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LIINA TAMMEKÄND

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University of Tartu, Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics

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According to narrative psychology, people make sense of their life in the form of narratives. The narrative of the outset of my PhD studies is serendipitous in retrospect.

I graduated from the MA programme in Translation at the University of Tartu in the spring of 2008 and had already established that I would like to write and defend a PhD thesis. Unfortunately, at that time I did not have a clue in which field I should do that. There were so many options – in theology, education, English philology… I decided that if I did not find a supervisor and a topic in the following two years, I would find myself a different goal.

In the late autumn of 2009, when there were only a few months to this self-imposed deadline, I shrugged and concluded that it was not in the stars for me to write a PhD thesis – most people do live happily ever after without any academic degrees. Then I went to a bus trip to Lithuania with some colleagues from the university.

I do not remember who sat next to me on the bus. I, however, remember very clearly who sat right behind me. It was Prof Karl Pajusalu from the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics. We soon fell into a conversation about ancient and Modern Hebrew. The trip ended with Professor's proposition to visit him at the institute to discuss the topic of my thesis in general linguistics. Soon after the visit we agreed with Prof Anna Verschik from Tallinn University on co-supervision. At the end of 2009 I was already recording my first sociolinguistic interview and in September 2010 I started officially as a PhD student at the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics.

When the beginnings of this PhD thesis are to my mind in many ways related to luck then the successful conclusion of this process are the fruit of the cooperation of numerous people.

I thank my supervisors Prof Karl Pajusalu at the University of Tartu and Prof Anna Verschik at Tallinn University. Prof Pajusalu knew what I had to do when I was not sure which direction to choose. I appreciate his finesse – he knew exactly when to leave me to my own devices and when to push me. Prof Verschik asked me to participate in doctoral colloquia at Tallinn University and introduced me to the secrets of multilingualism. She was and will be my role model.

I am indebted to my reviewers Prof Rita Franceschini at the Libera Università di Bolzano and docent Helka Riionheimo at the Itä-Suomen yliopisto, whose comments helped me to write an even better introductory chapter. I also thank Helle Metslang, Renate Pajusalu, Liina Lindström, Kadri Koreinik and Sulev Iva, who read the earlier versions of my manuscript and whose comments and corrections were of invaluable help.

I thank my teachers Jürnas Kokla, Jaan Kivistik and Raili Marling without whom I would not know what the reflexive pronoun, the magic of abstraction and building an argument were. I thank my colleagues Ülle Türk, Natalja

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Finally, I am grateful to my family who has always supported me in all my endeavours and to my husband, Timo, who was the first editor of all my texts.

April 10, 2017, in Tartu

CONTENTS

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS 9

1. INTRODUCTION 10
   1.1. Objectives and research questions 10
   1.2. The structure of the thesis and the overview of the publications 11

2. DATA AND METHODS 12
   2.1. The sample, procedure and data 12
   2.2. Used methods of data analysis 15

3. INDIVIDUAL AND LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUAL MULTILINGUALISM 17
   3.1. Individual multilingualism 17
   3.2. Bidialectism 18
   3.3. Diglossia and prestige 19
   3.4. Linguistic identity 20
   3.5. Societal multilingualism in Estonia and the sociolinguistic status of Võru 20

4. INDIVIDUAL MULTILINGUALISM IN NARRATIVES AND LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHIES 23
   4.1. Features of narrative. Types of narrative 23
   4.2. Narratives of personal experience 24
   4.3. Multilingual oral narrative as a data collection method and as an object of study. Problems with collecting multilingual narratives 26
   4.4. Language biography 27

5. PRINCIPLES OF NARRATIVE AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS 28
   5.1. Levels of analysing the oral narrative 28
   5.2. Text level 28
   5.3. Narrative level 29
   5.4. Discourse level 30
   5.5. Verbs in Võru-Estonian narratives 30
   5.6. Demonstrative pronouns in Võru-Estonian narratives 31

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION 33
   6.1. The structure and thematics of the narratives 33
   6.2. Verbs and demonstrative pronouns as structural devices in narratives 34
   6.3. Individual multilingualism in bilingual narratives 36

7. CONCLUSION 40

8. SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN 42
   8.1. Töö temaatika, eesmärgid ja uurimisküsimused 42
   8.2. Valim, materjal ja analüüsimeetodid 43
   8.3. Individuaalne mitmekeelsus 44

8.4. Individuaalne mitmekeelsus suulistes narratiivides 45
8.5. Doktoritöö tulemused 46
8.6. Kokkuvõte 50
REFERENCES 52
PUBLICATIONS 59
CURRICULUM VITAE 214
ELULOOKIRJELDUS 215

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

[P1] Tammekänd, Liina (2014). Individual Multilingualism of Southern Estonians: Language Biographies. *Finnisch-ugrische Mitteilungen* 38, 179–191.

[P2] Tammekänd, Liina (2013). Multilingualism of a Southern Estonian – comparison of Estonian, Võru and Finnish narratives. *Eesti Rakenduslingvistika Ühingu aastaraamat* 9, 297–316.

[P3] Tammekänd, Liina (2013). Individual Multilingualism of Southern-Estonians. Comparison of the structure and thematics of bilingual narratives. In: Kristiina Mullamaa's (Ed.) *Translation Connects the World*. Tartu: Tartu Ülikool, 106–120.

[P4] Tammekänd, Liina (2015). Present verbs and their contexts in bilingual oral narratives. *Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri / Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 6(3), 215–236.

[P5] Tammekänd, Liina (2015). Demonstratives in Võro and Estonian narratives. *Eesti ja soome-ugri keeleteaduse ajakiri / Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Linguistics* 6(2), 191–216.

[P6] Tammekänd, Liina (2016). Võru keel individuaalse mitmekeelsuse vaatepunktist. In Sulev Iva's (Ed) *Names of Finnic People. Võro Instituudi Toimendusõq* 30. Võro: Võro Instituut, 211–238.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Objectives and research questions

The aim of the thesis is to examine individual multilingualism in Estonia and the related sociolinguistic problems by means of autobiographical narratives of ten Southern-Estonians who speak at least standard Estonian and Võru South Estonian. Estonian consists of two main dialect groups: North Estonian, which is the basis of standard Estonian and has a high prestige, and South Estonian, among the varieties of which is Võru South Estonian that may carry the local identity. Standard Estonian and Võru South Estonian are close varieties; however, they have several phonological, morphological and lexical differences.

The thesis is micro-sociolinguistic research that uses qualitative research methods. Micro-sociolinguistics investigates the linguistic behaviour of an individual (linguistic resources, language choices and attitudes, linguistic identity, and variability issues) and the regularities and patterns in idiolects (Wardhaugh and Fuller 2015: 15, Mesthrie et al. 2009: 5, Garner 2007, Trudgill 2004).

Although individual multilingualism of minority language speakers in Estonia has been studied by Anna Verschik (2000), standard Estonian and Võru South Estonian narratives have never been studied from the point of view of individual multilingualism. The language data collected by means of the bilingual narrative enables to understand informants' personal language choices, which, among other factors, depend on their identity and language attitudes. Studying these two closely related varieties is different from Verschik's or any other study of individual multilingualism because standard Estonian functions as a norm language in the Estonian society and Võru South Estonian is an important marker of traditional Võru identity.

According to the Population and Housing Census 2011 (REL), Võru South Estonian (henceforth Võru) was used by 74,512 people in South-East Estonia. There are probably no monolingual Võru speakers left because of the language shift that occurred between 1960 and 1980 (Koreinik 2015). Võru speakers use at least two languages in everyday communication – standard Estonian and Võru. Although there are no exact data about the level of multilingualism, Koreinik (2013: 30) suggests that middle-aged Võru users learnt at least one foreign language at school, which in most cases was Russian.

The research arises from the following research questions:

1. How can individual multilingualism be defined in the context of narratives told in two close variants, one of which is the standard and the other of which is the marker of local identity? What are the reasons for individual differences in the language use?
2. Can using two close language varieties be considered multilingualism?
3. What are the connections between language use, language attitudes and identity?
4. How does individual multilingualism appear in the bilingual narrative?

1.2. The structure of the thesis and the overview of the publications

The thesis consists of the introductory part, the summary in Estonian and six publications. The introductory part is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the main aims and general questions of the research, and gives an overview of the structure of the thesis and the publications. Chapter 2 describes the sample, the data collection procedure and the methods of data analysis. Chapter 3 presents sociolinguistic aspects of individual multilingualism: the theory of individual multilingualism, bidialectism, diglossia and language prestige, linguistic identity, societal multilingualism in Estonia and the sociolinguistic status of Võru. Chapter 4 defines the narrative and later gives an overview of types of narratives and the narrative as a method of multilingual data collection. Chapter 5 delineates the methods of analysis of the oral narrative. Chapter 6 presents the discussion and the results of the thesis. The conclusion is followed by the reference section and the Estonian summary.

The main part of the thesis consists of six publications, which are divided between three topic areas: [P2] and [P3] deal with the questions pertaining the structure and thematics of the bilingual narratives; [P4] and [P5] study some grammatical features of the bilingual narratives; [P1] and [P6] investigate some sociolinguistic questions related to language attitudes and linguistic identities of the ten informants. The author of the thesis is the sole author of the publications.

[P1] gives and overview of the informants' language repertoires, the most frequent languages in these repertoires and the language attitudes towards the languages in the repertoires based on Estonian sociolinguistic and modern history.

[P2] is concerned with the structure and thematics of one Võru-Estonian-Finnish narrative and the attitudes apparent in the narrative towards the standard language, home language and foreign language, all of which belong to the same language family.

[P3] is the extension of [P2] and studies the structure and thematics of, and language attitudes in the Võru-Estonian narratives told by the five female informants.

[P4] investigates the use of narrative tenses, especially the narrative present and the conversational historical present, in different parts of the ten Võru-Estonian narratives.

[P5] studies demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative systems used in nine Võru-Estonian narratives and attempts to answer whether the use of Võru demonstrative systems is somehow dependent on the use of Estonian demonstrative systems in Võru-Estonian bilingual speakers.

[P6] gives a closer look at the three phonetically, morphologically and lexically salient features of the ten Võru idiolects and the possible connection of these features to the language attitudes and Võru identity of the informants.

2. DATA AND METHODS

2.1. The sample, procedure and data

Sample. The sample (see Table 1) consists of five men and five women. The informants belong to two age groups – informants in their 30s and 40s, and informants in their 50s and 60s. Informants with as homogenous background as possible were chosen. Their first and second languages are either Estonian or Võru. The order of foreign/second/third etc. language acquisition is also similar because of the common sociolinguistic history. The informants are also similar in terms of their societal status and education level. Most of them have a university degree and almost half of them are active participants in the Võru movement, some of whom advocate the use of the Võru language on the society level and some of whom study it academically. Therefore, it could be said that the informants making up the sample are Võru intellectuals. Almost all informants are first-generation outmigrants from historical Võrumaa and live in a bigger Estonian town (Tallinn, Tartu, Pärnu, Viljandi). The informants' language competencies in different skills and the patterns of their language use are more varied.

Since Võru intellectuals (as compared to active participants in the Võru movement) are a hidden population, i.e. the size of the population cannot be known, the sample was chosen by using the social network method – the contacts of possible informants were acquired from the informants already participating in the study.

Four informants consider Estonian and five Võru as their first language. One informant did not want to disclose the first language. Two informants acquired Võru/Estonian simultaneously (in italics in Table 1). Three informants reconsidered their first language later in their lives because of an important life event (graduation, change of residence or employment) (in bold in Table 1).

Table 1. Overview of the informants

informant	age group	L1	dialect area
F1	older	Estonian	Räpina (Räp[1])
F2	older	*Estonian*	Vastseliina (Vas)
F3	older	***Võru***	Põlva (Plv)
F4	younger	Võru	Põlva (Plv)
F5	younger	Estonian	Vastseliina (Vas)
M6	younger	Estonian	Karula (Krl)
M7	older	n/a	Põlva (Plv)
M8	older	Võru	Rõuge (Rõu)
M9	younger	**Võru**	Vastseliina (Vas)
M10	younger	**Võru**	Urvaste (Urv)

F – female, M – male

[1] The abbreviations in Figure 1

Three informants use the Western Võru vernacular and seven use the Eastern Võru vernacular (see Figure 1). Articles [P1] and [P6] give a more detailed overview of the informants.

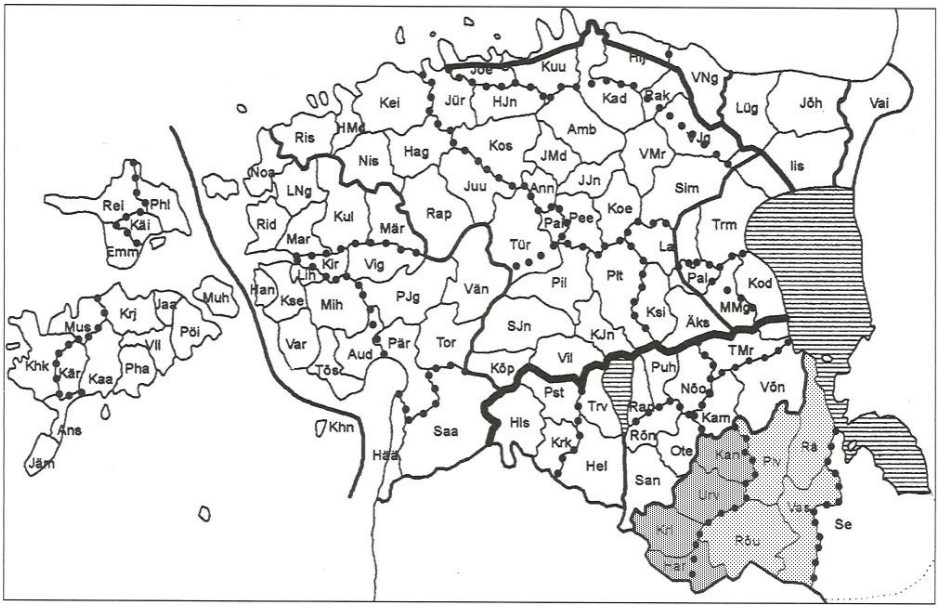

Figure 1. *Võru dialect area* (Pajusalu et al. 2009, p 56). Western Võru vernacular: Har = Hargla, Krl = Karula, Urv = Urvaste, Kan = Kanepi; Eastern Võru vernacular: Rõu = Rõuge, Vas = Vastseliina, Plv = Põlva, Räp = Räpina

The method of data collection and the procedure. The analysis in this thesis is based on two data sets: bilingual narratives (see also Marian and Kaushanskaya 2005, Bond and Lai 1986, Javier et al. 1993) which provided language data, and linguistic biographies, which provided information about informants' linguistic history, language attitudes and linguistic identities. With each informant two meetings were set up, during which a three-part interview was held. During the first meeting, the first part of the interview was conducted with the aim to collect linguistic data. The informants were asked to tell a story about an emotional past event either in Estonian or in Võru. The informants could choose the language of the narrative themselves. In the second part of the interview, which took place at least two weeks after the first part to avoid the practice and repetition effect, the informants were asked to tell the same story but in the other language (Võru or Estonian), which meant that if the informants had told the narrative in Estonian in the first part of the interview, they told it later in Võru and vice versa. Code switching was not discouraged. The narratives were recorded. The corpus, therefore, consists of the ten Võru-Estonian narratives. The narratives were described using simplified transcription, in which short pauses (up to one second), long pauses (more than one second) and the beginnings of

utterances were marked. Glottal stops and palatalisations in the functions of grammatical markers were also marked.

Language biographies were collected in the third part of the interview. This part of the interview was half-structured and lead by four question modules, each having a different topic. The aim of this part of the interview was to collect declarative information about the language use and language attitudes of the informants (see also Table 1). The following topics were covered: language history (the order in which the informants acquired the languages and language variants in their language repertoires), self-report data (self-assessment of the language skills), language choice (the contexts in which and with whom the informants use their languages), language attitudes (emotions and attitudes that the informants associate with their languages). The third part of the interview was recorded and made notes of. Later, the informants were contacted to ask specifications in order to systematise already collected data.

The corpus. During the two first parts of the interview, ten bilingual narratives on the same theme were collected (see Table 2). The average length of the Estonian narratives is 652.6 words and that of the Võru narratives is 760.7 words.

Table 2. Overview of the corpus

	Estonian narrative	Võru narrative	type of the narrative
F1	607	931	event
F2	553	438	event
F3	954	1698	experience
F4	438	340	event
F5	610	716	event
M6	1324	1611	experience
M7	386	356	event/experience
M8	466	238	event
M9	692	755	experience
M10	496	524	event
average length	652.6	760.7	

F – female, M – male

Thematic and content analysis of the narratives revealed that the collected narratives fell into two categories thematically. Six informants told a story about a memorable past event, which, in addition to the narrator, had other characters who communicated with each other. Therefore, much indirect speech was used in this type of narratives. These narratives were short (250–350 words) or medium (500–600 words) and the events on which the narratives were based happened in the informant's childhood or adolescence.

Three informants told a story about a life-transforming experience. In these narratives there were no characters or they acted only in the background or were mentioned perfunctorily. The characters did not interact to each other or did it in a limited fashion. The informant used many thinking and perceiving verbs

(i.e. think, know, see), which were followed by explanations, reflections, general truths and evaluations of the narrative events. The narratives of a life-transforming experience were long (over 1000 words).

One informant told a story that had features from both of the above-described types, describing the event and the shift in the informant's perception of the world as the result of the event.

The informants were informed of the aims of the study and the collected data are anonymised. The recordings and the transcripts are retained at the University of Tartu College of Foreign Languages and Cultures.

2.2. Used methods of data analysis

The linguistic data of the Võru-Estonian narrative pairs was analysed structurally, thematically and linguistically, individual multilingualism being the focal point of the analysis. The bilingual narrative pairs were studied on the text and narrative levels. This investigation was supported by the data about linguistic repertoires and language attitudes collected in the form of the language biography (see 4.4). In the analysis of these data, content analysis methods, which allowed adding the discourse level to the text and narrative level analysis, were used.

In the thesis, the narrative is defined within the framework of Labovian sociolinguistic tradition. According to Labov (1972: 359–360) the narrative is "*one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which actually occurred."* Temporality in narratives is connected to narrative causality – if the order of the clauses is changed, the meaning of the narrative is changed as well. In addition to temporality and causality, also the narrator's evaluation of the narrative events is important, as it is connected to reportability, which means that the narrative is of human interest.

In [P1] and [P2] the narratives were divided into thematic blocks inspired by Labovian formal narrative grammar and the structures of the narratives in the narrative pairs were compared based on that. In [P4], [P5] and [P6] narrative tenses, deictic shifts, switches between the conversational historic present and the narrative past, alternating the background and the foreground events and demonstrative pronouns, all of which occur in the narrative naturally, were studied.

In [P1] and [P2] the narrative pairs were divided into thematic blocks. The utterances in each thematic block were counted and their average length was calculated. The thematic blocks in the narrative pairs were collated to see which blocks had been added, omitted or merged. The average length of the utterances made it possible to understand which thematic blocks were highlighted by the narrator. The linguistic analysis, during which person, place and time deictics, and present and preterite verb forms were counted, was the basis of the later narrative analysis. The way how the narrators used deictic expressions demonstrated how they positioned themselves in conjunction with the narratees, other

characters in the narrative and the narrative events. The use of narrative tenses highlighted where the narrators saw themselves and the narratee in time and space in conjunction with the narrative and the narrative events.

In [P3], content analysis of the language biographies was conducted to find common themes in them. More specifically, two subtypes of content analysis were used. Semantic attribution analysis demonstrated the frequency of certain characterising adjectives and semantic assertion analysis showed the frequency how certain objects, concepts or events are characterised in a certain way (Krippendorf 2004: 44–74). As the result of content analysis, a network of stable correlations formed from the ideas recurrent in the language biographies. This allowed setting the language biographies into the social and historical context (Krippendorf 2004: 46, Graner 2007). Sociohistorical tendencies that had influenced the informants' language repertoires and which also described the multilingual circumstances in which the narrative events happened were of special interest.

In [P4], demonstrative pronouns in Võru-Estonian narratives were marked and counted. Demonstratives in the parallel thematic blocks in the narrative pairs were collated to see whether they had a semantic equivalence. Later, the Võru and Estonian demonstrative pronouns were grouped to see which traditional and non-traditional demonstrative systems they formed in standard Estonian and Võru.

In [P5], the present and preterite verb forms in the narrative pairs were marked and counted. Later, the frequency of the present verb forms was established in the thematic blocks defined in the thematic and structural analysis, which allowed to determine the contexts of present verb forms in the narratives.

In [P6], three sociolinguistically salient features, which do not appear in standard Estonian (the glottal stop, the inessive ending and three Võru demonstrative pronouns), and other features (postverbal negation, endings of the past participles, ways of forming the past, demonstrative adjectives) were marked and counted. The frequency of the features was studied in the context of the results of the content analysis of the language biographies to establish whether the informants' linguistic identities and language attitudes had an influence on the frequency of the salient features in the informants' speech.

3. INDIVIDUAL AND LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUAL MULTILINGUALISM

3.1. Individual multilingualism

Aronin and Singleton (2008 and 2012) see multilingualism as the new linguistic dispensation that is present everywhere, is developing under the conditions of globalism and is an inseparable part of society as there are more than 5,000 different languages but only about 200 countries (Myers-Scotton 2005: 16–22). Therefore, a half of the world's population is at least bilingual (ibid.) Multilingualism is a situation when two or more languages co-exist, are in contact and interact on everyday basis (Li 2012). This co-existing of languages can happen on the societal, institutional, group and individual level (Franceschini 2001, Cenoz 2013). According to Edwards (2012), language contacts and, therefore, multilingualism may be caused by immigration, a political union of different language groups, political and cultural goals that broaden multilingual repertoires and the openness of a language community in terms of others using their language.

It is possible to differentiate between societal multilingualism and individual multilingualism, the close connections of which need to be taken into account when studying the ways of acquiring and using languages (Todeva and Cenoz 2009, Aronin and Singleton 2012), as the languages that are used in communication in society influence individual language choices (Cenoz 2012) and language changes going on in society are always initiated by individuals as they make their individual language decisions (Matras 2009: 310).

According to the modern holistic view of multilingualism, being a "perfect" multilingual does not mean a complete balance in all skills in all languages known and used by an individual. Li (2008: 4) maintains that people are multilingual when they are able to communicate in several languages either actively (speaking and writing) or passively (listening and reading) on a daily basis. Therefore, the multilingual individual is not defined as the sum of two or more native speakers but as a multicompetent speaker-listener with a unique linguistic profile (Cook 2003, Edwards and Dewaele 2007, Grosjean 2008, Franceschini 2011).

Similarly to societal and individual multilingualism, it is possible to speak about societal and individual linguistic profiles. All languages that are used in society are a part of the societal linguistic profile. Individual linguistic profiles are unique because each person has different wishes, goals and possibilities to learn and use different languages (Myers-Scotton 2005: 38). According to the narrow definition of the individual linguistic profile, all languages that a multilingual individual is able to communicate in on everyday basis make up this individual's language repertoire (Beacco 2005, Myers-Scotton 2005: 9). According to the wider definition, the individual linguistic repertoire is rather the means of speaking, which is made up of all linguistic (language variants, also dialects), cultural (genres, styles and registers) and social (norms for

producing and understanding language) means that are at the disposal of individuals who also know why they use those means (Franceschini 2011, Blommaert and Backus 2011). The languages belonging to the language repertoire of a multilingual individual function in co-ordination and have different roles, the configuration of which can change according to the social milieu, psychological factors and conditions imposed by the surroundings (Aronin and Singleton 2012: 80–81).

Consequently, the language and communication competence of multilingual individuals is completely different from that of monolingual speakers (Todeva and Cenoz 2009). Compared to monolinguals, multilinguals can choose between more linguistic resources and use different languages in different communication situations for different goals (Cenos 2013), which is the reason for the formation of the unique and complex multicompetence (Todeva and Cenoz 2009, Franceschini 2011). Multilingual individuals have different skill levels in their different languages because they have probably acquired their languages at different times (Beacco 2005). Multilingual individuals never use their languages under identical conditions to a comparable degree (Myers-Scotton 2005: 38) because their language choice depends on the interlocutor, the place, the topic and the context of communication (Matras 2009: 42–43). Thus, their languages develop differently, one language dominating in one domain and another in some other (ibid.). Therefore, the languages making up the language repertoire of multilinguals are not explicitly discernible, but they have fluid borders between them (Cenoz 2013), forming an integration continuum in the perception of multilingual speakers (Cook 2003, Grosjean 2008: 13–14). This also explains why some people might decide later in their life to "change" their first language to another, later acquired language (it might happen for example because of language attrition or identity shifts). Hence, it is important to study the full communication competence of multilingual individuals in the framework of their language repertoire (Grosjean 2008: 14).

3.2. Bidialectism

It is possible to describe the relationship between standard Estonian and Võru in the language repertoires of multilinguals in terms of both multilingualism and bidialectism, as it has features of both. Anderson (2013: 113) defines bidialectism as a situation where an individual is able to communicate in two dialects, having native-like skills in both of them. Several researchers (e.g. Labov 1994 and Hazen 2001) argue that there are no real bidialectals, as, in their research, the assumed command of two dialects appeared later to be non-structural imitation of one of the dialects, which meant that only salient features of the dialect were used, or the intonation or tempo of speech were changed.

However, Anderson (2013), while studying Pennsylvania Dutchified English, claims that under certain circumstances (in the final stage of language death, or dialect obsolescence) it is possible to find actual bidialectals. The narrow

definition of bidialectism by Anderson is based on Hazen's (2001) criteria according to which the actual bidialectism is supposed to differ from dialect imitation, using different styles or dialect assimilation in several ways. The dialects of a bidialectal need to have differences (i.e. differences in syllable length and the use of phonemes) that appear in their natural environment in a very complex way and which do not appear in the case of dialect imitation or style change (Anderson 2013: 118). In the case of dialect assimilation, salient features of the first dialect disappear, while non-salient features of both dialects remain uninfluenced. Bidialectal speakers are supposed to use both salient and non-salient features in their two dialects (Anderson 2013: 119). Additionally, the bidialectal speaker is supposed to use all features with the same frequency, under the same conditions and mutually exclusively, similarly to the monodialectal speaker (Anderson 2013: 118–120).

According to the broader definition of bidialectism (Christison 2010), the most important condition for being a bidialectal speaker is to be accepted in the two language communities (or communities of practice, see Christison 2010) and to be able to communicate with the members of these communities.

3.3. Diglossia and prestige

The language situation in Southeastern Estonia can be described as diglossia. Diglossia is a stabile societal arrangement where, based on societal consensus, two or more variants of a language (Fergusson 1959) or two or more non-related languages (Fishmann 1985) are used in the language community. One of the variants/languages (the H-form) is used in formal contexts and it has a higher prestige in the language society. The other variant/language (the L-form) is used in informal contexts and it has a lower prestige. The H-form is usually a standardised literary language that has a different grammar, vocabulary and phonology compared to the L-from (Schiffman 1998, Hudson 2001). A diglossic situation is different from a standard-dialect situation in this respect that while the standard language is spoken as the first language, the H-form is not. The grammars of the H- and L-forms are also more different than the grammars of the standard language and the dialect (Hudson 2001).

The prestige of the language (also the prestige of the variant or a grammatical/phonetic/lexical form) is connected to the status of the language in the language community (Chambers and Trudgill 2004: 85). The dominating language is the so-called prestige language that is used in the public sphere, has the support of institutions, and is sometimes the default language for communication for people with different linguistic histories (Matras 2009: 45). The prestige language is closely related with the overt prestige, which means that people are very aware of the language and it is associated with speakers of a high status (Meyerhof 2006: 37–8). In the case of covert prestige (also local prestige in Meyerhof 2006: ibid.), the positive attitude towards the language, variant or forms is concealed (Meyerhof 2006: ibid.). Using the language, variant or forms is approved by the

group and it is connected to self-identification as a member of this group. Men seem to be more influenced by the elements of covert prestige (Chambers and Trudgill 2004: 86).

3.4. Linguistic identity

Estonian and Võru speaking Southern-Estonians may have linguistic identities that are connected to both Estonian and Võru. Language is one of the most important features of group membership (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 4, Hamers and Blanc 2004: 200–203) and it can be one of the most visible symbols of the group (Meyers-Scotton 2005: 113). Group solidarity is created and renewed with the help of language (Christison 2012), and with that also group coherence is recreated (Hamers and Blanc 2004: 204).

Language and identity have a mutually constructive relationship – identity creates language and language cements identity (Li 2012; Christison 2010). Identity, being a highly complex issue and consisting of multiple interconnected factors (Vignoles et al 2011: 2), is in a continuous renewal process that occurs through identity negotiation. This is how identity resembles language, since it is, similarly to language, the mediator between the individual and society (Christison 2010, Kiesling 2013).

For multilingual individuals, language is both the means of communication and the act of identity, in which they relate with their interlocutors, communicative situations and power relations in operation in them. Every time multilingual individuals make a language choice, they could have chosen differently at this particular moment and in this specific communicative situation. Through the language choice multilingual individuals define their identity in the wider socioeconomical and historical context (Li 2012).

Language variation creates the speaker's identity as well, as the speaker's identity creates the individual variant. According to Kiesling (2013), linguistic identity is created as follows: the individual decides to use the language in a certain way; this choice is followed by the repetition of the use, which leads to the habit (*habitus*) to use language in a certain way. The *habitus* is what creates language identity. The habitual language use is not just invented. It is already there in existing language practices that are combined with new practices (Kiesling 2013).

3.5. Societal multilingualism in Estonia and the sociolinguistic status of Võru

Estonian societal multilingualism has always been influenced by the political reality (Tender 2010: 25). At the beginning of the 13th century, Teutonic knights imported Low German to Estonian territories (Ariste 1981: 26). After the Livonian War (1558–1583), which ended the rule of German orders, Estonian

territories were divided between Sweden, Polish-Lithuanina Commonwealth, and Denmark. Later, all Estonian territories fell under the Swedish rule. In the 16th century, Tallinn was a multilingual town already, with German, Swedish and Estonian used for everyday communication (Talve 2004: 58–62).

It was also in the 16th century that the territory of Estonia was divided into two: North Estonia, which in the beginning of the 18th century became the Governorate of Estonia, and South Estonia, which formed the Governorate of Livonia with North Latvia. At this time, both these areas had their own written standards as well: in North Estonian the "Tallinn language", the basis of modern standard Estonian, was used and in South Estonia the "Tartu language", the public domains of which had declined only by the 19th century, was used (Koreinik 2013: 8–9).

After the Great Northern War (1700–1721) Estonian territories were made a part of the Russian Empire. Nevertheless, German did not lose its relevance until the end of the 19th century due to importance of the Baltic-German minority living in Estonian territories (Tender 2010: 10). In the 19th century many Estonians living in towns were able to communicate at least in German, Russian and Estonian (Ariste 1981: 34; Tender 2010: 26). By the mid-19th century, more Estonians were able to receive a secondary education and studied several foreign languages at school, which were primarily Latin and German but also Greek, Hebrew, Russian, French and English (Talve 2004: 327–330). As a result of Russification towards the end of the 19th century, almost all subjects at peasant schools were taught in Russian (Talve 2004: 407–409).

At the beginning of the 20th century, Estonian local culture started to develop, as a result of which Estonian intellectuals wanted to distance themselves from Russian and German cultural influences and started to take interest in Finnish and French cultures and languages (Laur et al. 1997: 33). During the first period of the independent Republic of Estonia (1918–1940) Russian, German, English, French and Latin were taught at schools (Tender 2010: 26–27).

During the Soviet occupation (1944–1991), the percentage of Estonian indigenous inhabitants (Estonians, and Russian, German, Jewish and Swedish minorities) had decreased from 99% to 66% and the percentage of first generation immigrants (mostly from Russia, but also from Ukraine and Belorussia) had risen from 1% to 34% (Katus et al. 2000) and so Russian gained importance in all walks of life (Keelehariduspoliitika ülevaade 2008). In addition to Russian, German or English were also taught at Estonian schools. In the 1970s and 80s Northern-Estonians were able to watch Finnish TV and, therefore, some of them achieved elementary communication skills in Finnish (Finnish Institute 2006).

According to the census of 2011 (REL 2011), the most frequent foreign languages in the Estonian territory are English, Russian, German and Finnish. English is spoken mostly by younger age groups (15–29-year-olds) and Russian is a prevalent skill of older people (50–65-year-olds).

Estonian is usually divided into two main dialect groups: North Estonian, which is the basis of standard Estonian, and South Estonian, which consists of four dialects (Mulgi, Tartu, Võru, Setu). There are phonological, morphological and lexical differences between North and South Estonian (Iva 2007; Pajusalu et al. 2009). The Võru common language that is formed on the basis of Võru sub-dialects and in which there are few linguistic features characteristic to the sub-dialects (Iva 2002a) is known as the Võru language.

The dominating status of standard Estonian in the Võru language area has greatly influenced the Võru language (Iva 2002a and 2002b). The Estonian variants and dialects were suppressed during the standardisation process of the Estonian language in the 1960s–80s, and so standard Estonian is the prestige language in the Võru language area (Koreinik 2013: 3–9). Võru is mostly used in informal contexts (Pajusalu et al. 2000, Ehala 2006, Eichenbaum and Koreinik 2008), and it has almost no public functions (Ehala 2006). Võru seems to have covert or local prestige (Pajusalu et al. 2000, Ehala 2006, Eichenbaum and Koreinik 2008), which is characterised by using stigmatised variants that are believed to signal group identity by group members (Chambers and Trudgill 2004: 85). Võru people assess their writing and reading skills in Võru to be insufficient, which Koreinik (2013: 5–6) explains with a diglossic situation: Võru is used in oral communication and Estonian in written communication (ibid.).

Although Võru speakers identify themselves as Estonians, many of them have a strong local identity (Koreinik 2011; 2013: 7), which is apparently created and recreated when choosing Võru as a means of communication. Võru is thereby associated with the local identity (Antso et al. 2016: 188). Võru and Estonian identities do not stand in opposition to each other – it is possible to be a Võro and an Estonian at the same time (Koreinik 2013: 7).

According to Anderson's (2013) narrow definition of bidialectism, it is not possible to consider Võru people as bidialectals because there is a transfer between Võru and Estonian (Iva 2002a). According to Christison's (2010) broad definition of bidialectism, Võru people are bidialectal as they are members of both Estonian and Võru language communities (Koreinik 2013: 8–21).

The issues discussed above help to set a theoretical framework for the analysis of the Võru-Estonian narratives and the language biographies.

4. INDIVIDUAL MULTILINGUALISM IN NARRATIVES AND LINGUISTIC BIOGRAPHIES

4.1. Features of narrative. Types of narrative

Since many disciplines use narratives as objects of study or data collection means (see the overviews in Heinen and Sommer 2009), there is no univalent definition of the narrative. However, based on different researchers (Prince 1973, Ricoeur 1984, Fludernik 2009), it is possible to highlight three important features of the narrative in the Western cultural sphere.

The narrative: 1. is causal (causality); 2. is temporal (temporality); 3. is of human interest (*reportability* in Labov 1997 and *tellability* in Fludernik 2005 and Norrick 2007).

Based on the medium, it is possible to divide narratives into two groups: oral and written narratives (see Figure 2). Written narrative is often considered to be fictional narrative (mostly 18th–20th century novels and short stories), which is the object of study in narratology. Oral narrative is divided into spontaneous and non-spontaneous oral narrative. Spontaneous oral narratives, which are part of everyday communication, are heavily dependent on their context. They are interactional, negotiated and therefore dispersive in time and space. Constructed dialogues and conversational historical present are used in spontaneous oral narratives (Norric 2007). According to Fludernik (2005), it is possible to divide spontaneous oral narratives into three groups: 1. experiential conversational narratives that have three subdivisions: narratives of personal experience, narratives of vicarious experience, and observational narratives; 2. narrative reports, which miss the experiential dimension; 3. jokes/anecdotes.

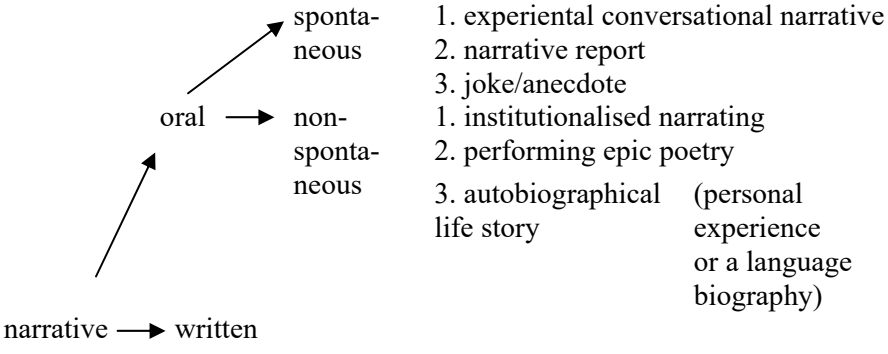

Figure 2. Genres of the oral narrative

Non-spontaneous oral narratives, when compared to spontaneous oral narratives, are longer and with a looser structure. "Fictional" techniques are used in them, i.e. narrative tenses and free indirect discourse are employed somewhat similarly to fictional narratives (Fludernik 2005). Non-spontaneous oral narratives can be divided into three groups as well: 1. "institutionalised narrating"

(Fludernik 2009), an example of which is rigidly reglemented narrating of indigenous people with a formal milieu, a professional narrator, a performative element and a restricted choice of topics; 2. epic poetry, an example of which is performing Homer or Beowulf in an appropriate context; 3. autobiographical life stories, which are the matter of interest to researchers of oral history and which are collected in the course of interviews.

4.2. Narratives of personal experience

Studying language with the help of the data collected through the means of non-spontaneous oral narratives began in the middle of the previous century. Narratives were collected either during interviews (e.g. Labov's linguistic interviews) or were based on pictures, short films or previously read stories (e.g. Ervin-Tripp 1954).

The method devised by William Labov for eliciting and analysing narratives of personal experience for collecting linguistic data is widely used also today. During the linguistic interview, Labov asked informants to tell a story about an important past event in order to collect a large amount of casual speech. Labovian narrative has four important features: **temporality**, which gives rise to **causality**, and **evaluation** that forms the basis for **reportability**. Consequently, Labov's narrative consists of a series of past clauses that are temporally ordered. Below, there is an example of a Labovian narrative with four clauses and two narrative junctures.

Example 1. Labovian narrative (Labov 1972: 360)

Narrative 1	Narrative 2
well, this person had a little too much to drink	a friend of mine came in
and he attacked me	just in time to stop
and the friend came in	this person who had a little too much to drink
and she stopped it.	from attacking me.

The example (1) demonstrates that causality is closely connected to temporality – if the order of the clauses is changed, the meaning of the narrative is changed as well.

Grammar of oral narrative according to Labov and Fludernik. Labov (1972) assigned six functions to narrative clauses (see Figure 3): the abstract, the orientation, the complication, the evaluation, the resolution and the coda. The abstract explains very shortly what the narrative is going to be about. The orientation, which follows the abstract, introduces the place, time, characters and reason for the narrative. The orientation is followed by the complication that consists of temporally ordered narrative clauses that convey the main

narrative events. The complication is followed by the evaluation of the narrative event. The evaluation is followed by the resolution, and the narrative is concluded by the coda in which all other questions about the narrative are answered. All functions might not occur in the narrative; for example, the abstract and the coda might be absent. However, according to Labov, the narrative must have the narrator's evaluation of the narrative event because the evaluation is closely related to the fact whether the narrative is worth of telling (reportability).

Fludernik (2005) develops Labov's narrative grammar model further. According to her, narrative events can be divided into foreground and background events, which are presented in the narrative simultaneously. Narrative action is presented in the foreground. The beginning of the narrative (the *incipit* in Fludernik, the abstract and the orientation in Labov) frequently includes a time expression (i.e. 'this time', 'that day'). The incipit is followed by the narrative episodes (the complication in Labov) that culminate with the incident happening in the background of the setting and are resolved later (which, in turn, can be followed the beginning of the next narrative episode). On the background, concurrently with the foreground narrative episodes, the orientation is streamed, during which the narrator adds evaluational and/or explanatory comments to the narrative episodes.

<table>
<tr><th>The structure of Labov's narrative</th><th colspan="2">The structure of Fludernik's narrative
foreground
background</th></tr>
<tr><td>abstract: what happened?
orientation: who? where? when? why?</td><td>incipit</td><td rowspan="3">continuously happening orientation in the form of evaluational / explanatory commentaries</td></tr>
<tr><td>complication: narrative clauses in temporal order</td><td rowspan="2">narrative episodes
incident (culmination)
on the background of
continuously happening action
which ends with
resolution</td></tr>
<tr><td>evaluation of the narrative event
resolution: what happened in the end?
coda</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 3. Narrative grammars by Labov (1972) and Fludernik (2005)

The structural analysis of the studied narrative pairs was conducted inspired by the narrative grammar of Labov and Fludernik.

4.3. Multilingual oral narrative as a data collection method and as an object of study. Problems with collecting multilingual narratives

Multilingual oral (or written) narrative gives a possibility to study multilingual emotions (Ervin-Tripp 1954, Bond and Lai 1986, Pavlenko and Dewaele 2002, Besemeres 2004 and 2010, Pavlenko and Driagina 2007, Marian and Kaushanskaya 2008), multilingual memory (Javier et al. 1993) and identity (Koven 1998, Pavlenko 2001, Marian and Kaushanskaya 2005). However, in analysing bilingual narratives the characteristics of the socialisation that happened during the language acquisition and the peculiarities of the multilingual memory were kept in mind.

In multilingual oral narratives, one of the most noticeable narrative features is their mircolevel thematic differences (Tammekänd 2013a and 2013b). Marian and Kaushanskaya (2005) noticed in Russian-English oral narratives that Russian narratives tended to be centred on the needs of the collective and English narratives highlighted individualistic topics. They later (2008) explained that different languages might trigger different sociocultural frameworks and cognitive styles, according to which an appropriate emotional style is chosen to match the narrative events. This variation of sociocultural frameworks and cognitive styles depending on the language used might depend on the nature of socialisation that happened during acquiring one or another language. Bond and Lai (1986) maintain that, during the acquisition of the first language, socialisation might cause anxiety connected to using of some words or speaking about certain topics. As there is a different kind of socialisation going on during the acquisition of the second language (the language may be learnt in a formal context, *e.g.,* in the classroom), no such anxiety arises and therefore multilingual individuals might use their second languages to distance themselves when speaking about certain topics. This might be the reason why narratives in a second language appear more abstract, laconic and concrete as compared to narratives in the first language, which might appear more emotional, imaginative and detailed (Ervin-Tripp 1964, Javier et al. 1993). The fact that memories tend to be more intensive in the language in which they were encoded also needs to be taken into account in the case of such microlevel thematic differences (Marian and Kaushanskaya 2004).

In addition to different sociocultural frameworks and cognitive styles triggered in different languages, multilingual individuals might use different morpho-syntactic and lexical styles, and registers in their languages (Koven 1998). Therefore, according to Koven (1998) and Pavlenko (2006) both multilingual individuals and their interlocutors might feel that multilinguals have and are able to use multiple identities (which may manifest in different ways of self-expression in respondent's different languages) when speaking.

While collecting multilingual narratives, several problems that might distort language data and analysis need to be taken into account. The practicing effect

occurs when the informant has a possibility to practice and develop the story between two narrating sessions. Additionally, it is not advisable that the informant practiced the perceived weaker language between the sessions as this might distort the data as well. At the same time, it is important to note that the story that is narrated in the language in which the narrative events were experienced can be more detailed and have more ideas in it compared to the story told in another language (see also Javier et al. 1993, Marian and Kaushanskaya 2004). It is recommendable to leave at least a two-week pause between two narrative sessions to avoid the above described problems (Pavlenko 2008).

4.4. Language biography

Another important set of data used in this research was the language biography. Verschik (2002) maintains that quantitative methods (e.g. a census) are not sufficient when describing a multilingual's individual language choices and attitudes. A device that would enable describing the multilingual's linguistic behaviour in its complexity is needed. The language biography, which was first used successfully in the German-speaking world, describes the dynamics of language choice, language preferences and competences in multilinguals (Macha 1991, Meng and Protassova 2001, Franceschini and Miecznikowski 2004) The language biography is collected through the means of the life history interview. It is a biographical narrative which concentrates on multilinguals' languages and the ways how they acquired the languages that are part of their language repertoire, how they use them or why they have abandoned them (Pavlenko 2007).

The language biography need not be presented only orally. It might appear also in autobiographies (Verschik 2012) or in the form of language learning memoirs or in a language learner's diary (Pavlenko 2007).

Acquisition and use of a language does not happen in isolation: language is learned from someone and it is used with someone. Therefore, the language biography enables sociolinguists to learn about past or present language situations in a certain language community as well (Nekvapil 2003). The language biography is especially effective as a part of triangulation among other data collection methods (ibid.).

5. PRINCIPLES OF NARRATIVE AND LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

5.1. Levels of analysing the oral narrative

In general, the narrative can be analysed on the text, story and discourse levels. The **text level** is concerned with the text of the narrative and the language choices made by the narrator (Gardener-Chloros 2008). Linguistic data is analysed on all levels of linguistic analysis (phonetic, morphological, syntactic, semantic). The **story level** deals with the narrative itself. The structure of the narrative, functions and thematics of the narrative parts, how the narrator, being the most important concept in classical narratology (Nielsen 2011), positions him/herself in relation to the narrative events, narrative characters and objects, narrative and narrating time are observed. The **discourse level** deals with the context of the narrative, which can be either the immediate communicative situation or wider sociohistorical circumstances. The ways how the narrator, the narratee and the narrative world are positioned in relation to the rest of the reality are analysed.

All three levels are intertwined and proceed from each other. Ideally, all three levels and their relations to and influences on each other should be analysed to get the objective overview of the studied material. It is necessary to understand that the discourse level, for example, affects the text level in the form of narrator's language choices. The text and narrative levels are inseparably connected because the narrator's language choices dictate the structure of the narrative and vice versa. A separate set of questions arises about how the narrative is realised in discourse. Below an overview of the methods for analysing the three levels of the narrative is given.

5.2. Text level

In the analysis of the text level, mostly linguistic and variation analysis methods are used. In **linguistic analysis**, it is possible to study borrowing, transference and interference from the phonetic, morphologic, syntactic, lexical and semantic point of view. Methods of lexical and phonetic analyses are the most widely used (Gardner-Chloros 2008).

In the linguistic analysis of the ten narrative pairs, variation analysis is used (see [P5] and [P6]). **Variation analysis** studies the differences in the linguistic form and its object of study is the linguistic variable (Walker 2013). As the first step, it is stated that two (or more) linguistic forms act in the same way semantically or functionally. In this stage, salience has an important role. The **salient feature** occurs very frequently, is difficult to reduce phonetically, has an important place prosodically and interactionally, and its form and meaning have a clear relationship (Kerswill and Williams 2000). Oral texts often feature

phonetic variables that are defined by the structural context. Grammatical variables may raise the question whether they have the same meaning or there are semantic differences in their use. During analysis one needs to take into account the contexts where the variables appear, the contexts where they should have appeared but did not and the contexts where the variables cannot appear. In the form-based analysis, the variables are easy to define because a limited number of variables alternate in a certain context and they have a clearly identifiable and single-valued meaning. In the function-based analysis, the common grammatical or discourse function of the possible variables is defined and the concept of strict semantic equivalence is discarded (Walker 2013).

The results of linguistic and variation analysis are mostly presented in a numerical or graphic form as part of descriptive statistics, the aim of which is to provide the studied phenomenon with an additional context and allow the study itself be legitimate in the form of validity, reliability and transferability. For this introductory part, multiple correspondence analysis of the three salient Võru features in the respondents' speech was conducted in R (see 6.3). The analysis of the narrative level arises from the analysis of the text level.

5.3. Narrative level

For analysing the narrative level, in the Labovian sociolinguistic tradition narrative analysis is used. In narrative analysis, it is important to differentiate between the analysis of fiction and oral narrative analysis. In these narrative analyses, different techniques are employed and their object of study is different as well. However, some authors (Fludernik, for example) claim that fiction and oral narrative should not be as strictly separated. It seems that, in principle, it might be possible to borrow some methods of classical narrative analysis of fiction for analysing certain types, for example non-spontaneous, oral narratives. **Narrative analysis** has four sub-categories. *Thematic analysis* helps to understand what the story is about or what is being told about. The aim of thematic analysis is to find similar thematic elements and the language is seen as the source of information. In thematic analysis, problems might arise in the case of the material that cannot be classified as a part of any theme. *Structural analysis* helps to understand how the narrative is put together in order to achieve certain communicative aims or how the narrator changes certain structural elements to turn the narrative more persuasive or highlight some topics. Structural analysis may reveal such linguistic and conceptual elements that might not be noted during thematic analysis (Riessman 2005). However, structural analysis can remove the narrative from its context (one of the main criticisms of Labov's narrative grammar) (ibid.) since the narrative is mostly in the form of a monologue (Erlich and Romaniuk 2013). *Discourse analysis*, or dialogic/performative analysis, helps to understand how the narrative is created in the conversation between several interlocutors (conversation analysis) and sees the act of narrating as performance of power relations between the interlocutors.

In identity studies discourse analysis is used to construct the interlocutors' identity. *Visual analysis* helps to understand how the narrative is positioned in relation with the visuals surrounding it (Riessman 2005 and 2008). The means of thematic and structural analyses of the narrative were used in articles [P2] and [P3].

5.4. Discourse level

For analysing the discourse level, methods of discourse and content analyses are used. **Discourse analysis** is a subcategory of narrative analysis. During the analysis of a conversation, it is observed how people are saying what they are saying and detailed descriptions of natural speech are offered. Interactional sociolinguistics studies the context of discourse. Critical discourse analysis is interested in the dimensions of social inequality and ideology (Potter 2008, Janicki 2004).

During **content analysis** data from a text are categorised into conceptual categories and the patterns of variables/themes and their interrelations are identified. Text interpretation is understood to be subjective as text may have many different meanings that depend on the context. Content analysis is useful in finding conscious and subconscious messages in a text. Qualitative content analysis is inductive and it begins with deep reading of the text to reveal its contextual or hidden meanings (Julien 2008). Content analysis is divided into pragmatic, semantic and sign-vehicle analysis (Krippendorf 2004: 44–74). Discourse and content analyses were used in articles [P1] and [P6].

5.5. Verbs in Võru-Estonian narratives

Both in the Estonian and Võru narratives, the ways using and alternating present and preterite verb forms were important when analysing the narrative level in article [P4]. The use of different verb forms in a narrative demonstrates how the text and its narrative level are connected to each other. Alternating present and preterite verbs illustrates the relationship between the narrative and the narrating time, highlights especially important narrative episodes, marks the aspect of actions and events and shows the construction process of the narrative world (Herman 2011).

In the narratives that are based on the past events, mostly preterite verb forms are used (Fludernik 2009). In oral narratives, which are part of everyday conversations, narrators tell about their experiences and may use preterite verb forms alternately with present verb forms (ibid.).

Verb forms act differently on the text and the narrative level. In the case of the text level, the grammatical tense, which marks the relationship between the verb form and the time that the event/action happened (Carter and McCarthy 2006: 926), is discussed. In the case of the narrative level, the narrative tense,

which is the special use of grammatical tense fulfilling different roles and occurring in different narrative context, is discussed. Since the deictic centres (the me-here-now point in Diessel 2012) of the narrative time and the narrating time do not usually coincide, the choice of the grammatical tense might not be logically connected to the actual time of the events on which the narrative is based. Therefore, the preterite verb form might not mark a certain past tense but rather a temporal or physical distance of the narrator/narratee from the narrative event (Fludernik 2009).

Estonian and Võru grammatical tenses and tense systems are similar. Both have no morphological future; the present verb form is used instead. The present verb form is also used for marking the generic time and for perfect and imperfect aspects (EKG I: 237, EKG II: 32.34, Erelt 2013: 91–104, Iva 2007). There are four morphological preterite verb forms: the preterite, the perfect and the pluperfect in the indicative, and the indefinite past in the conditional, quotative and jussive (EKG I: 237–242).

Narrative tenses are the narrative past, the epic past and the narrative present according to their roles and contexts they occur in. In Estonian and Võru oral narratives, mostly the narrative past and the narrative present are used, the latter of which is divided into deictic and historic conversational present (Tammekänd 2015b). The narrative past is the default tense for describing past events and it indicates the actual past, unspecified past or future. (Fludernik 2003 and 2009). The deictic present signals the deictic shift from the narrative time to the narrating time (Fludernik 2003). It is also used for communicating with the narratee, commenting on the actual events that the narrative is based on, evaluating these events (Schriffin 1981) and conveying general truths (Jahn 2005). The conversational historic present does not have a semantic meaning, but from the point of view of the structure of the oral narrative its alternating with the narrative past (the CHP switch) is important as it marks the narrative junctures (Wolfson 1979 and Schriffin 1981).

5.6. Demonstrative pronouns in Võru-Estonian narratives

Deictic expressions analysed in article [P5] play an important part in analysing the narrative level as well. Deictic expressions (time, place and person deixis) place the narrator, the characters and the narrative realia into space and time, signal deictic shifts and the deictic centre dependent on the narrative (Herman 2011). Demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to locations of referents in relation to the deictic centre (Diessel 2012). Diessel (1999, 2012 and 2013) describes distance-oriented and person-oriented demonstrative systems. Levinson (2006) claims that languages that have two demonstratives usually have a spatial demonstrative system that has proximal and distal demonstratives. Languages that have three demonstratives may have a spatial demonstrative system, person-centred demonstrative system or a blend of the two (Levinson 2006, Diessel 2012).

Demonstratives *see*, *seo~sjoo* (both mean ‘this here’), *taa* (a medial demonstrative), *too* and *tuu* (both mean ‘that there’) are used in the variants of Estonian. In North Estonian, the demonstrative *see* is used; in common spoken South Estonian, the demonstratives *see* and *too* are used, and in the South Estonian Võru language the demonstratives *seo~sjoo*, *taa* and *too* are used. *Seo~sjoo* refers to the referent in the speaker’s sphere, *taa* refers to the referent in the listener’s sphere and *tuu* refers to the referent that is at an equal distance both from the speaker and the listener. The Võru three-way, person-centred system is disintegrating and being substituted by the two-way distance-oriented demonstrative system (Pajusalu 2006 and 2015; Tammekänd 2015a).

Various text, narrative and discourse level analysis methods described above were used to analyse the Võru-Estonian narratives and the linguistic biographies. These methods are described in the articles in more detail.

6. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1. The structure and thematics of the narratives

Articles [P2] and [P3] discuss the structure and thematics of the Võru-Estonian narratives. The narrative structures in the narrative pairs were very similar. Although the narrators added, removed or merged thematic blocks in one or another narrative, the narrative blocks that conveyed the most important narrative events are in the same order in both narratives in a narrative pair. As Estonian and Võru are close language variants, emotion repertoires in the bilingual narrative pairs were rather similar as well. Therefore, it is not possible to claim that the informants use different identities in their two languages (see Koven 1998).

Still, similar emotion words were used differently in Estonian and Võru. In addition to unique details in one or another narrative in a narrative pair, slight differences in the used emotion words might be the reason why there were distinct highlights in the thematics of the narrative pairs. Instead of different identities, as suggested by Koven (1998), the narrators might have used different roles, which might have been connected to an appropriate emotional reaction during acquisition of this language (as in Bond and Lai 1986). Võru is mostly acquired in informal contexts (family and friends) and Estonian in formal contexts (school and work). In these contexts, there might be different socialising processes at work, and also the themes of communication are different from each other. Therefore, the Estonian narratives might be perceived as abstract and laconic and the Võru narratives emotional, detailed and imaginative ([P2] and [P3]). The abstractness of the thematics of the Estonian narratives might be highlighted even more by the fact that the narrators accentuated the importance of the chronological nature of the narrative events ([P3]). Adding factual information and using the indirect speech might have highlighted the emphatic nature and emotionality of the Võru narratives (ibid.). Even though the Võru narratives had more unique details, the Estonian narratives were not summaries or abstracts of the Võru narratives (as in Javier et al. 1993). Every narrative was a narrative in its own right.

In analysing narratives, it should be taken into account how many times the narrative has been told. Some narrators might not consider the second session equally important as they have already told their story or – vice versa – they are already familiar with the general structure of a (new) narrative and can concentrate on details and background in the later recounting. This way, the narrative is getting more and more detailed in each consecutive recounting. The coding language of the narrative might play an important role as well. If the narrative events were experienced in Estonian (and the decoding language was Estonian), but the narrative was told in Võru, then the Võru narrative was less detailed than the Estonian narrative ([P3]).

Many researchers of multilingual narratives (Koven 1998, Pavlenko and Dewaele 2002, Pavlenko and Driagina 2007, Marian and Kaushanskaya 2008)

claim that multilingual individuals activate different sociocultural frameworks in their different languages to fit their emotional reactions with suitable contexts. For the informants of this research, Estonian and Võru also seemed to activate different sociocultural frameworks. Article [P2] describes a narrator who distances herself from the narrative events, feels proud of her work ethics and portrays herself independent in the Estonian narrative but describes the *sovkhoz* hierarchy, feels ashamed about her place in this hierarchy and conveys unjustness of the narrative events in the Võru narrative.

6.2. Verbs and demonstrative pronouns as structural devices in narratives

Articles [P4] and [P5] concentrate on the use of verb forms and demonstrative pronouns in the Võru-Estonian narratives. Alternating present and preterite tenses highlights the relationship between the narrative and narrating time, and important narrative events. Deictic expressions tell the narratee where the deictic centre of the narrative is. The use of tenses and deictic expressions signal the deictic shift between the narrating and narrative time and vice versa (Herman 2011).

Article [P4] focuses on the use of grammatical and narrative tenses in the studied narrative pairs. The narrators mainly used preterite and present, but also the perfect and pluperfect verb forms in the narratives. Preterite and present verb forms function as the narrative past and the narrative present, which is divided into the deictic present and the conversational historical present (henceforth CHP). The main role of the deictic present is to signal the deictic shift. The CHP and the narrative past alternate to form CHP switches, which do not have a semantic meaning but which are used to bring certain narrative events into focus or push them to the background. The deictic present – the narrative past alternations are also used to shift the information from the background to the foreground and vice versa. The narrative past without present tense alternations is mainly used for describing the narrative events.

In the studied narrative pairs, the present verbs occurred in eight contexts: the introduction, the conclusion, reported parts, additions (general truths, descriptions of the present situation, comments to the narratee), addresses to the narratee, a future meaning, the CHP switch and indirect speech (not studied in the present research because of the many-fold deictic centres that appear when indirect speech is employed in an oral narrative). In almost all narratives, present verb forms were used in the introduction and in the conclusion. The verbs that introduced the reported parts were also in present. In these three contexts, the deictic shift between the narrating time and narrative time occurs. Therefore, the narrators attempted to create a dialogic situation with the narratee. It is this deictic shift and dialogic situation that the use of the present verb form signals. The narrators used the deictic present very seldom for referring to a future situation and addressing the narratee. The CHP switch was rare as

well – it was never used in the Võru narratives, and in the Estonian narratives it was present only in three narrators. The CHP switch would have probably occurred more often if the narratives were conversational narratives (see also Schriffin 1981 and Wolfson 1978 and 1979). As the ten studied narrative pairs were semi-spontaneous narratives, the fact that they did not feature more CHP switches in them was rather predictable. On the basis of the studied narratives it could be concluded that the narrators used present verb forms more to recount narrative events in the Estonian narratives. In the Võru narratives past verbs were used for that (see more in [P4]).

Article [P5] concentrates on the use of demonstrative pronouns in the narrative pairs. In the Võru narratives the demonstrative pronouns *seo~sjoo* ('this here'), *taa* (a medial demonstrative) and *tuu* ('that there') were used. The most frequent demonstrative pronoun in the Võru narratives was *tuu*. The demonstrative pronouns *seo~sjoo* and *taa* were not used very often and occurred manly in three contexts: a) in dialogic situations at the beginning (in the introduction) and at the end of the narrative (in the conclusion); b) in reported parts in a dialogic situation; c) in other undefined contexts and in time expressions. Although the standard Estonian demonstrative pronoun *see* was sometimes used in the Võru narratives, it seems that the narrators made an effort to keep the Võru and Estonian demonstrative systems apart.

In the Estonian narratives, the demonstrative pronouns *see* and *too* were used. The most frequent demonstrative was *see*. The South Estonian demonstrative pronoun *too* was used in time expressions when referring to a past situation. Võru demonstrative pronouns occurred in the Estonian narratives only during code switching. This practice shows that the narrators tried to keep the Estonian and Võru demonstrative systems apart as well.

In the studied narratives, more narrators used the two-way distance-oriented demonstrative system than the three-way person-oriented demonstrative system. Only two older narrators used all Võru demonstrative pronouns. So, it can be tentatively claimed that the three-way person-oriented demonstrative system is disintegrating (see more in [P5]). At the same time, it must be noted that in semi-spontaneous past narratives it is difficult for the narrator to create a dialogic situation where the three-way person-oriented demonstrative system could be used more easily. So, the data collection method and the situation might have hindered the proper use of the person-oriented demonstrative system.

Based on the present data, the narrators used three different demonstrative systems: all three demonstratives were used (the *seo~sjoo-taa-tuu* system); two demonstratives were used (the *seo~sjoo-tuu* or *tuu-taa* system); one demonstrative was used (the *tuu* system).

When observing the interrelations and interaction between the Võru and Estonian demonstrative systems, it could not be claimed that a certain Võru system would match a certain Estonian system, or that there would have been some common ground from which the narrator decided which demonstratives to use in Estonian or in Võru. Each narrator used their own unique set of demonstrative pronouns and it was not possible to find any patterns in the combinations.

It is interesting to note that the narrators used the deictic present tense and the Võru demonstratives *seo~sjoo* and *taa* in similar contexts in the Võru narratives: in the introductions and conclusions of the narratives and in reported parts. These are the contexts where the narrators signal deictic shifts between narrating and narrative times or address the narratee directly, creating thus dialogic situations. It would be interesting to study the use of present verbs and demonstrative pronouns in natural speech.

6.3. Individual multilingualism in bilingual narratives

Articles [P1] and [P6] discuss the questions related to language attitudes and linguistic identities of the informants. Article [P1] details the informants' language biographies. The homogeneity of the sample might have an influence on the data in terms of relative uniformity. The most frequent languages used by the ten informants participating in the research were Estonian, Võru, Russian, German, English and Finnish. Eight informants used these languages on a daily basis, for communicating or reading. Only in two informants' language repertoires there were less than six languages. Many informants had the elementary communication level in their fifth and sixth languages.

All informants studied Russian at school. Although the ideological opposition to the Soviet occupation might have transferred to the negative attitude towards studying and using Russian, all informants were able to communicate in Russian since reaching the communicative ability in Russian was important for functioning in Soviet Estonian society (Verschik 2008: 26–27). Additionally, the informants studied German (the older age group) or English (the younger age group) at school. These languages were mostly passive because of the lack of motivation and practice. However, those informants who studied German at school had to study English for professional reasons to achieve the communicative level. Half of the informants studied Finnish at university. Additionally, all informants had contacts with many other languages that constitute an important part of their language repertoires. Still, with a few exceptions, they were not able to communicate freely in those languages. The most frequent languages in the informants' language repertoire coincided with the data of REL 2011, according to which the most often used foreign languages in Estonia are Russian, English, German and Finnish.

The informants defined their first language themselves. As language is an important part of identity, it might be said that, by defining the first language, individuals might define a part of their identity. This fact was highlighted by one informant who did not want to disclose his first language, as this was an ideological question for him. Five informants considered Võru their first language. Three of them said that thirty years ago, when asked, they would probably have said that their first language was Estonian, but the situation changed 15–20 years ago. This switch of first languages, from Estonian to Võru, happened because of changes in life in the 1990s. The 1990s were a

critical time in the Estonian society and probably most Estonians had to redefine themselves to a certain extent (Verschik 2005). In the 1990s the Võru movement was established, which brought about an increase in the value of local identity. Therefore, the changes in the informants' identity and the first language were expected.

Whatever their first language was, all informants had a positive attitude towards the Võru language because they associated their childhood and adolescence with it. They spoke about Võru as the language of the heart or a secret language that their city friends found difficult to understand. At the same time, some informants found that Võru is for speaking, not for writing ([P1]). From this, it might be concluded that, according to the informants, it is Estonian that is meant for writing. This, in turn, reflects the diglossic situation, where Estonian and Võru have different domains and functions in society.

The older age group remembered the suppression of Võru in the Estonian society that reached its peak in the 1960s in relation with the standardisation of Estonian. Using Võru was not allowed at school because it was believed that Võru-speaking children would acquire "proper" (standardised) Estonian later as compared to others, or not at all. Some informants said that their parents, who spoke Võru as their first language, chose to speak Estonian with their children, probably because of this wide-spread belief. Speaking Võru tagged the speaker as coming from the periphery and this was something undesirable. The younger age group did not remember anyone speaking Võru at school. This probably arose from the fact that the language change had already happened in the 1970s and early 1980s. The younger informants had to turn to their older relatives or to other people in their village in order to learn Võru. In spite of the negative attitudes and beliefs connected to Võru, those informants who spoke about Võru as an inferior language found that speaking Võru is a matter of pride.

Studying of sociolinguistically marked features of the Võru language (the glottal stop, the inessive and the demonstrative pronouns) in article [P6] revealed that some generalisations could be made based on age, language attitudes and identity, even though the sample is rather small. The older age group plus one younger informant with unusual Võru used salient features more consistently than the younger age group. They used the glottal stop more frequently, preferred the *h*-inessive and their demonstrative systems were more stable. The younger age group used salient features less consistently. They used the glottal stop unsystematically, sporadically or not at all, preferred the *n*-inessive and their demonstrative systems were less stable.

Regardless the generalisations outlined above, there were still many individual differences in the informants' language use. Two older informants, whose first language was Estonian, used a hesitant Võru, which nevertheless featured some older characteristics, which, in turn, indicated the early age of their language acquisition. Two informants with a high proficiency in Võru used it on daily basis. Two informants who claimed Võru as their L1 had more modern features in their Võru. Other two (younger) informants used the glottal stop unsystematically or sporadically, preferred the *n*-inessive and used two-fold demonstrative

systems. However, two of their contemporaries did not use the glottal stop at all, preferred the n-inessive and did not use demonstrative pronouns or had the one-word demonstrative system with *tuu*. Nevertheless, the latter considered Võru as their first language.

For half of the informants Võru had a high symbolic value. Four of them changed their view of Võru radically in the 1990s, and three of them considered Võru as their first language as a result. Two of them used the most salient features in their Võru. One of the informants also spoke Võru when he was away from the historic Võrumaa. Therefore, he seemed to identify himself through Võru.

For the other half of the informants, the Võru language had rather an instrumental value. Two of them grew up with the language and, therefore, it was a common means of communication for them. For three informants, whose Võru had little or no salient features, the Võru language was mostly for communicating with older relatives. These informants might have identified themselves through Estonian.

Differences in the language use of the women and the men may have depended on the frequency of use. Four out of the five interviewed men participated in the Võru movement. Three of them had many sociolinguistically marked features in their Võru. The participants of the Võru movement may have seen more fields of use for Võru and, as a result, they might have wanted to use it on daily basis.

At the same time, it must be noted that speaking Võru as the first language and identifying oneself through it did not always influence the use of salient features. Some informants considered Võru their first language, spoke it every day and also identified themselves through it, but their language use was rather assimilated. The way and time of acquisition, and the frequency of use also played their roles in the frequency of salient features (see [P6]).

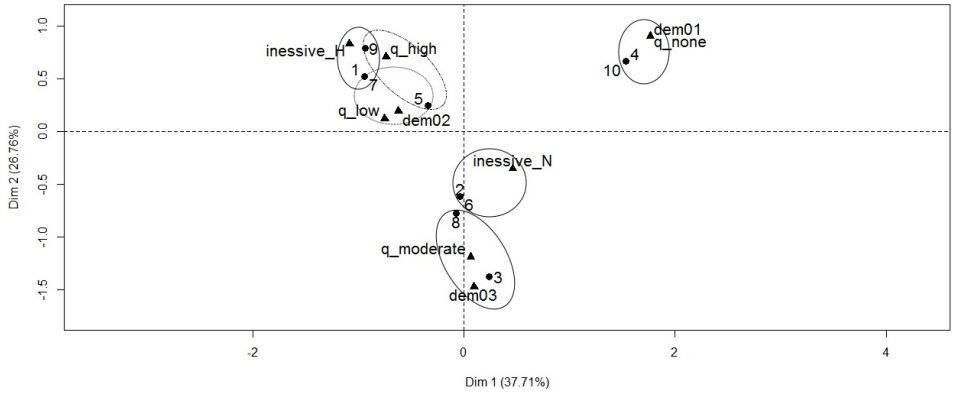

Figure 4. Multiple correspondence analysis of the three salient features and the ten idiolects (1 … 10 – respondents; q_none, q_low, q_moderate, q_high – the use of the glottal stop; inessive_N, inessive_H – *n*- and *h*-inessives; dem1, dem2, dem3 – demonstrative systems with one, two and three demonstrative pronouns)

The multiple correspondence analysis of the three salient features (the glottal stop, the inessive and the demonstrative pronouns) and the ten idiolects revealed some interesting correlations (see Figure 4). The correlations between the features are not generalizable as the analysis is based on only few data points.

The salient features occur in four distinctive groups: the three-way demonstrative system occurs with a moderate use of the glottal stop, the two-way demonstrative system occurs with a low use of the glottal stop, the *h*-inessive occurs with a high use of the glottal stop and the one-way demonstrative system occurs with no glottal stop. Considering the information from the language biographies of the informants, it could be said that a so-called competency-saliency continuum appears along the y-axis, where the moderate use of the glottal stop and the three-way demonstrative system indicates a traditional Võru learnt in the childhood (competence) and the *h*-inessive with the high use of the glottal stop indicates a later-learned or deliberately cultivated Võru (salience).

Older informants 3 and 8, who learnt Võru in their childhood, use the three-way demonstrative system. Their use of the glottal stop is moderate or low, probably due to the assimilation in positions without the sentence stress.

Informants 1, 5, 7 and 9 form the most varied group. Nevertheless, it could be inferred that the use of the archaic *h*-inessive and the high use of the glottal stop, the most frequent common features of this idiolect group, are markers of a Võru language that is deliberately cultivated (7 and 9), a Võru language that is designed to demonstrate so-called "Võruness" (5), or a Võru language that is learned as a second language (1).

Informants 2 and 6 are positioned almost in the mid-continuum. The common characteristic of their Võru is the *n*-inessive. Younger informants 4 and 10 stand separated from the competence-salience continuum as they use a levelled variant of Võru that does not include the glottal stop as a feature of the cultivated Võru, and their demonstrative system has only one pronoun.

As seen above, the three salient features can combine in different ways and extralinguistic factors might play an important role in these combinations.

7. CONCLUSION

The aim of the thesis was to study the idiolects of ten Southern-Estonians from the point of view of individual multilingualism by means of bilingual narratives.

Articles [P2] and [P3] reveal that although the studied bilingual narratives had similar structures, they had lesser or greater thematic differences. Because of thematic differences, the Estonian narratives seemed to be more abstract and the Võru narratives more emotional. Different sociocultural frameworks, activated during narrating in different languages, might be the reason why there were thematic differences in the narrative pairs.

Articles [P4] and [P5] show how the narratives were structured by present and preterite verb forms and demonstrative pronouns. On the narrative level, the grammatical present tense functioned as the narrative deictic present tense, the main aim of which is to signal deictic shifts from the narrating time to the narrative time and vice versa. More preterite verb forms were used in the Võru narratives and more present verb forms in the Estonian narratives to convey the narrative events. The conversational historic present was not used in the Võru narratives; in the Estonian narratives it was present, but not much. In the Võru narratives the deictic present tense and the Võru demonstratives *seo~sjoo* and *taa* were used the most in the introduction and conclusion of the narrative and in reported parts. These are the most likely places where the narrator wants to signal a deictic shift.

The informants tried to keep the Estonian and Võru demonstrative systems apart. The three-way person-centred demonstrative system seems to be on the verge of disintegration. There seemed to be no common ground in the choice of Estonian and Võru demonstrative pronouns, and each informant used a unique set of demonstratives.

Individual multilingualism refers to the ability to use more than one language. Article [P1] demonstrates that Estonian, Võru and Russian belong to the language repertoires of all informants and many of them use German, English and Finnish. At the same time, not only are the first language and foreign languages part of a language repertoire but also all linguistic, cultural and social means necessary to transmit and receive meaning. These means are used in interrelation with each other and according to the interlocutor, communicative need and environment. Based on this definition of individual multilingualism, the person speaking two very close language variants can be considered a multilingual.

Individual multilingualism is closely related to societal multilingualism as individual language choices depend on the processes happening in society. As a result of the standardisation of the Estonian language, Võru and other non-standard variants of Estonian were suppressed in the second half of the previous century. Some older informants told about the society's negative attitude towards Võru. Societal changes of the 1990s might have caused shifts in the informants' identities: some informants consider Võru their first language now,

although they had defined themselves through Estonian before. Therefore, as is concluded in article [P6], the causes and extent of individual variation may depend on age, language attitudes, identity, and the age and way of language acquisition. Those informants who ascribed a symbolic value to Võru or even identified themselves through it were more likely to speak a more varied Võru compared to those who thought of Võru as an instrument.

The correlations between the idiolects and the three salient features (the glottal stop, the inessive ending and demonstrative pronouns) show that the demonstrative system with three pronouns and the moderate use of the glottal stop characterise a traditional Võru learnt at an early age (competence) while the archaic h-inessive and the high use of the glottal stop occur in a deliberately cultivated Võru (salience). The studied idiolects form three distinct groups on the emerging competence-salience continuum

Although it is possible to make specific generalisations about the language use of the ten informants, the ten idiolects are still unique, depending on each informant's differences, language attitudes and identity.

8. SUMMARY IN ESTONIAN

8.1. Töö temaatika, eesmärgid ja uurimisküsimused

Käesolev doktoritöö „Võru-eesti kakskeelsuse narratoloogiline analüüs" uurib individuaalset mitmekeelsust ja sellega seotud sotsiolingvistilisi probleeme Eestis. Täpsemalt on analüüsitud kümne lõunaeestlase idiolekti, võrreldes eesti standardkeeles ja võru kõnekeeles jutustatud suulisi narratiive. Kuigi võru keelt/murret väitis viimase rahvaloenduse andmeil end oskavat 74512 inimest (REL 2011), pole 1960. – 1980. aastatel toimunud intensiivse eesti kirjakeele leviku tõttu enam ükskeelseid võrukaid (Koreinik 2015). Nii kasutatakse tänapäeval Kagu-Eestis igapäevaseks suhtlemiseks vähemalt kahte keelt: eesti standardkeelt ja kohalikku võru keelt.

Eestis elavate vähemuskeelte rääkijate individuaalset mitmekeelsust on varem uurinud Anna Verschik (Verschik 2000), kuid standard- ja võrukeelseid narratiive pole individuaalse mitmekeelsuse vaatenurgast analüüsitud. Käesolev doktoritöö erineb ülejäänud individuaalset mitmekeelsust käsitlevatest uurimustest ka seetõttu, et eesti keel on Kagu-Eestis normikeel, kuid võru keel on kohaliku identiteedi kandja. Kakskeelse keeleainese uurimine aitab paremini mõista respondendi isiklikke keelevalikuid, mis sõltuvad muuhulgas ka tema identiteedist ja keelehoiakutest.

Käesolev doktoritöö lähtub järgnevatest uurimisküsimustest:

1. Kuidas määratleda individuaalset mitmekeelsust standardkeele ja kohalikku identiteeti kandva keele kontekstis? Millised on keele individuaalsete erinevuste ulatus ja põhjused?
2. Kas kahe lähedase keelevormi rääkimine on mitmekeelsus?
3. Milline on keelekasutuse, keelehoiakute ja identiteedi seos?
4. Kuidas avaldub individuaalne mitmekeelsus narratiivides?

Töö koosneb sissejuhatusest, eestikeelsest kokkuvõttest ja kuuest publikatsioonist. Sissejuhatuses kirjeldatakse individuaalse mitmekeelsuse teoreetilisi aspekte ning antakse lühiülevaade ühiskondlikust mitmekeelsusest Eestis ja võru keele hetkeolukorrast. Lisaks sellele vaadeldakse isikliku kogemuse narratiivi kui lingvistiliste ja sotsiolingvistiliste andmete kogumise vahendit ja kirjeldatakse lingvistilise ja narratoloogilise analüüsi erinevaid tasemeid.

Töö põhiosa moodustavad kuus publikatsiooni jagunevad kolmeks teemavaldkonnaks: [P2] ja [P3] tegelevad mitmekeelse narratiivi struktuuri ja temaatika küsimustega, [P4] ja [P5] käsitlevad mitmekeelsete narratiivide mõningaid grammatilisi eripärasid ning [P1] ja [P6] uurivad kümne keelejuhiga seotud laiemaid ja kitsamaid sotsiolingvistilisi küsimusi, kus läbivad teemad on keelehoiakud ning keeleidentiteet.

8.2. Valim, materjal ja analüüsimeetodid

Uurimuse valimisse (vt Tabel 1) kuulub viis meest ja viis naist, kellel on ühine sotsiokultuuriline taust ning kelle esimene ja teine keel on võru või eesti keel. Esindatud on kaks vanusegruppi: 30.–40. aastates ja 50.–60. aastates olevad keelejuhid. Peaaegu kõik keelejuhid on esimese põlve väljarändajad ajalooliselt Võrumaalt, kes on asunud elama kirjakeelsesse ümbrusse mujal Eestis.

Doktoritöö analüüs on teostatud kahe andmekomplekti põhjal: (1) kakskeelsed narratiivid, mis olid keeleandmete allikas, ning (2) keelelised elulood, kust saadi informatsiooni keelte omandamise ja kasutamise, keelehoiakute ja -identiteedi kohta.

Keelejuhtidega kohtuti vähemalt kahenädalase vahega kaks korda ning viidi läbi kolmeosaline intervjuu, mille esimese ja teise osa eesmärk oli koguda keelelisi andmeid. Esiteks paluti keelejuhtidel rääkida mõnest emotsionaalselt värvikast minevikusündmusest kas eesti või võru keeles. Vähemalt kaks nädalat hiljem paluti intervjuu teise osana rääkida sama narratiiv, kuid teises keeles.

Intervjuu kolmanda, poolstruktureeritud osa eesmärk oli koguda keeleelulooolisi andmeid. Selleks koostati neli eri temaatikaga küsimuste moodulit, mille vastustest saadi infot keelejuhtide keelekasutuse ja -hoiakute kohta. Küsimustiku osad käsitlesid keelejuhtide kokkupuuteid erinevate keeltega, keelepädevusi, -valikuid ning -hoiakuid. Korpusesse kogunes kümme eesti-võru narratiivipaari, mis transkribeeriti, ning kümme keeleelulugu, mis lindistati ja mille vältel tehti märkmeid.

Käesolevas töös mõistetakse narratiivi William Labovi poolt loodud sotsiolingvistilisest traditsioonist lähtuvalt. Labovi järgi (1972: 359–360) koosneb narratiiv vähemalt kahest omavahel ajalises järgnevuses olevast lauselisest osast. Temporaalsusega on tihedalt seotud kausaalsus: kui lausete järjekorda vahetada, muutub narratiivi tähendus. Narratiivi puhul on oluline ka jutustaja hinnang jutustuse aluseks olevatele sündmustele, sest see mõjutab omakorda jutustuse ülesehitust.

Narratiivi analüüsitakse teksti-, loo- ja diskursusetasandil. Tekstitasand tegeleb narratiivi teksti keelelise struktuuriga ja jutustaja keelevalikutega. Analüüsitakse keelelist materjali lingvistilise analüüsi kõigil tasemetel, foneetiliselt, morfoloogiliselt, süntaktiliselt, leksikaalselt ja semantiliselt (Gardner-Chloros 2008). Lootasand tegeleb narratiivi endaga, sellest lähtuvalt analüüsitakse narratiivi struktuuri, struktuuriosade funktsioone ja temaatikat. Lisaks vaadeldakse, kuidas jutustaja kui klassikalise narratoloogia olulisim objekt (Nielsen 2011) end narratiivisündmuste, tegelaste ja objektide ning nii loo kui ka jutustamise aja suhtes positsioneerib. Diskursusetasand tegeleb narratiivi kontekstiga, mille puhul võib tegu olla nii otsese suhtlussituatsiooni kui ka laiema sotsiaalajaloolise olukorraga. Siin analüüsitakse, kuidas narratiivis loodud maailm, jutustaja ja kuulaja ülejäänud reaalsusega suhestuvad.

Kõik kolm narratiivi tasandit on omavahel põimunud ning lähtuvad üksteisest. Uuritavast materjalist täieliku ja objektiivse pildi saamiseks tuleks ideaalis analüüsida kõiki neid tasandeid, nendevahelisi suhteid ning mõjusid.

Tuleb mõista, et näiteks diskursusetasand mõjutab jutustaja keelevalikuid, seega tekstitasandit. Narratiivi- ja tekstitasand on omavahel lahutamatult seotud, sest jutustaja keelevalikud dikteerivad narratiivi struktuuri ja vastupidi. Omaette probleemistiku moodustavad küsimused, kuidas narratiiv diskursuses realiseerub.

Kakskeelsete narratiivide struktuure on selles väitekirjas analüüsitud nii formaalselt kui ka jutustuse konteksti arvestades. Artiklites [P1] ja [P2] jaotati narratiivid Labovi formaalse narratiivigrammatika järgi temaatilistesse plokkidesse ning võrreldi sellest lähtuvalt narratiivipaaride struktuuri. Artikli 3 ([P 3]) jaoks viidi läbi keeleliste elulugude sisuanalüüs, mis võimaldas neist leida läbivaid teemasid. Artiklites [P4], [P5] ja [P6] on vaadeldud narratiivides naturaalselt esinevaid narratiiviaegu, deiktilisi nihkeid, konversatsioonilise ajaloolise oleviku ja narratiivse mineviku kasutust, ees- ja tagaplaani vaheldumist ning demonstratiivdeiktikute esinemist narratiivide eri osades.

8.3. Individuaalne mitmekeelsus

Mitmekeelsuse puhul eksisteerivad koos ja on kontaktis kaks või enam keelt (Li Wei 2012). Eristada saab ühiskondlikku ja individuaalset mitmekeelsust, mis on omavahel tihedas seoses, sest see, millistes keeltes ühiskonnas suheldakse, mõjutab oluliselt ka indiviidi keelevalikuid (Cenoz 2013) ning üksikisikud oma keeleotsuste ja -valikutega algatavad ühiskonnas toimuvaid keelemuutusi (Matras 2009: 310).

Inimest saab ühe laialt levinud määratluse (Li 2008: 4) kohaselt pidada mitmekeelseks siis, kui ta on võimeline igapäevaselt suhtlema mitmes keeles kas aktiivselt (rääkides ja kirjutades) või passiivselt (kuulates ja lugedes). Nii ei defineerita mitmekeelset isikut kahe või enama emakeele rääkija summana, vaid teda mõistetakse unikaalse keelelise profiiliga mitmikpädeva rääkijana-kuulajana (Cook 2003, Edwards ja Dewaele 2007, Franceschini 2011, Grosjean 2008). Üksikisikute keelerepertuaarid on unikaalsed, sest inimestel on keeleõppes erinevad soovid, eesmärgid ja võimalused (Myers-Scotton 2005: 38). Blommaerti ja Backuse (2011) järgi on keelerepertuaar pigem lingvistiline repertuaar, kuhu kuuluvad kõik tähenduse edastamiseks ja mõistmiseks vajalikud keelelised, kultuurilised ja sotsiaalsed vahendid, mida inimesed oskavad rakendada ja mille kohta nad teavad, miks nad neid kasutavad. Mitmekeelse inimese keele- ja suhtluskompetents on seega keelt emakeelena kõneleja keele- ja suhtluskompetentsist täielikult erinev, olles nn multikompetents (Todeva ja Cenoz 2009, Franceschini 2011). Seetõttu tulebki mitmekeelse inimese täielikku suhtluspädevust uurida kogu tema keelerepertuaarist lähtudes (Grosjean 2008: 14).

Eesti sotsiaalset mitmekeelsust on alati mõjutanud poliitiline reaalsus (Tender 2010: 25). Ajaloolistel põhjustel on Eesti territooriumil olulist rolli mänginud eelkõige saksa ja vene keel. 20. sajandi alguses arenema hakanud omakultuuri rõhuasetuste tulemusena muutusid oluliseks ka prantsuse ja soome

keel. 2011. aasta rahvaloenduse andmete kohaselt on tänapäeva Eestis kõige enam räägitavad võõrkeeled inglise, vene ja soome keel (REL 2011).

Võru keelena mõistetakse võru ühiskeelt, mis on kujunenud traditsiooniliste Võru murrakute põhjal ja milles esineb vähe kitsalt piirkondlikke keelendeid (Iva 2002a). Võru keele arengule on suurt mõju avaldanud standardkeele domineeriv staatus võru keelealal (Iva 2002a ja 2002b). Eesti standardkeel on võru keelealal prestiižikeel (Koreinik 2013: 3–9). Võru keelt kasutatakse peamiselt mitteformaalsetes kontekstides (Pajusalu jt 2000, Ehala 2006, Eichenbaum ja Koreinik 2008) ning ühiskondlikud funktsioonid sellel peaaegu puuduvad (Ehala 2006). Võru keelealal valitseb diglossiline situatsioon (Koreinik 2013: 5–6): võru keelt kasutatakse suulises ja eesti standardkeelt kirjalikus suhtluses. Kuigi võru keele rääkijad identifitseerivad endid eestlastena, on nii mõnelgi neist tugev kohalik identiteet (Koreinik 2011; 2013: 7), mida ilmselt luuakse ja taasluuakse võru keele suhtluskeeleks valimise kaudu.

8.4. Individuaalne mitmekeelsus suulistes narratiivides

Keelenähtuste uurimine mittespontaanse suulise narratiivi toel kogutud andmete abil sai alguse 1950. aastatel. Narratiivid põhinesid kas piltidel, filmil või eelnevalt loetud lugudel (nt Ervin-Tripp 1954). Neid koguti ka intervjuude käigus. William Labovi väljatöötatud meetod isikliku kogemuse narratiivi analüüsimiseks on lingvistilise andmestiku kogumiseks laialdaselt kasutusel ka tänapäeval. Mitmekeelne suuline (või kirjalik) narratiiv annab võimaluse uurida mitmekeelseid emotsioone (Ervin-Tripp 1954, Bond ja Lai 1986, Dewaele ja Pavlenko 2002, Besemeres 2004 ja 2010, Pavlenko ja Driagina 2007, Marian ja Kaushanskaya 2008), mitmekeelset mälu (nt Javier jt 1993) ja identiteeti (Koven 1998, Pavlenko 2001, Marian ja Kaushanskaya 2005).

Mitmekeelsete suuliste narratiivide puhul on kõige enam märgatavad nende mikrotasandi temaatilised erinevused (vt nt Tammekänd 2013a ja 2013b, Marian ja Kaushanskaya 2008), mis võivad tuleneda eri keeltes aktiviseeruvatest sotsiokultuurilistest raamistikest ja kognitiivsetest stiilidest. Nende vaheldumine sõltub kasutatavast keelest ja ka sotsialiseerumise iseloomust, mis ühe või teise keele õppimise ajal oli valdav (Bond ja Lai 1986). Mikrotasandi temaatiliste erinevuste puhul tuleb arvesse võtta ka fakti, et mälestused on intensiivsemad keeles, milles neid kogeti (Marian ja Kaushanskaya 2004). Mitmekeelsed inimesed kasutavad erinevates keeltes ka erinevaid morfosüntaktilisi ja leksikaalseid vahendeid ning registreid (Koven 1998), millest tulenevalt võib nii neile endile kui ka nende kuulajatele tunduda, et mitmekeelsete kasutuses on mitu identiteeti. (Koven 1998, Pavlenko 2006).

Verschik (2002) kirjutab, et mitmekeelse isiku individuaalsete keelevalikute ja -hoiakute kirjeldamiseks ei piisa kvantitatiivsetest uurimismeetoditest (nt rahvaloendus), vaid vaja on vahendit, mille abil saab kirjeldada tema keelelist käitumist kogu selle komplekssuses. Nimetatud tingimustele vastab keeleline elulugu, mis võimaldab kirjeldada mitmekeelse isiku keelevaliku dünaamikat,

keeleelistusi ja -pädevust. Nii on keeleelulugu enamasti intervjuu (*life history interview*) käigus saadud (elulooline) narratiiv, mis keskendub mitmekeelse isiku keeltele ja sellele, kuidas ta oma keelerepertuaari kuuluvad keeled omandas, kuidas ta neid kasutab või kuidas on ta need hüljanud (Pavlenko 2007).

8.5. Doktoritöö tulemused

Doktoritöö põhilistest tulemustest on järgnevalt esitatud ülevaade käsitletud uurimisküsimuste järgi, alustades narratiivide analüüsimisel saadud tulemustest.

Artiklid [P2] ja [P3] käsitlevad narratiivipaaride struktuuri ja temaatikat ning narratiivide kaudu ilmnevaid keelehoiakuid. Uuritud narratiivipaaride struktuurid on sarnased ja sündmusi edasikandvad temaatilised plokid asetsevad narratiivipaari mõlemas narratiivis üldjuhul samasuguses järjekorras. Kuigi narratiivides kasutatavad emotsioonirepertuaarid on väga sarnased, on analoogseid emotsioonisõnu eesti ja võru keeles kasutatud erinevalt. Lisaks ühes või teises narratiivis esinevatele unikaalsetele detailidele võib just see olla põhjus, miks narratiivipaaride temaatikas esineb erinevaid rõhuasetusi. Jutustajad võivad eri keeltes kasutada erinevaid rolle, mida võisid nad vastava keelega seostada keelte õppimise ajal toimunud sotsialiseerimisprotsessis (Bond ja Lai 1986). Võru keelt õpitakse ja kasutatakse peamiselt informaalsetes kontekstides (pere ja sõbrad) ning eesti keelt formaalsetes kontekstides (kool ja töö). Neis kontekstides toimuvad sotsialiseerimisprotsessid ja ka suhtlemisel käsitletavad teemad on erinevad. Paljud mitmekeelsete narratiivide uurijad (Koven 1998, Pavelnko 2002, Pavlenko ja Driagina 2007, Marian ja Kaushanskaya 2008) väidavad, et mitmekeelsed inimesed aktiviseerivad eri keeltes erinevaid sotsiokultuurilisi raamistikke, et enda emotsionaalseid reaktsioone sobivate kontekstidega siduda. Tundub, et ka eesti ja võru keele kasutamine aktiviseerib mõnede keelejuhtide puhul erinevaid sotsiokultuurilisi kontekste. Artiklis [P2] kirjeldatakse jutustajat, kes eesti narratiivis distantseerib end sündmustest, tunneb uhkust oma tööeetika üle ja portreteerib end igati iseseisvana, kuid võru narratiivis kirjeldab kolhoosihierarhiat, tunneb häbi enda koha üle selles hierarhias ning väljendab ebaõiglustunnet jutustuse aluseks olevate sündmuste pärast.

Artiklid [P4] ja [P5] käsitlevad narratiiviaegade, demonstratiivpronoomenite ja deiktiliste süsteemide kasutust narratiivipaaride erinevates struktuuriosades. Nii eesti kui ka võru narratiivides kasutavad jutustajad peamiselt lihtmineviku ja oleviku verbivorme. Lihtmineviku ja oleviku vormid funktsioneerivad uuritud narratiivides narratiivse mineviku ning narratiivse olevikuna, mis jaguneb omakorda deiktiliseks olevikuks ja konversatsiooniliseks ajalooliseks olevikuks (KAO). Deiktilise oleviku peamine funktsioon uuritud narratiivides on signaliseerida, märgistada deiktilist nihet. Konversatsioonilist ajaloolist olevikku ja narratiivset minevikku kasutavad jutustajad vaheldumisi konversatsioonilise ajaloolise oleviku esildamisel. Deiktilist ja konversatsioonilist ajaloolist olevikku kasutavad jutustajad ka narratiivse minevikuga vaheldumisi info/sündmuste

esipaanile toomiseks või tagaplaanile viimiseks. Narratiivset minevikku kasutavad jutustajad üldiselt narratiivisündmuste kirjeldamiseks.

Uuritud narratiivipaarides kasutatavad oleviku verbivormid esinevad kaheksas kontekstis: sissejuhatus, kokkuvõte, saateverbid, lisandused (üldkehtivad tõed, praeguse olukorra kirjeldused, kommentaarid kuulajale), kuulaja poole pöördumine, tuleviku väljendamine, KAO esildus ja siirdkõne. Peaaegu kõigis narratiivides kasutatakse olevikuverbe sissejuhatuses, kokkuvõttes ja saateverbide puhul. Neis kolmes kontekstis toimub narratiivides deiktiline nihe jutustamise ja jutustuse aja vahel ja jutustajad püüavad luua dialoogilist situatsiooni. Seda deiktilist nihet/dialoogilist situatsiooni olevik märgibki. Väga vähe kasutavad jutustajad deiktilist olevikku tulevikule viitamiseks ja otse kuulaja poole pöördumiseks. Samuti on haruldane KAO esildus: võru narratiivides ei kasutata seda üldse ning eesti narratiivides esineb seda vaid kolmel jutustajal. Uuritud narratiividest selgus, et eesti keeles edastavad jutustajad narratiivisündmusi rohkem olevikus ja võru keeles rohkem minevikus.

Võru narratiivides kasutatakse demonstratiivpronoomeneid *seo~sjoo*, *taa* ja *tuu*. Kõige sagedasem demonstratiiv võru narratiivides on *tuu*. Demonstratiive *seo~sjoo* ja *taa* kasutavad jutustajad harva. Need esinevad peamiselt kolmes kontekstis: (a) narratiivi alguses (sissejuhatuses) ja lõpus (kokkuvõttes) dialoogilises situatsioonis; (b) dialoogilises situatsioonis tsitaatkõnes; (c) teistes defineerimata kontekstides ja ajaväljendites. Kuigi vahetevahel kasutatakse võrukeelsetes narratiivides standardkeele demonstratiivpronoomenit *see*, tundub, et jutustajad on üritanud eesti ja võru demonstratiivide süsteeme lahus hoida. Saadud andmetele toetudes võib arvata, et võrukeelsetes narratiivides rakendasid jutustajad kolme liiki demonstratiivsüsteeme: kolme (*seo~sjoo-taa-tuu* süsteem), kahe (*seo~sjoo-tuu* või *tuu-taa* süsteem) või ühe demonstratiivpronoomeniga (*tuu*-süsteem).

Uuritud võru narratiivides kasutasid jutustajad rohkem kahese vastandusega distantsist lähtuvat kui kolmese vastandusega isikust lähtuvat demonstratiivide süsteemi. Vaid kaks vanemasse vanuserühma kuuluvat jutustajat kasutasid võru kõiki kolme demonstratiivpronoomenit. Nii saab väita, et võru kolmese vastandusega isikupõhine demonstratiivsüsteem on lagunemas. Samas tuleb arvestada, et poolspontaansete minevikunarratiivide puhul on jutustajal keeruline dialoogilist situatsiooni luua. Seega võis ka narratiivide kogumise situatsioon takistada võru kolmese vastandusega isikupõhise demonstratiivsüsteemi kasutamist.

Eesti narratiivides kasutatakse demonstratiivpronoomeneid *see* ja *too*, kusjuures *see* esineb kõige sagedamini. Lõunaeesti algupära demonstratiivi *too* kasutavad jutustajad ajaväljendites minevikule viitamiseks. Võru demonstratiivid esinesid eesti narratiivides ainult koodivahetuses. Seega on ilmne, et ka eestikeelsetes narratiivides püüavad jutustajad võru ja eesti demonstratiivide süsteeme hoida lahus.

Võru ja eesti demonstratiivsüsteemide vahelisi seoseid ja interaktsiooni vaadeldes ei saa väita, et teatud võru demonstratiivsüsteem vastaks kindlale

eesti demonstratiivsüsteemile või et oleks mingi ühine alus, millelt jutustaja otsustab, millist demonstratiivi eesti või võru keeles kasutada.

Huvitav on märkida, et jutustajad kasutavad deiktilist olevikku ja võru demonstratiive *seo~sjoo* ja *taa* ühesugustes kontekstides: narratiivide sissejuhatustes ja kokkuvõtetes ning tsitaatkõnes. Need on kontekstid, kus jutustajad märgivad deiktilisi nihkeid jutustamise ajast jutustuse aega või pöörduvad otse kuulaja poole, luues niiviisi dialoogilisi situatsioone.

Artikkel [P1] annab ülevaate kümne keelejuhi keelerepertuaaridest, neis kõige sagedamini esinevatest keeltest ning nende keeltega seotud keelehoiakutest, mis lähtuvad Eesti sotsiolingvistilisest ajaloost ja lähiajaloost. Artikkel [P6] käsitleb kümnes võru idiolektis esinevaid foneetiliselt, morfoloogiliselt ja leksikaalselt esilduvaid jooni ning nende joonte esinemise võimalikku seost keelejuhtide keelehoiakute ja võru identiteediga.

Kümne uuringus osaleva keelejuhi keelerepertuaarides kõige sagedamini esinevad keeled on eesti, võru, vene, saksa, inglise ja soome keel. Neid keeli kasutab kaheksa keelejuhti igapäevases suhtluses või lugemiseks. Kõik keelejuhid on koolis õppinud vene keelt. Vaatamata sellele, et ideoloogiline vastuseis nõukogude okupatsioonile põhjustas negatiivset suhtumist vene keelde, suudavad kõik keelejuhid vene keeles suhelda. Lisaks õppisid keelejuhid koolis ka saksa (vanem vanuserühm) või inglise keelt (noorem vanuserühm), kuid nende keelte oskus on paljudel keelejuhtidel motivatsiooni- ja praktikapuuduse tõttu jäänud passiivseks. Pooled keelejuhtidest õppisid ülikoolis ka soome keelt. Lisaks on kõigil keelejuhtidel olnud kontakte veel mitme teiste keelega, mis moodustavad olulise osa nende keelerepertuaaridest. Keelejuhtide keelerepertuaarides sagedamini esinevad keeled langevad kokku REL 2011 andmetega, mille kohaselt on Eesti territooriumil levinumad võõrkeeled vene, inglise, saksa ja soome keel.

Viis keelejuhti määratlesid oma emakeelena võru keele. Neist kolm arvasid, et kolmkümmend aastat tagasi oleksid nad oma emakeeleks pidanud eesti keelt, kuid nüüd on selleks võru keel. Selline muutus tulenes keelejuhtide eludes 1990ndatel tekkinud uuest situatsioonist. Vaatamata oma emakeele määratlusele suhtuvad kõik keelejuhid võru keelde väga positiivselt, kuna nad seostavad sellega oma lapsepõlve ja noorust. Mõned keelejuhid olid seisukohal, et võru keel on rääkimiseks, mitte kirjutamiseks. Sellest võib järeldada, et keelejuhtide arvates on pigem eesti standardkeel mõeldud kirjutamiseks. See omakorda peegeldab diglossilist situatsiooni, kus võru ja eesti keelel on ühiskonnas erinevad kasutusdomeenid ning erinevad funktsioonid.

Vanem vanuserühm mäletab Eesti ühiskonnas võru keele allasurumist, mis tipnes 1960. aastatel. Võru keele rääkimine näitas, et inimene on pärit perifeeriast ning see ei olnud soovitav. Noorem vanuserühm ei mäleta, et koolis keegi võru keelt rääkinud oleks. Ilmselt tuleneb see juba toimunud keelevahetusest 1970. ja 1980. aastatel. Nii pidid nooremasse vanuserühma kuuluvad keelejuhid võru keelt õppima vanematelt sugulastelt või külainimestelt. Vaatamata keelejuhtide nooruses levinud võru keelega seotud negatiivsetele hoia-

kutele ja uskumustele, on nüüd ka need keelejuhid, kes pidasid võru keelt varem vähemväärtuslikuks, seisukohal, et võru keele oskamine on uhkuse asi.

Võru keele sotsiolingvistiliselt markeeritud tunnuste (larüngaalklusiil, inessiivi lõpp ja demonstratiivpronoomenid) esinemist uurides ilmnes, et ka kümne keelejuhi puhul saab teha vanusest, keelehoiakutest ning identiteedist lähtuvalt mõningaid üldistusi. Vanem vanuserühm, millega sarnaneb ka üks erandliku keelekasutusega noorema vanuserühma esindaja, kasutab esilduvaid võru keele tunnuseid võrreldes noorema vanuserühmaga järjepidevamalt. Nende kõnes on rohkem larüngaalklusiili, nad eelistavad *h*-inessiivi ning nende demonstratiivpronoomenite kasutus on stabiilsem. Noorema vanuserühma narratiividest ilmnes esilduvaid võru keeletunnuseid ebajärjekindlalt. Nad kasutavad larüngaalklusiili kohati või üldse mitte, eelistavad *n*-inessiivi ning nende demonstratiivsüsteemid on ebastabiilsemad.

Vaatamata nimetatud üldistustele, on keelejuhtide keelekasutuses suuri individuaalseid erinevusi. Vanemasse vanuserühma kuuluvad kaks keelejuhti, kes pidasid oma emakeeleks eesti keelt, kõnelesidki ebakindlamalt võru keelt, milles siiski esines vanapärasemaid võru keelejooni. See viitab võru keele omandamise varasele ajale. Kaks rikkaliku võru keelega keelejuhti kasutavad võru keelt igapäevaselt. Kahe võru emakeelega keelejuhi võru keeles esineb ka uuemaid arenguid. Nooremasse vanuserühma kuuluvad kaks keelejuhti kasutavad larüngaalklusiili ebajärjekindlalt, eelistavad *n*-inessiivi ning kasutavad kahese vastandusega demonstratiivsüsteeme. Kaks nooremat keelejuhti ei kasuta larüngaalklusiili üldse, eelistavad *n*-inessiivi ning ei kasuta ka võrupäraseid demonstratiivpronoomeneid üldse või kasutavad ebajärjekindla süsteemina. Vaatamata sellele pidasid ka need piiratud keeleoskusega keelejuhid võru keelt oma emakeeleks.

Poolte keelejuhtide jaoks on võru keelel suur sümboolne väärtus. Neist neli on oma suhtumist võru keelde oluliselt muutnud ning kolm on selle tulemusena „vahetanud“ oma emakeele määratlust. Neist kahel esineb võru keeles kõige enam sotsiolingvistiliselt markeeritud jooni. Üks keelejuht räägib võru keelt ka väljaspool ajaloolist Võrumaad ning tundub, et ta identifitseerib end üldisemalt võru keele kaudu.

Poolte keelejuhtide jaoks on võru keelel pigem instrumentaalne väärtus. Neist kaks on võrukeelses keskkonnas üles kasvanud ning see on nende jaoks tavaline suhtlusvahend. Kolmele keelejuhile, kellel esilduvaid tunnuseid esineb vähe või üldse mitte, on võru keel abiks peamiselt vanemate sugulastega suhtlemisel ning nad identifitseerivad end pigem eesti standardkeele kaudu.

Meeste ja naiste keelekasutuses esile tulnud erinevused võivad sõltuda keele kasutamissagedusest. Viiest intervjueeritud mehest neli osaleb Võru liikumises. Neist kolmel esineb võru keeles palju sotsiolingvistiliselt markeeritud tunnuseid. Võru liikumises osalejad võivad näha võru keelel rohkem väljundeid ja funktsioone ning sellest tulenevalt kasutavad nad võru keelt igapäevaselt rohkem.

Idiolektide ja sotsiolingvistiliselt esilduvate tunnuste vahel ilmenvad korrelatsioonid näitavad, et kolmese vastandusega demonstratiivsüsteem ja mõõdukas larüngaalklusiili kasutus iseloomustavad traditsioonilist, lapsepõlves vanematelt

õpitud võru keelt ning vanapärane *h*-inessiiv ning eriti sage larüngaalklusiili kasutus on teadlikult kultiveeritud või "võrupärastatud" keelekasutuse osaks. Uuritud idiolektid jagunevad kolme selgelt eristuvasse rühma – skaala ühes otsas asuvad vanemad, võru keelt emakeelena rääkivad keelejuhid ning teisel pool võru keelt väga teadlikult kasutavad keelejuhid. Skaalalt eemale jäävad noored keelejuhid, kelle nivelleerunud võru keeles sotsiolingvistiliselt markeeritud tunnuseid peaaegu ei esinegi.

Tuleb märkida, et võru keele emakeelena rääkimine ja end selle kaudu identifitseerimine ei mõjuta alati esilduvate tunnuste esinemise hulka ja laadi. Mõned keelejuhid peavad võru keelt oma emakeeleks, räägivad seda igapäevaselt ning ka identifitseerivad end selle kaudu, kuid nende keelekasutus on üsna assimileerunud. Olulised on ka keele õppimise viis ja aeg ning keele kasutussagedus.

8.6. Kokkuvõte

Käesoleva doktoritöö eesmärk oli uurida kakskeelsete narratiivide abil kümne lõunaeestlase idiolekti individuaalse mitmekeelsuse vaatepunktist.

Kuigi uuritud kakskeelsed narratiivid on struktuuri poolest sarnased, on neis suuremad või väiksemad temaatilised erinevused (Tammekänd 2013a ja 2013b). Neist lähtuvalt on eesti narratiivid abstraktsemad ja võru narratiivid emotsionaalsemad. Temaatiliste erinevuste tekkimisel narratiivipaarides võivad rolli mängida erinevad sotsiokultuurilised raamistikud, mis eri keeltes jutustades aktiviseeruvad.

Narratiive struktureerib oleviku ja mineviku verbivormide ning erinevate demonstratiivpronoomenite kasutus. Oleviku verbivormid funktsioneerivad narratiivitasemel deiktilise olevikuna, mille peamine eesmärk on märgistada deiktilist nihet jutustamise ajast jutustuse aega ja vastupidi. Võrukeelsetes narratiivides kasutatakse narratiivisündmuste kirjeldamiseks rohkem minevikuverbe ja eestikeelsetes narratiivides olevikuverbe. Konversatsioonilist ajaloolist olevikku võrukeelsetes narratiivides ei kasutata, eesti keeles seda esineb, kuid vähe (Tammekänd 2015b). Võru narratiivides esinevad deiktiline olevik ja võru *seo~sjoo* ja *taa* kõige enam narratiivi sissejuhatuses, kokkuvõttes ja tsitaatkõnes. Need on kõige tõenäolisemad kohad, kus jutustaja soovib märkida deiktilist nihet.

Eesti ja võru demonstratiivsüsteemi püüavad keelejuhid hoida lahus. Võru kolmese vastandusega isikupõhine demonstratiivsüsteem tundub üldiselt lagunevat. Võru ja eesti demonstratiivide valikul ei tulnud esile ühiseid aluseid ning iga keelejuht kasutab oma unikaalset demonstratiivide komplekti (Tammekänd 2015a).

Individuaalne mitmekeelsus viitab inimese võimele kasutada enam kui ühte keelt. Kõigi keelejuhtide keelerepertuaaridesse kuuluvad eesti, võru ja vene keel ning paljude puhul lisanduvad saksa, inglise ja soome keel (Tammekänd 2014). Samas ei kuulu mitmekeelsete keelejuhtide keelerepertuaari ainult emakeel ja

teised keeled, vaid kõik tähenduse edastamiseks ja vastuvõtmiseks vajalikud keelelised, kultuurilised ja sotsiaalsed vahendid, mis on omavahel tihedalt seotud ning mida kasutatakse vastavalt suhtluspartnerile, -vajadusele ja -keskkonnale. Sellise mitmekeelsuse määratluse järgi võib ka kahe lähedase keelevormi rääkijat pidada mitmekeelseks.

Individuaalne mitmekeelsus on tihedalt seotud ühiskondliku mitmekeelsusega. See, milliseid keelevalikuid inimene teeb, sõltub ühiskonnas toimuvatest protsessidest. Eesti keele standardiseerimisprotsessi tulemusena marginaliseeriti võru keelt ja teisi eesti keele variante. Mõned vanemad keelejuhid tõid esile ühiskonna mitteväärtustavast suhtumisest võru keelde (Tammekänd 2014). 1990. aastatel toimunud ühiskondlikud muutused võisid põhjustada nihkeid keelejuhtide identiteedis ja nii räägivad mõned varem eesti keelt oma emakeeleks pidanud keelejuhid nüüd võru keelest kui oma emakeelest. Seega võivad keele individuaalsete erinevuste ulatus ja põhjused sõltuda muuhulgas vanusest, keelehoiakutest, identiteedist, keele omandamise east ja viisist ning keelehoiakutest. Need, kes näevad võru keelel sümboolset väärtust ning identifitseerivad end selle kaudu, räägivad suurema tõenäosusega väljendusvahenditelt rikkalikumat võru keelt kui need, kelle jaoks võru keelel on ainult instrumentaalne väärtus (Tammekänd 2016). Idiolektide ja sotsiolingvistiliselt esilduvate tunnuste vahelised korrelatsioonid moodustavad skaala, mille ühes otsas asuvad vanemad, võru keelt rääkivad keelejuhid ning teises otsas võru keelt teadlikult kasutavad keelejuhid.

Kuigi kümne keelejuhi keelekasutuse kohta on võimalik teatud üldistusi teha, on analüüsitud kümme idiolekti siiski unikaalsed ning esile tulnud keelelised erinevused sõltuvad iga keelejuhi individuaalsetest erinevustest, keelehoiakutest ja identiteedist.

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