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## LINGUISTIC TENDENCIES IN THE ESTONIAN LANGUAGE IN SWEDEN

As is generally known the late professor Paul Ariste was keen on the study of language contact. Within this field of research he apparently had a special eye to the influence of Swedish on Estonian since he applied a great number of his scholarly works to this theme. In this article which I would like to dedicate to the memory of professor Paul Ariste, the subject is the quite opposite direction of influence.

Although Estonians are known to have settled in Sweden in earlier times, the present Estonian minority in Sweden dates from the very end of the Second World War when several tens of thousands of Estonians fled from Estonia and settled in virtually all countries of the Western world, giving preference to the USA, Canada, Sweden, Australia, Great Britain and West Germany. The actual size of the Estonian speech community in Sweden is not known. According to an estimate carried out by the statistician Sven Reinans there lived at least 35,500 individuals of Estonian ancestry in Sweden in 1980; this figure includes some 15,300 Estonian-born subjects, 14,000 subjects belonging to the second (first Swedish-born) generation, and finally more than 6,000 individuals of the third (second Swedish-born) generation (Reinans 1985). This figure does not, however, cover the very recent immigration of Estonians to Sweden, mainly by marriage with Swedish residents. The dimensions of this immigration to Sweden is hard to measure since those originating in Estonia are included in the general category of immigrants from the Soviet Union, thus also comprising ethnic Russians, Latvians, and other nationalities. The Estonians arriving from countries other than Estonia / USSR are in their turn treated in the Swedish statistics as subjects from their country of origin (being equal to their citizenship at the time of immigration). The countries pertinent to this discussion are, according to my personal experience, the USA, Canada, Finland, Germany and Argentina.

We also lack data on the social composition of the Estonian refugees as well as of the present Estonian speech community in Sweden as a whole. As Reinans (1985) points out, the biggest group of refugees were fishermen and smallholders from the coast. Another separate group consisted of a few thousands of officials, intellectuals and personalities of the cultural scene and their families. The last clearly distinguishable group of refugees was made up by several thousands of individuals who reached Sweden from Finland. This group consisted mainly of young men who had fled from Estonia to Finland in order to escape from German mobilization and to enlist in the Finnish army. Thus, Reinans concludes, the diffusion as to educational level and social position of the Estonian refugees in Sweden was very big.

During the last 45 years or so the Estonians in Sweden have been trying to maintain their language despite its minority position in an essentially unilingual Swedish environment. The Swedish Estonians actually show a quite varied level of cultural and societal activity. From the point of view of language maintenance the existence of two Estonian primary schools, one in Stockholm with nine years of instruction and the other in Gothenburg with six years of instruction, is of appreciable importance. In addition, the Estonian language is, to a noteworthy extent, taught to children of Estonian extraction in regular Swedish schools, where the children themselves or their parents have requested such instruction. In the autumn of 1982 a total of 240 out of 422 Estonian school-children in various Swedish schools received this kind of instruction (Gustavsson 1984).

The Swedish Estonian speech community displays a great variety of active proficiency in Estonian in terms of size of lexicon, production of syntactical complexity, grammatical correctness, and so on. Most Swedish Estonians born and educated in Estonia are generally more fluent in Estonian than in Swedish, and vice versa. This general relation between decreasing age of speaker and diminishing proficiency in Estonian is also reflected in the subjective judgements on linguistic ability in Estonian as compared to that of Swedish given by Swedish Estonians themselves (see Raag 1982: 37—38).

An applicable classification of bilingual speakers in terms of linguistic proficiency is that proposed by Nancy C. Dorian. Investigating bilingual Gaels of East Sutherland in Scotland, she distinguishes between fluent speakers of Gaelic, and semispeakers. By a semispeaker she means an English-dominant bilingual whose Gaelic is aberrant in terms of the older generations norms (Dorian 1973; 1977). Similarly a group of semispeakers of Estonian exists in the Estonian speech community in Sweden, since many Swedish Estonians deviate grammatically and/or phonetically in one way or another from both standard Estonian norms and colloquial Estonian usage in Estonia. This is, however, not the case with fluent speakers of Estonian in Sweden, who on linguistic grounds cannot be distinguished from their compatriots in Estonia. Furthermore, a category of passive Swedish Estonian bilinguals is distinguishable, that is to say speakers who are scarcely able to produce even fossilized Estonian utterances, or phrases slavishly transferred from Swedish. Most of the informants supplying material for my investigation of Estonian as spoken in Sweden belong to the category of semispeakers.

The question of a speaker's proficiency in Estonian (or any other language) is, however, not only a matter of linguistic correctness or grammaticality. Many Swedish Estonians do not seem to master situational variation in Estonian to the same extent as they do in Swedish. Being first and foremost the language of domestic situations, and to a lesser extent the language of social life, used predominantly with parents, grandparents and elders, Swedish Estonians as compared to Swedish quite naturally has fewer registers, or styles. The lack of full and varied linguistic as well as cultural stimulation makes it extremely arduous to maintain and develop one's mother-tongue in an essentially monolingual Swedish society.

Generally speaking, Estonian as spoken in Sweden differs from Estonian in Estonia as regards the extensive influence of Swedish, the use of innovations coined in Sweden or elsewhere outside the Soviet Union, and the use of obsolescences, archaisms and dialectisms, which in Estonia almost exclusively are used by old people from the countryside. Below each of these tendencies will be treated separately.

All examples of Swedish Estonian usage quoted below appear in the usual Estonian orthography with the exception of a few phonetic matters discussed where the standard spelling of Estonian has been complemented by the vowel sign *õ* of the Finno-Ugric transcription. All instances originate in my files of spoken and written Swedish Estonian, which have been collected since 1978. The linguistic material represents formal as well as informal registers, it covers different age groups of speakers and different stages of skills in Estonian. The following figure demonstrates my grouping of informants according to age and education.

Figure 1. Grouping of informants according to age and education.

Generation	Place of birth	Education <sup>1</sup> in	Year of birth
Ia	Estonia <sup>2</sup>	Estonia	—1930
Ib	Estonia	Sweden	1931—1944
II	Sweden	Sweden	1944—
III	Sweden <sup>3</sup>	Sweden	1966—

<sup>1</sup> i. e. elementary education up to the age of 15

<sup>2</sup> eventually born elsewhere, e. g. in Russia or Siberia

<sup>3</sup> parents of which belong to generation II

### Swedish influence

Direct Swedish influence occurs in the phonological and grammatical as well as in the vocabulary of Swedish Estonian. On the phonological level, one may, for instance, acknowledge the existence of a new vowel phoneme in at least some Swedish Estonian idiolects, namely /*õ*/. As support of the phonemic status of this short rounded half-close or half-open central vowel one may adduce minimal pairs recorded from three Swedish Estonian idiolects like (1) *kõpp* 'coup' — *kõpp* 'slight sound, tap' — *kupp* 'bump, blister' (informant from generation Ia), (2) *lõpp* 'magnifying-glass' — *lõpp* 'end' (generation II), (3) *mõst* 'must' — *must* 'black' (generation II). In all the cases, the /*õ*/ appears only in lexical items borrowed from Swedish. Only in a very few instances (which may be regarded as occasional slips of the tongue as well), does /*õ*/ replace the standard and colloquial Estonian /*ȭ*/, an unrounded half-close or closed back vowel.

Other instances of Swedish influence on the phonological system of Swedish Estonian are aspiration of the fortis plosives /*k p t*/, voiced pronunciation of the mediae [*g b d*], and supradental pronunciation of the consonant clusters *rs rt rd rn rl*. All these tendencies are fairly common among Swedish-born Estonians, but appear even in the speech of some Estonian-born Swedish Estonians.

The total outcome of using Swedish pronunciation habits when talking Estonian is an increased number of allophones as compared to the allophones of both standard and colloquial Estonian. Tendencies towards reduction in the number of phonological units also occur widely. These changes are partly due to direct Swedish influence or can be interpreted as Estonian dialect substrate phenomena as well, and will be treated of in the section devoted to dialectisms and archaisms in Swedish Estonian.

Several traits in Swedish Estonian grammar owe their existence to Swedish models. Very often the meaning of a Swedish preposition determines the choice of case form in Swedish Estonian. As an example of this one may point to the relation between the Swedish preposition *i* 'in' and the inessive case in Estonian, the suffix of which is *-s*. The

normal Estonian equivalent to Swedish prepositional phrases with *i* denoting place, is the inessive case, as in the following instances

Swedish	Estonian	Gloss
<i>i huset</i>	<i>majas</i>	'in the/a house'
<i>i bilen</i>	<i>autos</i>	'in the/a car'
<i>i boken</i>	<i>raamatus</i>	'in the/a book'.

In Swedish Estonian this general connection between Swedish prepositional phrases with *i* and the inessive case in Estonian is enlarged up on instances other than those denoting place, and where Estonian requires other case forms or constructions, e. g. Sw *tala i telefon* > SwEst *telefonis rääkima* (StEst *telefoniga rääkima* 'to talk to the telephone'; the comitative case expressing means or instrument), Sw *svara i telefon* > SwEst *telefonis vastama* (StEst *telefonikõnele vastama* 'to answer the telephone', literally 'to answer the telephone call' with the allative case ending in *-le*), Sw *lärare i fysik* > SwEst *õpetaja füüsikas* (StEst *füüsikaõpetaja* 'teacher of physics' — a compound with the first element in the genitive case), Sw *bok i teckning* > SwEst *raamat joonistamises* (StEst *joonistamisraamat* or *joonistusraamat* 'book of drawing' — a compound).

Instances analogous to those presented above are frequent not only in spoken Estonian but appear also in Swedish Estonian newspapers, books, circular letters and other printed works. Strictly speaking this kind of borrowing is a polymorphemic substitution (or calque) at the level of the phrase (as regards the terminology of borrowing, see Raag 1982 : 26ff).

As might be expected, Swedish vocabulary contributes a great deal to that of Swedish Estonian. (Lexical borrowings have also been recorded from Finnish, German, English and contemporary standard Estonian, see Raag (1982) for elucidation). Virtually all semantic categories of Swedish Estonian are affected by Swedish borrowings, many of which are so well established that speakers are no longer aware of their actual source and are unable to identify them as items not known in standard Estonian (Raag 1982 : 114ff). This statement is confirmed by the fact that Swedish borrowings are used even when talking to compatriots from Estonia and elsewhere (Raag 1982 : 52 ff). Such established loans are for instance SwEst *vahetama* (*bussi, trammi, rongi*) 'to change (buses, trams, trains)' < Sw *byta* 'ibid.' instead of StEst *üMBER istuma*; SwEst *peale panema* 'to switch on (a motor); to turn on (a radio); to put on (coffee)' < Sw *sätta på* 'ibid.' instead of StEst *üles panema* 'to put on (coffee)', *lahti keerama* or *mängima panema* 'to turn on (a radio)', or *käivitama* 'to switch on (a motor)'; SwEst *numbrit lööma* 'to dial' < Sw *slå numret* 'ibid.' instead of StEst *numbrit valima*. Other frequent borrowings are SwEst *rulltool* 'wheel-chair' < Sw *rullstol* 'ibid.' (StEst *ratastool*), SwEst *tekkjakk* 'quilted jacket' < Sw *täckjacka* (StEst *nailonjope*), SwEst *kirjatöö* 'test (paper)' < Sw *skrivning* (StEst *kontrolltöö*; *kirjalik eksam*). Borrowing also includes idioms, for instance SwEst *nägu päästma* < Sw *rädda ansiktet* 'to save one's face' (StEst *häbitusest pääsema, oma prestiiži päästma*).

The total number of Swedish words being used in Swedish Estonian cannot be given since, at least theoretically, the entire Swedish lexicon can be put to use. The real extent of Swedish words used depends on the size of Estonian vocabulary, speech situation, speech economy, the capability of remembering belicitous words and expressions, etc. (Raag

1982 : 53). Some indication of the extent of Swedish lexical influence is shown by Virve Raag in a paper from 1980 listing 182 loanwords of Swedish origin appearing in 20 editions of the Swedish Estonian newspapers *Eesti Päevaleht*, *Meie Post*, *Teataja* and *Välis-Eesti*, i.e. in 5 editions each of each newspaper. As many as 41 Swedish borrowings appeared more than once (V. Raag 1980 : 4ff). As a further indication one would adduce more than 700 borrowings repeatedly attested in spoken as well as written Swedish Estonian mainly in the period 1978—1981 by myself (Raag 1982 : 54).

### Autonomous innovations

In addition to the quite easily demarcated phenomena in Swedish Estonian which reflect direct Swedish influence, another distinct category of characteristics can be pointed out. These characteristics appear to have neither counterparts in Estonian as spoken in Estonia, nor models in Swedish. Consequently they are to be comprehended as autonomous (intra-) Swedish Estonian developments. Such deviations can in the first place be established in the grammatical system, but to a limited range also in the lexical stock of Swedish Estonian. Since autonomous innovations in Swedish Estonian lexicon and syntax have already been the subject of investigation (Raag 1982 : 96 ff; Raag 1985), I will, on this occasion, confine myself to the presenting of an example from the inflectional system. In Raag (1983 : 38—44, 64, 70—72) further grammatical examples of autonomous innovations can be found.

In standard Estonian there is a numerous group of nouns including proper names which in the nominative singular end in a consonant or a consonant cluster. All such nouns have a vowel stem allomorph ending in either *i*, *e*, *u* or *a*. The choice of stem vowel can in most cases not be predicted. In standard Estonian the system is quite stable: in colloquial usage there exist stem vowel alternation only in a few instances like *kühm* 'bump; hummock' : genitive singular *kühmu* ~ *kühma*, *mõhk* 'bulge' : gsg *mõhu* ~ *mõha*, *nämm* 'food (nursery language)' : gsg *nämmi* ~ *nämmu*, *reis* 'travel, journey' : gsg *reisi* ~ *reisu* (the latter form is obsolete).

In Estonian as spoken in Sweden a tendency occurs towards replacing the stem vowels *u*, *a* and possibly *e* with *i* in Christian names (although the last instance has not so far been attested), as the following examples from my files show:

	standard Estonian	Swedish Estonian
(males)	<i>Jaak</i> : gsg <i>Jaagu</i>	<i>Jaak</i> : <i>Jaagi</i>
	<i>Lembit</i> : gsg <i>Lembitu</i>	<i>Lembit</i> : <i>Lembiti</i>
	<i>Mait</i> : gsg <i>Maidu</i>	<i>Mait</i> : <i>Maidi</i> ~ <i>Maiti</i>
(female)	<i>Reet</i> : gsg <i>Reeda</i> ~ <i>Reedu</i>	<i>Reet</i> : <i>Reedi</i> ~ <i>Reeti</i> .

The first thing to note is that this tendency seems to affect Christian names only. So far only very few instances of stem vowel alternation in common nouns have been recorded from Estonian usage in Sweden, e.g. *käil* 'prow' which was used as an *i*-stem by a Swedish-born boy; in standard Estonian the word is an *a*-stem.

In all probability the changing of the stem vowels of Christian names into *i* is patterned after the inflection of surnames. In formal contexts Estonian surnames often are inflected as *i*-stems despite their usual stem vowel, for instance *Puusepp* : gsg *Puuseppi* pro *Puusepa*, *Raun* : gsg *Rauni* pro *Rauna*. In Sweden Estonians generally tend to follow this

formal' pattern to a much greater extent than people on the whole do in Estonia, even in informal contexts. Apparently this aptness to inflect surnames as *i*-stems is transmitted to Christian names. It is striking that the *i*-declension of Christian names has been recorded exclusively from the usage of Swedish Estonians who are educated in Sweden (i.e. the generations Ib, II and III according to the classification in figure 1 above). The prerequisite for this kind of analogical levelling is, undoubtedly, an imperfect linguistic instinct. As to the Swedish-born informants this is a result of incomplete learning of Estonian, whereas the Estonian-born subjects apparently have undergone or are undergoing a process of 'forgetting' their Estonian. Ultimately both incomplete learning and forgetfulness of Estonian are caused by the lack of full and varied linguistic stimulation in the essentially unilingual Swedish society. It must not be forgotten that Estonian as spoken in Sweden is first and foremost the language of domestic situations, used in the family circle. The opportunities to make use of Estonian in other contexts are limited, though by no means non-existent.

Secondly, one notes the parallel variants *Maiti* and *Reedi* above. Both forms are created without internal alternation (the so-called stage shift). As pointed out in an earlier work (Raag 1983:38ff), the dropping of internal alternation in Swedish Estonian surpasses that of standard Estonian, and is another grammatical autonomous innovation in Swedish Estonian.

### Obsoletisms, archaisms and dialectisms

A conspicuous amount of features in the phonological, grammatical as well as in the lexical system of Swedish Estonian appear to be obsoletisms, archaisms or dialectisms. Before trying to shed some light on these aspects of Estonian usage in Sweden, I have to indicate the meaning of these terms (for further elucidation, see Raag 1981:99ff). The label 'obsoletism' pertains to a linguistic feature which has at some time in the period 1918 onwards been accepted in standard Estonian but is so no longer, whereas an 'archaism' is a non-standard item which occurred in earlier Estonian but which since 1918 never has been regarded as acceptable in standard usage, and which is not a dialectism. 'Dialectism' in its turn is a designation reserved for any non-standard linguistic feature recorded by dialectologists which has never been considered acceptable in the standard language. The year 1918 has been chosen as a starting-point as it was this year the first normative dictionary of Estonian, *Eesti keele õigekirjutuse-sõnaraamat* was published in Tallinn, denoting the first serious attempt at establishing standardized Estonian. In addition the year 1918 marks the birth of the independent Estonian Republic, which entailed the promotion of the Estonian language to official language and its use in all domains of life.

The existence of forms and words of more or less dated or local character in Swedish Estonian is of course in no way exceptional: archaisms, obsoletisms and dialectisms are met with in every living language. The point is, however, that Swedish Estonians, notably the Swedish-born individuals, tend to make regular use of such features to a much larger extent than their similarly aged compatriots in Estonia do. The Estonian language in Sweden, being based on pre-war usage, and lacking sufficient immediate contacts with the recent linguistic development in Estonia, is very much in the state of conserving linguistic features which in Estonia has already become, or are getting antiquated. In addition, it must be remembered that most Swedish-born Estonians never

experience the levelling influence of exhaustive schooling in Estonian, and consequently never even need to get aware of which linguistic features of their Estonian are regarded as non-standard and which are not. The use of obsolete, archaic and dialectal features is actually a characteristic Swedish-born Estonians have in common with their Estonian-born ancestors. Unlike Estonian in Estonia, there does not exist any differences of age in Swedish Estonian in this respect.

In a previous article (Raag 1981) I have listed a selection of dialectisms found mainly in the phonological system of Swedish Estonian and frequently met with in the speech and writings of Swedish-born Estonians, and in my doctoral dissertation (Raag 1982) I have investigated non-standard lexical items occurring in Swedish Estonian. Therefore I here confine myself to giving a few examples of grammatical properties.

Commonly used archaisms are for instance the following.

(1) The 3rd person plural of the past tense of verbs formed by *-vad* instead of *-d*, e. g. SwEst *nad sõivad* instead of StEst *nad sõid* 'they ate', SwEst *nad laulsivad* instead of StEst *nad laulsid* 'they sang'.

(2) Nouns ending in *-s* inflected according to the pattern *-s* : *-kse*, giving the genitive singular form (*lihas* 'muscle' :) *lihakse* instead of *lihase*, (*jānes* 'hare' :) *jānekse* instead of *jānese*, (*matus* 'funeral' :) *matukse* instead of *matuse*.

(3) The stem vowel *-e* instead of *-i* in words like *börs* 'stock exchange' and *pluus* 'blouse', thus genitive singular *börse*, *pluuse* instead of *börsi*, *pluusi*. Similar instances are the nominative singular forms like *pluuse* pro *pluus* 'blouse', *marle* pro *marli* 'gauze' and *kolleege* pro *kolleeg* 'colleague'.

Frequent grammatical obsolescences in Swedish Estonian usage are as follows.

(1) The illative singular form (*keel* 'tongue; language' :) *keele*, (*meel* 'mind; sense' :) *meele* pro *keelde*, *meelde* (or *keesse*, *meeesse*). Similarly, the standard Estonian postposition and adverb *juurde* 'to, up to, on; in addition' which etymologically is the illative singular form of the noun *juur* 'root' occurs as *juure* in Swedish Estonian usage. In the 1920's both forms (*keelde* ~ *keele*, *meelde* ~ *meele*, *juurde* ~ *juure*) were accepted in standard usage.

(2) The stem vowel of the word *reis* 'travel, journey' is *-i* in standard Estonian; thus the genitive singular is *reisi*. In the pre-war period a parallel stem (or genitive singular) vowel *-u* was accepted, giving genitive singular *reisu* as well. The latter form is very often met with in Swedish Estonian usage.

(3) The impersonal (passive) forms of verbs like *maksma* 'to pay' are in contemporary Estonian formed by adding the suffix to the consonant stem: *maks* + *takse* 'being paid'. *maks* + *ti* 'was ~ were paid', *maks* + *tud* 'paid'. In the pre-war period the parallel forms *maksetakse*, *makseti*, *maksetud* were accepted, and in Swedish Estonian they have been largely conserved.

Most dialect substrate phenomena in Swedish Estonian pertain to phonology, and to a much lesser extent to grammar or lexicon. An analysis of the features shows a predominance of western, especially of Insular Dialect features (the traditional dialect areas in Estonia are indicated in figure 2). This illustrates the fact that a majority of Estonians in Sweden descend from the Estonian islands and the coast (see Põdrus 1980, Raag 1982 : 194; Reinans 1985).

Grammatical dialectisms repeatedly recorded from Estonian as spoken in Sweden by Swedish-born subjects are the following.

(1) Partitive plural forms ending in *-si*. The *si*-forms are commonplace in the vernaculars of North Estonia, especially in the Central Mainland Dialect, but also in the Insular, Western and Coastal dialects (Rätsep 1979 : 22ff). The forms has been attested in large numbers in Swedish Estonian, for instance (*haud* 'grave' :) ppl *haudasi* pro StEst *haudu* ~ *haudasid*, (*tund* 'hour; lesson' :) ppl *tundisi* pro StEst *tunde* ~ *tundisid*, (*nägu* 'face' :) ppl *nägusi* pro StEst *nägusid*, (*lugu* 'story' :) ppl *lugusi* pro StEst *lugusid*, (*auto* 'car' :) ppl *autosi* pro StEst *autosid*, (*firma* 'firm' :) ppl *firmsi* pro StEst *firmsid*, (*afišš* 'poster' :) *afiššisi* pro StEst *afišše* ~ *afiššisid*. In standard Estonian the *si*-forms have never been accepted, despite their extensive distribution. This feature is also wide-spread in contemporary colloquial Estonian as spoken in Estonia.

(2) The second (*da-*)infinitive forms *tehja* and *nähja* instead of standard Estonian *teha* 'to make' and *näha* 'to see' are much more distinctive as to the distribution in Estonian dialects: they appear in the Insular Dialect, and to some extent also in the Western Mainland Dialect area (Saareste 1955 : 82). In Swedish Estonian the forms *tehja*, *nähja* have been attested from the usage of individuals the parents of whom come from the Insular Dialect area.

Needless to say — an unavoidable prerequisite of regarding a word or a form as a dialect substrate phenomenon is that the dialectal distribution of the pertinent feature correlates with the dialectal background of the informant. As pointed out in previous works (Raag 1981; 1982; 71ff; 1983) there are several traits of the Swedish-born Estonian's speech and writings whose dialectal character is open to debate. The most outstanding example of this is the highly widespread confusion of /*õ*/ with /*ö*/ in Swedish Estonian. In the Insular Dialect /*õ*/ generally has been replaced by /*ö*/, and consequently this characteristic in Swedish Estonian occur as a dialect substrate phenomenon in the usage of Estonians in Sweden who descend from the Insular Dialect area. As pointed out above — very often this is the case. However, the use of /*ö*/ instead of /*õ*/ is almost as frequent among Swedish Estonians descended from other dialect areas than the Insular Dialect area. In these cases the use of /*ö*/ indicate the failure in acquiring the complete phoneme inventory of Estonian, the decisive cause of which obviously is the lack of a direct phonetic counterpart to /*õ*/ in the phonological system of Swedish.

Exactly the same evaluation is valid for several other phenomena in Estonian as spoken in Sweden. A complete list of phonological instances where we face an interplay of dialect substrate phenomena and Swedish influence is presented in my dissertation (Raag 1982 : 71ff).

### Closing remarks

In this article three main linguistic tendencies occurring in the speech and writings of Estonians living in Sweden were elucidated. It appears that the Estonian speech community in Sweden on the one hand tends to conserve linguistic features which in Estonia are getting antiquated. On the other hand, linguistic renewal is almost exclusively owing to direct influence from Swedish. To some extent lexical renewal is provided by a certain amount of post-war standard Estonian neologisms (see Raag 1982 : 92ff), the use of which seems to have increased during the 1970's (Raag 1982 : 112 ff; 1982a). Finally the phenomena ascribed to the category of autonomous innovations in Swedish Estonian in their turn give evidence of analogical levelling in the grammatical system of Estonian as spoken in Sweden.



Despite the fact that the Estonians living in Sweden display all imaginable stages of proficiency in Estonian from perfect to zero command, there is no getting away from the fact that Swedish Estonian taken as a whole is slowly undergoing the process of separation from Estonian in Estonia, and elsewhere as well.

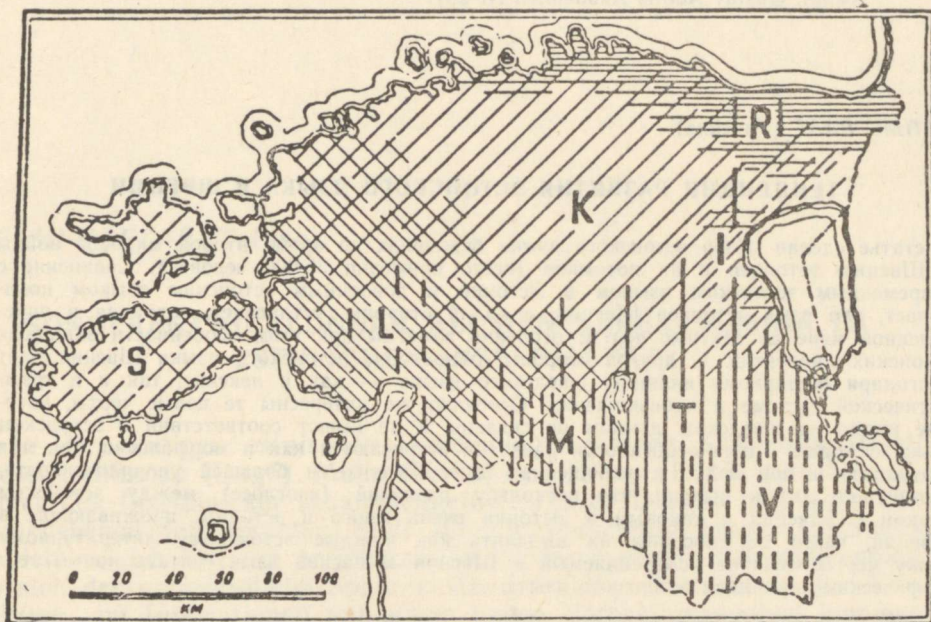


Fig. 2. The traditional dialect areas in Estonia. S — the North Estonian Insular Dialect, L — the North Estonian Western Mainland Dialect, K — the North Estonian Central Mainland Dialect, I — the North Estonian Eastern Dialect, R — the North-eastern Coastal Dialect, M — the South Estonian Mulgi Dialect, T — the South Estonian Tartu Dialect, V — the South Estonian Võru Dialect. (Source: Kask 1956: 26)

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РАЙМО РААГ (Уппсала)

### ТЕНДЕНЦИИ РАЗВИТИЯ ЭСТОНСКОГО ЯЗЫКА В ШВЕЦИИ

В статье сделан обзор эстонского языка бежавших во время второй мировой войны в Швецию эстонцев и их потомков (всего примерно 35 000 человек). Сравнение с современным эстонским языком в Эстонии и довоенным эстонским языком показывает, что язык эстонцев Швеции, с одной стороны, устаревает, сохраняя в определенной мере диалектные черты; особенно заметны при этом особенности западных эстонских диалектов. С другой стороны, обновление эстонского языка Швеции идет благодаря обширному влиянию шведского языка — как в лексике, так и в грамматической системе и произношении. Особенно же интересны те новые черты, которые прямо со шведским языком не связаны и не имеют соответствий в эстонском языке Эстонии. Такие особенности развития встречаются как в морфологии, так и в синтаксисе и они ведут к упрощениям в грамматике и большей упорядоченности. Автор приходит к выводу, что поскольку различий (изоглосс) между эстонским языком в Швеции и таковым в Эстонии очень много и эстонцы, проживающие в Швеции, часто не способны их выделить как чуждые эстонскому литературному языку черты, следует употребляемый в Швеции эстонский язык считать новым географическим вариантом эстонского языка.