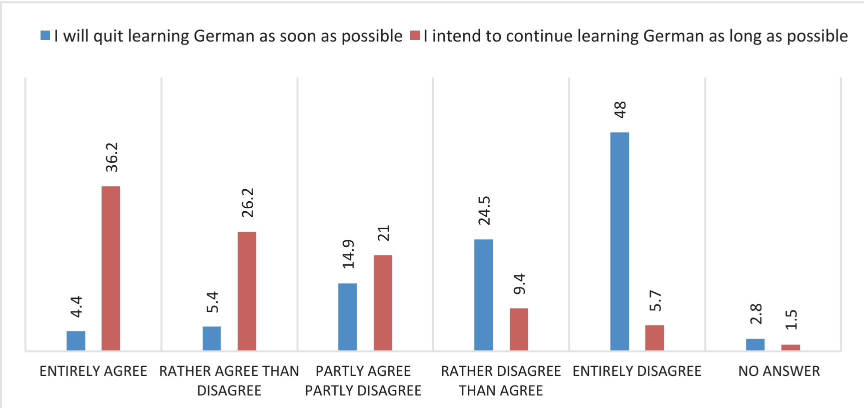

Fig. 3 Intentions to quit/continue learning German among respondents who currently learn German in %; n = 542

any other language (notably Finnish and French) as possible first or second foreign languages.[14]

In the survey, respondents who learnt German at the time of taking the survey were asked about their future plans. The overwhelming share (72.5%) of respondents does not wish to quit learning German or intend to continue learning it as long as possible (62.4%), which indicates a general level of satisfaction with the choice (Fig. 3).

In practice, the regular presence of German in education shows that educational policies provide a place for German which corresponds to wishes by students. Among the highlights are several schools with a dedicated German profile such as Tallinn German High School (*Tallinna Saksa Gümnaasium*) which is co-financed by the German state. This school introduces German as a foreign language in first grade; from

[14] Note that the respondents could choose that less than three languages should be learnt which explains the high number of invalid answers; the third place of Estonian among first foreign languages is caused by answers from respondents with Russian as L1.

seventh grade it is possible to choose schooling with German as the medium of instruction in most subjects which leads to the opportunity to take both the Estonian and the German high school exams. In addition, there are 14 schools spread throughout Estonia which have been invited by the ZfA and other German institutions active in Estonia (see above) to be part of the global PASCH (Schools: Partners of the Future, Schulen: Partner der Zukunft) network,[15] which allows for students to take the DSD German language test to facilitate easier access to German universities. Many Estonian schools that teach German also have a partner school in a German-speaking countries.

Even if German is quite prominent in several schools in Estonia, the position of German is also under threat, e.g. by requirements for group sizes which cannot always be met or by closing schools where German is taught[16] which are often caused by the general decline of student numbers as a result of demographic changes in society. As a reaction to such developments, the Estonian Association of Teachers of German (Eesti Saksa Keele Õpetajate Selts) not only creates an abundance of opportunities for its members, providing them with teaching materials or organising adult education events, summer courses and conducting campaigns to raise awareness among students and calls for competitions in which students get the opportunity to demonstrate their skills in order to keep the importance of German on the agenda of educational policies.[17] Regarding pre-school education, it was seen by activists of German such as enthusiastic teachers of German or representatives of Germany's and Austria's exterior policies as a major step forward that German was introduced to a number of kindergartens in different parts of the country; a frequent argumentation of educational promoters of German is that German should be chosen as first foreign language in order to guarantee sufficient skills. Goethe Institute has an "Early German" ("Frühes Deutsch") campaign and provides courses and materials for pre-school educators. In 2014/2015, there were 28 kindergartens in Estonia offering German.[18]

In higher education, German is available both as language courses for students of other fields as well as in programs of German philology on BA and MA level at the universities of Tallinn and Tartu. In addition, every year a handful of MA students graduate to become teachers of German. The programs of German in higher education are, however, under regular supervision with regard to minimum student numbers and the re-organization of study programs. Not least because of the lower language competence of many new students, their focus has been shifting from philological contents to language-learning oriented programs. At Tallinn University, the decision taken in 2015 to abandon many programs focusing on German language and culture in favor of general philological studies with a very small proportion of courses dedicated to a specific language and culture, has been met by heavy criticism among academic staff and leaves strong doubts if there will be sufficient place for a deeper understanding of linguistic structures, literatures and cultures. The focus of Estonian educational policies on fields such as the sciences and

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[15] http://www.pasch-net.de/par/spo/eur/est/deindex.htm

[16] For example Tallinn German High School will be merged with Tallinn Sikupilli Gymnasium.

[17] http://www.edlv.ee/www4/

[18] http://www.goethe.de/ins/ee/de/tal/lhr/ffl/kgs.html

engineering make it difficult for foreign languages other than English to maintain their position in Estonian institutions of higher education, even though scholars from other fields complain about a lack of knowledge in German in the light of the historic connections between Estonia and the German language (see above). Yet, German continues to be used occasionally as a language of writing academic theses also in other fields such as law or religion.

8 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter shows that German, once a lingua franca, still plays a significant role in the linguistic market of contemporary Estonia, as a language in addition to the three dominant local languages Estonian, Russian and English. There is a critical mass of speakers of German, consisting of ethnic German residents of Estonia, of learners with different backgrounds, and of German speakers who are in Estonia only for a limited period of time. The existence and the linguistic behavior of the speech community create a regular presence of German in certain niches.

The LLMBS survey indicates that attitudes towards the German language are largely positive, and German is considered an additional important language within Estonian and European contexts. Also Linguistic Landscape research shows that German – together with Finnish – is at the top of the less-used languages in Estonia. German is also considered an asset in the economy, in tourism and the academic world. Language policy regarding German takes place on all levels and by a range of actors – by organizations caring about the population with German as L1, by companies and other business players which engage (overtly or covertly) in language policy, by educational policy makers and by institutions from outside Estonia. There are top-down approaches by the Estonian state (mostly in education) and the German-speaking states with regard to awareness and prestige and sometimes direct intervention into educational issues. At the same time, also bottom-up initiatives by the German speech communities and activists, notably the Estonian Association of Teachers of German, create awareness and keep the German language on the agenda of societal debates.

Language policy in favor of German relates to its historical role in Estonia, even though policy aims are solidly rooted in contemporary needs. Active measures to use and promote the language by the traditional German minority as well as recent German-speaking migrants in conjunction with the Lutheran church and other institutions create niches in which the German language can flourish. Businesses provide space for German, depending on their cooperation with German companies and their orientation towards German customers. In total, German may therefore be labeled to be a side language in the Estonian economy, directed towards touristic and general economic purposes. German has a certain importance because of its demographic and economic strength in communication with people from Germany, but it has almost no function as a lingua franca with persons of other language backgrounds. This principle translates into different types of language policies:

Estonian-based institutions without a focus on Germany might or might not have German as an additional language for their contacts with speakers of German. Organizations with such a focus usually have clear policies which emphasize the need of German skills, similar to German companies engaged in Estonia. At the same time, policy statements by the German-Baltic Chamber of Commerce, by individual companies and practices by German tourists stress the economic value of the German language, thereby arguing in favor of language acquisition and usage policies which include German as a useful language for residents of Estonia. Educational language policies on German in Estonia should therefore focus on practical aspects (i.e. less German philology and more practical knowledge which may open up employment opportunities in different fields). Policies should encourage discussing the importance of German in contemporary Estonia in this respect.

Demands by L1 speakers and businesses are met in the educational field, where the Estonian state, teachers and their organizations as well as institutions from Germany negotiate the place of German and the contents of German classes, in relation to students' wishes and the financial framework provided by the Estonian state. In total, it is this interaction of a number of top-down and bottom-up policy actors which shapes the place of German in the educational system in Estonia. The Estonian educational authorities assign German the role as an important language. At the same time, the state sets limits, e.g. with regard to minimum requirements for student numbers which are highly influenced by language choices by students and their parents. Activists such as dedicated teachers and their institutions as well as educational organizations from the German-speaking countries react to official policies and students' choices: active campaigning aims at influencing discourses on German in order to convince students and parents of the importance of including German in individual education trajectories; financial and institutional support creates a stable place of German in the educational system and incentives such as specific diplomas, student exchanges or the supply of media from the German-speaking countries. The German and Austrian states add to this conglomerate with their policies of emphasizing traditions, active campaigning for the importance of the German language, and supporting cultural events and educational institutions. Through their constant negotiations with Estonian educational policy-makers and their awareness and prestige campaigns, these actors succeed in achieving a relatively stable place for German in the educational sector and in Estonian society at large.

In terms of types of language policy and planning, German is mostly affected by status planning and the question which role it should have in Estonian society today. Closely connected to this is prestige planning by awareness campaigns, competitions, exhibitions and similar, which also affects discourses on German, as well as acquisition planning by maintenance of German classes by the state but also by external institutions. Usage planning takes place mostly implicitly when organizations create opportunities to use German, including e.g. regular pub meetings or film screenings, but sometimes also appears in more explicit situations, e.g. regarding the threat to close the German-language reading rooms in the

National Library. Corpus planning for German, finally, is of rather little importance in Estonia.

This interplay of active policies, beliefs and practices creates a position of German in the linguistic ecosystem of Estonia in which it may be argued that German is in fourth place within the societal language hierarchy. It is clearly of less importance than Estonian, Russian and English, but as “best of the rest” ahead of any other languages. There is a certain “competition” from Finnish which in terms of language skills, tourists and open visibility is more wide-spread, but more detailed investigations underneath the surface show that also German still enjoys a number of societal functions and high prestige. In these niches, German is used among the German-speaking community or between Estonians and Germans, but only rarely as a lingua franca among people of other language backgrounds. Yet, what matters more than the question whether German, Finnish or another language come fourth or fifth in the hierarchy of languages in Estonia, is the fact that there is a vivid German-speaking community which consists of many facets, has its infrastructure and cannot be ignored, neither by players from inside nor from outside Estonia.

In total, a remarkable mix of state players from inside and outside Estonia, of semi-state and private organizations as well as individuals negotiate which place is assigned to the German language in contemporary Estonia. Language policy activities by all players continuously renegotiate the status of German in education, in the economy, as a language for specific purposes, usage opportunities for L1 and new speakers of German and awareness for the German language among the wider public.

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From Literary Languages to Dialectal Varieties to Microlanguages?: Historical Perspectives on Language Policy Towards South Estonian and Latgalian

Catherine Gibson

Abstract Prior to the emergence of the Estonian and Latvian ethno-linguistic national movements in the second half of the nineteenth century, South Estonian and Latgalian developed as regional written forms in their own right. However, today South Estonian and Latgalian are framed in the Estonian and Latvian Language Laws as regional and historical varieties of standard Estonian and Latvian. This relationship between the historical development of South Estonian and Latgalian as literary languages and their present status as regional or historical varieties roofed under a national standard is an aspect of language policy in Estonia and Latvia that has largely been neglected in literature focusing on the debate surrounding whether they are 'a language' or 'dialect'. The overwhelming focus in the region on language policy towards state languages and Russian has resulted in the situation whereby many assumptions about these regional literary forms have remained unchallenged since the interwar period. By exploring the historical development of 'a language' as a process that is socially and politically constituted through alternating patterns of convergence and divergence, this chapter contributes a more nuanced socio-historical dimension to our understanding of language policy towards 'literary microlanguages' in the Baltic region.

Keywords Language policy • Regional language • Dialect • Literary microlanguage • Estonia • Latvia • South Estonian • Latgalian

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1 Introduction

> The concept of "a language" – at least in the sense which appears so banally obvious to "us" – may itself be an invented permanency, a semi-artificial construct developed during the age of the nation-state. (Billig 1995, 30)

South Estonian[1] and Latgalian are officially classified today by the Estonian and Latvian state, respectively, as 'regional varieties' and 'historic variants' of the standard Estonian and Latvian language (*Keeleseadus* 2011; *Valsts valodas likums* 1999). Yet prior to the second half of the nineteenth century, South Estonian and Latgalian developed for several centuries as written forms in their own right. This tension between the historical status of written South Estonian and Latgalian as literary languages and their present status as regional or historical varieties 'roofed'[2] under a national standard continues to play an important role today in the negotiations between language activists and the state regarding language policy towards South Estonian and Latgalian. For linguistic descriptors such as 'language' and 'dialect' are not inherent to languages themselves, but are a reflection of power relations within and beyond the state.

While the historical development of South Estonian and Latgalian prior to the twentieth century has been widely documented, the conceptual and ideological impact of their historical literary development on contemporary language planning has largely been neglected. This relationship is most often studied from the perspective of the contemporary dialectic of 'a language' versus 'dialect' (Balode and Holvoet 2001a). This chapter contributes a socio-historical dimension to our understanding of language policy in the Baltic region by situating language policy towards South Estonian and Latgalian within the context of the region's multiple geopolitical border changes, and the role of the state in constructing and defining the boundaries of 'a language'.

There are several similarities surrounding the development of South Estonian and Latgalian as written languages. Both South Estonian and Latgalian developed under the influence of different geopolitical borders intersecting the southern Finnic and eastern Baltic dialect continua. Moreover, both literary forms emerged in the context of intellectual centers of literary production and printing which later came to be perceived in the twentieth-century Estonian and Latvian national imagination, from the perspective of Tallinn and Riga, as 'peripheries'. Despite these similarities, and the geographical proximity of the two regions inhabited by their speakers,

[1] The term South Estonian is employed here in the historical context as a collective term for the written forms that developed on the territory of northern Livland (present-day southern Estonia) up to the middle of the nineteenth century. When speaking about contemporary Estonian language policy, the two spoken 'varieties' of Estonian (as categorized by Estonian linguists) that continue to be used in this region – Võro and Seto – will be dealt with separately.

[2] This term was coined by Heinz Kloss (1967) from the German '*Dach*' and '*überdachung*'. The sociolinguistic imagery however masks the cognitive, social, and political processes involved in the creation of the language-dialect taxonomy.

there have thus far been few attempts to examine them comparatively.[3] This chapter combines a transnational methodological approach with historical document analysis to study linguistic developments from a regional perspective and over the *longue durée*, rather than solely through the lens of the modern-day nation-state. This methodological approach will also contribute to a bridging of the still rather separate spheres of Finno-Ugric and Baltic sociolinguistics.[4]

The structure of this chapter is as follows. It begins by problematizing the terms 'a language' and 'dialect', and develops a temporal framework for analyzing processes of alternating convergence and divergence of written forms. Sections 3 and 4 apply this framework to the case studies of written South Estonian and Latgalian to trace their development from separate written forms to varieties or dialects roofed under national standard languages. The focus then shifts to contemporary language policy. Using the example of the Estonian and Latvian Language Laws, Sect. 5 compares the discourses towards South Estonian and Latgalian through the lens of the continuing dominance of the nation-building ideology of linguistic convergence. Finally, the movements to revive South Estonian and Latgalian as regional languages over the past twenty years are briefly discussed in Sect. 6 as examples of centripetal initiatives aimed at (re)constructing linguistic divergence with respect to Estonian and Latvian, while also continuing the process of internal convergence through the development of standardized regional literary forms.

2 Key Concepts for Navigating Between Language, 'a Language', and Dialect

The concept of 'a language' as a discrete entity that is imagined and constructed into being should be distinguished from 'language', meaning the capacity to make speech. While in German the two meanings are clearly distinguished – *Einzelsprache* (a language) and *Sprache* (language) – in English this difference is often obfuscated (Kamusella 2015, 11). Instead, the categorization of speech into distinct languages is often viewed as something that is natural, primordial, and stable. This understanding of languages is based on the nineteenth-century linguistic *Stammbaum* (tree) model promoted by August Schleicher which divided languages into diachronically similar genealogical 'families' or branches (François 2014). However, this neat taxonomization simplifies a situation that is actually infinitely complex. Instead of being 'naturally' divided into discrete branches, 'a language' is constructed from a

[3] For examples of edited volumes taking a regional comparative approach, see K. Ross & P. Vanags (2008) and Ö. Dahl & M. Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2001). I. Jääts (2015, 249; 251) also briefly discusses how South Estonian and Latgalian activists look to each other activities as examples.

[4] The inclusion of Samogitian and Lithuanian (see Balode and Holvoet 2001b) and Finnish 'dialects' (such as Kven) and Finnish (see Petryk 2014) was beyond the scope of this chapter, however they would be fruitful areas for future comparative research.

continuum of spoken vernaculars.[5] Languages are delineated from this continuum either as an *Abstandsprache* (distance language), a cluster of varieties that is distinctly separate from any other language such as Basque, or an *Ausbausprache* (language by development) which has been shaped or reshaped, molded or remolded – as the case may be – in order to become a standardized tool of literary expression (Kloss 1967, 29).

Living languages are dynamic. Social, political, economic, and cultural factors continually shape and re-shape the linguistic setting, dissolving old sociolinguistic situations and prompting new developments to occur. The establishment of geographical borders by various political actors and states can cut through dialect continua and foster the development of separate languages, whereas the realignment of borders as a result of wars and diplomatic negotiations can bring previously separated territories and languages into contact. Often, changing perceptions of what constitutes languages are shaped by functional determinants rather than structural linguistic arguments. As Alexander Maxwell (2015) demonstrates in his analysis of the changing schematizations of how various linguists and encyclopaedists have subdivided the Slavic dialectal continuum over time, social and political factors influence perceptions of what constitutes a language and where its boundaries lie.

Broadly speaking, these dynamic linguistic developments can be categorized by a pattern of alternating 'convergence' and 'divergence', or vice versa (Auer and Hinskens 1996, 1). It is important to note that these terms refer to the classification of languages and how they are perceived, rather than attempting to describe structural linguistic changes. Notable examples of how what we perceive as 'a language' can converge and diverge include the parallel development of the Czech and Slovak literary languages in the nineteenth century (divergence), the declaration of Czechoslovak as the official language of the First Czechoslovak Republic in 1920 (convergence), and its splitting into Czech and Slovak in 1938/1939 (divergence).[6] Following the break-up of Yugoslavia, Serbo-Croatian (the converged official language of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) diverged into Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin (Greenberg 2004).

During the nineteenth century, the convergence of vernaculars was the dominant trend in Europe and it is widely considered to be a modern phenomenon linked to the imagining and construction of nation-states (Auer and Hinskens 1996, 1; Billig 1995, 30). The Reformation and Counter-Reformation spawned many official translations of the Bible into vernaculars, thus showing that these vernaculars could be vehicles of sophisticated written communication and expression that would

[5] The concept of a 'dialect continuum' can be used to describe sociolinguistic situations prior to the twentieth century where the majority of people stayed near their birthplace. It becomes less useful as an analytical tool thereafter in light of the increasing mobility of peoples.

[6] The splitting of official Czechoslovak into Czech and Slovak took place in 1938/39 when Czechoslovakia was federalized and made into Czecho-Slovakia, and then obliterated and replaced with the bilingual (German and Czech) Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and with the monolingual Slovakia with Slovak as its official language. When Czechoslovakia was recreated (without Subcarpathian Ruthenia) in 1945, its official languages were Czech and Slovak, and the Czechoslovak people comprised the two separate nations of Czechs and Slovaks.

eventually replace Latin. Bauman and Briggs (2003) trace the intellectual currents between the late seventeenth and nineteenth century which came to reify the concept of ‘a language’, from John Locke and Francis Bacon’s Enlightenment beliefs about the need for rationalized standard languages to contribute to universal rationality and modern social order, to the subsequent Romanticization of vernacular traditions by Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Jacob Grimm, among others. These two ideologies came together during the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth century where having a standard language became part of the national-building discourse. As Michael Billig reminds us, ‘[T]he medieval peasant spoke, but the modern person cannot merely speak; we have to speak *something* – a language’ (1995, 31). During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the mosaic of small, localized speech-communities were, for the most part, roofed by standardized ‘languages’. The creation of ‘languages’ was consolidated with the spread of mass literacy in the twentieth century. The importance of each nation having its *own* language can be seen in the development of regional varieties of standard languages such as Austrian and Swiss German, Flemish, American English, Canadian French, and Brazilian Portuguese.

Einar Haugen (1966) developed a four-part schema to describe the process of how literary languages are constructed from a continuum of spoken vernaculars: (1) A norm is first selected as the basis for the standard variety, often based on the spoken variety of a power center; (2) This form is codified; (3) Its function is elaborated upon as it is used for an increasingly wide variety of secular purposes; (4) The form is accepted by the community and imparted to the population at large via compulsory elementary education. Forms other than the standard language are lowered to the status of non-official ‘dialects’ or ‘varieties’. This schema presents a rather sanitized overview of socio-linguistic dynamics: it glosses over the messiness of the socio-linguistic processes and the contexts in which languages are ‘constructed’. Nonetheless, Haugen’s model provides us with a useful framework and analytical terminology through which to compare the construction of different literary languages.

Yiddish sociolinguist Max Weinreich, quoting a student of his, famously proclaimed in 1945 that ‘a language is a dialect with an army and navy’. This oft-cited quip serves as a reminder of the arbitrariness of the externally imposed linguistic taxonomy separating ‘a language’ from ‘a dialect’. While the status of ‘a language’ can confer social, political, economic, and cultural prestige on some speech-forms, the term ‘dialect’ implies a subordinate position, ‘that there are other dialects and a language to which they can be said to “belong”’ (Haugen 1966, 923). The discourse also extends to the speakers themselves, whereby dialect-speakers are often stigmatized within society and labelled as “uneducated” or “provincial”. This hierarchy is largely based on social and political factors influencing a community’s perception of the status of a language or dialect and the degree of institutional support for it. Particularly pertinent to this chapter is the way in which having a written form is considered to be important to gaining recognition as ‘a language’: ‘languages which lack any written tradition are often regarded, even by their own speakers, as having only a tenuous claim to being a “language” at all’ (Joseph 2006, 27).

While the terms ‘language’ and ‘dialect’ are widely used, Haugen reminds us that:

> They represent a simple dichotomy in a situation that is almost infinitely complex […] The use of these terms has imposed a division in what is often a continuum, giving what appears to be a neat opposition when in fact the edges are extremely ragged and uncertain. (1966, 922)

Various challenges have been made to the language-dialect binary. Heinz Kloss (1967) uses the term *Halbsprache* (‘half-language’ or ‘semi-language’) to describe a speech-form that is regarded as more than a dialect but less than a language.[7] The term ‘ethnolect’ is widely used to refer to ‘dialects seeking the status of languages spoken by *ethnies* wishing to be considered as nations’ (Craith 2000, 401–402). Perhaps most pertinent to the present discussion is Aleksandr Dulichenko’s (1981) concept of ‘literary microlanguages’ (*literaturnyje mikrojazyki*), developed in the context of the Slavic dialectal continuum. Dulichenko uses this term to describe geographically peripheral (from the perspective of centers of state power) and socially marginal (in terms of cultural power) ‘dialects’ of recognized languages that have a written form which is standardized to a degree and which function, albeit in a limited way, as literary languages. The remainder of this chapter discusses how these might be useful concepts for understanding South Estonian and Latgalian.

3 The Divergent Development of South Estonian and Latgalian as Literary Languages

South Estonian and Latgalian can be considered two examples of ‘literary microlanguages’ that lie in the conceptually murky no-man’s zone between a language and dialect.[8] This section applies Haugen’s (1966) framework to trace the process of selection, codification and elaboration of four historical written forms that emerged on the territory of present-day Estonia and Latvia. In doing so, it draws attention to the limitations of thinking about linguistic developments using the terms ‘a language’ and ‘dialect’ when the so-called dialect was historically regarded as a literary language.

[7] Kloss began his career as an ethnologist and linguist in the Third Reich and the derogatory undertones of his term *‘Halbsprache’* are evident (Hutton 1999). For this reason, it has not been widely adopted by linguists.

[8] It must be noted that this is not always the case. A small number of speakers of a language does not necessarily equate it with societal marginality. ‘Small’ languages such as Maltese (400,000 speakers) and Irish (11,000 everyday speakers) are politically ‘bigger’ than the dialect of Egyptian Arabic spoken by 70 million or Kurdish spoken by 18 million in Turkey.

3.1 The Protracted Emergence of Literary Varieties in the Northern Baltic Region

By the sixteenth century, two Finnic written forms were gradually developing on the territory of present-day Estonia, clustering around the two power centers of Reval (Tallinn) to the north and Dorpat (Tartu) and Riga to the south. The first substantial text to emerge from the Duchy of Estland in the local northern vernacular was the Kullamaa manuscript (1524–1532). To the south, in Livonia, the Society of Jesus established a college in Dorpat (Tartu) which produced several manuscripts in a mixture of the northern and southern vernaculars by the end of the seventeenth century (Raag 1999, 20–21; 2001). Two forms of writing had also emerged by the seventeenth century for writing parts of the northern Baltic dialect continuum on the present-day territory of Latvia. From the southern part of the Duchy of Livonia, the oldest known example of written Latvian is the 1530 translation of a hymn by Nikolaus Ramm, a German pastor in Riga. In Polish Livonia (Inflanty), the Polish-Lithuanian cultural and Catholic influence made strong inroads and had a lasting impact on the development of the written vernacular. The first known printed book in Inflanty-Latvian[9] was a Catholic hymnal published in 1730.

Nonetheless, prior to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, none of the above-mentioned written forms can be said to have been standardized or institutionalized in any consistent way – according to Haugen's definition – due to limited political and economic integration, low levels of literacy, and the absence of mass education and print media. The texts from this period contain many variations in spelling, morphology, and lexicon which can be attributed to the local dialects and personal idiosyncrasies of the Baltic-German (in the case of North and South Estonian, and Latvian) or Polish-Lithuanian (in the case of Latgalian) intellectuals or clergy who were authors of these earliest texts. However, while full codification was not achieved, in all four cases there were efforts made by individuals to take steps towards standardizing the written forms.

In the Duchy of Estland, Henricus Stahell (Heinrich Stahl) produced the first grammar of North Estonian (in German) in 1637. In the Duchy of Livonia, Johannes Gutslaff compiled the first grammar based on the South Estonian vernacular shortly after in 1648. Although, the volume of printed texts in North Estonian far exceeded South Estonian, by the eighteenth century it can be said that 'two distinct written standards [were] settled' (Raag 1999, 22). Nevertheless, both standards were influenced by High German orthography (Vanags 2009).

The first Latvian dictionary was printed in 1638, followed by a grammar in 1644. Like North and South Estonian, it was printed using Gothic Blackletter script. In Polish Livonia, Inflanty-Latvian was written in the Latin Antiqua script (associated in the region with Catholicism), using Polish orthography, and was influenced to a

[9] *Język łotewski inflant polskich* (the Latvian language of Polish Inflanty) or *język inflantsko-łotewski* (Inflanty-Latvian language). Only in the nineteenth century did it come to be known as *język łatgalski* (Latgalian).

greater degree by contact with the Slavic ethnolects in the region (Rembiszewska 2009; Čekmonas 2001a, b; Gibson 2016). Printed Latvian books were thus visually foreign to Latgalian-speakers (and vice versa) and the two literatures developed largely independent of one another (Nau 2011, 5). The first Inflanty-Latvian grammar was printed in 1817 and the first dictionary in 1858 (Leikuma 2008, 213). By the eighteenth century, the written forms were being used in an increasing number of different 'domains' and for different secular purposes, such as in poetry, peasants' almanacs, spelling books, and newspapers (Fishman 1964). The elaboration of Inflanty-Latvian only developed from the beginning of the nineteenth century and was encumbered by the imperial ban on printing in the Latin script from 1864–1905 (Leikuma 2008, 213, Gibson 2013).[10]

3.2 Other Written Languages and Varieties

It is important to also note those ultimately 'unsuccessful' or truncated literary traditions which highlight how the development of North Estonian, South Estonian, Latvian, and Inflanty-Latvian was far from inevitable. The Baltic language of Curonian was spoken in west Kurland and today's north-west Lithuania, and one fragment of written Curonian has survived, a Lord's Prayer in a mixture of Curonian and Latvian in Simon Grunau's *Preussische Chronik* (1510–1530). However, by the seventeenth century the inhabitants had been largely Latvianised (Vaba 2014). The Finno-Ugric language of Livonian, spoken along the northern Baltic coast of today's Kurzeme, has existed in a written form since 1863 when a translation of the Gospel of Matthew was produced. A Livonian grammar and dictionary was published in German in 1861, the first issue of the magazine *Līvli* in 1931, and a dictionary in 1938. However, the number of every-day speakers declined rapidly throughout the twentieth century. Today, Livonian is classified as an endangered or even moribund language in spite of the efforts of the Liv Culture Centre to promote Livonian language classes for beginners and encourage its use as a written language in some publications and on the internet (Mosely 2014; Ernštreits 2010).

Finally, Seto also merits special mention. Just as the political and ecclesiastical border between the largely Lutheran Swedish Livonia (and later Livland *gubernia*) and the largely Catholic Polish Livonia (later western Vitebsk *gubernia*) contributed to the developed of separate Latvian and Inflanty-Latvian written forms, the border between Swedish Livonia (and later Livland *gubernia*) and the Finnic-speaking largely Orthodox inhabitants in the Pskov *gubernia* gave rise to regional spoken forms. Although bordering the South Estonian dialect continuum, the Seto-speaking area was also influenced by contacts with Russian. Russian and Church Slavonic remained the written standards in this region until the region was incorporated into Estonia as Pechory county (1920–1944). The local Seto vernacular was first

[10] The ban was not applied to the Baltic *gubernii* of Estland, Livland, and Kurland.

transcribed using Cyrillic, but since 1904, when Jakob Hurt[11] published his collection of Seto songs, *Setukeste laulud,* the Latin alphabet has been used.[12] In the 1920s a Seto reader and several religious texts were published. In 1944, Pechory county and, as a consequence, the South Estonian dialect continuum, was formally split between the Estonian SSR and the Russian SFSR. Despite this, throughout the Soviet period Seto continued to be regarded as a dialect of Estonian and little was done to develop it as a literary language. Since the early 1990s, the border between the re-independent Estonia and Russian Federation has had little impact on the literary development of Seto as most of the activist speakers already resided in or had moved to Estonia. Seto is used in print media, the local newspaper *Setomaa* and in the cultural magazine *Peko Helü.* A Seto reader (2009) and ABC book (2012) were recently published (Jääts 2000; Koreinik 2013b). These examples serve as a reminder of how the multiple written forms that emerged on the territory of present-day Estonia and Latvia are important for breaking down the conceptual boundaries between 'a language' and 'dialect.'

4 'One Plus One Equals One': The Creation of Standardised National Languages

Up to the nineteenth century, four literary traditions had thus developed for writing the Finnic- and Baltic-speech of the inhabitants of the territories of present-day Estonia and Latvia. Yet the widespread societal acceptance and institutionalized usage of these literary traditions – according to Haugen's framework – was still limited within the north-west Russian Empire during this period. German (in the Baltic *gubernii*), Russian (in Latgale, and from the 1880s in the three Baltic *gubernii*), and Polish (in Latgale until the mid-nineteenth century) remained the dominant (literary) languages in the region. This sociolinguistic hierarchy only began to be challenged at the turn of the century under the influence of the ideology of ethno-linguistic nationalism, which also prompted a shift in the development of literary forms of North and South Estonian, Latvian, and Latgalian. While North Estonian and Latvian had gradually emerged over the course of the preceding centuries as the most widely used written forms in both cases for writing the Finnic and Baltic speech of the local inhabitants, efforts were made by various intellectuals and language activists during the second half of the nineteenth century to reshape these two written forms into the Estonian and Latvian *national* standard written languages. Importantly, these languages were not perceived by the self-identified national communities as being constructed, but rather the revival of 'submerged' primordial forms.

[11] A folklorist, theologian and linguist who played an active role in the Estonian national awakening.

[12] This coincided with the lifting of the ban on writing Belarusian, Lithuanian, and Latgalian in the Latin script in 1904/1905.

The second half of the nineteenth century has been referred to as a 'golden age of vernacularizing lexicographers, grammarians, philologists, and litterateurs, [where] language became the essential element in the definition of national identity' (Anderson 2006, 71). Raimo Raag (1999) uses the phrase 'one plus one equals one' for the process by which the Estonian standard language was actively created by nationalist intellectuals and language reformers in the 1860–1870s out of the North and South Estonian varieties. This concept is applied here to both the Estonian and Latvian cases to draw our attention to how, despite the numerous constructivist accounts of how languages are created, languages can also be deconstructed, 'disintegrated', and reconstructed (Greenberg 2004).

4.1 Selection of Norm

Written South Estonian had already begun to decline by the second half of the eighteenth century. Serfdom was abolished in Estland (1816) and Livland (1819) paving the way for socioeconomic modernization, industrialization, urbanization, and high levels of literacy by the end of the nineteenth century. While South Estonian readers, religious books, calendars, and a South Estonian primer were published throughout the nineteenth century (Koreinik 2011a, b, 51), the general trend was one of decline as the literary form gradually became increasingly limited to religious literature and spelling books (Raag 1999, 25). Although in the nineteenth century Dorpat/Yuriev/Tartu played an important role as the center of the Estonian national movement, North Estonian as spoken in the vicinity of Reval/Revel/Tallinn was consolidated as the basis for the Estonian national standard for several reasons: Dorpat/Yuriev/Tartu was situated at the very north of the South Estonian dialect continuum and surrounded by some North Estonian-speaking regions, and North Estonian had been the language of school books in northern Livland since the 1840s and the language of all the leading newspapers. Moreover, as a result of the orthographic reforms of the 1860–1870s, which were continued in the early twentieth century by language planners such as Johannes Aavik, far-reaching spelling and lexical changes were introduced into North Estonian which were largely based on Finnish, but also other languages. This contributed to North Estonian being perceived by many Estonian language activists as the most authentically 'Estonian' variety, as opposed to South Estonian, which used the old spelling system and more closely resembled German (Raag 1999, 30; Laanekask 2004).

Southern Livland and Kurland followed a similar development to northern Livland and Estland after the abolishment of serfdom (Kurland in 1817). The Latvian 'national awakening' movement, which developed in the Baltic *gubernii,* consolidated the Latvian language as the basis of the 'national awakening' movement. The Latvian language continued to develop relatively independently from Latgalian during the nineteenth century, separated by the administrative border between the Baltic *gubernii* and Vitebsk. The status of Latgale as a Latvian-speaking territory was not predetermined and was only decided in 1917 in Rēzekne when

Latgalian intellectuals at the First Congress of Latgale – a meeting of 238 delegates from different Latgalian organizations – voted in favor of becoming the eastern region of a future independent Latvian state. Socioeconomic and political factors also favored the development of Latvian as basis for the standard language: serfdom was not abolished on the territory of Latgale until 1861 and publications in Latgalian were subjected to the ban on printing in the Latin script from 1864–1904.

4.2 Creating National Languages: Codification, Elaboration and Acceptance

While the basis of the Estonian national literary language had been developed in grammars in second half of the nineteenth century, the codification of the literary standard continued to be consolidated in the early twentieth century. Four conferences were organized between 1908–1911 to discuss various issues regarding the Estonian standard written language, and resulted in the publication of *Eesti õigekirjutuse-sõnaraamat* [An Estonian Dictionary of Correct Writing] (1918) (Raag 1999, 30–31). This is an example of what Joshua Fishman calls the 'first congress phenomenon', an important landmark in planning 'a language' (Fishman 1993). In southern Livland, the Riga Latvian Society organized a linguistic department of linguists, literati, publishers, and teachers in 1904 to expand and codify the Latvian language and develop a new standard orthography (Bolin 2012, 199–207).

The establishment of the Estonian and Latvian nation-states with Estonian and Latvian standards as official national languages created a new language hierarchy. The borders of Estonia and Latvia were to a great extent drawn around the dialect continuum considered to be roofed by the same standard variety. Livland was split between Estonia and Latvia, and Vitebsk *gubernia* was partitioned and the western region (Latgale) incorporated into the new Republic of Latvia. All the same, there were populations left on the 'wrong' side of the linguistic-cum-state borders – Latvian-speakers in Estonia and South Estonian speakers in northern Latvia – in addition to many other minorities (Mela 2001).

Despite efforts in the 1920s to consolidate the Estonian and Latvian standard languages, the widespread adoption of these official languages as forms of everyday communication was gradual and geographically limited due to the lack of economic integration and localized public administration. The language shift to an all-standard Estonian variety (whereby all South Estonian-speakers are bilingual South Estonian-Estonian speakers) only occurred in the 1960–1980s through a combination of educational policies and natural causes, when the majority of those born before 1900 had passed away (Koreinik 2011a, b, 50). In Latvia in the 1920s, Latgalian was regarded as a dialect of standard Latvian, but was permitted in primary schools and local administration. At the same time as efforts were being made to codify standard Latvian, Latgalian was also continuing to undergo development as an *Ausbausprache*. The first conference on Latgalian spelling took place in 1903 in St Petersburg, where many Latgalian intellectuals were studying and living at the time. In 1908 the first Latgalian grammar was published by a native speaker and later grammars followed in the 1920s. A Latgalian orthography was officially adopted in 1929. This overlap between the development of Latgalian as a separate written form and the consolidation of the Latvian standard language is a reminder of how the processes of convergence and divergence can occur simultaneously. However, after the establishment of the authoritarian regime by Kārlis Ulmanis in 1934, the use of Latgalian in schools, media, and public was prohibited. In neighboring Soviet Russia in the 1920s, Latgalian was also acknowledged as a minority language and used in primary schools (Nau 2011, 6).[13]

During the Soviet period from 1944–1991, the internal and external political circumstances shaping the sociolinguistic landscape of the region again changed. Russian was rapidly mandated as the dominant language in certain spheres as a result of forced integration with Soviet political and economic systems, as well as in key regions of both Baltic republics – in the capital cities of Tallinn and Riga, and the eastern industrial cities of Narva and Daugavpils – due to large numbers of Russian-speaking labor migrants. Standardized Estonian and Latvian continued to be consolidated as the national languages of both republics, for example, as the language of education in Estonian- and Latvian-language schools, and were regarded by many ethnic Estonians and Latvians as symbols of national resistance to Sovietization and the encroachment of Russian language. These initiatives finally gained institutional support in 1989 with the introduction of Language Laws in both Socialist Republics mandating Estonian and Latvian, respectively, as official languages. While South Estonian and Latgalian were not officially forbidden during the Soviet period, they did not receive any state support and their use in public was discouraged. They were relegated to use within the family, which completed the language-shift to standard Estonian-South Estonian and Latvian-Latgalian bilingualism in South Estonian- and Latgalian-speaking regions during the interwar period.

Kara Brown argues that against the backdrop of this threat to the national languages during the Soviet period, 'there was *no room* for recognizing the regional languages' (2005, 80).[14] As will come to light in the next section, the significant changes in the status and usage of Russian during the Soviet period continue to strongly impact on present-day beliefs about the viability of Estonian and Latvian. The discourse about the need to protect Estonian and Latvian from the "bigger" language of Russian remains salient and is echoed in state language policy which seeks to cement the relationship between official language, national language, and (nation-)state (Skultāne 2010; Mole 2012). In this context, there is *no room* for South Estonian varieties or Latgalian as second (national or regional) official languages in Estonia or Latvia.

[13] For a more detailed account of this period, see Baiba Metuzāle-Kangere (2004).

[14] My emphasis.

5 Framing South Estonian and Latgalian as 'Varieties' of Estonian and Latvian

The lengthy account presented in Sects. 3 and 4 of the construction of regional and then national languages through the processes of divergence and convergence of written languages on the territories of present-day Estonia and Latvia is necessary context for understanding state attitudes towards South Estonian varieties and Latgalian in the present. As the examples of the respective language laws discussed below reveal, Estonian and Latvian language policy towards South Estonian varieties and Latgalian continues to be shaped by nineteenth-century discourses of regional particularism roofed by standard languages. The development of South Estonian and Latgalian as written forms in their own right prior to the twentieth century is often not widely known. The continued discourse of convergence which frames Võro, Seto, and Latgalian as regional or historical varieties roofed under a national standard can be clearly seen in the language legislation of both states.

5.1 Estonian 'Regional Varieties' and 'Dialects'

The New Language Act adopted in 2011 defines Estonian as the sole official language of Estonia. However, the law also provides state support for 'regional varieties' of Estonian:

> (1) The official language of Estonia is Estonian.
> (2) The Estonian sign language is an independent language and the signed Estonian language is a mode of the Estonian language.
> (3) The state shall promote the protection, use and development of the regional varieties of the Estonian language (hereinafter dialects).
>
> (*Keeleseadus* 2011, §3)

Võro and Seto are not named specifically and are included under the broad and rather vague category of 'regional varieties'. These varieties, along with Estonian sign language, are perceived as 'modes' of standard Estonian. To return to August Schleicher's tree metaphor, they correspond to different sub-branches of the main Estonian language branch.

The law implies that 'regional varieties' are synonymous with 'dialects'. Yet it is unclear whether the term 'dialects' refers to written as well as spoken 'regional varieties'. Later, however, in Article 4 both terms are used interchangeably to refer to written forms: 'In the area of use of a regional variety the text of equal meaning in the respective dialect may be added to the text that is in compliance with the Literary Standard' (*Keeleseadus* 2011, §4.1). Whereas a terminological distinction is made between (spoken) Estonian and the (written) Literary Standard, no such distinction is made between spoken and written forms of 'regional varieties' and 'dialects'. The written form is referred to somewhat ambiguously as 'the text […] in the respectively dialect', implying that it is understood to be a transcription of a regional dialect rather than a written language per se.

In the previous Language Act from 1995 there was no mention of 'regional varieties' or 'dialects', apart from the provision in Article 23.3 that:

> A regional variety or translation into a foreign language may be added to the Estonian text of public information however, the text in the Estonian language shall have precedence and must not be less visible than the regional variety or translation into a foreign language. (*Keeleseadus* 1995, §23.3)

The explicit policy of giving Estonian language 'precedence' and most visibility has been removed from the 2011 New Language Act and a more diverse understanding of the Estonian language that includes 'regional varieties' and 'dialects' has been incorporated. However, the essentialist way of conceptualizing the hierarchical relationship of a standard language roofing 'regional variants' or 'dialects' continues to contribute to the public discourse of the 'delegitimization' of South Estonian varieties (Koreinik 2011b).

5.2 A 'Historic Variant' of Latvian

The Latvian State Language Law (1999) has some points in common with the Estonian language legislation. Article 3 similarly defines Latvian as the sole official language of which Latvian sign language is one of its derivatives:

> (1) The official language in the Republic of Latvia is the Latvian language.
> (2) In the Republic of Latvia, everyone has the right to present submissions and communicate in the official language in institutions, public and religious organizations and undertakings (companies).
> (3) The State shall ensure the development and use of the Latvian sign language for communication with people with impaired hearing.
> (4) The State shall ensure the maintenance, protection and development of the Latgalian written language as a historic variant of the Latvian language.
>
> (*Valsts valodas likums* 1999, §3)

Unlike in the Estonian Language Act, however, the variant of Latvian (Latgalian) is mentioned by name. It is also described as a 'written language', but only in the context of being a 'historic variant of the Latvian language' in recognition of the literary developments outlined in Sect. 3. Yet the outcome is somewhat paradoxical, for Latgalian is referred to as a separate language (because it has a written form) and as a variant of an official standard language, Latvian. It is both a separate entity and part of a more widely used and recognized written form.[15]

[15] The description of Latgalian in the Language Law stands in marked contrast to the provision for Livonian, which is regarded as a clearly defined Finnic language and not part of the Latvian language:

The State shall ensure the maintenance, protection and development of the Liv language as the language of the indigenous (autochthon) population. (*Valsts valodas likums* 1999, §4)

This is logical (or at least understandable) given that it is perceived as being from a different 'language family' and thus does not pose a threat to the unity, and by extension political legitimacy, of standard Latvian.

The law implies that the criteria for describing Latgalian as a 'language' is that it exists (or existed, since it is referred to only as a 'historic' language) in written form. There is no mention of its spoken counterpart, either as a language or a 'dialect', despite there being many people in Latgale who identify it as their means of everyday communication.[16] Neither is the link between Latgalian and a specific region implied, as in the Estonian case. These terminological ambiguities highlight the limits of describing the linguistic situation in Latvia using just the term 'a language' and 'dialect'.

Although two different strategies are employed – the Estonian law frames unspecified 'regional varieties' and 'dialects' as 'modes' of standard Estonian and the Latvian State Language Law refers to Latgalian as a 'historic written variant' of standard Latvian without mentioning spoken Latgalian – the wording of both laws reveals how the ideology of 'one plus one equals one' prevails. The limits of this binary understanding of languages and dialects is highlighted in the Latvian Language Law, where a contradiction emerges in the use of the term 'language' for both a separate written language and a written variety of a standard language. In this dichotomous understanding, there is no space for concepts such as 'microlanguages', 'regional languages'[17] or 'lesser used languages'.[18]

6 The Revitalisation of South Estonian and Latgalian: Renewed Divergence and Convergence?

Since the 1990s, there has been a re-emergence of regional movements in Estonia and Latvia where Võro, Seto, and Latgalian play an important role in performing regional identities and affiliations. This can be situated within a wider trend of 'dialect renaissance' among other language-based anti-centrist movements such as Kashubian and Silesian in Poland, which challenge dominant state discourses about the distinction between standard languages and regional dialects (Auer & Hinskens 1996, 5). While neither Võro, Seto, nor Latgalian have been successful in achieving formal acceptance as a language at the state level, the processes of linguistic divergence and convergence are continuing.

Just as the examples of various writers, publishers, and language planners discussed in Sects. 3 and 4 drew attention to the role of individual agency in determining

[16] In the 2011 census, a question was included for the first time asking people about their oral 'use [of] Latgalian, subtype of the Latvian language, on a daily basis'. Thirty two per cent of Latgale's population (69.7 % of those who identified as ethnically Latvian, and 96.7 % of those who identified their home language to be Latvian) responded that they regularly spoke Latgalian [TSG11–08] (CSB 2011).

[17] As referred to in the Convention of the Council of Europe, 'European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages' (1992), which both Estonia and Latvia have not signed.

[18] As referred to in the name of the now defunct European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL).

the construction and deconstruction of literary forms up to the early twentieth century, linguists and language activists today continue to play an important role in negotiating and challenging language hierarchies with respect to the state.[19] The term 'language activists' is used here in the broad sense to refer to professionals and amateur enthusiasts actively engaged in activities to change the socio-linguistic status of a particular literary form, often through elaboration, codification, and initiatives to promote acceptance among the wider community and on the level of the state. Generally, activists are situated outside of the state apparatus, although many may hold academic positions in state institutions. They are by no means a coherent group and often have diverse visions, plans, and strategies for development. In the cases of Võro, Seto, and Latgalian, the activities of regional different language activists in the past twenty-five years have contributed to the consolidation of these regional forms as divergent from standard Estonian and Latvia, while also promoting the convergence between various localized varieties spoken in different villages, towns, and regions.[20] Several examples of different initiatives are discussed below.

Codification of a new Võro orthography was undertaken by linguists and language activists coordinated by the state-funded Võro Institute (established in 1995). This new Võro standard differs from the nineteenth-century South Estonian written tradition (based on the Tartu dialect) and is based instead on the traditional sub-dialects of Võro, which are also influenced by the standard Estonian and South Estonian literary language. In 2002, the first (new) Võro-Estonian dictionary was published (Koreinik 2013a, 22–23). Võro also continues to be elaborated in short radio and TV broadcasts, some print media, and on the internet (Koreinik 2013a, 8). There is, for example, Võro-language Wikipedia. In 2004 a proposal was unsuccessfully put to the Estonian government to make South Estonian a language in its own right to protect its prestige (Koreinik 2013a, 10). In 2010 a separate Seto Institute was founded as an NGO to coordinate research on the Setomaa. Estonian dialectologists classify Seto as a sub-dialect of Võro, but Setos and Võro speakers differentiate between each other.

Latgalian is also being subject to on-going codification and elaboration (Lazdiņa 2013). Latgalian continues to be elaborated in some local print media, online (such as the *LaKuGa* and *A12* webpages, and Latgalian-language Wikipedia), on regional radio, and in publications by the publishing house of the Latgalian Cultural Centre. It is also used as one of the languages of the academic journal *Via Latgalica* and a working language of the annual International Congress of Latgalistics (Lazdiņa and Marten 2012). One area where the divergence of Latgalian has gained more ground than Võro and Seto was the recognition of Latgalian orthography in 2007 by the Latvian state, linked to its official status as historic literary variant. Unlike Võro

[19] See I. Jääts (2015) for a more detailed discussion of the South Estonian case.

[20] For example, linguists generally identify three varieties of Latgalian: Northern, Central and Southern. Central Latgalian forms the phonetical basis of the modern Latgalian standard, whereas the eighteenth century literary tradition was more closely based on Southern Latgalian. In Estonia, in addition to Võro and Seto, Mulgi, Kihnu, and Kodavere have been codified and elaborated to various extents (Pajusalu 2007).

activists who are still working to establish the historical continuity between the old and new literary forms to legitimize their activities, this symbolic link between old and new Latgalian is already officially recognized by the Latvian state. Nevertheless, the petition put to the Latvian government in 2009 by participants of the second Latgalian Academic Conference in Rēzekne to recognize Latgalian as a regional language was declined. This is an example of how the space for negotiating the status of Latgalian within Latvia still remains rather limited while linguistic hierarchies remain dictated and determined by the attitude of the state.

The cases of Võro, Seto, and Latgalian remind us of how languages are socially and politically constructed, in specific contexts, and reflect specific power relations between their speakers and the state. The efforts of linguists and language activists to revitalize Võro, Seto, and Latgalian in the past twenty years means that they now possess many of the attributes of regional languages. However, they continue to lack far-reaching institutional support on the state level as a result of the state language policy, which regards them as varieties of standard languages rather than as viable independent entities (Koreinik and Saar 2012), be it a separate regional language or some kind of intermediary 'microlanguage'. Moreover, the efforts by linguists and language activists to converge the various localized forms of Võro, Seto, and Latgalian into standardized written orthographies with elaborated usages in order to promote their legitimacy and viability as regional languages, ultimately replicates at the regional level the very norms about 'a language' and 'dialect' that they are trying to challenge on the level of the state. This highlights some of the difficulties faced by regional language activists trying to raise the profile of regional forms when confronted with dominant state discourses about the hierarchy of 'a language' and its 'dialects'.

7 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter on the historical development of South Estonian and Latgalian from traditional written forms, to historical varieties or dialects roofed under the standard Estonian and Latvian languages, to renewed efforts by linguists and language activists to reconceptualize them as regional 'languages', highlights how the very concept of 'a language' is historically, socially, and politically contingent. The alternating patterns of divergence and convergence challenge the popular view of languages as discrete, bounded, and stable. For languages are not only constructed, but also deconstructed and reconstructed. It argues that we move away from thinking about the concepts of 'a language' and 'dialect' through the lens of state language policy and reinsert the agency of linguists, language activists, and the speakers themselves in challenging perceptions of what 'a language' is: ultimately, a language is a language because people want it to be a language. Yet the acceptance of a written form is contextually contingent on social and political factors, particularly the state or ruling power, and the placement of geopolitical borders, which can bestow legitimacy and perceived viability on a written form, elevating it to the status of ‘a language’, or depreciate a written form by nesting it as a dialect or variety of a standard language.

In the Estonian and Latvian cases, the prevailing discussions about the relationship between Estonian and Latvian as official state and national languages and Russian have relegated the question of the relationship between the official language and its so-called regional or historic variants to the political side-lines. Assumptions about linguistic convergence, combined with nationalist rhetoric about the ‘unification’ of the Estonian and Latvian national territories and peoples at the turn of the twentieth century, have largely remained unchallenged. An understanding of South Estonian and Latgalian in the future through the lens of concepts such as ‘microlanguages’ would acknowledge the historical developments that heavily underpin the present-day sociolinguistic situation in Estonia and Latvia and would pave the way for a more diversified and nuanced language policy that moves beyond the current binary of ‘a language’ versus ‘dialect’.

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Policy Drag & Resiliency: Teachers' Response to Voluntary Language Policy in Southeastern Estonia

Kara D. Brown

Abstract How does resilience among teachers shape their appropriation of language policy? Drawing on the history of Estonian schools during both the Soviet occupation and the subsequent period of independence, this chapter investigates how linguistic repression and resilience unfold across space and time. I identify moments of personal and professional resilience across the arc of teachers' schooled lives, from their time as students to their work as professionals, and the ways these experiences influence the ways they take up language policy in southeastern Estonia. I draw attention to the ways that contexts, in this case, policy environments, shape the lives of teachers and their language policy appropriation. This analysis draws on data from a diachronic, qualitative yearlong, school-based ethnography in southeastern Estonia in 2001–2002, with follow-up research in the same region in 2013–2014. I find individual teachers' resiliency fosters a sense of purpose for their language-related teaching and activism, and shapes their retention in and role as recruiters for an optional school-based language program. In order to sustain a long-term, non-dominant language program in a context of language shift, the next generation of teachers must be provided with effective pre- (initial) and in-service teacher education.

Keywords Teachers • Resilience • Diachronic research • Pre-primary • Language in education policy

1 Introduction

Public schools serve as sites of linguistic repression in a variety of ways. First, and most obviously, administrators and teachers enforce government-dictated, as well as personally formulated, language bans, restrictions, and punishments. Examples of this first type of linguistic repression unfortunately abound from the historic prohibition of the use of indigenous and minority languages in schools around the

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globe (McCarty 2011; Muñoz 2000) to the current restrictions on bilingual education programs in places like the United States (Marschall et al. 2011).

The second type of repressive force in school environments results from "policy drag," a concept that I introduce and develop in this chapter. Policy drag encompasses the lasting reach and influence of policies that promote dominant languages and/or marginalize non-dominant languages (NDL) (Benson and Kosonen 2012); policy drag can be conceptualized as the half life of policy. Policy drag helps to explain the ways language policies can extend "beyond the state" particularly in an historic sense; that is, drag is the policy legacy of former colonizing powers, occupiers, and governments and they ways they have enduring influence over teachers' (and administrators') understanding of and response to new policy possibilities in the educational sphere. One example of policy drag is the Soviet-era preparation of teachers for Estonia's Russian-language schools during the occupation: at the time, those teachers were not required to learn Estonian. Now, however, these upper secondary (10th–12th grade) teachers are required to work in a bilingual (Estonian-Russian) system (Kiilo and Kutsar 2012, 246).

Policy drag also includes both the production and the reproduction of the priorities of previous eras through the enduring ideologically-inspired attitudes and behaviors of teachers who were subjected to the regime's policies. Such ideologies are influential not only in their sloganeering, which can be dismissed as propaganda, but also more deeply and subtly through their reshaping of "common sense" attitudes toward language(s). Stuart Hall (1988, 55) draws on Antonio Gramsci's work on hegemony to show how common sense is,

> …itself a structure of popular ideology, a spontaneous conception of the world, reflecting the traces of previous systems of those that have sedimented into everyday reasoning. Common sense, the 'given ground and dispositions of a culture'–[is] itself the complex result of previous struggles, reflecting hegemony and earlier 'unstable equilibria'…

Within states and school systems, previous policies and ideologies "sediment" into common sense to shape understandings about ways to prepare teachers (and school directors), notions of professionalism, parent expectations, and the purpose(s) of schooling. Normative ideas about, among other things, what's "worth" teaching, curricular priorities/hierarchies, and what is "good" for students provide further examples of the hegemony of "common sense." The persistence in a great many schools and societies of a "monolingual, monocultural habitus" illustrates how this sedimenting of ideologies into common sense continues to shape "the beliefs, basic concepts, common-sense patterns as elements of the practical professional knowledge, or the practical professional behavior of teachers" (Gogolin, 2002, 132). Carol Benson (2014, 12) defines the monolingual, monocultural habitus as

> a particular set of unquestioned dispositions toward languages in society that has given us a linguistic self-conception that has made us blind to multilingual, multicultural lifeways… Within the habitus, NDL [non-dominant language] is rendered invisible.

Teachers working in this residual monolingual, monocultural habitus may view policies supporting plurilingualism as "problematic" (see Vopio-Huovinen and Martin 2012) or as a welcome change.

The concept of "resiliency," in particular personal and professional resiliency, advances our understanding of teachers' responses to language policy possibilities. As teachers work against an institutionalized history of marginalizing the NDL of Võro, resilience serves as an animating force to generate a sense of purpose and drive in regional language-related teaching, activism, retention, and recruitment. I foreground the complex and complicated ways teachers express resiliency and work within "new social and semantic spaces, new sets of relations,…and new webs of meaning" (Shore and Wright, 2011, 1) to support the diverse regional-language efforts in schools.

In my research, I understand teachers as "policymakers" (Brown 2010; Menken and García 2010), who in many cases, work both against their personal history of learning within a language-restricted environment and in response to current freedoms to support greater linguistic diversity in schools. Teachers, as powerfully explored by Nancy Hornberger's pioneering LPP ethnographic research (1988), formatively direct and shape language policy in educational environments. A critical ethnographic approach to LPP focusing on teachers "foregrounds the agency of those that have traditionally been positioned merely as policy implementers and repositions them as active policy interpreters, appropriators, and creators" (Johnson 2013, 2) and considers hegemonic forces in the policy process (Johnson and Johnson 2015). In the research I share in this chapter, I take a critical socio-cultural perspective on policy that understands "policy as a kind of social practice, specifically a practice of power" (Levinson et al. 2009, 767). In this holistic view, the policy process is dynamic and is "…iterative and additive, made up of interactions and translations, which are inflected by existing values and interests (teachers have a multiplicity of interests and values), personal and institutional, by context, and by necessity" (Ball et al. 2011, 635). Finally, instead of conceptualizing policy as "a linear instantiation of authorial intentions, which are homogeneous and identifiable," as an ethnographer I am attentive to the "ideological heterogeneity that is always possible across texts, discourses and practices" (Johnson 2013, 2). In order to begin to understand the ideological and the resulting pedagogical heterogeneity in schools around language diversity, I submit that a historic and place-based lens is needed in analysis and interpretation.

The chapter is divided into five parts. In the opening section, I introduce the concept of resiliency as it is used in education-related literature and explore ways in which it can be linked with language policy. In the second section I highlight three historic points in the relationship between the state/ruling power and regional-language instruction or use in schools in Estonia. After reviewing the methodology, I introduce the findings in two subsections: linguistic resiliency and professional resiliency. I conclude with ways that this comparative research informs and advances our understanding about teacher resiliency, its role in language policy, and the enduring influence of the state over the language environments in schools.

2 Resiliency

I posit that teacher resiliency plays a formative role in teachers' responses to and appropriation of language-policy possibilities in schools. Scholars have used the concept of resiliency particularly in the context of exploring urban student and teacher success in the U.S. (Henderson and Milstein 2003; Kandel-Cisco and Padrón 2008; Reynoso 2008).[1] Qing Gu and Christopher Day (2007) argue that resilience enables teachers "to respond positively to challenging circumstances that they may meet over the course of a career" (p. 1302). Resiliency has at least three defining aspects; it is: (1) a positive response to conditions of adversity; (2) a learned and acquired quality; and (3) a dynamic developmental process (i.e., personal characteristics, competences, and positive influences in the social environment interact to contribute to the process of resilience building) (Gu and Day, 2013, 25). My research helps to develop the concept of resiliency and the relationship between resiliency and language policy in education by considering this quality in the policy decisions of NDL teachers.

In extending the concept of resiliency to language-in-education policy, two significant strands merit development—linguistic resiliency and professional resiliency. First, the concept of linguistic resiliency of teachers sheds light on what shapes their will to keep using the NDL despite adverse conditions. Several sources of linguistic repression and linguistic maintenance invite investigation into the linguistic biography of the teacher to identify and understand resiliency reservoirs, or those well-springs of resiliency: (1) the teacher's school-based experiences around and with language(s) in particular moments of prohibition, permission, and encouragement; (2) the historic and contemporary position of the NDL at home, school, and in the broader society; (3) language ideologies; and (4) the teacher's history as a language learner in both formal and informal settings. These multiple and layered forces work with and against each other to constitute the linguistic resilience of the teacher.

Second, the concept of the professional resiliency of NDL teachers, or their professional biography, draws attention to the developments shaping a teacher's will to continue teaching the NDL. The constituting elements of professional resiliency meriting investigation include: (1) responses to pedagogical models for teaching the NDL (e.g., immersion, submersion, etc.); (2) language ideologies informing skills and expectations in initial/pre-service teacher training and in-service professional development programs; (3) formal recognition of skills and certification programs; (4) institutional possibilities and restrictions including school openings, closings, and teacher transfers; (5) the school director's support/lack of support; (6) the parents' support/lack of support; (7) the students' responses to NDL education; and (8) the school climate and environment. In what ways do several or all of these factors

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[1] See, for example, the 2014 special issue of *Teachers & Teaching: Theory and Practice*, *20*(5) on teacher resiliency.

contribute to the teacher's resiliency particularly as professionals in their commitment to teach the NDL?

3 Context

In order to frame the language-policy drag over time and the ways it shapes contemporary teacher resilience, I review in this section three historical points regarding the relationship between Võro and the state. First, it is important to establish that a long history exists of Võro being used voluntarily in schools. The existence of Southern Estonian texts (e.g., the 1885 *Wastne Wõro keele ABD raamat/ New ABC Book for Võro*; Koreinik, 2007, 6) for schools suggests that Võro was used in southeastern Estonian schools in the 1800s. There is no evidence, however, that Võro language instruction was ever mandated, or banned, in Estonian schools in the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first centuries. The only mandated languages of instruction have been Russian, starting in the 1880s pre-independence period of Russification (Raun, 2001, 79), and Estonian, during the years after 1918 through today. My interview data with Võro-language teachers in 2013–2014 provides empirical evidence that teachers voluntarily used Võro within the school at least dating back to the early post WWII years.

Second, from the first period of Estonian independence (1918–1940) through the Soviet Occupation of Estonia (1940–1991), the ruling powers' position toward Võro and other regional language can be described as benign neglect. I use the notion of benign neglect to capture the ways the governments of both periods provided financial, political, and ideological support for languages other than Võro and other regional languages (e.g., Mulgi, Seto, and Kihnu). These policies were benign only in the sense that the government appeared to be driven to use policy more to *support* Estonian (or Russian) in order increase its functionality and vitality rather than as a tool specifically to *undermine* Võro. The effect of these language policies, however, was damaging and far from benign; state neglect significantly contributed to language shift from regional languages like Võro to Estonian and helped to cultivate a monolingual, monocultural habitus especially at the pre-primary level where there was an emphasis on either Estonian or Russian as the medium of instruciton. During the interwar period, the Estonian government's attempts to advance and protect languages via state policies focused on the one official language—Estonian—and those of officially recognized minorities, who had the right to instruction in their mother tongue. These policies relegated regional languages as, in effect, "beyond the state," as a language with no official status; only standard Estonian and other minority languages (e.g., Russian, German, Swedish, etc.) had defined roles in school. The undefined position of Võro continued through the Soviet occupation when Estonian and Russian were the most significant languages of instruction.[2]

[2] In contrast to the state's neglect of Võro during the Soviet occupation, academics, especially linguists, did recognize, label, and classify Võro as a "dialect." [Include citation].

Third, during the second period of independence (1991-current) and in the context of the state-supported primacy of Estonian-language protection and development (Siiner 2006), the Estonian government began a phase of active support for Võro by allocating financial resources toward the regional-language program in schools. Although the state government financially backed Võro-language developments through the State Program, this should not suggest consensus about the role, status or conception of the language; by the early twentieth century ideological struggles roiled over whether Võro was a "legitimate" language (Koreinik 2011, 252). Currently, Võro remains a language with neither legal status nor a mandated role in schools. Estonian is the sole official language of Estonia, and Võro, in state-related documents, is categorized as a "regional variety" of Estonian.

In this recent era of state support, regional-language-education efforts—from the creation of curriculum to in-service teacher development—have been organized through the Võro Institute, a nationally funded development organization. Public school-based instruction in Võro began in 1993 at the primary level as an ungraded elective. In just over two decades, the regional-language educational landscape has changed significantly. When I returned in 2013 to start this comparative project, the basic school-based (*põhikool*, grades 1–9) Võro language network, as the teachers predicted and feared during my 2001–2002 study, had diminished in size. A handful of schools now constitute the heart of a smaller, though enthusiastic core of institutions offering regional-language classes. The number of teachers, schools, and students involved in the language-revitalization has notably dropped since 2001 in part due to outmigration and population decrease. In the one decade between my field research, several Võro-language teachers retired, one died, and schools closed. In 2014–2015, 17 basic schools in Historic Võrumaa offered regional-language education in some capacity (Keelepesa arengukava: 2015–2018, 7).

While the primary school system hosting the Võro-language classes contracted, the pre-primary level blossomed and embraced non-dominant language instruction through a "language nest" approach. Language nests are premised on the idea that an exclusively NDL-learning environment, led primarily by native-language speaking teachers, at the early childhood level helps to sustain the language by passing it along to the next generation. The Võro-language nest in Estonia has developed in a distinct pre-primary policy space—one where the government and teachers find more curricular and community flexibility and possibility for language revitalization. From the first pilot regional-language group that began to meet in 2009 to the expansion in 2011 to public kindergartens (*lasteaed*), the language nest program by 2013 was on a growth trajectory with the Institute's goal to have one "nest" in each historic parish by 2015 (Keelepesa arengukava: 2011–2014, 2) and by 2018 to have a 5-day a week language nest in the major cities of Historic Võrumaa (Keelepesa arengukava: 2015–2018, 2). In 2014–2015, 16 kindergartens in the region offer some form of Võro instruction.

A defining feature of the state and local government's active support of regional-language support is that it is optional. School-based instruction in the regional language is a voluntary policy; teachers, and parents, *opt in* to participating in these education efforts. Basic and secondary school teachers are compensated for the regional-language lessons they provide. This differs from the situation with pre-primary teachers, who are not compensated since they are largely teaching the same curriculum as their colleagues who are instructing in Estonian.

4 Methods

This chapter incorporates data from a larger comparative, diachronic qualitative study of the role of teachers in Võro language-revitalization in 2001–2002 and 2013–2014. Informing this comparative, qualitative study are Katherine Anderson-Levitt's (2002) research on knowledge for teaching in France and the United States, and Teresa McCarty's long-term research (2002, 2013) with the Navajo/Dine education community in Rough Rock, Arizona. The comparative aspects of the language-policy study run along institutional and temporal lines. Institutionally, I analyze teachers' language-policy work at two educational levels—primary and pre-primary. My initial ethnographic research on regional-language teachers in 2001–2002 was set exclusively where the language was taught during that period – in public basic schools. Like other revitalization efforts around the world, language activists concerned with the future of the Võro language, initially turned to primary schools to promote education in and about the language. By the start of my second phase of qualitative research, however, in 2013–2014, the regional-language education program had expanded to the pre-primary level serving three to six year olds. The development of the pre-primary language program allowed for the possibility to compare teachers and their language policy involvement at, and across, these two levels.

The research, and my analysis, is also diachronic. First, I focused teacher interviews thematically on their experiences with school and language as both a student and a professional. I incorporated teachers' "storying," (Goodson 1995) or the ways they present themselves in narrative form, as a window onto their lived experiences of language and schooling. These teacher narratives play a key role in developing "genealogies of context" that illustrate the broader ways "teacher's lives [are located] within the deep social structure and embedded milieu of schooling" (Goodson, 1995, 96). I also strove, when possible, to interview the same teacher participants in 2013–2014 as I did in 2001–2002 (n = 7) to gain a sense of how they reflect on language-policy work over a decade working with Võro in schools. In drawing out teacher reflections about their experiences as students and professionals, I strive to contribute to the understandings about the "awareness of the continuous presence of past experiences, remembrance and constructions of the past…-in contemporary language policy debates" (Halonen et al., 2015, 4) and appropriation.

Second, I engaged in a diachronic inquiry of linguistic landscapes (Pavlenko and Mullen 2015) as part of this study. I complemented my attention to ideology and the material use of language in school settings, or schoolscapes (Brown 2012), in my initial ethnographic project (2001–2002) with similar attention and focus in the second one (2013–2014) along with a 2-week follow-up in 2015. Return visits to the basic schools that were part of my first project provided an opportunity to record the ways these schoolscapes transformed and for teachers to reflect on the dynamic (or static) elements of the school's linguistic landscape. Visits to the pre-primary sites generated a comparative basis to understand schoolscapes and to provide a foundation for future diachronic studies.

Throughout this research I took a critical ethnographic approach and analysis of teachers' work in language planning and policy (McCarty 2011). Much of the data in this chapter is selected from the more recent study (2013–2014 and 2015), which draws on an analysis of (1) semi-structured interviews in Estonian (ranging from 25 min to 2.5 h) of 16 basic-school teachers (out of 20 schools) and 18 pre-primary teachers (out of 15 kindergartens with language nest programs); and (2) participant-observation notes from 29 school visits, which lasted from 1.5 h to 2 days, and from 5 language-nest in-service teacher training sessions. I coded transcriptions and developed themes based on these data. The quotes I include here I have translated from the original Estonian; I use pseudonyms for all participants.

5 Findings & Discussion

When national or local governments have never mandated language instruction, and only in recent history have begun to support the optional study of the language in school, what shapes the decisions of teachers to take up these opportunities for NDL instruction? In the following section, I argue that teachers' linguistic and professional resiliency plays a formative role in their response and appropriation to language-policy possibilities in schools. I explore the way the teachers' response to the adverse conditions they have experienced as both students and teachers – including the "policy drag" of the government's promotion of standard Estonian at the expense of other regional languages of Estonia—showcase all the defining aspects of resiliency; the response is positive, a learned and acquired quality, and the result of a dynamic developmental process (i.e., personal characteristics intersecting with possibilities in the immediate social environment rather than something necessarily inherent). My analysis suggests that language-policy "take up," therefore, is shaped by many circumstances beyond state dictate (e.g., parents using Võro as a home language, the esprit de corps of the network of regional-language teachers, supportive colleagues and directors), yet informed by state influence (e.g., funding for the Võro Institute, permitting the language to be taught in schools, etc.). Major driving forces of resiliency include a sense of professional community and an attachment to place and family.

5.1 Teachers' Linguistic Resiliency

Schools, as institutions, have played a formative role in linguistic repression and resiliency of teachers. The regional-language teaching corps in southeastern Estonia is primarily local and rural-based, where almost all the teachers learned to speak Võro at home. Interview data suggest that their educational experiences as students, sometimes in the very schools in which they now teach as adults, shape their will to continue to use and to teach the NDL. My 2013–2014 interviews provide empirical evidence that teacher-initiated repression of Võro was uneven across Historic Võrumaa during the Soviet occupation – the era when the majority of regional-language teachers attended school. While my participants reported instances of individual teachers codeswitching with them in the 1960s and 1970s to facilitate their understanding and acquisition of Estonian, my data suggest many more cases of regional-language repression.

In-school and out-of-school norms developed around language that favored the use of standard Estonian. Despite the lack of an institutionalized ban on Võro, teachers of that era took it upon themselves to enact regional-language restrictions. Anu, a basic-school teacher, reported that as a child "even though I knew my teacher also spoke Võro, she would never use it with me even if I did not understand what she said in Estonian" (March 2014). Other teachers in my study mentioned regular verbal scoldings for using the local language. Soviet-era teachers acted as language monitors beyond the schoolhouse as well. Silvi, a basic school teacher, recounted that on a field trip she took as a student with her class to Tallinn, the students were reprimanded by their teacher when they complained in Võro about the heat upon exiting the bus. When one student exclaimed "It's hot" ("Om lämmi"), their teacher lectured that they were *never* to use that language outside their village especially not in the capital (April 2014). In the course of the interviews about my participants' memories of Võro use as a student, I was repeatedly struck by how quickly they were able to call up these experiences; these interactions at the basic and secondary school levels with Võro helped to constitute the genealogy of the school context. These oral histories attest that teachers during this era did not need formal policies of language repression to cultivate their role of dictating the appropriateness and place of the regional language; they took on this responsibility indepdently. Change their conception of the role of the teacher. Notably, at least five teachers in my 2013–2014 fieldwork expressed that their desire to work against these negative past experiences with Võro in school and work as supportive language professionals.

In addition to the teacher-enforced rules regarding school as an (in)appropriate place to use the regional language, my research participants also were exposed to ideologies about being "correct" speakers of a language. Although many of the teachers I interviewed spoke Võro as their first language, they understood themselves to be better speakers and writers of standard Estonian. Mari, who spoke Võro as her first and home language, explained, "I know I do not speak Võro 'correctly' like Estonian, because I never studied it in school like Estonian. I had years of Estonian language and literature classes, but nothing like this for Võro" (February

2014). The linking of school-based instruction and the allocation of school time with the concept of a “correct” speaker of the language powerfully attests to the ways that Soviet-era curricular support for Estonian-language development likewise shaped, and shapes, enduring understandings of Võro-language abilities. In addition to undermining their confidence as regional-language speakers, these experiences also influenced the teachers’ emphasis on oral rather than writing-skill development with their students.

Intertwined with the enduring concept of being (or not being) a “correct” speaker is the appreciation of the direct, formal instruction in the language they did not have access to as children. Many of my research participants shared in their interviews that they “needed” these Võro-language development sessions at the Võro Institute to address linguistic weaknesses. Mari exclaimed, “I need the language parts of the Saturday trainings, but that’s the hardest part of the day” (February 2014). As part of both the Võro Institute’s 2001–2002 and 2013–2014 in-service teacher training they offered sessions in which language specialists at the Institute provided overviews of grammar, led sessions in translation from Estonian to Võro, and reviewed teachers’ written homework. The Institute’s redress of the lack of past formal regional-language instruction helps to work against long-held notions of their inadequacies with Võro by assisting them to slowly develop a sense of confidence in both their oral and written skills.

In contrast to schools, which generally functioned as repressive forces in both the teachers’ positive self-conception as a Võro speaker and the development of regional-language skills, home served as a safehouse for Võro. Võro-speaking parents and grandparents contributed to and continue to feed the teachers’ linguistic resiliency. In terms of the framework of this chapter, it is evident that home served as a reservoir of resiliency. Külli, a basic-school teacher, echoed the sentiment of other teachers in sharing a sense of indebtedness to the decisions made by her parents to continue to use Võro with her at home: “I realized several years ago what a gift my parents gave me with this language. They spoke it to me at home, and they gave me a link to the past and this spot” (December 2013). While other teacher participants also mentioned the crucial roles played by grandparents in using the regional language with them, this appreciation had a dynamic temporal aspect; the teachers’ gratitude has only deepened and been fully realized as they witness fewer children being able to speak it. The overlay of indebtedness to parents and attachment to place culminates in providing teachers with a sense of drive and purpose. As Helena, a kindergarten teacher, remarked about her decision to teach Võro: “All I want to do is help students appreciate this place” (May 2014).

5.2 Teachers’ Professional Resiliency

In terms of regional-language teaching, Võro educators experience a range of adverse conditions. First, in the genealogy of the professional development of teachers, evidence exists of the soft repression of Võro. Training to become and be certified as a teacher in Estonia has never formally involved the regional language.[3] Even the national government's support of regional-language in the second period of independence has never led to a systemic change in the curricula of Estonia's multiple teacher-training programs to include courses relevant for future Võro teachers. The curricula of teacher-preparation programs has excluded both content and pedagogy classes to train educators to teach the regional language. Their abilities in the regional language were never ones that could be developed within the their path to become a teacher. The lack of institutionalized regional-language teacher training puts a time and professional burden on educators who opt to teach Võro. These teachers need to participate in in-service professional development sessions to introduce them to the ways to teach the language responsibly. Rita along with several other teachers I observed during a wintery Saturday-morning training session, explained that "it can be hard to give up a whole Saturday to come in and be here [at the training], but it is absolutely necessary since this is the only way I will know what and how to teach in Võro" (January 2014). Additional time burdens are generated by the lack of curricular materials; these deficiencies were remedied, as I observed in several pre-primary classes, by teachers who spent their time generating curricular materials in Võro.

To address this historic lack of professional exposure to teaching methods for the regional language, the Võro Institute has taken up the responsibility to design in-service teacher training programs for basic school and pre-primary teachers that provide exposure to a range of pedagogical strategies. These in-service training opportunities serve as the sole avenue through which the teachers are trained to teach the language. In addition to developing curricular content that links the regional language and the arts and natural science at the basic school level, the Institute has also organized teacher-learning visits to the country's Estonian-immersion programs, based in Russian-language kindergartens, to expose the Võro-language nest teachers to these pedagogical methods. Ülle, a language-nest teacher commented "the visit to the Estonian immersion class was an important opportunity for me to see in person how this method works. We have read and talked about it, but I needed to experience the immersion class in person to understand how it works—and, it does work" (May 2014). The urgency to address the pedagogical needs and develop the skill base of Võro teachers all of whom were trained in different specialties (other than regional-language) rests squarely beyond the national teacher preparation programs and instead with the Võro Institute.

Isolation and a sense of programmatic vulnerability presents an additional adverse condition facing several regional-language teachers. The majority of schools and kindergartens offer Võro instruction only to one class by one teacher. This arrangement generates stress on basic-school teachers who voiced constant concerns about the viability of Võro instruction. Whereas basic school teachers in

[3] To be sure, in 2007 the Southern Estonian Language and Cultural Research Center at Tartu University offered basic-school teachers of Võro, Seto, and Mulgi the opportunity to enroll in a Master's series of courses designed as a supplement for Estonian language and literature educators. Five teachers completed this course of study (Keelepesa arengukava: 2011–2014, n.d., p. 5).

my 2001–2002 study reported the challenge of finding time to teach the regional language at the primary level given the tremendous curricular demands for more English and computing classes, in 2013–2014 teachers shared greater anxiety about end of the secured course offering if they were to stop teaching (or retire). I recorded at least five basic school teachers sharing, like Eleri, that they felt like "the one teacher" (February 2014) invested in regional-language education in their school. The weight of this responsibility as this sole teacher reflected their deep commitment to the subject, yet exposed the institutional fragility of regional-language instruction.

To be sure, in three schools, regional-language teachers expressed that they felt as part of a whole-school commitment to the language. In these schools, the use of the language extended in print and orally beyond the Võro class on classroom signs, in school-related materials, and the display of Historic Võru County symbolism (e.g., flying of the green flag in front of the school). School director-advocates emerged as playing significant roles at the basic school level in contributing to the incorporation and even foregrounding of Võro as part of the school identity. Yet, these directors, like the regional-language teachers, were supportive of the language due largely to their sense of personal connection to the region and the inclination to use their administrative powers in ways to support the presence of the language; the state did not mandate these actions.

My research revealed the influence of school directors in transforming schoolscapes to include more of the regional language reflecting a dynamic linguistic environment and the ways Võro is positioned as something defining to the area and distinctive in the priorities of the school. The hallway display in Photo 1, which features an overview of the school in honor of the one-hundred eightieth anniversary of its founding, includes on the bottom, in Võro, "Close-to-home study" ("Kodolähedäne oppus"), a particularly apt message to depict in the language historically linked with home and the home area. When I pointed this sign out to a teacher in the school—not the regional-language teacher—she replied, "Oh, did you see the school sign [in Võro] next to the bus stop? We have Võro out there, too; it's everywhere" (Anna, June 2015). My diachronic analysis highlighted the ways this basic school and a handful of others transformed from environments with minimal material evidence of the regional language to ones where it was displayed prominenently. For Võro teachers, this changed environment contributes to their sense of wider-school orientation and support of the language, and to increased resiliency.

In contrast to the enduring vulnerabilities of the basic school, the pre-primary level offered opportunities for regional-language education growth both within and across kindergartens. From the language-nest teachers' perspectives, the pre-primary institutions offered multiple possibilities for language revitalization given the curricular homogeneity, the socio-cultural purpose of this level of education, and its institutional stability (i.e., less likely than a basic school to close). Although kindergartens historically have been predominantly monolingual institutions (in terms of their language of instruction), data analysis from my 2013–2014 study suggest several particularities of kindergarten that are not only essential for the expansion of language revitalization efforts to this educational level, but also hold the

Photo 1 Hallway language display (Photo by K. Brown, June 2015)

promise of institutional resiliency for future stability and growth of regional-language instruction. While at the basic-school level space had to be carved out of the day for instructional time in Võro, in kindergartens the regional-language could be, what I term, "grafted" onto established curriculum and daily school routines. Eva, among other language nest teachers, captured the sense of relative, curricular ease to teach in the regional language, "It's not that hard to use Võro during the day. I just follow the same curriculum, but use Võro instead of Estonian" (May 2014). The schoolscape, or, perhaps more appropriate for this level, the "kinderscape," reflected the ways the teachers transformed the pre-primary learning rooms into spaces of possibility for regional-language learning. These are environments where teachers could stay true to their commitment to accomplishing institutional goals and following the curriculum, only on language nest days, which were typically 1 day out of the school week, this content was delivered in Võro rather than Estonian. The teacher-created parallel classroom displays in Võro and in Estonian that I observed in several classrooms reflected the organic way teachers transformed space to promote bilingual-learning goals. The teacher-created days of the week in Photo 2, which was used in the class' daily "morning circle" meeting when students identified the day and weather, captures the Võro presence in the kinderscape of southeastern Estonia.

Photo 2 Morning circle (Photo by K. Brown, February 2014)

Finally, while I explored above the ways the in-service professional development sessions cultivated a sense of professional resiliency by providing exposure and education in the foundational aspects of regional-language teaching, these meetings also generated a sense of community and solidarity among the teachers. In the Saturday professional development sessions I attended for both the basic school teachers in 2001–2002 and the ones for the kindergarten teachers in 2013–2014, I noted the ways this shared instructional space nurtured a "community of practice" (Wenger 1998) by consolidating feelings of personal belonging and value and cultivating a sense of efficacy. The Võro Institute's thoughtfully designed monthly trainings and carefully crafted culminating celebrations to recognize the annual efforts of teachers contributed to collective sense of mission and appreciation for teaching. In an interview with a basic-school teacher who had decided to take time off from regional-language teaching, she reflected "coming together with everyone for the training sessions is what I'll miss the most [about no longer teaching]" (Anita, March 2014). The trainings and routines also work to keep people teaching and contribute to resiliency; at a culminating ceremony for language-nest teachers in spring 2015, one teacher remarked to me, "I was thinking that maybe I would stop teaching Võro, but after this [evening's gathering] I will definitely continue next year" (Signe, June 2015). These resilient teachers work as persuasive professionals to help identify and recruit more capable teachers both within their schools and across the region. And, the accomplishments of the teachers and the overall regional-language program has served as a model for developing and expanding autochthonous language education in other areas of Estonia including among the

Kihnu-, Mulgi-, and Seto-speaking areas where by spring 2015 also hosted language-nest programs.

6 Conclusions

As state institutions, schools and kindergartens serve primarily as spaces where teachers uphold and comply with language laws. What happens, though, when the policy mandate is removed, and we consider the realm of optional policies and programs? How and why do certain teachers embrace these opportunities while others pass them up? In this chapter, I have argued that in order to answer this question we need to consider the lived experiences of these teachers and the ways "policy drag" extends the life and influence of past language policies in individuals and institutions. The case of Võro-language education in southeastern Estonia illustrates the powerful and quiet ways linguistic repression operates both historically and today, and the ways educators counteract these forces. The drag and cumulative effect of policies of governmental benign neglect, teacher training without regional-language courses, and the legacy of schools and kindergartens absent of Võro instruction collectively create adverse conditions for teachers considering or continuing to teach the language.

This chapter explores the ways teachers' linguistic and professional resiliency shapes their decisions around teaching the regional language. I identify reservoirs of resiliency including: (1) collective places, like their childhood homes and the Võro Institute, that nourish their regional-language skills; (2) communities of support – from school/kindergarten directors, who are staunchly committed to regional-language instruction, to the wider Võro-language teacher corps and the Võro Institute; and (3) conducive institutional possibilities such as the shared curricular goals and stability of the pre-primary level for "grafting" on regional-language instruction. These resiliencies result most immediately from beyond state policies – from developments and decisions within the home and local community among colleagues; but, they also connect most distantly from contemporary state policies and positions—in particular in its support for the Võro Institute and permission to use Võro in schools.

In part, this research suggests that an examination of the personal commitments and experiences of teachers enables us to appreciate the dynamic aspect of language-policy—both its stability and change. As Goodson (1991) observes:

> Change and reform must be seen as going both ways in relation to school and context, both into and out from the school. This movement both ways is reflected in the importance of teachers' personal beliefs and internal missions. Education change works most successfully when reform sees these personal commitments of teachers as both an inspiration for reform…and a necessary object of reform… (p. 60).

One of the major conclusions of this chapter is that resilience can be productive, an animating force in a teacher's relationship with language policy that helps to generate a sense of purpose and drive in language-related teaching, activism, retention, and recruitment. A teacher's linguistic and professional resiliency shapes the way s/he prohibits, permits, or persuades others, especially students, to use the NDL. Teachers emerge as primary actors animating and shaping language reform in the school context.

Importantly, and on a concluding note about language policy, teacher resiliency is not enough to sustain a long-term NDL-language program in the context of language shift. The personal resources and local commitments of teachers need to be cultivated with effective and immediate language-education and pedagogy programs for the next generation of Võro teachers. Furthermore, additional language-policy related research is needed to understand better the deep institutional, curricular, community, and training opportunities for revitalization campaigns to take hold in school and beyond.

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Official Language Policy as a Factor in Using Receptive Multilingualism Among Members of an Estonian and a Finnish Student Organization

Hanna-Ilona Härmävaara

Abstract This study analyzes the language policy of an Estonian student organization and its Finnish friendship organization, and the use of different languages in inter-organizational interaction. The organizations have an official language policy for the use of receptive multilingualism in written communication, originating from their agreement of friendship (est. 1933). Receptive multilingualism refers to interaction in which participants employ a language different from their interlocutors'. By combining survey and interactional data, this study investigates how this official policy, which grew out of the national romantic ideology that emphasized the linguistic and cultural similarity of Estonians and Finns, is interpreted today. It further investigates the present-day language practices among the members of the studied organizations. An analysis of different types of data revealed competing ideologies of the "ideal" and the "practical." Despite the respondents' stated preference for using Finnish and Estonian, to ensure mutual understanding they often considered the most effective choice to be English as a lingua franca. Even so, English was not the dominant language choice in the interactional data, and receptive multilingualism was used particularly in multiparty interaction when at least some of the participants had an active command of both languages.

Keywords Language ideologies • Language choices • Receptive multilingualism • English as lingua franca • Ethnography

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1 Introduction

This study analyzes the language policy of an Estonian student organization and its Finnish friendship organization. The studied organizations have maintained ties since the 1930s, when the official friendship alliance was established in the spirit of national romantic ideology, which emphasized the linguistic and cultural similarity of Finnic-speaking[1] people (see Laakso 2011, 17–18). This study aims to further the understanding of receptive multilingualism, and to investigate explicit language policy and language ideologies as factors in choosing receptive multilingualism as a mode of interaction. Receptive multilingualism (RM) refers to interaction in which participants employ different languages and still understand each other mostly without the help of an additional lingua franca (Zeevaert and ten Thije 2007, 1; Rehbein et al. 2012, 248–249). The language policy of the organizations is based on the written agreement of friendship, which contains a paragraph concerning inter-organizational language use, stating that official letters are to be written in the sender's native language. Later, this rule has been interpreted and applied in different ways, which will be discussed in this article.

The approach of this study is ethnographic, which entails understanding language policy as a dynamic social process always situated in a certain cultural context (McCarty 2011, 2–3). Language policy can consist of explicit and implicit policies. Explicit policies are stated rules, such as legislation or official agreements, and implicit policies are language practices, ideologies and beliefs (Schiffman 1996, 2, 2006, 112; Shohamy 2006, 57). Language policies can also be viewed as top-down processes, put in place by governments or institutions, or bottom-up processes, formed by communities and individuals (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 196). The strength of the ethnographic approach is that it investigates language practices at multiple levels, combining both macro and micro perspectives and triangulating different kinds of data (McCarty 2011, 3–4; Johnson and Ricento 2013, 14–15). This study combines three different types of data. First, the official policy is recorded in the agreement of friendship. Two other types of data, survey and conversational data, are combined to analyze how the official policy is interpreted, what type of beliefs the members of the organizations have regarding different language choices, and what is the nature of the language practices.

2 Friendship Alliances Between Estonian and Finnish Student Organizations

Cultural relations between Estonian and Finnish intelligentsia were first established as a part of the rising nationalism in Estonia and Finland in the second half of the nineteenth century. After the countries gained independence from Russia (Finland

[1] The term "Finnic" refers to the Finnic languages, such as Finnish, Estonian, Karelian and Veps, and their speakers. The Finnic languages are a branch of the Uralic language family spoken around the Baltic Sea by about 6.5 million people. The Finnic languages with the most speakers and having the status of national languages are Finnish and Estonian (see e.g. Laakso 2001).

in 1917 and Estonia in 1918), Estonian and Finnish students sought alliances with each other. While Finnish students were afraid of Russia endangering the independence of the young states, Estonian students were more concerned about the strong cultural influence of Germany in Estonia and Sweden in Finland. The cultural and political orientation diverged in the neighboring countries, but the close relationship of the languages and the conscious building of the Estonian and Finnish identities through identifying as "Finnic", in contrast to Swedish, German or Russian, provided Estonian and Finnish students with a sense of belonging together (Sepp 2005, 135, 139–147; Zetterberg 2007, 412–418, 539–544).

In the 1920s and 1930s, co-operation between Estonian and Finnish student organizations took more official forms, and almost all of the student organizations at the University of Tartu established friendship alliances with one or two student organizations at the University of Helsinki (see Sepp 2005, 204). The purpose of the friendship alliances, as recorded in the written contracts, was to acquaint students with their "brother nation" and its student life and to promote collaboration. Today the organizations still collaborate in different ways: they invite each other to take part in celebrations and in every-day activities, they have joint events, and some organizations even have exchange programs. In addition, there have always been personal level contacts and friendships.

The friendship alliances have existed continuously, or they were re-established after the restoration of independence of Estonia in 1991. During the Soviet occupation, these kinds of student organizations were forbidden in Estonia. The organizations were kept alive abroad, such as in Sweden, in Canada and in the USA, and the Finnish organizations kept in touch with the exile affiliated organizations. However, in the mid 1960s, the atmosphere changed. The Finnish political elite pressured students to disconnect from the emigrant Estonian organizations and emphasized focusing on Soviet Estonia. As Megerild (2015) shows, the Finnish organizations reacted to this differently, and a lot depended on how the Finnish organizations interpreted the political situation and the importance of the relationship with their Estonian friendship organization. The Finnish organization studied never disconnected from the Estonian organization, and thus the history of the relationship can be divided into three phases: the first period of young nation-states, the exile period of the Estonian organization, and the present period after re-establishing the student organizations in Estonia. This study focuses on the contemporary practices and understandings of the language policy, but some of the respondents of the survey have experienced both the exile and the current period.

3 Receptive Multilingualism: Language Policies and Other Determinants

For today's intercultural contexts, English as the lingua franca (ELF) is often considered the default option, while RM tends to require particular preconditions and prior negotiation between the participants, as Hülmbauer (2014, 275) has stated (see also Braunmüller 2007, 30–31). The first precondition for RM is that the participants understand each other's languages well enough, at least "passively". Understanding can be based on the linguistic similarity of the languages, on language acquisition, or on both (Zeevaert 2007, 109–110). Earlier research (Härmävaara 2013, Härmävaara 2014; Vershcik 2012; Kaivapalu and Muikku-Werner 2010) on RM between the speakers of the relatively closely related Estonian and Finnish languages suggest that mutual understanding in such interaction is based on the similarity of the languages, but also on language acquisition, context and world knowledge, and the intersubjective work accomplished during interaction. Estonian and Finnish are structurally very similar, but there are significant differences in their lexicons (Laakso 2001; Laalo 1992).

Other preconditions for RM vary from situation to situation. However, RM is more likely to occur in situations where it is a "common practice" (Hülmbauer 2014, 276), shaped by "ideologies, historical beliefs and attitudes on the one hand and language policies on the other" (Rehbein et al. 2012, 252). For example, in Scandinavia RM is a widely known practice supported by the Nordic countries.[2] The mainland Scandinavian languages, Swedish, Norwegian and Danish, are generally considered mutually intelligible, and Pan-Scandinavism is based on the ideology of Norden as a coherent community (Östman and Thøgersen 2010). This is reflected in the official language policy of the Nordic countries, where the preference of being able to converse in Scandinavian languages is recorded (The Declaration on a Nordic language policy 2006, 92, 93).

However, having an explicit language policy does not guarantee that it will always be implemented. RM is not a self-evident choice even between the speakers of the mainland Scandinavian languages.[3] Several studies (e.g. Börestam Uhlman 1994; Delsing and Lundin Åkeson 2005; Schüppert 2011) report that especially Danes and Swedes struggle to understand each other. Difficulties in understanding lead to arguments against the use of RM in Nordic cooperation. In the interviews conducted by Östman and Thøgersen (2010), Scandinavian languages were perceived as tools to construct both Scandinavian and national identities, but the use of English was welcomed, too, especially when mutual understanding would otherwise have been threatened (Östman and Thøgersen 2010, 122–123).

Similar results have been reported in studies that focus on quadrilingual Switzerland. RM, also called the "Swiss model", is based on the assumption that all Swiss citizens are competent in several national languages (Lüdi 2007, 161). The Swiss model is used on the federal level, and it is officially encouraged by the Minister of Education (Werlen 2007, 142, 154). In reality the choice of mode varies according to how multilingual a Swiss region is and depending on its established practices (Werlen 2007, 142–143). Furthermore, both Werlen (2007) and Lüdi (2007 and references) report that even in contexts where the Swiss model is applied, within actual conversations language choice is highly varied. Different modes (RM, native-non-native interaction and ELF) are mixed, and languages are chosen based on the language skills of the participants and the interactional needs of the situation.

[2] Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Iceland and Finland.

[3] Even less so when Icelanders and Finnish-speaking Finns are involved (see Delsing and Lundin Åkeson 2005; Östman and Thøgersen 2010, 112).

Still, according to Lüdi (2007, 173) and Werlen (2007, 154), the existence of such a policy creates a sphere for utilizing RM.

The use of RM does not need to be derived from a national-level policy, but can also be more locally agreed upon. Studies by Roelands (2004, reported and reflected on by Ribbert and ten Thije 2007) and Beerkens (2010) focused on German-Dutch RM in institutional constellations. German and Dutch are closely related languages, but there is no national-level policy on using RM (Beerkens 2010, 40–49). However, Beerkens found that in the Dutch-German border area RM is practiced along with ELF. There RM is both a top-down process, with language agreements (in governmental organizations), and a bottom-up development based on what is considered a convenient way of communicating (in civil society organizations) (Beerkens 2010, 68). Beerkens (2010, 286) did not find a significant correlation between explicit language policy and the use of RM; instead, the best predictors for using RM were the contact with the speakers of the cognate language, and a positive attitude towards the regional dialects and RM. Also Ribbert and ten Thije (2007) report that individuals and their language skills and preferences played a major role in choosing between different multilingual modes, yet the bilingual structures of the organization fostered RM.

In Europe, RM research has been guided by the official language policy of the EU, which emphasizes linguistic diversity and diverse language skills among citizens (see e.g. ten Thije & Zeevaert 2007, 1–2; Beerkens 2010, 18–20; Rindler-Schjerve and Vetter 2007, 49–50). Estonian and Finnish are official languages of the EU, which means that the EU language policy applies to Estonian-Finnish contact. However, regardless of the long and close contacts between Estonia and Finland, there is no explicit state-level language policy regarding using the cognate languages in Estonian-Finnish interaction, and RM is by no means a default mode. However, Estonian-Finnish RM does occur, for example, in tourism (see Verschik 2012), families, workplaces and academic co-operation.

As suggested in the studies reported above, the choice of RM in Estonian-Finnish constellations is influenced by different determinants related to the characteristics of individuals, social settings and situations. However, the national-level developments undoubtedly form a general framework for choosing the mode of interaction at the local level. Ribbert and ten Thije (2007), Beerkens (2010) and Lüdi (2007) all estimate that one of the languages having a higher status may hinder choosing RM. The Soviet occupation of Estonia changed the previously equal relationship between the states and the languages. Finnish became the language of a wealthy Western country, while Estonian was spoken in a region of the Soviet Union. During the Soviet times Finnish had high prestige in Estonia, and the Finnish language and media had symbolic value in the psychological resistance to the occupation.[4] Even today 21% of Estonians claim to have a command of Finnish on the communicative level (European Commission 2012, 21[5]). Estonian does not have the same status in Finland. Estonian is not generally taught in Finnish schools, whereas in many Estonian schools Finnish is one of the foreign languages offered. The EU and the free mobility of labor have

[4] See Graf and Roiko-Jokela (2004, 169–189) on the importance of Finnish TV broadcasts in northern Estonia during the Soviet era, and the sporadic learning of Finnish through Finnish TV.

[5] The Eurobarometer reported the three most common languages spoken besides the mother tongue. Estonian was not on the Finns' list.

intensified the contacts between Estonia and Finland, and there is a large Estonian minority population in Finland (see Koreinik & Praakli, this volume).

4 Data and Methods

The data analyzed in this study have been drawn from a larger body of data, collected for an on-going ethnographic study that aims to describe language practices, especially RM, among the members of the student organizations. The researcher is a member of the Finnish organization and has the role of a participant-observer. The main objective of the data analysis is to describe different aspects of language policy by answering the following questions: (1) How do the members of the organizations understand the content of the official policy and how do they think the policy affects their practices? (2) What kind of beliefs and ideologies are attached to different language choices? and (3) How do the languages get selected in everyday interaction? The questions will be answered by triangulating different kinds of data.

The main data for this article were derived from two different sources: responses to a sociolinguistic survey and video-recorded interactions among the members of the organizations. The sociolinguistic survey was predominantly designed to answer the first two questions. The formulation of the survey questions was based on prior ethnographic knowledge and pretesting. The interactional data were collected following the principles of conversation analysis, and they were applied to answer the third question. The data collection was conducted according to the responsible conduct of research. The participants gave a written permit to use their survey answers and conversational data for research purposes.

The survey data were collected by sending a link to an on-line questionnaire to the members of both the Estonian and the Finnish organizations. This questionnaire was in Estonian for the Estonians and in Finnish for the Finns. A total of 56 Finns and 54 Estonians completed the questionnaire. The average age of the respondents was 39, with the youngest respondent being 20 and the oldest 80. The respondents were university students or alumni members of the organizations. The Estonian organization is a male organization, and the Finnish organization welcomes both genders. The survey contained both direct and indirect questions concerning the respondents' language skills, language choices with Finns/Estonians, contacts with their neighboring country and its residents, and attitudes towards the neighboring language, as well as toward different language choices. The survey also had a section on the participants' perception of the official language policy, and their evaluation of its effects on language practices. The survey data were analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. The answers to open-ended questions were first categorized according to emerging themes and subsequently coded under labels that were used as a basis for the quantitative analysis.

This survey did not include questions that directly asked the participants about appropriate language choices, nor did it ask the participants to reflect on ideological aspects of certain language choices within the inter-organizational interaction. However, the questions that asked the respondents to analyze factors that affected their language choices and the effects of the official language policy on language practices provoked answers that contained affective expressions related to different language choices. Furthermore, questions that asked the respondents to evaluate changes in practices in the past and the future produced metalanguage about the language choices. This metalanguage was analyzed in order to reveal the beliefs and ideologies attached to different language choices.

The interactional data consisted of video-recorded conversations among the members of the organizations. The total amount of this naturally occurring data was 12 h, and the total number of participants was 35. The data analyzed in this article were from four different situations in which the studied Estonians and Finns normally meet, such as at someone's home or at a student building. The total number of minutes was 60, with 15 min per situation. The situations were the following: (1) breakfast among six participants, (2) lunch among seven participants, (3) a sauna evening with 11 participants, and (4) spending time at a student building among 12 participants. These excerpts were chosen because together they produced a representative picture of the data. Most of the participants had little or no active knowledge of Finnish/Estonian, but some were fluent in both languages (as assessed by both the participants and the researcher). All of them had a command of English that was good or very good. The participants in the interactional data were student or alumni members of the organizations who in general were in frequent contact with the members of the friendship organization. The age of the participants varied from 22 to 44.

To reveal how much the participants used different languages and modes of interaction (RM, ELF and native-non-native interaction), the conversation data was analyzed quantitatively by calculating the amount of time they spent speaking different languages within topical units[6] defined by the qualitative analysis of the data. Topical units were used as a basis of analysis instead of other methods, such as calculating turns produced in the native language or other languages (see Beerkens 2010; Börestam Uhlman 1994), since there were up to 12 people present in the interactional situations. That meant that the conversations easily split into smaller ones, and many of the turns uttered in Estonian/Finnish were directed only to Estonian/Finnish participants in smaller participant frameworks. Topical units also allowed the analysis to treat receptive multilingualism as a distinctive mode of interaction, and to focus on the macro choice of language in a certain situation, leaving out the effect of occasional code switching and mixing.[7] Due to considerable variation in the lengths of the topics, seconds were chosen as the unit for quantitative analysis. The mode of interaction could of course change within a topic, and that was taken into consideration in the quantitative analysis.

5 Factors Affecting the Language Choices: Interplay Between the Ideological and Practical

This section discusses findings related to different aspects of language policy in the studied community. This section is organized thematically around the most important findings of the study. First it analyzes how the official policy was interpreted by

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[6] This study defines "topical units" as stretches of conversation where one topic is discussed.

[7] This study uses Härmävaara's (2014) elaborated definition of RM.

the members of the organizations. Next, it explores how the members of the organizations talked about the effects of the policy and how they advocate for certain behaviors according to, or regardless of, what they perceived as the policy. This is followed by an analysis of the ideological aspects of the policy, and finally the actual use of different languages is studied on the micro level, in informal interactions.

5.1 Discrepancy Between the Official Policy and How It Was Interpreted

The document that serves as a basis for the existence of the studied Estonian-Finnish community is called the *sõprusleping/ystävyyssopimus*, "agreement of friendship", which was signed in two original copies (one in Estonian, and one in Finnish) in Tartu in 1933. The eighth paragraph of the agreement states the language policy of the group as follows (in Estonian[8]):

> *Kumbki lepingupool omavahelises kirjavahetuses tarvitab oma keelt.*
> Both parties are to use their own languages in mutual correspondence.

Thus, the organizations have an official policy of using RM, but this applies only to official written communication. The existence of an explicit policy does not guarantee that it will be implemented or even known by people it is addressed to. Indeed, ethnographic observation suggested that the actual content of the official policy was not known to all the members of the organizations. For this reason the survey contained a question that aimed to determine how the rule was understood. The question translates to English as follows: "The agreement of friendship contains a paragraph on language use. What does it say? If you are not sure, please answer according to what you think it says." The responses to this open-ended question were categorized as illustrated in Fig. 1 (in absolute numbers). One answer could contain features from several categories, but for the most part the answers fell into only one category.

As Fig. 1 shows, the majority of the respondents thought that the language policy of the group contains the idea of "everyone always using their mother tongue." Finnish respondents (15/31) in particular conceived of this as a positive right; their answers included such words/expressions as "can" or "is allowed to." Out of 29 Estonians, five used similar expressions. Of the respondents, 16% thought that the policy of using one's mother tongue was restricted to official contexts. Other answers contained ideas of learning and respecting the other language. A few respondents thought that the language policy emphasizes the importance of mutual understanding and allows participants to select the language according to interactional needs.

It is interesting that none of the respondents knew the exact, correct answer, even though two Finnish and two Estonian respondents mentioned official correspondence as part of their answers. Thus, the interpretations of the language policy were

[8] All translations are by the author.

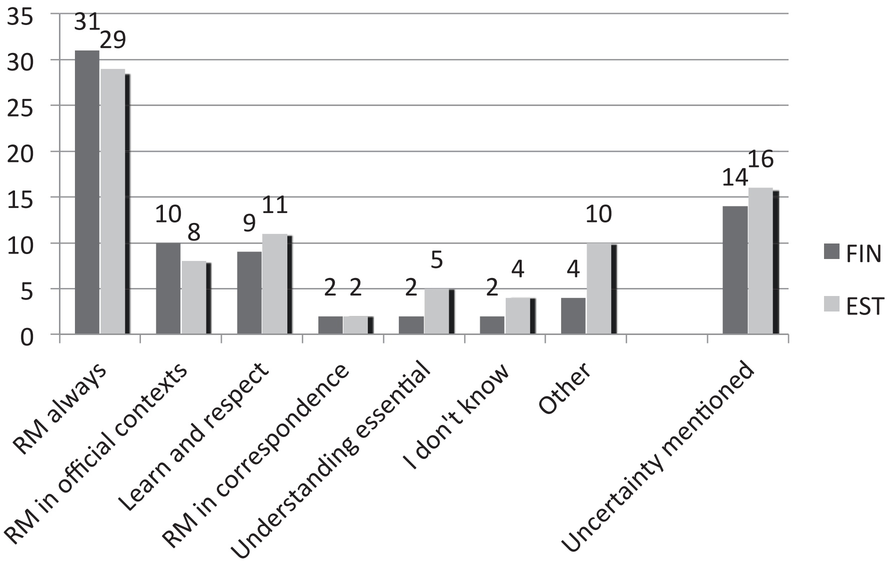


Fig. 1 Official language policy according to the respondents

very different from the actual official policy. This shows that as a written document the agreement of friendship is not central to the community, but the policy has been passed down in terms of practices and as oral information. It is interesting to note that the respondents thought that the policy applies to a wider variety of contexts than it actually does. This leads us to think that RM is used more widely than the official policy imposes, and/or RM is somewhat idealized.

5.2 *Discrepancy Between the Perceived Policy and Reported and Actual Practices*

Even though the respondents interpreted the policy differently, most of them said that it affects practices. However, the majority of the respondents saw a discrepancy between the explicit policy and the practices. That shows in the fact that they reported that the policy affects “official” but not “unofficial” interaction. Approximately 60% of the Finnish (34/56) and Estonian (32/54) respondents claimed that the policy is followed in official contexts, whereas only 10 Finns and 10 Estonians stated that it affects informal interaction. None of the respondents thought that RM would be used the majority of the time and in every context. Rather, language skills were brought up as an important factor affecting the language choices in informal interaction. An Estonian respondent who thought that the official policy said that one had to use one’s mother tongue all the time, described his behavior in informal situations as follows:

Excerpt 1

Esmalt üritan aru saada, kas seltskonnas on soomlasi, kes oskavad eesti keelt ja annan neile võimaluse eesti keelt rääkida. Kui seltskonnas on kedagi, kes eesti keelest aru ei saa, siis üritan ise pigem soome keeles rääkida. Kui seltskonnas on lisaks eestlasi, kes soome keelt ei mõista, siis eelistan inglise keelt, et kõik mõistaksid teineteist.

First I try to determine if there are Finns present who can speak Estonian, and give them an opportunity to speak Estonian. If there is someone who doesn't understand Estonian, then I'll probably try to speak Finnish. If there are also Estonians who don't understand Finnish, I prefer English, so that everybody understands each other.

In general, the respondents thought that in informal interaction reaching mutual understanding is critical, and the language choices are less fixed than in official communication. The non-fixedness of the language choices in informal interaction was confirmed by the analysis of the conversational data. Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of the different language choices[9] in the studied 60 min.

As Fig. 2 indicates, one-third of the topics were conducted in RM, which shows that RM was a possible choice also for informal interaction. However, it was by no means a dominant choice. Neither was English (21%), which was used less than the survey data responses indicated. The Finns estimated that they spoke English 45% of the time and the Estonians 50% of the time. That can be partly explained by the fact that the participants in the conversations were on average more proficient in the cognate language than the average survey respondents. The data also include monolingual Estonian (16%) and Finnish (21%) topics that came up both among the speakers with shared native language and between the speakers of different native languages. Thus, Estonian or Finnish could function as a shared language, more often Finnish than Estonian, since there were more Estonian participants that had a command of Finnish than vice versa. That reflects the more general imbalance in the Estonians' and Finns' cognate language skills (see Sect. 3). The factors affecting the language choices will be analyzed more thoroughly in Sect. 5.4.

Even though Fig. 2 indicates that RM is also used in informal interaction, the real locus for using mother tongues seemed to be the speeches given in the friendship organization's annual parties. Out of 110 respondents, 44 mentioned these official speeches as the most central manifestation of the official language policy. Some of the respondents even expressed strong opinions on the importance of using one's mother tongue during the speeches, and described how they try to make sure that the policy is followed. One means of controlling appropriate behavior was to express disapproval of "breaking the rule," which a Finnish participant (in his late twenties) described as follows:

Excerpt 2

Yleensä käsittääkseni nämä tapahtuvat kummankin omalla kielellä. Paheksun tosin nuorisoa, joka joskus rikkoo tätä.

To my knowledge, normally these [speeches] occur in both side's mother tongue. However, I scold the young ones who sometimes break this [rule].

[9] The category "other" contains all the topical units in which Finnish and Estonian were not spoken among participants with different native languages. For example, bilingual participants with a shared native language could produce some of the turns in one language and some in the other. This is also a left-over category for strings of conversation where participants with different native languages talked simultaneously but did not really engage in the same conversation.

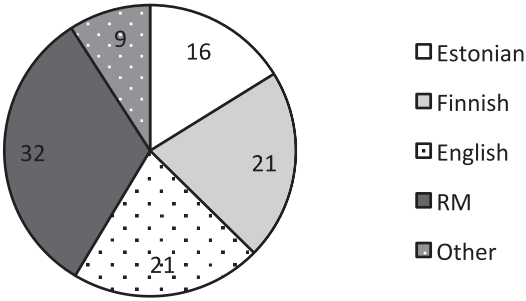


Fig. 2 Distribution of different languages in 60 min of conversational data, in four situations

In contrast, a few participants said that the need to understand is more important than following the official policy during these speeches. The following quotation is from an Estonian respondent who interpreted the policy as using native languages in official interaction:

Excerpt 3

Isegi olen pidanud kõne inglise keeles, sest soome keelt ei oska ja eesti keelest poleks enamus aru saanud.

I, too, have given a speech in English, because I don't speak Finnish, and the majority of people wouldn't have understood Estonian.

The findings reported above confirm that the respondents had opinions on preferred language choices, which they also tried to promote. Sometimes the advocated language choices were in conflict with what people thought the policy was, and they explained their decisions based on pragmatic assessments of group or individual language abilities. Thus, authority was not attributed solely to earlier generations, but the current members serve as active managers of the policy as well (see Hornberg and Johnson 2011 on how language policy is always appropriated, contested and interpreted by the members of the community it addresses). In addition, variation arose in how the members interpreted the relationship between the official policy and practices, and there were conflicting ideas on what the "appropriate" language choices were. The following section delves more deeply into the participants' beliefs regarding language choices and outlines the ideological aspects of the policy.

5.3 Competing Ideologies of the "Ideal" and "Practical"

In responding to questions regarding the influence of the official language policy on inter-organizational interaction, many of the respondents addressed the difficulties in understanding that may occur if the policy is followed. A closer look into meta-language regarding different language choices revealed that RM is considered *laborious*, whereas the most common attribute associated with English was *easy*. The use of Estonian and Finnish received mainly positive attributes, whereas the use of English was problematized. Figure 3 presents the most frequent expressions attached to RM, and Fig. 4 to ELF. The expressions were first analyzed and categorized keeping the responses in Estonian and Finnish apart and subsequently translated to

Fig. 3 Expressions associated with Estonian-Finnish RM. The numbers refer to absolute numbers of mentions

Fig. 4 Expressions associated with speaking English

English. The expressions used by Estonian and Finnish respondents mostly overlapped, which is the reason for presenting the results together.

As can be seen in Fig. 3, the most frequent expression attached to the use of Estonian and Finnish was *hopefully/hope*. It occurred predominantly in the answers describing future practices, as expressed in the quotation below from an Estonian respondent:

Excerpt 4

> *Loodan, et eesti ja soome keelt. Kardan, et minnakse üle rohkem inglisekeelsele suhtlusele.*
>
> I hope that Estonian and Finnish [will be spoken in the future]. I'm afraid that more will be communicated in English.

As the quotation above indicates, many of the responses expressed a contradiction between what the respondents hoped to be the reality of the language practices and what they thought it was or would be. Since expressions such as *incomprehensible* and *laborious* were associated with speaking Estonian and Finnish, the preference for using Estonian and Finnish must have originated from somewhere else than RM being an easy or a practical solution. One source of interest in using Estonian and Finnish was the idea of it being *traditional* and worthy of *respect*, as a Finnish respondent expresses below:

Excerpt 5

Ehkä viralliset puheenvuorot pidetään edelleen omalla äidinkielellä, koska molemmilla järjestöillä on kuitenkin sen verran kunnioitusta sääntöjä ja ystävyyssopimusta kohtaan.

Maybe the official speeches will still be given in the speaker's mother tongue, since both organizations have that much respect for the rules and the agreement of friendship.

Using one's native language was also associated with the notion of *national identity*, as in the quotation below from a Finnish respondent:

Excerpt 6

Toivon, että kansallista identiteettiä pidettäisiin yllä ja kutsut yms. virallinen yhteydenpito hoidettaisiin edelleen sekä omalla kielellä että englanniksi.

I hope that national identity will be cherished and invitations and other official communication will still be both in our own languages and in English.

Mentioning the notion of national identity resonates with the wording in the original contract; being in contact with the "sibling nation" contributes to having a strong national identity and vice versa. This friendship was regarded as being important in the participant responses, and using Estonian and Finnish was considered to be one way to cherish it. Thus, the respondents regarded using Estonian and Finnish as not only *nice*, *fun* and *interesting*, but they also envisioned it as a means of expressing closeness and mutual respect. In contrast, expressions related to English showed practical value.

As Fig. 4 indicates, English was considered to be an *effective* language choice, which was also suggested as a reason for *preferring* it. English was perceived as a *lingua franca*, both among the members of the studied community and more generally. The following quotation from a Finnish respondent aptly describes the practical value assigned to English.

Excerpt 7

sillä se ei vaadi ponnistelua kummaltakaan osapuolelta ja on muutenkin kansainvälisen kommunikaation kieli.

– since it [English] doesn't require effort from either side and in general it is the language of international communication.

While Estonian and Finnish were associated with national identity and locality, English represented *internationality*, and the respondents conceived of English as a practical solution that was best suited to informal interaction (see Östman and Thøgersen 2010). Some Finnish respondents who contrasted English with monolingual Finnish interaction also stated that they found English to be *neutral* and *polite*. They considered it to be safer to begin a conversation in English with a previously unknown Estonian. This is described by a Finnish respondent as follows:

Excerpt 8

> *Käytän suomea, jos tiedän, että kommunikoinnin toinen osapuoli osaa hyvin suomea ja haluaa puhua sitä. – Se, että olettaa kaikkien virolaisten osaavan suomea, kalskahtaa hieman imperialistiselta, joten yritän välttää suomen käyttämistä Virossa.*
>
> I use Finnish if I know that the other person knows Finnish well and wants to speak it. – It seems quite imperialistic to think that all Estonians speak Finnish, and that's why I try to avoid speaking Finnish in Estonia.

The respondents used the word "imperialistic" to reflect the stronger cultural influence from Finland on Estonia rather than vice versa. The Finnish respondents indicated sensitivity towards the historical background and possible negative connotations related to speaking Finnish in Estonia. This indicates that even the members of a community where using mother tongues is encouraged do not interpret different language choices only from the organizational perspective, but also consider the way the general relationship between the countries at different times has affected the connotations attached to different languages. In this respect, English was seen as a neutral choice without connotations of inequality (see Kelly-Holmes 2013, 133).

5.4 *Receptive Multilingualism as a Group Phenomenon*

The findings presented above show RM to be a desired yet difficult way to interact. The findings also suggest that the official language policy and its interpretations were a factor in choosing the mode of interaction. However, the choice of languages appeared to be highly variable and negotiated locally. This final section analyzes factors that affect language choice. This is done by analyzing the four interactional situations separately and in contrast, since significant variation emerged from situation to situation. The participants are introduced in Fig. 5, in which E stands for an Estonian participant and F for a Finnish participant. Those who were fluent in both languages are marked with "bi", and the + sign indicates some active skills in the cognate language. The parentheses indicate that one of the participants in the breakfast situation occasionally participated, but mainly stayed in another room.

As Fig. 5 shows, the number of participants and the participants' language skills varied from situation to situation. Furthermore, the amount of English varied significantly between the situations. The lowest amount of English (0%) was spoken in the lunch situation (Fig. 6), and the highest amount of English (33%) in the breakfast situation (Fig. 7).

Fig. 5 Interactional situations and participants

Situation ID	**Participants (Est)**	**Participants (Fin)**
Breakfast	E, (E)	F F F Fbi
Lunch	E+ Ebi	F F F+ Fbi Fbi
Sauna-party	E E E+ E+ Ebi	F F F+ F+ Fbi Fbi
Student building	E E E E+ E+Ebi	F F F F F F

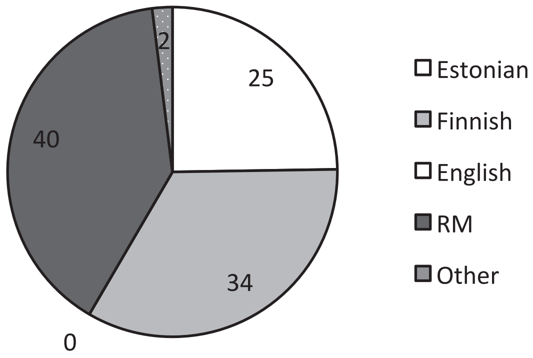


Fig. 6 Lunch

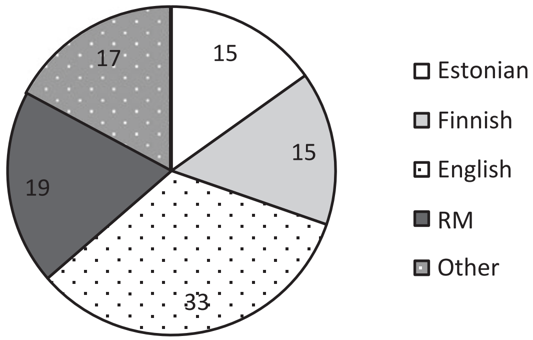


Fig. 7 Breakfast

The lunch and breakfast situations were rather similar in terms of the number of participants, as well as in the general activity, eating around a table. The greatest difference between the situations was the participants' language skills. Only one of the participants in the breakfast situation had an active command of the cognate language, whereas in the lunch situation only two participants did not speak the cognate language. It seems that English was not needed in the lunch situation, where especially those who had at least some skills in both languages could participate in RM. However, the participation of the Finns who had no active skills in Estonian relied heavily on the assistance of the other participants (see Härmävaara 2014). In general, they participated less than the others.

This calls for reflecting on the equality of the language mode. Participants do not necessarily have an equal opportunity to participate if they have unequal access to the languages of the interaction. Thus, the choice of the group can be in conflict with the preferred choice of some of its participants, as the quotation from a Finnish respondent below shows:

Excerpt 9

Harmittaa, kun suomalainen estofiili vie keskustelua itsekkäästi viroksi enkä itse pysty osallistumaan siihen samalla kielellä.

It bothers me when a Finnish Estophile leads the conversation selfishly in Estonian, and I can't participate in it in the same language.

The use of the term “Estophile” can be seen as a reference to an ideological reason for choosing a certain language mode, which in turn can be in conflict with a practical choice.

English had an important role in the breakfast situation (Fig. 7). However, Estonian and Finnish were also used in the situation, and conversation in one of them could provoke a conversation in the other. This suggests that the participants understood the cognate language to some extent, but they still preferred using English as a lingua franca, as illustrated in the excerpt below. Before the Finnish Sarita’s Estonian turn in line 1, two simultaneous conversations had been going on about a pizza place in Tartu, one in Finnish and one in Estonian. The Finnish Seppo had not participated in either of them.

Excerpt 10

01 Sarita: seal on niihead pitsad et ma ei ole söönud sellist ma olen
Itaalias söönud paremat agah (.) Soomes
pizzas there are so good that I haven’t eaten such, I have eaten better [pizza] in Italy but in Finland
02 Seppo: aa
oh
03 Sarita: kus- mitte kuskil
whe- nowhere
(1.0)
04 Seppo: joo (.) Finnish pizzas they are-
(0.4)
05 Sarita: they are crap
06 Seppo: they are usually they are really crap

In line 4 Seppo begins to talk about Finnish pizza. By aligning (*joo*, ‘yeah,’ line 4) with what Sarita says in lines 1 and 3, Seppo expresses that he has understood the previous turns in Estonian. Following the principle of RM, he could then reply in Finnish, but he does not do that, and instead switches to English. By switching to English, he manages the participant framework and selects everyone as participants (see Myers-Scotton 2000, 157). Indeed, after the previous separate conversations in Estonian and Finnish, everyone participates in the following topic in English. Sometimes RM was chosen in the breakfast situation as the common mode, but those topics were rather short and simple, such as regarding food the participants ate.

The language skills of the participants also turned out to be an important factor in choosing the mode of interaction in the student building and sauna party situations. Figures 8 and 9 illustrate the distribution of different language choices in these situations.

As Figs. 8 and 9 show, the proportional amounts of English and RM were quite similar between these situations. There were also similarities in how English and RM were used. The likelihood of using RM increased when there were more people participating. RM was used in both situations as a common mode for all 12 or 11 participants. English was used within smaller participant frameworks, consisting of

Fig. 8 Student building

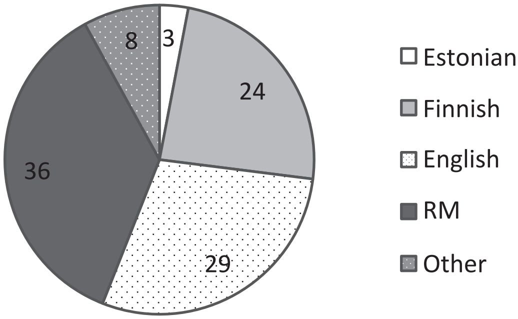
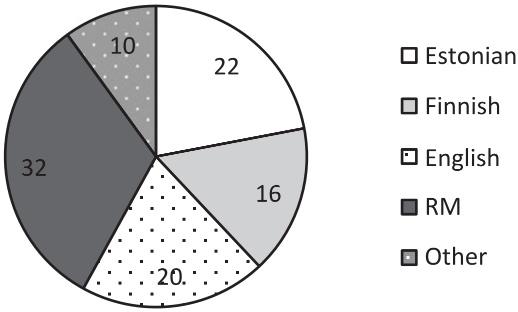


Fig. 9 Sauna party



participants who had no or low active skills in the cognate language. All of the English described in Fig. 9 is from a long dyadic conversation between one Finn and one Estonian. A common feature for all RM interaction in the data is that only one short topic featured RM as the mode of dyadic interaction. All other dyadic conversations were conducted in one language, Estonian, Finnish or English. In the data analyzed, RM seems to be a group phenomenon (see also Härmävaara 2014).

The observations presented above are in line with how the respondents to the survey described reasons for selecting a language. The respondents were asked to describe the factors that affect their language choices when talking to the members of the friendship organization. The categorization of the responses to this open-ended question are shown in Fig. 10. The results are presented in absolute numbers.

As illustrated in Fig. 10, according to the respondents the most important factor affecting their language choices was the interlocutors' language knowledge; most of them reported that they could not speak the cognate language. Many of the respondents stated that they at least somewhat wanted to try to use RM or speak the related language. Also the situation was mentioned as an important factor: RM and "mixing languages" was reported to occur among people who know each other well and with whom using cognate languages is an established practice (about the importance of "shared communication history", see Beerkens 2010, 25).

Overall, the choice of languages was affected by the distribution of language skills, both in the cognate language and in English: the participants' good English skills made English a plausible choice, since it was often an easier solution than

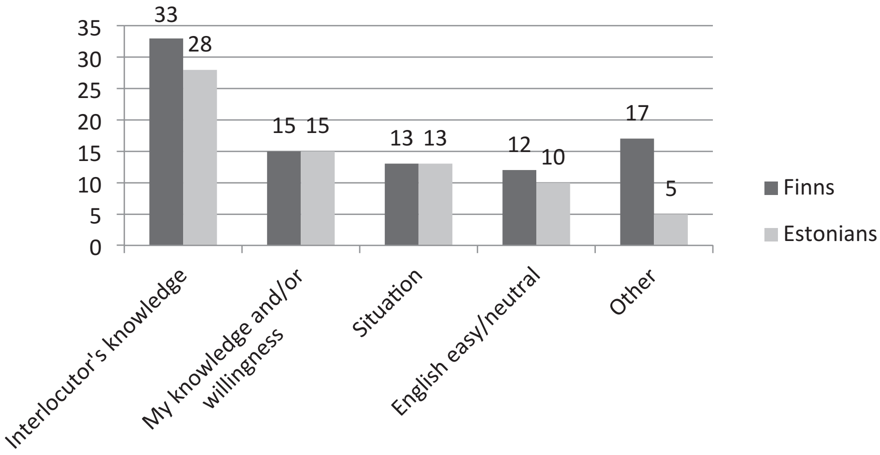


Fig. 10 Factors affecting language choices according to the respondents

RM. This was also noted in a study on German-Dutch RM by Blees et al. (2014). The number of participants turned out to be another determining factor: RM was used marginally in dyadic interaction. The variation between different interactional situations suggests that the language practices in the informal situations are not fixed, but locally negotiated. One characteristic of the studied data is that multilingualism and the co-existence of different languages were tolerated, and switching between languages and modes rarely caused problems socially or interactionally.

6 Conclusions and Discussion

The analysis of the data indicated that the official language policy recorded in the contract of friendship affects the present-day language policy of the studied group. Using Estonian and Finnish was regarded as an important aspect of the friendship alliance, and RM has an emblematic value, especially in official contexts. RM plays an important role in maintaining the traditions, and it marks locality and belonging together as "Finnic people". However, the exact content of the official policy turned out to be unknown to the members of the organizations. The policy was interpreted differently by different people, based on their experience of language practices. In fact, one could argue that the explicit policy has changed over time, and it nowadays includes using RM in official speeches, and preferably also in informal interaction. This shows how explicit and implicit aspects of language policy interact dynamically.

Furthermore, the authority to determine language practices was not assigned solely to former generations, but the current members actively advocate practices that suit their idea of acceptable and reasonable language use. In addition, there were conflicting ideas regarding what the acceptable language choices were. In general, English was perceived as somewhat threatening to the construction of organizational identity, yet it was also considered to be a practical solution. The analysis of the practices showed that ELF is a plausible choice, particularly for those participants who do not have a command of the cognate language. RM was used relatively widely in the studied situations, but its area of usage was narrower, i.e. it occurred in multiparty interaction between participants among whom at least some had active knowledge of the related language, or while discussing simple issues.

The studied community and access to diverse data provided compelling insights about the way language policy is formed at the local level. Estonian-Finnish RM is not supported by the nation-states, but it is used in different smaller communities. However, as society is made up of groups, such as families, associations and enterprises, language policy on the group level can also be revealing about the societal level. This leads us to suggest that to support European multilingualism, multilingual language practices should be rooted in the micro level in ways that are meaningful to people. This study showed how, despite the linguistic differences between Estonian and Finnish, the shared experience of being similar in a profound way, and the interest in using Estonian and Finnish to express this similarity can foster the use of RM.

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Language as an Object of National Passion: Reflections from Estonia

Emilia Pawłusz

Abstract This chapter explores the role of emotions and affective practices for language beliefs, acquisition and practices. It argues that affective orientations towards language comprise an important part of the linguistic culture of a community: the beliefs, attitudes and assumptions that largely shape the popular understanding of the role of language and in which language policies are embedded. While there is a growing interest in language policy beyond official legislation, there is still very little understanding of how the notion of language is constructed discursively, affectively and performatively. This chapter explores this angle using the case study of the Estonian choral song celebration, the largest state-supported event in Estonia. Song festivals have been intertwined with the process of nation-building since their beginning in the nineteenth century. This chapter analyzes how the song celebration serves as a site where emotions, especially love and anxiety, are discursively and performatively "attached" to the idea of national language. Such affective narratives inform the protectionist language policy of Estonia. Finally, this chapter opens a discussion on the possibility of the song festival becoming a site for creating an inclusive emotional patterning of language use. The primary data for the study was gathered in Estonia between 2013 and 2015, using participant observation at choral singing events, as well as semi-structured interviews with the song festival organizers.

Keywords Language and affect • Identity • Song festival • Informal nation-building

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1 Introduction

This study joins the body of literature that examines language policy beyond the state and its juridical character (Schiffman 1996; Shohamy 2006; Spolsky 2004). It focuses on affective practices (Wetherell 2012, 2015) that position a language in the national narrative and influence the way people think and feel about the language in relation to the state, other linguistic groups and their own identities. Affective practice as a conceptual framework allows emotions to be seen not as individual states of mind, but rather as patterns integral to power relations and social structures (cf. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence). This observation sheds new light on studies of language policy: it highlights the importance of collective psychological context, which often shapes beliefs about a language.

Combining literature from studies of emotions and language policy, this chapter analyzes the Estonian national song festival (in Estonian, *laulupidu*) as a case of affective practice where the emotive aspect of language use is constructed and performed. The main argument of this study is that, in the national song festival, the Estonian language is constructed as a marker of ethnic Estonians and an object of emotions, particularly love and anxiety. The song festival is analyzed as an example of a ritual in which the nation constructs itself as an emotional community. Moreover, the *laulupidu* (re)creates affective dispositions towards certain judgments, bodily engagement and perception of the language that are trans-personal in scope and irreducible to individual states of mind (cf. Emirbayer and Goldberg 2005). This chapter observes that choral song festivals are sites of meaning-making where the Estonian language is perceived as a frame for the ethnic-national identity. I develop a critique in this chapter of the festival both as a tradition that does not take up the linguistic diversity of the society and as site that is distanced from efforts to make Estonian the basis for the civic culture of the society (affirmed, for example, in state integration programs).

The relevance of the song festival to the study of language policy in Estonia stems from its rich discursive, affective and performative character. Physically gathering over 100,000 people at the event (and about 20,000 singers on stage), the song festival can have a great impact on the way people perceive and experience the issues of identity, nationhood, language and patriotism on both cognitive and emotional levels. A recent quantitative study by the sociologists Marju Lauristin and Peeter Vihalemm (Lauristin and Vihalemm 2013) found that the majority of the respondents (Estonian-speakers ranging in ages from 15 to 74) were passionate – if not "religious"– about the song festival and considered it a very important Estonian national tradition that gave them a sense of national community and familiarity and is actively used in the current branding of Estonia. The political significance of the event that has functioned as a marker of national awakening and the anti-Soviet civic movement, its grassroots popularity, combined with the personal and bodily way of participation make it a suitable foundation for observing affective practices related to identity and language, nationhood and statehood.

Methodologically, this study is based on qualitative data gathered in Estonia from 2013 to 2015, in particular participant observation at the national song celebration in Tallinn in 2014, and a set of 11 semi-structured interviews with organizers from the Song and Dance Celebration Foundation (ELTSA), which is the state agency that coordinates the song celebration and the Estonian Choral Association, as well as conductors and individuals responsible for official communication about the festival. Each interview lasted at least one hour, and one interview took the form of a conversation during the rehearsals for the 2014 festival. Interviewees were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality. The language of interviews was English with occasional switching to Estonian. Estonian words and phrases were used to discuss concepts for which English does not have adequate vocabulary. English, being a foreign language to both the respondents and the researcher, served as a relatively "neutral" ground and invited additional explanations of history, context, metaphors and figures of speech by the respondents, who often saw me as an outsider to the Estonian context. Other sources of data were official publications about the song festival issued by the organizing agency. Finally, to focus on emotive practices, I turned to auto-ethnography and empathy, to which current anthropology attributes high epistemological value (Davies and Spencer 2010). I found that keeping a journal was the most effective way to reflect on my experiences, and it later helped me conduct the final analysis.

2 Conceptualizing the Affective Grounds for Language Policy

The relationship between language, identity and emotions has been analyzed in different branches of language policy research. On the macro level language political interventions are analyzed as potentially causing tensions or as a tool of avoiding inter-group conflicts (Lo Bianco 2008). On the micro level the relationship between emotions and language is mainly analyzed in language acquisition, studying cognitive and emotional aspects of multilingualism (Pavlenko 2006). In both cases we study human behavior in sociolinguistic settings where several languages and identity constructions are involved and where any language political intervention giving preference to one language on the expense of another, always bears a risk of conflict. Positioning *laulupidu* within the research field of language policy as a sacred event for Estonians, where they celebrate their language, nation, and freedom allows for an analysis of the affective and potentially uniting aspect of singing together–an aspect of emotions and language in LP research that has not been fully explored before (Pawłusz 2016).

The concept of affective practice developed by Wetherell (2012, see also Bourdieu 1977) successfully combines the discursive, affective and performative. Wetherell turns away from seeing affect as an uncanny and irrational outburst of emotion and argues for a focus on how emotions unfold and their role in social situations. Similarly to other scholars, such as Ahmed (2004) and Emirbayer and Goldberg (2005), she sees emotions as both biological and social, subjective and objective, individual and collective, historical and political. She argues that the concept of practice helps to shift attention to how emotions may be organized, habitual, ongoing, and patterned on associations, relations and connections to people, events, objects and wider social and power structures. Finally, her approach to studying affect overcomes the often-presupposed division between tamed speech and the uncontrolled body. Instead, she suggests that affective practice is meaning-making, which never exists outside language and discourse.

The focus on affect shifts the locus from policy as a static product of political elites to mechanisms of linguistic culture (Schiffman 1996), and even more, to the way attitudes and beliefs about language are dynamically expressed, felt and experienced by groups and individuals. The case of Estonian song festival shows how a national celebration of singing patriotic songs reiterates certain affective attitudes towards the national language that are present and often taken for granted in the society, and which affect the ways official policies will be implemented and understood by ordinary citizens. Furthermore, the study shows that it is not only the language-policy experts and state institutions shape thinking about the language; there is a range of "unrecognized" actors and practices (such as song festivals) that are meaningful in this context, too (Polese 2011; Siiner 2012; Isaacs and Polese 2015; Pawłusz 2016). The notion of affective practice allows for the capturing of the dynamics between the pedagogical (often top-down), performative and personal.

Furthermore, the way language is regarded in a society is often closely intertwined with nation-building and sense of national belonging. Wetherell's view on affect applied to nation-building leads to the realization that the process of imagining that one belongs to a nation (Anderson 1991) involves also feeling the national attachment and that communities (like nations) can encourage particular norms of emotional valuation and expression (cf. Reddy 2001; Rosenwein 2007). This argument, put forward by psychologists (Druckman 1994), has often been neglected or limited to the analysis of ethnic violence. In contrast, Wetherell's approach provides practical tools to analyze emotions regarding the nation not as opposed to reason, extreme and dangerous, but as both body and mind, socio-cultural constructs crucial to one's identity.

3 Linguistic Culture and Nation-Building in Estonia

Linguistic culture and the way language is associated or sometimes equated with national identity in Estonia is deeply influenced by the German Romantic philosophers and idea of "nation". The development of cultural nationalism – with language as a central identifier of the nation – swept through Europe in the nineteenth century and hugely influenced the way twentieth century nation-building developed (e.g. Herder 1772/1966, cf. Forster 2011; Šmidchens 2014). For example, Herder's high evaluation of popular traditions and folkways deeply influenced nationalist thought in the Baltic space, and throughout Central and Eastern Europe (Kohn 1965, 30–32; cf. Baycroft and Hopkin 2012). The language came to represent the main identity marker that defined "the Estonian nation" against "the Germans" or "the Russians". Of great importance for inculcating the idea of Estonian nationhood was schooling and the growing number of magazines and literary works available in Estonian. On a grassroots level, the missionaries of the Moravian (Herrnhut) Brethren, a Protestant religious movement, encouraged literacy and communal involvement amongst the peasant population (Raun 2002; Puderbaugh 2006). Herrnhut missionaries, often in opposition to the established Lutheran church, associated with the Baltic German elite, encouraged also the use of music and singing in worship. The latter fell on fertile ground as Estonians already had a rich tradition of joint singing that accompanied community rituals and everyday life (Kuutma 1996). Singing in the Estonian language soon became of the most prominent mechanisms that supported nation-building and became another identity marker of the nation. In the late nineteenth century the native Estonian intelligentsia (but also some of the Baltic Germans) established amateur associations to collect and research the folklore, traditions and customs of the native people (Lukas 2011). Research on the Estonian language and its proximity to other Finno-Ugric languages also increased. Originating as a vernacular, Estonian gradually became a fully developed literary language (Verschik 2005).

Walker Connor (1978) argues that even though nation-building is led by political elites, nationalism is primarily a *mass* phenomenon based on a psychological sense of collectivity. The romantic interests of the local intelligentsia and grassroots popularity of joint singing and brass bands came together in Tartu in 1869, when the Estonian Singing Society *Vanemuine* organized the first national song festival (inspired by a Baltic German choral festival a few years earlier in Riga). The first festival gathered over 800 singers from all over the country and became a platform to create "a distinct public culture to carry the message of nationalism" (Šmidchens 2014, 78). The songs "refined" folk themes or were inspired by Protestant hymns, and expressed love for the land, and the joys and sorrows of country life. Through collective singing, the emotional awareness of the fatherland and compatriots was established. Writers, teachers, folklorists, poets and conductors became the first generation of nation-builders. Johann V. Jannsen, the organizer of the first song celebration, translated several church hymns into Estonian and came up with the ethnic name "Estonians". Before people usually simply called themselves "country men" (Šmidchens 2014, 79). With time the song celebrations became public events where the Estonian language gained prominence as a national language.

After the Republic of Estonia was established in 1918, the song celebrations and focus on folk culture and poetry as the source of national culture were institutionalized and often centralized (on the inter-war cultivation of folk culture, see Kuutma 1998, and Brüggemann and Kasekamp 2014). A nationwide network of choirs and folk ensembles was established. An important change was also that the song festivals became celebrations not only of the cultural uniqueness of the nation, but also its political extension against former marginalization through the state (Puderbaugh 2006, 42–44). The nation-state representation of *laulupidu* was especially reinforced during the Soviet occupation. The song festivals, which carried the memory of the independent state, played an important role in civic mobilization against the communist regime, as well as consolidating the Estonian identity (Šmidchens 1996).

The question of language was particularly topical. During the Soviet times, a considerable number of Russian-speakers settled in Estonia. By the end of the occupation, Russian-speakers made up about 40% of the population (Ehala and Niglas 2006, 210). The Soviet language policy favored Russian as the language of many public domains and promoted "bilingualism" for Estonians, while promoting monolingualism for Russian-speakers (ibid.). Still, the song festival, in which songs in Russian and from other "sister republics" were incorporated, remained a major expression of patriotism and memory of pre-war Estonia. It was a place where symbolically the linguistic hierarchy could be inverted for a short period of time and the pre-Soviet concept of a nation-state could be revived (Aarelaid-Tart and Kannike 2004). In the final years of the Estonian Socialist Soviet Republic, singing associations, song festivals, and spontaneous night singing were parts of a social movement which challenged the Soviet culture and gave people the sense of belonging and affective solidarity (Kuutma 1998; Šmidchens 1996, 2014). The near-mythical importance of joint singing as a tool of collective non-violent protest is carved in the name "Singing Revolution", commonly used in scholarly publications and in everyday speech.

After regaining independence in 1991, Estonian nation- and state-building was dominated by the idea of the legal restoration of the pre-war nation-state (Pettai 2007). This meant diminishing the importance of the Soviet legacy, including the symbolic status of the Russian language. The project was consolidated by several language laws (Hogan-Brun et al. 2008; Järve 2009; Rannut 2008; Siiner 2006), as well as a citizenship policy which granted citizenship only to pre-1940 Estonian citizens and their descendants and made Estonian a major perquisite for naturalization (cf. Pettai 2007). The Estonian language policy has received a great deal of scholarly attention. Some scholars find the Estonian language laws and integration policies too restrictive and based too deeply on national pedagogy (Aidarov and Drechsler 2013; Kuutma et al. 2012; Siiner 2006). Others emphasize that the historical and demographic situation justifies protective attitudes towards the Estonian language and cultural identity (Ozolins 2003; Rannut 2008).

The song celebrations are run by the Estonian Song and Dance Celebration Foundation (ELTSA), a governmental agency within the Ministry of Culture, have developed into a major symbolic representation of *Estonianness.* With their inclusion in the UNESCO Intangible World Heritage List together with their Latvian and Lithuanian counterparts, they are a resource fully exploited to present the image of the cultural uniqueness of Estonia to the international audience, as well as to counter Estonians' perceived threat of globalization. According to the Estonian Statistical Office, between 1999 and 2009 the number of choir singers remained nearly the same, whereas the total number of people involved in cultural activities (e.g. brass bands, folk dance and drama groups) decreased by half. The 2014 festival gathered a crowd of 150,000 attendees and singers. Not counting those who came from abroad, this represents approximately 11% of the population.

4 The Song Celebration as Affective Practice

Empirical inquiry into emotions is a demanding and ambitious project. Affect, being both biological and social, conscious and unconscious, cognitive and discursive, individual and inter-subjective, is seen, felt, deduced, interpreted, performed, narrated, contextualized and so on. There is no single method that can capture this complexity, nor can a single account of it be satisfactory. Margaret Wetherell (2012) suggests that the basic unit for the analysis of affect should be affective practice. The word "practice" shifts attention to what has often been neglected in the study of affect: the fact that it can be organized, practical and patterned (Wetherell 2012, 13–14, 98, cf. Emirbayer and Goldberg [2005] who discuss "emotional structures" in institutions). In this study, such a singled out practice is the national song celebration and, in particular, its 2014 edition. What I analyze here are choral singing performances, audiences, the sequence of events, official festival rhetoric, and interviews with the people who organized and shaped the event artistically, affectively and discursively. I argue that there are affective patterns that concern the issue of language, nation and identity and which unfold in the song celebration.

The national song celebration takes place every five years in Tallinn (in between there is a similar event where children and young adults perform; in Estonian, *noorte laulu- ja tantsupidu)*. *Laulupidu* is usually a 2- or 3-day concert of choirs and brass bands. Each festival has a theme chosen through an open competition announced by ELTSA. The repertoire is agreed upon by the artistic director of the festival (each time a different person) and a team of conductors chosen to lead different group of choirs (e.g. men's choirs, children's etc.) long before the event. It also needs to be approved by an expert committee of the Estonian Choral Association (which members change) which validates if the proposed repertoire is technically, artistically and thematically suitable for the event. Once the repertoire is agreed upon, it is announced publicly so that any choir who wants to participate may start rehearsing the songs. In order to qualify, choirs perform the repertoire in front of a commission during try-outs all over the country. Foreign choirs, usually (but not only) Estonian choirs from abroad, may also participate on condition that they have mastered the repertoire. The song festival features a repertoire of national songs; many of them have national poems as lyrics and were composed during the nineteenth century "national awakening". Others are folk, pop or rock songs arranged for choirs. In addition, to support the sustainability of choral music, Estonian composers are encouraged to compose choral pieces, as well as being commissioned by the ELTSA and its partner organizations to write new pieces for each celebration. The songs and the whole event are in Estonian and the knowledge of the language is needed to be able to understand what is happening.

The festival is contextualized in Estonian history, contemporary topical issues or such values as respect for nature, peace and avoidance of conflict. Traditionally, *Laulupidu* is composed of three elements: (1) an opening parade of performers, the majority of whom are dressed in traditional or folk-style outfits (the parade starts at Freedom Square and ends at the song festival grounds), (2) the choral performance of national songs, in which those toward the beginning and end symbolically frame the concert as a national event, and (3) an oratory that contextualizes songs and explains the message of the celebration. The organizers of the event see the narrative to be just as important for the audience as the songs themselves,

Excerpt 1. Interview 02, in the original English
"Singing is a big medium to all levels of the society. [he moved his hand showing that the society is structured vertically] It carries values, the best national feelings, feelings for the fatherland; it unites people. It is the biggest public movement in Estonia. Also, people are waiting for a message, concept, it is not only about cultural experience but the concept of it that people want."

The narrative of the song celebration is conveyed in official publications by the organizing agency, as well as in speeches by the country's officials, and in the text read out between songs. The discourse, as it gradually unfolds, creates the emotionality of joint singing. The central theme, which can be found both in the official publications and in the oratory, is that the song celebrations and choral singing have helped to preserve the language and the identity of being Estonian. In the opening presidential speech of the 2014 festival, the song celebrations were called "the breeding ground (nest) of our language" (In Estonian, *meie keelepesa*, *Laulu- ja Tantsupeo Teataja* 2014, 2), which echoes the Herderian approach to language. Similarly, in another excerpt, the status of the language was elevated from a code of communication to the most important, timeless national trait, which has profound emotional value:

Excerpt 2. Speech by the former president, Lennart Meri, published in the official publication of the song celebration [Estonian Institute 2009], as well as performed at the 2014 festival in Tallinn. In the original English
"Song Celebrations have never been fashionable, for Song Celebrations are not about fashion. They are about the heart. Like Estonian language and mind, like love."

Such figurative language is critical for the emotionality of the text. It evokes "us" as a community of feeling (Ahmed 2004) and envisions the nation as what Barbara Rosenwein (2007) called an "emotional community". Creating the nation as an emotional community assumes that people share a system of feeling, valued emotions, affective bonds and rules of emotional expression. It also implies that there are accepted and valued emotional orientations towards past events, figures, places and symbols important in the national history. Emotional community may be seen as part of what Anderson (1991) called imagining the nation's horizontal comradeship and as a step in bridging the distance between elites and ordinary citizens, which is crucial for the nation-building process to succeed (Connor 1978).

As the song celebration unfolds, the discursive aspects of the myth of the language and identity are reinforced with more "doings", engaging both the performers and audiences. In my observation, the affective peak was formed by the songs associated with the Singing Revolution. This supports the results of Lauristin and Vihalemm's (2013) survey in which respondents pointed to two songs – "Koit" (Dawn) and "Mu isamaa on minu arm" (My fatherland is my love), both carrying the memory of the struggle for independence – as the most emotion-laden. Scholars argue that emotional sensations are not private, and that a crowd cannot be seen as an aggregate of individual subjective emotional states (Wetherell 2012; Emirbayer and Goldberg 2005). Rather, they are processes in relation to others, objects and circumstances irreducible to the self. The affective reaction of the crowd was clearly visible, as at one point people stopped chatting, stood up, turned their faces towards the stage, waved flags, and sometimes joined hands with strangers (which happened to me at *laulupidu* during the song "Ärkamise aeg"; in Estonian, "Time of Awakening") and sang along. The choirs and audiences became one huge body that moved rhythmically while singing the most awaited songs. It was not uncommon to see tears on people's faces. Some people smiled and embraced each other. Most crowd-favorite songs were repeated and there was considerably louder applause than after less symbolic songs. One conductor narrated the final moments of song festivals very passionately,

Excerpt 3. Interview 06, in the original English

A[nswer]: "Sometimes they say it is holy... It is holy."
Q[uestion]: "Would you compare it to something else?"
A: "No.. I have never seen so many people crying at the same time."
Q: "Have you cried?"
A: "Of course, many times!"
Q: "Why?"
A: "Because it is so so so beautiful! And I was so so so happy!"
[smiling, opening her arms with excitement and joy]

Based on my own experience as a participant, there was a feeling of an unspoken, intimate bond that connected people and was understandable to everybody. Although it felt uncanny, uncontrolled and spontaneous (almost too deep and intimate to believe it could ever be reproduced), modern studies on emotions suggest there is much more organization, pattern and habit in collective emotions than there seems to be (Ahmed 2004; Lutz and White 1986; Reddy 2001; Rosenwein 2007; Wetherell 2012, 2015). As Wetherell explains,

> Any particular instance of the circulation of affect, whether occurring in consulting rooms, parliamentary committees, football stadiums or in the message boards of the Internet, involves understanding a raft of processes: body capacities to re-enact the actions of others; the developmental infrastructure of inter-subjectivity; the power of words; the affective-discursive genres personal and social histories which channel communal affect; inter-subjective negotiations; consideration of the cultural and social limits on identification and empathy; and exploration of practices of authorization, legitimation and resistance, not to mention analyses of the containing institutions, spaces and media of circulation (Wetherell 2012, 142).

The song festival has a clear discursive and affective organization. The circulation of affect relies largely on the ritual. The audience knows and anticipates the sequence of events and the way the emotional pattern unfolds: from relatively neutral to the most emotionally and symbolically loaded songs. The final sequence of songs brings back the awful memory of war, terror and danger, yet with the immediate relief and hope that comes from the awareness that "we" overcame it. The event is a safe environment to evoke fear, anger and grief, which are mediated with patriotic love and gratitude. Reenacting this story of trauma and injury may be healing, but there is also a need to hear it out and perceive it as meaningful. The affective solidarity is further sustained by waving flags, which is universally associated with the collective "with-ness" and "for-ness", power over the territory, and love for the nation (Ahmed 2004, 74). Moreover, the act of joint singing is a unique moment of direct communication to which people are emotionally attuned and in which they create the bond to others on many levels: linguistically, discursively, and bodily. This is reinforced by the fact that group singing evokes a range of positive emotions, such as feelings of elevation, increased self-esteem, confidence, and a cooperative attitude towards others (Livesey et al. 2012). The song festival is different from, for example, fans cheering in a football game as it focuses on national unity rather than competition with other nations, it is a carrier of historical memory and a source of spiritual and artistic experience, as highlighted by most of my informants. Lastly, much of the emotionality comes from a context outside of a single festival, such as the widespread perception of the festival as the oldest national tradition of Estonians embedded in the process of musical education and socialization in schools and homes, as well as in media discourses (Raudsepp and Vikat 2009). These everyday "banal" practices and discourses related to choral singing, interwoven with ecstatic and effervescent moments (the festivals), build an *emotional habitus:* dispositions towards certain ways of engagement, relation and reaction to the song festival and the narratives of the state, nation, and language related to it.

While the performances of some songs can be seen as very intense moments of affective mobilization, in which positive and negative emotions intertwine, overall the event is affectively organized by the narrative of love for the people, territory, culture and language, seen as a single entity. As expressed in the information booklet from the 2014 festival,

Excerpt 4. *Laulu- ja Tantsupeo Teataja* 2014, p. 65, in the original English
"The songs for mixed choirs are about Estonia, our people; our love for our fatherland, mother tongue, beloved ones and friends. They are about love and the *joie de vivre*."

The nation is both the subject and object of feelings, i.e. the individual feels for the nation as well as the nation feeling. This results in what Sara Ahmed (2004, 2) has called "the alignment of 'you' with the national body". The feeling steers and justifies a certain orientation towards the object of love: the language/nation/land/culture requires acts of love, such as devotion, hope, and readiness for a lifelong investment that may be postponed or perhaps never pay off (Ahmed 2004). Furthermore, the use of the pronouns "we" and "our" reveals who belongs to the imagined community (Billig 1995; Ahmed 2004).

Excerpt 5. Interview 07, in the original English
"They say that one million is this crucial point, if it is less the language dies out. We have to sing our songs; otherwise it disappears."

This excerpt signals that the main subjects and agents of the song festival are ethnic Estonians ("one million") and the event is presented as a defense mechanism of a small nation struggling to preserve its identity in the face of unfavorable historical circumstances. In my observation of the 2014 festival, I noticed the same idea of a one-million nation was said in commentaries that the speaker read out in-between the songs. Vihalemm and Masso (2007) have pointed out that typically the Estonian identity discourse in the post-restoration years has shown resistant, defensive minority identity patterns based on such ethnic traits as language. “One million” suggests that in the popular perception Russian-speakers do not count in the pool of the bearers of the national language. This signals that integration policies which highlight the national language as the bridge between “Estonians” and “Russians” may not have succeeded in altering the popular perception that language is bound to ethnicity.

Furthermore, the song festival website and the official information booklet are available in English but not in Russian. Those residents of Tallinn (a city which is practically bilingual in everyday life and services; cf. Zabrodskaja 2014) or Estonia in general whose competence in Estonian is poor are symbolically made invisible in the celebration and can participate only by accepting the power relationship that privileges the titular ethnicity as the rightful demos of the country. Russian language press covered the last festivals in 2011 and 2014, but describe it as a party for Estonians where only a few Russian choral music enthusiasts participate. During the 2014 festival also Estonian media raised the issue of whether more Russians and even Russian songs could be included (Jevdokimov and Gnadenteich 2014). The idea that the Estonian language is endangered and in constant crisis is a powerful narrative that legitimizes the linguistic exclusivity of the song festival and more importantly, other language-related actions, such as the emphasis on language competence in obtaining Estonian citizenship. Picturing the Estonian language as under threat, even in independent Estonia, may evoke a range of negative emotions, such as anxiety, fear, anger or defensive attitudes towards any interference with the purity of the language. It also creates the need for distance from groups considered to be threats, for example the Russian speakers.

Most informants (with two exceptions) when asked about the possibility of singing in Russian as an inclusive gesture towards the large number of Russian-speaking people in Estonia replied negatively, often with confusion or surprise. For some, this was an uncomfortable topic to talk about.

Excerpt 6. Interview 07, in the original English

Q: “Do you think that if there was a Russian song it would make a difference for them (Russian speakers in Estonia)?”

A: [a moment of silence] “What a surprise.… this would never happen.”

The respondents justified their negative answers with two types of arguments: by referring to historical injustice, namely that in the Soviet Union Estonians were forced to speak in Russian, and the perceived lack of interest of many Russian-speakers in the Estonian culture and language in contemporary Estonia. Although most of the interviewees insisted that Russian speakers were welcome at the festival, they did not see themselves as agents who could or should make it happen. Rather, they perceive “the Russians” as those who should initiate this process.

Excerpt 7. Interview 04, in the original English
"Yes.. doors are open, they can come but I cannot help them."

The Russian language, similarly to Estonian, is constructed as a marker that "belongs" to a certain clearly defined socio-cultural group which, due to historical circumstances, is "not us". Vihalemm and Masso (2007) have argued that for many Russian-speakers the association of language with ethnicity came about during the transition time, mirroring the Estonian identity pattern. Therefore the language-centered construction of "Russians" as a community that shares certain interests and characteristics, usually in opposition to "Estonians", is to a certain degree a recent Estonian-created category (cf. Aidarov and Drechsler 2013). Based on this observation, it can be argued that the narrative of the language as an endangered ethnic attribute may in the long run stir up negative affective orientation and encourage discourse of why people who do not speak Estonian should not learn it. For example, in 2013, Yana Toom, a member of the Center Party, the political party traditionally supported by Russian speakers, said in an interview on the Russian portal Baltija.eu that the Estonian language was spoken only by 900,000 people, which suggested the language and Estonians were dying out (*Postimees*, 13.01.2013). This statement stirred controversy, but Toom's election to the EU Parliament in 2014 may be seen as evidence that the "dying language" image influences affective orientation for a significant portion of Estonia's Russian-speakers.

The emotional dispositions towards the Russian language and Russian speakers revealed in the interviews echo the still dominant political discourse of restoration that pictured the Soviet times as a disruption of the otherwise linear process of national self-determination of Estonians (Pettai 2007; Seljamaa 2012). Yet, the fear for the future of the Estonian nation and language has also been fueled by a range of recent political events, such as Russia's invasion of Ukraine in March 2014 and the violation of its territorial integrity, which immediately posed questions about the security of the Estonian-Russian border, as well as the loyalty of Estonia's Russian-speaking population (Siiner and L'nyavskiy this volume) if Russia attempted to pursue a similar policy in the north-east, mostly Russian-speaking, region of Estonia. Russian military exercises rehearsing an invasion of Poland and the Baltic states further stirred affective orientations of the population, contributing to the overall sense of internal and external threat and validating a discourse of "endangered majority" (Kalmus 2003).

5 Discussion and Conclusions

This chapter has investigated how, through the emotional discourse of patriotic love and the social practice of joint singing, language as an object of collective affect is created. Affect concerning the language – love, care and pride in it – is strongly present in the linguistic culture of Estonia. The song celebrations reflect the notion of the language as historically belonging to this land and an important marker of Estonians' ethno-centric national identity. Joint singing at the festival creates an imagined perennial community of people that share ancestral roots, language, land and culture. The form of ritual evokes familiarity, identification and “attunes” participants to feel in a certain way about one another. As explained by Berezin (2001, 93),

> Familiarity and identity are coterminous. The repeated experience of ritual participation produces a feeling of solidarity – “we are all here together, we must share something”; (…) It produces collective memory – “we were all there together.” What is experienced and what is remembered is the act of participating in the ritual event in the name of the polity. Emotion is the pivot upon which political ritual turns. It is a vehicle of political learning that has the capacity to create new identities.

The absence of Russian speakers among the audience, absence of their language in booklets, songs in Russian or Russian songs in this all-Estonian event can be surprising for an outsider. This absence is discursively constructed, as they are almost “cut out” of *laulupidu* discourse; though, it is notable that Russian speakers have not questioned this “exclusion.” I posit that, an active involvement of Russian-speakers could be crucial for Estonia in developing a more integrated society (cf. Soll et al. 2014).

I have identified two major narratives. One is of the language being an object of love and the key marker of one’s identity as Estonian; the other one revolves around the anxiety that, even though Estonia is a sovereign state, the Estonian language is endangered and is perceived as almost a minority language that requires cultural and political protection. Consequently, any protective measures regarding language, namely securing its position as the only state language, the language of the public sphere, governance, science and education, are seen as necessary to protect what is loved and constitutes the collective national “self”. This theme can be widely found in the legislation of Estonia, starting with the constitution, which pledges that the state “shall guarantee the preservation of the Estonian nation, language, and culture through the ages” (the reference to language was inserted in 2007). This is implemented through various programs, such as the Development Plan of the Estonian Language 2011–2017 (DPEL), which aims to ensure the presence of Estonian in all spheres of life and to decrease the pressure on Estonian resulting from the widespread use of English and Russian (Estonian Language Foundation 2011). The song festival that before WWII contained songs in different languages (mainly German) and has reflected the de facto language situation in Estonia, has changed. The master narrative created around *laulupidu* today ignores the de facto linguistic diversity of the population as it is caused by inner migration during the occupation. As such, *laulupidu* sustains the naturalness of seeing the society in terms of ethnic Estonians and the rest, reinforces the validity of the restorationist discourse in which the official language policy is embedded. The growing Western-Russian tensions strengthen the sense of threat in the society. Overall, the song festival in its current form affectively and symbolically legitimizes state efforts to pursue a vision of a monolingual nation-state.

The importance of revealing affective practices for the study of language policy and its effectiveness lies in the fact that affect is educational. Sara Ahmed (2004) has suggested that emotions both *generate* their object and *repeat* past associations.

In reading the language as beautiful, yet threatened, one is filled with love and anxiety, as a sign of the truth of the reading (Ahmed 2004, 194). In agreement with many scholars, I argue that the gradual deconstruction of the Estonian language as an almost endangered majority language (Kalmus 2003) and an affectively constructed kernel of ethnic-national identity would be beneficial for the long-term goals of societal integration. Yet, it must be acknowledged that deeply embedded emotional patterns and dispositions are difficult to alter merely through rational top-down programs and education. As Lauristin and Vihalemm (2013) showed in their quantitative study, the song festival is an important event related to national *feelings* for the vast majority of the Estonian-speaking population. It is a ritual but, as the Singing Revolution proved, it can also be transformative of established actions and support large-scale social change. It could be that song festivals and the tradition of choral singing have the potential to act as a site of gradual change of the emotional patterning of language use (for both the Russian and the Estonian languages) towards a more inclusive and less ethno-centric condition. This is especially relevant considering that many Russian-speakers recognize Estonian as useful and important in job-related, social and intellectual activities (Soler Carbonell 2011; Cheskin 2015), yet often feel oppressed by the national pedagogy and symbolically excluded from the core nation (Pfoser 2013).

In conclusion, this study has showed that a nation can be seen as an emotional community that is fostered through affective practices, which influence the way language (and other national attributes) can be perceived in a society. A focus on affect reveals a different type of relationship that individuals may have towards the use of language and its role in their personal self-identifications. The Estonian song festival provides an example of a regular and predictable practice that influences both the context in which non-Estonians learn the Estonian language and how native speakers perceive their mother tongue. More systematic and comparative research on affect in discourses and practices concerning national languages could explain how and why language policies work and how popular perceptions of language may accelerate or hinder the solution of linguistic challenges in multilingual countries such as Estonia.

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Epilogue

Lenore A. Grenoble

Abstract This volume opens with an introduction that identifies two cross-cutting borders in research in Estonian language policy and planning, the temporal border that positions Estonia in a post-Soviet frame, and the geographic border that positions Estonia as a Baltic state in an international arena. In this epilogue I step back and take a wider view, in the other direction, to explore the overall impact of Soviet language policies that have led to the current decentering. The repositioning and decentering processes, as described in several of the previous chapters, have increased the number of language communities in dialogue with Estonian speakers. Estonian is situated in relation not only to Russian, but also to Finnish, Swedish and German. And, although Estonian is a majority language for the country, it is, yet again, a minority language in the modern globalized economy, a world that relies increasingly on English as a global lingua franca. We should thus reconceptualize the sense of core and periphery in the cascading effect of languages with differing levels of global, international and regional influence, as represented by English, Russian and, for example, Swedish. Estonian is a minority language in each of these relationships, but differs in the local dynamics involving size of speaker population, international reach, power and prestige.

Keywords Estonian language policy • Soviet language policy • Shifting borders • Language vitality

The case of Estonian language policy and planning is a particularly fruitful area of study given the ever-shifting, wandering, nature of its borders (to quote to the introduction to this volume), testament to its complicated history.

This volume opens with an introduction that identifies two cross-cutting borders in research in Estonian language policy and planning, the temporal border that positions Estonia in a post-Soviet frame, and the geographic border that positions Estonia as a Baltic state in an international arena. Taken together, these two ideas have framed the conceptualization of language in Estonia as a post-Soviet, Baltic

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state, where the dominant issue has been the position of Russian, or the opposition of Estonian to Russian. With the set of articles presented in this volume, the editors—Kara Brown, Kadri Koreinik and Maarja Siiner—deliberately move beyond the question of Russian in Estonia as a post-Soviet state to explore the implications of changing borders and boundaries that do not focus on Russian, but rather position Estonian with regard to diaspora populations, speakers of other languages, and speakers of varieties that are not standard languages, but microlanguages. This shifts the emphasis away from the dichotomy of Russian versus Estonian, large nation state versus smaller nation state, to an analysis of language policy as a multifaceted, multi-agented praxis in multilingual societies. In this epilogue to the volume I would like to step back and take a wider view in the other direction, asking about the overall impact of Soviet language policies that have led to the current decentering. Is it the result of these policies? Or would it have happened anyway? What, if any, lasting impact have Soviet policies had?

This very *decentering* of the center stands in stark contrast to the explicitly *centering* policies of the Soviet regime, which strove to create and maintain a highly centralized governmental authority, in Moscow, with the remainder of the country constituting the periphery. In this view, the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic was both geographically and ideologically peripheral. But it was, and is, a periphery to be reckoned with: Estonians have repeatedly shown themselves to be powerful social actors, not only as agents for change in Estonia but also as leaders at the forefront of a broader social movement within the larger context of the USSR.

Language has been, and continues to be, both a marker of identity and of political power in the Baltic States as a whole, and in Estonia more specifically. The final dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 was preceded by a series of political maneuvers in different Soviet Republics, with language playing a critical role. The Estonian SSR was the first to adopt a language law (on 18 January 1989) declaring its titular language to be the official language (Raun 1995). This move began a wave of similar language laws, all of which were enacted in open defiance of Soviet rule. Language was a pivotal issue both symbolically and tangibly, in a very real way, from day-to-day interactions in the home to the highest levels of government.

While the Soviet government clearly defined a core (Moscow, the Russian language) and a periphery (not Russian), the present volume illustrates at once how ephemeral and yet how lasting these concepts are: ephemeral because the collapse of the USSR would seem to have shifted the center back to Estonia, and lasting because, at the same time, the Russian core has continued to be a focal point for Estonian definition, by Estonians and by outsiders. But the political changes of the last two decades have brought about a fundamental global recentering, positioning English as a global lingua franca, while at the same time Estonia has become increasingly multi-lingual: Estonian speakers have spread outside its borders, immigration and the return of ex-pat Estonians who bring with them languages acquired while living elsewhere. One correlate of globalization is mobility, and this is exemplified in the Estonian case.

A set of key questions emerge from this situation. First, what is the long-term impact of Soviet language policy on Estonia? With the exception of this volume, post-Soviet studies of Estonia have focused on the Russian question, how Russian speakers negotiate a post-Soviet linguistic landscape and their status vis-à-vis Estonian.

This is a point the editors eloquently make in the introduction. But what is the effect of Soviet language policy beyond the Russian language? To be sure, the data during the Soviet era showed a downward trend in the percentage of the population speaking Estonian (see e.g., Rannut 2008); this shift in language vitality of the titular language, within Estonia's own borders, was certainly one impetus behind declaration of the language law of 1989. Beyond the obvious growth of Russian speakers, as the result of language shift and of immigration into Estonian SSR, did it have a lasting impact on language ideology and attitudes in Estonia? If so, has that translated into language practices that can be traced to a Soviet influence, i.e., that are not likely to have arisen if Estonia had not been annexed.

While it is, of course, impossible to answer this question definitively—we cannot rewrite the past—it is still important to raise it. Soviet language planning was focused, deliberate and strategic. Although its exact goals changed over time, the Soviet government invested considerable resources into the creation of a Soviet language, unifying all peoples of the state. By the late Brezhnev era, Soviet policies were explicit in their goal of creating a Soviet citizenry that spoke a Soviet language, i.e., Russian. Moreover, explicit language policies worked in tandem with other (non-language) policies that had a direct effect on the Estonian speaker base and language vitality. Massive deportations from 1941 and 1949 exiled some 30,000 Estonians to Siberia (see, for example, the articles in Kukk and Raun 2007 and Salo et al. 2005).

Internal movement was strictly controlled in the totalitarian government implemented policies that facilitated and even encouraged the immigration of Soviet citizens from more eastern parts of the country into the Estonian SSR while restricting from the USSR to Europe and elsewhere, thus centrally controlling out-migration. This was at least ostensibly driven by Soviet interests in rapid industrialization in the post-war period and, concomitantly, externally imposed urbanisation (central planning and housing policies caused underurbanization in other socialist economies of Central Europe, too, for discussion, see Tammaru 2001). One net effect of this immigration, coupled with the massive population losses as a result of World War II and Soviet occupation, was the reshaping of Estonian demographics. In 1944, Estonians constituted 88–90% of the population; by 1989, this figure had dropped to 61.5% (Sarv and Varju 2005, p. 21). The results of such policies, which were often explicitly aimed at building a labor force via targeted incentives, was in fact covert language policies of a sort, that had the net effect of increasing numbers of speakers of other languages and reducing Estonians.

While the state itself has collapsed, have the language ideologies that it created lingered on? In her examination of teachers' behavior in southeastern Estonia, Kara D. Brown argues for long-lasting effects of language policies that continue beyond the formal life of the policies, and thereby perpetuate the ideologies and attitudes that they created. Today's teachers acquired the foundation of their current practices while they were children, educated in what would now appear to be an outmoded system. But the effects of such training endure and are perpetuated into the future. This is but one example of what she identifies as “policy drag,” the production *and* reproduction of attitudes and ideologies from the previous state.

Second, what is the long-term viability of a modern nation state with a relatively small population that speaks a language not in a majority situation anywhere outside the state’s borders? During the Soviet regime, Estonian was in the odd position of being home to a titular language that was a minority language within a larger state, the USSR. Today, the repositioning and decentering processes described in this volume have increased the number of language communities in dialogue with Estonian speakers. Estonian is situated in relation not only to Russian, but also to Finnish, Swedish and German. And although Estonian is a majority language for the country, it is yet again a minority language in the modern globalized economy, a world that relies increasingly on English as a global lingua franca. Estonian has thus been repositioned in relation to yet another majority language, and this time, it is a global majority. We should thus reconceptualize the sense of core and periphery in the cascading effect of languages with differing levels of global, international and regional influence, as represented by English, Russian and, for example, Swedish. Estonian is a minority language in each of these relationships, but differ in the local dynamics involving size of speaker population, international reach, power and prestige. The multilingualism of official language domains presupposes English and Estonian users, but Russian continues to be ubiquitous elsewhere, despite official policies (Berezkina 2015). A large number of the contributions here focus on the creation of a space for users of languages other than Estonian within Estonia, and the creation of spaces for Estonian users outside the country. Critically, English and Russian prompt the creation of new users, as overarching languages of wider access cutting across international borders. Thus in many ways the effect of decentering has been the intensification of multiple centers.

And this gives rise to the third major question (or set of issues), of how speakers of Estonian position themselves vis-à-vis speakers of other Finno-Ugric languages, and in particular with relation to Finnish. In the 1980s in the Soviet Union, Estonians told me how they listened to Finnish media to get the news. They claimed they could understand it perfectly, but noticed that Finns had great difficulty understanding Estonian. Not only was intelligibility directly correlated with language prestige, but Estonians saw language as indexing a specifically Finnic (and thus non-Slavic, non-Russian) identity. In 2007 an online forum discussion, *Finnish/Estonian: mutual understandability*, contributors wrote of an age divide in terms of knowledge of Finnish, with speakers over 40 having a fluent command of the language thanks to watching Finnish television during the Soviet period, while younger people reply to questions in Finnish with an English statement: “I don’t speak Finnish” (Hakro, 18 March 2007). And yet, as seen in the articles by Kristiina Teiss and Sirjet Perendi on family language policy in Estonian-Finnish families and by Kadri Koreinik and Kristiina Praakli on Estonian speakers in Finland, the situation is considerably more complicated. Hanna-Ilona Härmävaara’s study of language policies in two different student organizations, one Estonian and one Finnish, demonstrates just how relevant issues of Finnic identity are for Estonians today.

The contributions to this volume underscore these themes of shifting centers and peripheries and lay the foundation for future work. One major contribution is the recognition of multiple layers of nested language policies, from the very local level of family language policies to transnational policies, and their potential for interaction (and interference with one another). This represents an essential recognition of the role of non-governmental "policies" that often have more direct impact than official ones. Private citizens are key players in establishing and enforcing local language policies; they are language users and agents. The current global climate of high mobility and heavy interaction between native speakers of different languages puts new pressures on small languages like Estonian, and opens up new opportunities. Studies of the effects of globalization on language have demonstrated that it often results in localization (for an overview see Johnstone 2016); the case studies presented here amply illustrate the importance of both the global and the local, and the focal points of shifts in time and space provide a frame within which to examine the evolving nature of language as a social construct: it frames speakers as actors in a world that is continuously evolving and reimagining borders and identities.

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