

3 (2018)

# Philologia Estonica

T A L L I N N E N S I S

## **KEELEST JA KULTUURIST**

*On Language and Culture*

Tallinna Ülikooli Kirjastus  
Tallinn 2018

Philologia Estonica Tallinnensis 3 (2018)  
Keelest ja kultuurist  
On Language and Culture

Philologia Estonica Tallinnensis eelkäija on Tallinna Ülikooli Eesti Keele  
ja Kultuuri Instituudi toimetised (ilmus 2004–2015, ISSN 1736-8804)

Toimetuskolleegium / Advisory Board: Epp Annus (Estonian Literary Museum  
/ Ohio State University), Cornelius Hasselblatt (Zuidhorn / Eesti Teaduste  
Akadeemia), Margit Langemets (Tallinn, Eesti Keele Instituut), Helle Metslang  
(Tartu, Tartu ülikool), Meelis Mihkla (Tallinn, Eesti Keele Instituut),  
Renate Pajusalu (Tartu, Tartu ülikool), Maria Voeikova (Viin / Sankt-Peterburg)

Peatoimetaja: Reili Argus  
Toimetajad: Reili Argus ja Suliko Liiv  
Eestikeelsete artiklite keeleteimetaja: Victoria Parmas  
Ingliskeelsete artiklite ja resümee keeleteimetaja: Colm James Doyle  
Saksakeelse artikli toimetaja: Mari Tarvas  
Kaanefoto: Shutterstock

Autoriõigus: Tallinna Ülikooli Kirjastus ja autorid, 2018

ISSN 2504-6616 (trükis)  
ISSN 2504-6624 (võrguväljaanne)

Tallinna Ülikooli Kirjastus  
Narva mnt 25  
10120 Tallinn  
[www.tlupress.com](http://www.tlupress.com)

Trükk: Grano Digital

# SISUKORD

## **Reili Argus, Suliko Liiv**

Keelest ja kultuurist . . . . .	5
<i>Of language and culture</i> . . . . .	11

## **Colm Doyle**

‘She’s the big dog who knows’ – power and the father’s role in minority language transmission in four transnational families in Tallinn . . . . .	17
“Tema on suur koer, kes teab” – võim ja isa roll vähemuskeele ülekandes neljas Tallinna rahvusvahelises peres . . . . .	43

## **Annika Hussar, Tiina Rüütmaa**

Omanimed eesti ja ungari kasutuses . . . . .	44
<i>Usage of Estonian and Hungarian original given names</i> . . . . .	63

## **Laura Kamandulytė-Merfeldienė, Sandra Vainilavičiūtė**

Positive and negative politeness in spoken Lithuanian . . . . .	66
<i>Positiivse ja negatiivse viisakuse väljendamine suulises leedu keeles</i> . . . . .	93

## **Victoria V. Kazakovskaya, Reili Argus, Sigal Uziel-Karl**

The Early Expression of (Un)certainty in Typologically Different Languages: Evidence from Russian, Estonian and Hebrew . . . . .	95
<i>Episteesilise modaalsuse varane omandamine tüpoloogiliselt erinevates keeltes: eesti, vene ja heebrea keeles</i> . . .	129

## **Marleen Kedars**

Keelemaastik Tallinna vanalinnas aastatel 2013–2017 . . . . .	131
<i>The Linguistic Landscape of Tallinn Old Town 2013–2017</i> . . . . .	153

**Mare Kitsnik**

Tingiv kõneviis viisakuse väljendajana eesti B1- ja B2-taseme õppijakeeles . . . . .	155
<i>Expressing politeness via use of the conditional mood in the B1- and B2-level texts of learners of Estonian as a second language . . . . .</i>	185

**Liljana Skopinskaja, Suliko Liiv,****Regina Beilmann, Raimond Virsa**

Evaluating Intercultural Awareness Raising in Two Estonian EFL Secondary School Textbooks . . . . .	186
<i>Kultuuridevahelise suhtluspädevuse arendamise analüüs kahes eesti keskkoolis kasutatavas inglise keele kui võõrkeele õpikus . . . . .</i>	206

**Anne Tamm**

Aspectual triplets in Estonian . . . . .	208
<i>Aspektikolmikud eesti keeles . . . . .</i>	233

**Szilárd Tóth**

Sprachgeschichtliche und -typologische Fragen der Movierung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des alten Südestnischen . . . . .	235
<i>Motsiooni keeleajaloolisi ja -tüpoloogilisi küsimusi, tähelepanuga vanal lõunaeesti keelel . . . . .</i>	279

EESSÕNA

## KEELEST JA KULTUURIST

Reili Argus, Suliko Liiv

Tallinna ülikool

Seekordne keeleteemaline number, mis koosneb üheksast artiklist kolmes keeles, keskendub keele ja kultuuri suhetele. Huvi keele ja kultuuri seoste vastu tekkis juba 18. sajandil, kuid ometi ei ole selles valdkonnas kujunenud välja päris ühtset teoreetilist raamistikku või lähenemist. Keele ja kultuuri seoste vastu tunnevad huvi nii kog-nitiivsed lingvistid, antropoloogilise keeleteadusega tegelejad, aga ka näiteks komplekskuse uurijad jt. Keel on kultuuri kandja ja hea keeleoskus võimaldab paremini tundma õppida võõrast kultuuri.

Philologia Estonica Tallinnensis kolmas number ei piira end aga ühegi mainitud lähenemisega. Kultuurigi mõistetakse siinse numbri puhul küllalt laialt – mingi rühma kõnelejate kollektiivse käitumisena – ning seda ajaliselt väga laiaades piirides, nii keele omandamise kui ka ajaloolise arengu seisukohalt. Seega on kogumiku artiklite teema küllaltki lai, samuti on kogumiku autorite ring rahvusvaheline.

Paljudes viimase aja keeleomandamise ja -õppimise uurimustes, kus lähenemine ei olegi olemuselt kultuuripõhine, on ometi jõutud tulemuste tõlgendamisel selleni, et mitte kõiki keelelisi valikuid ei saa põhjendada pragmaatilise vajalikkuse, kasulikkuse, mõne keele-elemendi sageduse või keelesüsteemi mingi osa loomulikkusega, osa jooni tuleneb asjaolust, et keel on just mingile rühmale kõnelejaile omaste tunnusjoontega, seega kultuuriliselt organiseeritud ja organiseeruv süsteem.

Kultuurist tingitud erinevused ilmnevad juba keeleomandamisel, seda nii laste kui ka lapsevanemate kõnes. Victoria **Kzakovskaya**, Reili **Arguse** ja Sigal **Uziel-Karli** artikkel „The Early Expression of

(Un)certainty in Typologically Different Languages: Evidence from Russian, Estonian and Hebrew” vaatleb episteemilise modaalsuse väljendusvahendite omandamist eesti, vene ja heebrea keeles. Selgub, et tõenäosuse ja tõsikindluse markerite kasutus on kolmes keeles mõnevõrra erinev. Otsese suhtlusstiiliga heebrea keeles leidub tõenäosusmarkereid lastele suunatud kõnes üsna vähe, eesti ja vene keeles kasutatakse aga lapse varase keelearengu perioodil just tõenäosusmarkereid sageli ning pigem harva tõsikindlust märkivaid adverbe. Eesti keelt kõnelevad vanemad eelistavad kusjuures tõenäosusskaala keskele jäävaid, vene keelt kõnelevad vanemad pigem tugevat tõenäosust väljendavaid markereid. Episteemilise modaalsuse markerite omandamist mõjutab kõige enam just vastavate markerite sagedus lastele suunatud keeles ehk vanemate keeleline käitumine. Seega mõjutab omandamist kultuuriline raamistik ehk see, kuidas lapsega kõneledes tõsikindlust ja tõenäosust on kombeks väljendada.

Keeleomandamisest mitmekeelsetes ja -kultuurilistes peredes räägib Colm **Doyle**’i artikkel „She’s the big dog who knows’ – power and the father’s role in minority language transmission in four transnational families in Tallinn”. Artiklis on uuritud nelja Tallinnas elava kakskeelse pere keelepoliitikat. Kõigis peredes räägivad emad eesti keelt emakeelena, samas kui isad on eranditult välismaalased ning räägivad emakeelena muid keeli. Poolstruktureeritud intervjuusid kasutades saadi tulemused, mis osutavad sellele, et vähemuskeelt kõnelevad isad ei ole passiivsed, vaid võtavad nn keeletööst osa. Samas selgus, et uuringus osalenud isade võimalused pere keelepoliitikat reguleerida on piiratud ja sõltuvad emade oskusest rääkida abikaasa emakeelt, lapse subjektsusest ning ka pere ligipääsust vastavale võõrkeelsele kogukonnale kui tugiüksusele.

Mare **Kitsniku** artikkel „Tingiv kõneviis viisakuse väljendajana eesti B1- ja B2-taseme õppijakeeles” vaatleb üht eri kultuurides kasutatavat keelelise viisakuse väljendusvahendit, tingivat kõneviisi kirjallikus õppijakeeles. Tulemustest selgub, et tingiva kõneviisi konstruktsioonide abil distantseeriva viisakuse väljendamine esineb nii kõigis

B1-taseme ja B2-taseme kirjarühmades kui ka B1-taseme jutustavates ja B2-taseme arutlevates tekstides. Võrreldes kõiki kirju tasemete, tüüpide ja teemade kaupa, on näha, et tingiva kõneviisi kui viisakuse väljendamise esinemissagedus kasvab tasemele vastavalt. Kõigis B1-taseme kirjarühmades kasutatakse tingivat kõneviisi distantseeriva viisakuse väljendajana vähem kui B2-taseme kirjarühmades. B2-tasemel kasutatakse tingivat kõneviisi palju sagedamini, mitmekesisema sõnavaraga ja vastavalt teksti formaalsusastmele ning situatsiooni institutsionaalsusele. Tingiva kõneviisi kasutamine kirjades sõltub kultuuripõhistest keelelise viisakuse normidest ning on seotud teksti autori ja vastuvõtja tuttavusastme, sotsiaalsete positsioonide erinevuse, teksti autori soovitud teene suuruse, soovi täitmise kohustuslikkuse, soovi täitumise olulisuse ja soovi täitmise raskusega. B2-taseme tekstid võimaldasid kasutada tingivat kõneviisi viisakuse väljendamiseks rohkem kui B1-taseme tekstitüübid ning B2-tasemel olivad kasutatavad need võimalused ka ära.

Liljana **Skopinskaja**, Suliko **Liivi**, Regina **Beilmanni** ja Raimond **Virsa** artikkel „Evaluating intercultural awareness raising in two Estonian EFL secondary school textbooks“ vaatleb keele ja kultuuri seoseid. Kultuuriline pädevus hõlmab autorite hinnangul nii teadlikkust õppija lähte- ja sihtkultuurist kui ka võimet mõlemat kriitiliselt analüüsida ning adekvaatselt üksteisele vahendada. Artiklist selgub, et kohalike autorite koostatud õpikus kajastuvad sotsiaalsed ja kultuurilised väärtushinnangud on üldjoontes kooskõlas ühiskonnas käibivate normide ja väärtushinnangutega. Rahvusvaheline õpik keskendub aga anglo-ameerika kultuuri propageerimisele ja rahvusvahelisteks inglise keele eksamiteks ettevalmistamisele.

Laura **Kamandulytė-Merfeldienė** ja Sandra **Vainilavičiūtė** artikkel „Positive and negative politeness in spoken Lithuanian“ keskendub positiivse ja negatiivse viisakuse väljendamise vahendite kasutamisele ettevalmistatud ja spontaanses kõnes. Vaadeldud on nii formaalses, poolformaalses kui ka mitteformaalses situatsioonis lindistatud dialooge. Tulemused näitavad, et eri registritesse kuuluvates dialoogides rakendatakse erinevaid viisakusstrateegiaid.

Akadeemilistes dialoogides kasutatakse enamasti keelendeid, mis väljendavad negatiivset viisakust. Pingelist situatsiooni pehmendatakse aga sageli palvete, komplimentide ja tänamistega, mis kõik väljendavad positiivset viisakust. Uudistesaadetes domineerib samuti negatiivse viisakuse väljendamine, tänamine ja komplimendid on aga harvad. Meelelahutussaadetes kasutatakse nii positiivset kui ka negatiivset viisakust, positiivset viisakust väljendavad direktiivid on aga sagedasemad. Formaalsetele vestlustele on positiivset viisakust väljendavate direktiivide kasutamine tüüpilisem; vähe leidub tänamisi ning üldse ei kasutata kaaskõneleja poole pöördumisi ja temale viitamisi. Ametliku suhtluse positiivset viisakust väljendavad direktiivid on seotud leedu kultuuriga: kui kõnelejate õigused ja kohustused on selgelt kindlaks määratud, on suhtlus piiratud otseste ja otsekoheste lausungitega.

Ühiskondlik ja kultuuriline kontekst on äärmiselt oluline mõjur ka sellises keele valdkonnas nagu eesnimed. Annika **Hussari** ja Tiina **Rüütmaa** artikkel „Omanimed eesti ja ungari kasutuses” käsitleb eesti ja ungari eesnimede rahvuspäraseks kujunemist, vaadeldakse muutuste ning nimerühmade üldisi jooni. Ungaris hakkas ungaripäraseid eesnimesid tarvitusse tulema juba 18. sajandi lõpus, Eestis soovitati eestipäraseid nimesid alates 19. sajandi lõpust, nende leviku kõrge oli aga 1930. aastate keskel. Paralleele leidub kahe keele puhul soovitatud ning kasutusele tulnud nimevalikus ja nimerühmade kasutuse rõhuasetustes. Omakeelsete nimede mõju järgnevale nimetarvitusele on aga olnud üksjagu erinev. Ungaris on olulisel kohal vanad, ristiusustamiseesed ungari nimed: enamasti ungarlaste ajalooga seotud isikute nimed, aga ka kirjanike loodud pseudoajaloolised nimed. Need nimed on ka tänapäeval püsikasutuses erinevalt Eestist. Samas on kunstlikult loodud omanimed olnud Eestis tähtsamal positsioonil kui Ungaris.

Marleen **Kedarsi** artikkel „Keelemaastik Tallinna vanalinnas aastatel 2013–2017” vaatleb meid ümbritsevat igapäevast keelekultuuri. Uurimuse aluseks on empiirilise keeleainese kogu Tallinna vanalinna mitmekeelsetest avalikest siltidest ning uurimus kirjeldab



siltide funktsioone ja keelsust. Tulemustest selgub, et aastatel 2013–2017 olid Tallinna vanalinna sildid valdavalt sidumata tekstid, enamasti sümboolse funktsiooniga ning pea pooled neist olid ingliskeelsed. Vaadeldud siltidest oli keeleseadusega kooskõlas pisut üle poole ja seadusega vastuolus üle kolmandiku. Samas on näha, et aastate jooksul on Tallinna vanalinna sildid läinud keeleseadusega aina vähem vastuollu.

Keele ja kultuuri kokkupuutepunktidega tegeleb ka Anne **Tamme** artikkel „Aspectual triplets in Estonian”. Artiklis pööratakse tähelepanu eesti keele aspektinähtusele, mille nimetuseks sobib „aspektikolmik”. Aspektikolmikud võimaldavad eesti keele aspektisüsteemis väljendada tegevuse eesmärgilisust, potentsiaalset tulemuslikkust, kusjuures tulemus on verbi vormiga teatud määral samuti väljendatud. Eesti keeles on levinud leksikaalsed imperfektiivse-perfektiivse aspekti paarikud, näiteks *mõõtma* ja *välja mõõtma*. Aspektipaarikuid esineb rohkelt ka germaani keeltes, kuid soome keele leksikonis sarnased partiklist ja verbist koosnevad aspektipaarikud levinud ei ole. Kuna eesti keeles saab kombineerida sihitisekäände morfoloogilist vaheldumist (sarnasus soome keelega) ja leksikaalseid aspektipaarikuid (sarnasus germaani keeltega), siis esineb ka võimalus moodustada aspektikolmikuid sarnaselt slaavi keeltega. Eesti keele kolmikute kolmas liige moodustatakse partitiivobjekti abil aspektipartikliga verbist. Keele ja kultuuri kokkupuutepunktide kontekstis on huvitav, kas aspektikolmikud, mis iseloomustavad slaavi keeli, levivad eesti keeles pigem vene keele kontaktnähtusena või tänu suurenenud vajadusele ning vabadusele seada ja mõista kestvaid tegevusi tulemuste kaudu.

Mõnevõrra kaudsemalt, kuid siiski on kultuuriga seotud ka kogumiku viimane, Szilárd Tóthi artikkel „Sprachgeschichtliche und -typologische Fragen der Movierung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des alten Südestnischen”. Artiklis kirjeldatakse läänemeresoome ja Euroopa kontekstis diakroonilisest vaatenurgast ja dünaamikast lähtuvalt neid eesti keele nähtusi, mida saab klassifitseerida motsiooniks ehk teise soo väljendamiseks sõnamoodustuse

abil. Otsitakse vastust küsimusele, kas grammatilise soo puudumine soome-ugri keeltes, eriti eesti keeles, välistab motsiooni sõnataletuse võimalusena, ja kui motsioon siiski esineb, siis kuivõrd on see omane eesti keelele või on see kujunenud välja hoopis võõraste mallide alusel. 17. sajandi keelemälestiste põhjal tõestab autor, et *ik*-liitega tuletatud naissugu tähistavad lekseemid pole Johannes Gutslaffi omalooming. Eesti keeles esinev motsioon on pärit läänemeresoome algkeelest ja sellel on rohkesti vasteid teistes läänemeresoome keeltes. Kuigi soo markeerimine on seotud stereotüüpse mõtteviisiga, mille kohaselt naise kontsept kuulub kokku väikse mõõdu omaga, algab 18. sajandist sufiksi tähenduse nihkumine feminiinsusest pejoratiivsuse suunas, toimub sooneutraliseerumine ning sufiks *-ik* feminiinses tähenduses kaotab oma produktiivsuse. 19. sajandil proovitakse sufiksit taaselustada, selle asemele tulevad aga sama tähendusega teised liited (*-nna* ja *-tar*) ja liide *-ik* tähistab tänapäeva eesti keeles naissugu ainult sõnas *noorik*.

Kokkuvõtteks võib öelda, kultuurimõjutusi ning keele ja kultuuri seoseid ilmneb nii keelelise viisakuse väljendamises, eesnimede panekus ja levikus, meid ümbritsevate siltide keelekasutuses, sookategooria ja episteemilise modaalsuse väljendamises kui ka kultuuri õpetamises integreeritult keeleõppe programmiga ja perekonna keelepoliitikas. Loodame, et *Philologia Estonica* Tallinnensis siinne number pakub lugemishuvi ja -elamusi ning ka uurimisperspektiive.

PREFACE

## OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Reili Argus, Suliko Liiv

Tallinn University

The current language-related issue which contains nine articles in three languages, focuses on the relationships of language and culture. Interest in links between language and culture arose in the 18<sup>th</sup> century but an integrated theoretical approach or framework in the field is still lacking. These relationships interest cognitive linguists and researchers of anthropological linguistics as well as researchers in complexity and others. Language is a bearer of culture and good language skills enable a better understanding of other cultures.

The third issue of *Philologia Estonica Tallinnensis* is not limited by any of these approaches. Even culture is viewed in a fairly wide context – as the collective behaviour of a group of speakers – and on an extensive time scale from the point of view of language acquisition as well as historic development. The scope of topics is thus as wide-ranging as our authors are international.

In many recent studies on language acquisition and learning, in which the approach is not essentially culture-based, interpretation of results has however reached the conclusion that not all linguistic choices can be justified by a pragmatic need, usefulness, frequency of some linguistic element or nature of a part of a language system, some features arise from the fact that the language possesses characteristic features of a particular group of language speakers, thus being a culturally organised and self-organising system.

Differences conditioned by culture appear in the process of acquiring a language, and occur in both children's and parents' speech. The article by Victoria Kazakovskaya, Reili Argus and Sigal Uziel-Karl "The early expression of (un)certainty in typologically

different languages: evidence from Russian, Estonian and Hebrew” looks at the acquisition of vehicles of expression of epistemic modality in the Estonian, Russian and Hebrew languages. It appears that the use of markers of certainty and uncertainty is somewhat different in these languages. Hebrew, characterised by a direct way of communication shows only a few uncertainty markers in speech directed at children, while in Estonian and Russian uncertainty markers are frequently used during the early phase of child’s speech development and adverbs denoting certainty appear rather rarely. Estonian-speaking parents prefer markers which are located in the middle area of the uncertainty scale, while Russian-speaking parents rather prefer strong uncertainty markers. The acquisition of epistemic modality markers is most impacted by frequency of such markers in speech directed at children, in other words, parents’ linguistic behaviour. Therefore, cultural frameworks or customs of expressing uncertainty and certainty when speaking to a child, impact the acquisition.

Colm Doyle’s article “‘She’s the big dog who knows’ – power and the father’s role in minority language transmission in four transnational families in Tallinn” addresses language acquisition in multilingual and multinational families. The article considers language policies in four bilingual families living in Tallinn. The mothers in all these families speak Estonian as their mother tongue whereas all of the fathers are foreigners with different mother tongues. Semi-structured interviews were used and the results indicate that minority-language fathers are not passive but take part in the so-called language work. It also appears that fathers’ opportunities to regulate the family’s language policy are limited and rely on a mother’s ability to speak her husband’s mother tongue, child agency, and also the family’s access to the particular foreign language community as a support unit.

Mare Kitsnik’s article “Tingiv kõneviis viisakuse väljendajana eesti B1- ja B2-taseme õppijakeeles” (Expressing politeness via use of the conditional mood in the B1 and B2-level texts of learners of Estonian as a second language) handles one of the means of expressing politeness in different cultures, namely the conditional mood in

writing by language learners. Results show that the use of constructions of conditional mood to express politeness while showing social distance occur in all B1 and B2-level groups of written letters and B1-level narrative and B2-level discursive texts. When comparing all letters for their level, type and topic, it appears that frequency of the use of the conditional mood as a means of expressing politeness increases according to the language level. In all B1-level letter-writing groups the conditional mood is used less frequently than in B2-level groups. At B2 level the use of the conditional mood is more frequent, with a more varied vocabulary, and accords with the level of formality of the text and institutionality of the situation. The use of the conditional mood in letters depends on culture-based norms of politeness in a language and is related to the level of acquaintance between the text's author and the receiver, difference in their social positions, the scope of the favour or service required by the author, the level of obligation to grant the favour, the importance of receiving the favour and complications of performing the favour. B2-level texts afforded more opportunities for the use of the conditional mood than B1 text types, and learners with B2 level skills employ these opportunities.

“Evaluating intercultural awareness raising in two Estonian EFL secondary school textbooks” by Liljana Skopinskaja, Suliko Liiv, Regina Beilmann, and Raimond Virsa explores links between language and culture. According to the authors, cultural competence encompasses awareness of both the learners' original and target cultures and an ability to critically analyse both and adequately communicate to each other. The article concludes that the coursebook written by Estonian authors displays social and cultural value judgements which in general terms conform to current norms and values in society. The international coursebook analysed, however, focuses on promoting Anglo-American culture and preparation for international English exams.

The article “Positive and negative politeness in spoken Lithuanian”, by Laura Kamandulytė-Merfeldienė and Sandra Vainilavičiūtė, discusses the use of means of expression of positive and

negative politeness in prepared and spontaneous spoken language. The scope of the research covers dialogues recorded in formal, semi-formal and informal situations, the results highlight that different politeness strategies are employed in dialogues held in different registers. Academic dialogues mostly use expressions of negative politeness whereas tense situations are softened by requests, compliments and giving thanks which all show positive politeness. News programmes are dominated by negative politeness, rendering thanks or making compliments are rare features. Entertainment programmes are characterised by the use of both positive and negative politeness, directives expressing positive politeness are yet more frequent. Formal conversations typically feature the use of directives showing positive politeness; there are fewer cases of giving thanks and addressing a co-speaker and making references to them are not used at all. Directives expressing positive politeness within formal communication are related to the Lithuanian culture: when the rights and obligations of speakers are clearly defined, communication is determined by direct and straightforward utterances.

Social and cultural context is an extremely powerful agent in the language realm of given names. “Omanimed eesti ja ungari kasutuses” (Usage of Estonian and Hungarian original given names), by Annika Hussar and Tiina Rüütmaa, explores how Estonian and Hungarian original (national language) given names have evolved, and looks at general features of changes and name groups. Own-language given names began to be used in Hungary at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In Estonia, own-language given names were recommended at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, reaching a peak in the mid-1930s. Parallel features can be identified in the recommended and actually used names and in the emphasis in the use of name groups. The impact of own-language names on subsequent name usage differs between the countries, though. In Hungary, old pre-Christian names have an important status and mostly include names of persons related to Hungarian history but also pseudohistorical names coined by writers; these names are still in use unlike in Estonia.

However, artificially coined names have had a greater importance in Estonia than in Hungary.

Marleen Kedars has written “Keelemaastik Tallinna vanalinnas aastatel 2013–2017” (The linguistic landscape of Tallinn old town 2013–2017) which discusses our everyday language culture. The research is based upon a collection of empirical findings of multilingual public signage in the old town of Tallinn, and the article describes the functions and languages used in those signs. It appears that in 2013–2017 signs in Tallinn mostly contained incoherent texts, these were largely of symbolic function and nearly half of them in English. Slightly over 50% of the signs conformed to the Language Act of Estonia, and over a third violated it. The study also demonstrated that the situation in terms of conformity had improved over the years.

The article by Anne Tamm “Aspectual triplets in Estonian” also investigates contact points between language and culture. The article draws attention to aspect features in Estonian which could be called aspect triplets. These triplets enable the expression of an orientation towards a goal of an action, and its potential outcome whereas the result is, to an extent, also expressed by the verb form. Lexical imperfective-perfective pairs are common in Estonian, such as *‘mõõtma’* (measure) and *‘välja mõõtma’* (measure out). Germanic languages have a lot of such aspect pairs, but in Finnish such pairs consisting of a particle and verb are not very common. While in Estonian it is possible to combine partitive case’s morphological alternation (similar to Finnish) and lexical aspect pairs (similar to Germanic languages), there is an opportunity to create aspect triplets similarly to Slavic languages. The third component of aspect triplets is construed by combining a verb with aspect particle and partitive object case. In the context of points of contact between language and culture it is interesting to consider whether aspect triplets which characterise Slavic languages, occur in Estonian rather as a feature of coming into contact with Russian or due to an increased necessity and freedom to establish and understand continuous activities through outcomes.

The final article of the issue is “Sprachgeschichtliche und -typologische Fragen der Movierung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des alten Südestnischen” by Szilárd Tóth, which has a fairly implicit connection to culture. The article discusses, in the Fenno-Baltic and European context and both from a diachronic point of view and deriving from dynamics, such phenomena in Estonian which can be classified as motion, or expression of another gender through word derivation. It seeks to identify if absence of grammatical gender in Fenno-Ugric languages, particularly Estonian, excludes motion as a way of word derivation, and if motion still occurs, how characteristic it is to the Estonian language, or whether it has evolved on the basis of patterns of other languages. Based on 17<sup>th</sup> century language examples the author substantiates that lexemes denoting feminine gender derived by *-ik* suffix were not coined by Johannes Gutsclaff. This motion in Estonian originates from the Proto-Finnic language and it has numerous counterparts in other Fenno-Baltic languages. Even though marking the gender is linked to a stereotyping approach in which the concept of woman is associated with small size, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards the suffix’s meaning starts shifting from femininity towards pejorative connotation, gender neutralisation takes place and the suffix *-ik* bearing the meaning of femininity loses its productivity. There are attempts to revive the suffix in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but it is replaced by other suffixes with a similar meaning (*-nna* and *-tar*), and today the suffix *-ik* denotes feminine gender in the word ‘*noorik*’ (newly-married woman) only.

We may conclude that cultural impacts and links between language and culture emerge in the verbal expression of politeness, given names and their distribution, language use on signs in public spaces, expressions of gender categories and epistemic modality as well as teaching culture integrating it with a language learning programme and a family’s language policy. We hope that this issue of *Philologia Estonica Tallinnensis* offers our readers interest, enjoyment, and opportunities for further research.



# ‘SHE’S THE BIG DOG WHO KNOWS’ – POWER AND THE FATHER’S ROLE IN MINORITY LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION IN FOUR TRANSNATIONAL FAMILIES IN TALLINN<sup>1</sup>

Colm Doyle  
Tallinn University

**Abstract.** This paper presents the family language policies of four Estonian-non-Estonian bilingual, transnational families, with focus paid to the language management efforts of the fathers and the challenges they faced, including child agency and imbalances of power. The findings indicate that minority-language fathers also engage in ‘language work’ (Okita 2002), and demonstrated that the fathers’ language management efforts were constrained and determined by factors such as the level of competence the men’s spouse has in his L1, child agency, and access to a same language-culture community as a supportive resource.

**Keywords:** family language policy, language management, bilingual

## 1. Introduction

Over the last decade, attention has increasingly been paid to language policies operating at the level of the family. The field of Family Language Policy (FLP) investigates and seeks to understand and explain how parents and children negotiate how language is acquired, learned and employed in the domain of the family (King et al 2008, King, Fogle 2013, Palviainen, Boyd 2013). FLP studies include analysis of one or more of the components of Spolsky’s

---

<sup>1</sup> The present author wishes to thank the anonymous reviewers for their generous and invaluable feedback on this paper.

(2004) language policy model with respect to the family, namely: language *ideology*, language *practice*, and language *management* (Schwartz 2010, Schwartz, Verschik 2013).

This paper investigates the language policy of four bilingual, transnational families in Tallinn, wherein the mother in each family is a native-Estonian-speaking Estonian, and the father originates from a country other than Estonia and speaks a language other than Estonian as his native language (L1). In particular, the paper focuses on the language management efforts of the fathers, whose 'role' it is as 'guardians of the minority language' (Piller, Pavlenko 2004) to transmit the family's non-societal language, and the challenges they faced, including the agency of the child(ren).

Labelled a 'post-Soviet urban multilingual space', Zabrodskaia (2014) describes Tallinn's language environment as 'developing in the interplay of the Estonian and Russian speech communities, in the context of the European Union and in the global trend of English as the international *lingua franca*' (p. 111). The author states that Tallinn is a 'relatively unique place where traditional notions of majority/minority are approached from a different angle', given that the 'majority' speaks a 'small' language (Estonian) and the 'minority' speaks a 'big' language (Russian)<sup>2</sup> (Zabrodskaia 2014: 127).

According to the Statistical Yearbook of Tallinn (Tallinn City Government 2018: 15), in 2018 over 450,000 people lived in Tallinn (comprising 34% of the total population of Estonia; Statistics Estonia 2018: 12). Ethnic-Estonians make up 53% of the population of the city (ethnic-Russians 38%, ethnic-Ukrainians 3%, and other ethnicities 6%; 157 ethnicities in total), and Estonian is spoken as an L1 by 51% of the population (Russian as L1 45%, Ukrainian as L1 1%, and other languages as L1 3%) (Tallinn City Government 2018: 20, 23).

The author believes that the present paper is a worthwhile and worthy contribution to the literature on language management in

---

<sup>2</sup> Worldwide, according to Ethnologue, there are some 1.14 million speakers of Estonian, and 265 million speakers of Russian (Simons, Fennig 2018).

the family for two reasons: firstly, the paper focuses on the actions and efforts of minority-language *fathers* – much research centres either mothers or children; and secondly, the context of Tallinn is a non-English-language, post-Soviet space and allows the researcher to investigate how language policy at the micro-level ‘is conceptualized in situations of perceived fragility’ of a ‘small’ national language, such as Estonian (Verschik, Doyle 2017; see Kalmus 2003, Ehala, Niglas 2006, Doyle 2013, and Pawłusz 2017).

## 2. Power and ‘language work’ in transnational families

According to Jackson (2009), much of the literature on raising children with more than one language has underplayed and ‘underestimated the way in which power and identity render bilingual childrearing an intricate, complex, and highly political activity’ (p. 60). The ‘busy intersection’ (Piller 2002) of roles, discourses and belief systems that is the linguistic intermarried relationship ‘provides an excellent opportunity within which to examine the interdependent nature of identity and power’ (Jackson 2008: 339).

Changing the linguistic environment in which one centres one’s life can be a welcome opportunity to reinvent oneself, but it can also be a cause of emotional stress, or even trauma; this is especially the case when one’s ‘linguistic repertoire’ does not ‘suit’ the new environment (Busch 2017). Myers-Scotton (2006) tells us that an individual’s linguistic repertoire is ‘an index of that person’s position in society’ on ‘both a societal and an interpersonal level’ (p. 114). Referencing work by Pierre Bourdieu, she explains that in a given linguistic marketplace or space, different symbolic values are assigned to different language varieties, leading to speakers in the marketplace possessing different quantities of linguistic or symbolic capital. The more capital one possesses, the more power one wields. These values are reflected in the choices that speakers make, and, moreover, these choices have a future effect by determining what value is assigned to a given language variety going forward (ibid.: 114–5). Myers-Scotton

reports on a study by Keith Walters of anglophone women married to Tunisian men living in Tunisia, wherein the linguistic capital that the women were granted on the back of their competence in the international and prestigious languages of English and French was countered by the women's poor command of Tunisian Arabic, a pre-requisite for full acceptance into and by Tunisian society and the women's family-in-law. Worryingly it seemed that the women's husbands were ambivalent about assisting the women to improve their Arabic skills as this would necessitate a renegotiation of the women's relationships with their husband, family-in-law, and Tunisian society, as well as the power the women held (Myers-Scotton 2006: 115–6).

In a study of postings concerning the raising of children with two languages by Australian mothers in a 'online mummies' forum', Piller and Gerber (2018: 12) remark that in the discourses, mothers, regardless of L1, were viewed (and viewed themselves) as 'guardians of their children's bilingual language development'; this meant that mothers ended up being 'managers of their family's bilingualism and arbiters of bilingual parenting practices', even in cases where it is the father who is the native speaker of the non-societal language. The authors argue that their findings are evidence that bilingual parenting is still seen as women's 'work' (Okita 2002). Such a discourse problematizes and disempowers minority-language fathers, and overburdens majority language mothers with additional 'work', which causes anxiety and tension, and potentially conflict and feelings of guilt and inadequacy (Kouritzin 2000, Piller 2001a, Okita 2002). This is neither healthy for the parents or children, nor is it conducive to the creation and maintenance of a harmonious environment for bilingual language acquisition.

Language choice is at times the result of conflicting desires. Jackson (2008) reports on the case of an American man residing in Japan and married to a Japanese woman who often used Japanese with his children as he did not want to be seen by his parents-in-law as a 'foolish foreigner' who could not function in Japanese. The man