

Studies in European Language Diversity 23

THE VÕRO LANGUAGE IN ESTONIA

ELDIA Case-Specific Report

Kadri KOREINIK



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Studies in European Language Diversity is a peer-reviewed online publication series of the research project ELDIA, serving as an outlet for preliminary research findings, individual case studies, background and spin-off research.

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Research consortium ELDIA c/o Prof. Dr. Anneli Sarhima
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Cover design: *Minna Pelkonen & Hajnalka Berényi-Kiss*

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ISSN 2192-2403

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1 Introduction: What is ELDIA?

European Language Diversity for All (henceforth ELDIA) is an interdisciplinary research project for re-conceptualising, promoting and re-evaluating individual and societal multilingualism.

Empirical research is conducted with selected multilingual communities, which are intended to represent practically the whole spectrum of different political and socioeconomic circumstances of linguistic minorities in Europe. The communities investigated speak endangered and often only recently literalised minority languages (e.g. Karelian, Veps and Võro¹) or languages with a vigorous standard variety (e.g. Hungarian). Included are both autochthonous (e.g. Meänkieli/Tornedal Finnish speakers) or indigenous minorities (e.g. Sámi) and more recent migrant groups (such as the Estonians in Germany and Finland). All these minority languages belong to the Finno-Ugric language family, which is seriously under-represented in internationally accessible sociolinguistic literature. The results of the research project, however, will be generalisable beyond this internally highly diverse language group: they will contribute to the study of multilingualism and the development of language policies in other multilingual contexts as well, in and outside Europe.

The project provides

- more detailed knowledge about multilingualism and the interaction of languages in Europe, in the form of context analyses, case-specific and comparative reports, practical information and recommendations
- data and corpora for further research
- means of communication and networking between researchers (workshops, publications, etc.)
- the European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar) – a checklist/handbook for policy-makers and other stakeholders.

The Case-Specific Report (henceforth CSR) is a focussed report in which secondary and new data on minority language (MinLG) speakers and a control group (CG) are presented. All ELDIA CSRs have the same structure and have been written following the template designed by Kadri Koreinik, Kristiina Praakli and Helle Metslang (University of Tartu). This CSR deals with the multilingual community of speakers of

¹ Of this name – of a town, a region and a language variety in southern Estonia – two forms are used: the form *Võro* is characteristically South Estonian, *Võru* appears in the Estonian standard language (but is also used by speakers of Western Võro). I have used “Võro” throughout the text.

Võro, which is an autochthonous South Estonian variety, traditionally considered to be an Estonian dialect. Võro speakers reside mostly in southeastern Estonia, but many have out-migrated. Their population is estimated at 74,400. The CG is the all-Estonian population of approximately 1.3 million, including people with different mother tongues and languages of habitual use (Estonian, Russian etc.).

The CSR consists of several chapters. The next chapter introduces the socio-historical and linguistic context of Võro; it is followed by chapters on methodology, findings from legal and media analyses, the survey, and interviews. The CSR concludes with a discussion and conclusions. Chapter 3.6 was authored by Anneli Sarhima and Eva Kühhirt (Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz); chapters 4.1 and 4.2 were authored by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark (Åland Islands Peace Institute) and Reetta Toivanen (University of Helsinki), respectively. The rest of the text was written by Kadri Koreinik (University of Tartu).

Above all, the authors are grateful to all respondents and informants who have participated in the surveys and interviews intended to shed some light on the language attitudes and behaviour of MinLG and MajLG speakers. Team Tartu owes a lot to fieldworkers who have made all this happen, despite the short, dark winter days and southeastern Estonia's slippery village roads. We are also much obliged to colleagues from the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics, University of Tartu, and the Võro Institute, and grateful to two reviewers for their comments on earlier versions of the CSR. Finally, we would also like to thank Richard Adang, who checked our paper for issues regarding the English language, and Michaela Pasterk for the technical editing and some stylistic revisions.

2 Sociohistorical and Linguistic Contexts

2.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the state-of-the-art of research into Võro in Estonia prior to the ELDIA project. The chapter is structured following the instructions given in the ELDIA Manual for Context Analysis prepared by Riho Grünthal, of the University of Helsinki.

As Võro is traditionally seen as a dialect of Estonian, the position of Võro speakers as a linguistic or language minority is not fully acknowledged by speakers and observers-researchers. It is assumed that bilingual (Võro-Estonian) Võro speakers have an Estonian identity. Moreover, Estonians' belief in an ethnicity-linked language may discourage other local, multiple or minority identities from emerging. Since the late 1980s activist Võro speakers have been engaged in the revitalisation of Võro. The "Võro Movement" (see chapter 2.2.1 below) has drawn public attention to language loss and is engaged in identity building activities.

There is not much documentation on Võro speakers as a group. Most treatments of their tongue are descriptive (e.g. Wiedemann 1864, Keem 1997), and concentrate on variance (Iva 2002), networks (e.g. Mets 2004, 2007, 2010), observed (Org. et al. 1994) or self-reported language use and command (Pajusalu et al 2000, Eichenbaum & Koreinik 2008, and Koreinik & Praakli), toponyms (Saar 2008), language naming patterns (Koreinik & Pajusalu 2007) or standard written Võro (Iva 2007). Yet, an ethno-sociological survey from 1998 also investigated some aspects of identity (see also Valk 2000). Furthermore, Ehala (2004, 2006, 2007) has analysed the ethno-linguistic vitality of Võro (see also Ehala & Niglas 2007). Koreinik (2011) has analysed language ideologies about South Estonian language varieties (incl. Võro) in public discourse.

There are a couple of research and development institutions that have been doing dialectological research, or that focus on South Estonian studies in general. In addition to universities, i.e. the University of Tartu and, to a lesser extent, Tallinn University, there are a couple of smaller institutions. The aim of the Võro Institute is to support the maintenance of lesser-used languages and cultures in contemporary society. Its linguistic research concentrates on topo-onomastics. The main objective of the Võro Institute's language sociological studies has been to assess the current state of South Estonian varieties. According to its statutes, the objectives also include language planning and the publication of educational texts. Since the mid-1990s the Võro Institute has disseminated the results of different research projects in its annual conferences and academic series.

In 2010 another South Estonian research institution, the Seto Institute, was founded. The newly founded institute coordinates research on the Seto area and culture. The Institute of the Estonian Language focuses on modern Estonian, the history of the Estonian language, Estonian dialects and Finno-Ugric cognate languages.

Moreover, there have been a number of individual researchers who have studied other social, political or cultural practices in the southeastern Estonia area (e.g. Kansui 1999; Jääts 2000; Brown 2006; Pae 2008; Annist 2009).

Võro speakers are an autochthonous speech community whose language has likely been preserved because of both its linguistic distance from Standard Estonian and geographical distance from Estonian (prestige) centres. Their peripheral habitat in the southeastern Estonian borderland has likely been one of the reasons why immigration has been insignificant compared to the centres Tallinn and Tartu, and their surroundings.

Minority policies are mainly monitored by the non-governmental organisation *Võro Selts VKKF*, which is also a member of the Estonian Bureau of Lesser Used Languages (*EstBLUL*; for NGO *Võro Selts VKKF*, see chapter 2.2.2). Although the statutes of the *Võro Institute* set its main objectives as language planning and research, the language professionals working at the Institute are active in a number of non-governmental activities too.

In spite of activist speakers' commitment to language preservation and maintenance, it is difficult to judge to what extent the community of Võro speakers has been involved in its demarcation. Most political initiatives, including claims for language recognition and law proposals, have been made by activist Võro speakers. Nevertheless, some Võro speakers do not seem to be interested in explicit identification as Võro speakers, as they may have had experiences with their language use being denigrated.

In addition to the above-mentioned, other relevant published resources on South Estonian, including Võro, are Saareste (1952), Sammallahti (1977), Org et al. (1994), Pajusalu (1996, 1999) and Kallio (2007). Another source is the *Regional Dossier on the Võro language in education* published by the Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning (see Koreinik 2007).



Figure 1. The historical South Estonian (Võro, Seto, Mulgi, and Tartu) language area, with historical South Estonian language enclaves (Lutsi, Leivu, and Kraasna)²

² Source: Iva & Pajusalu 2004.

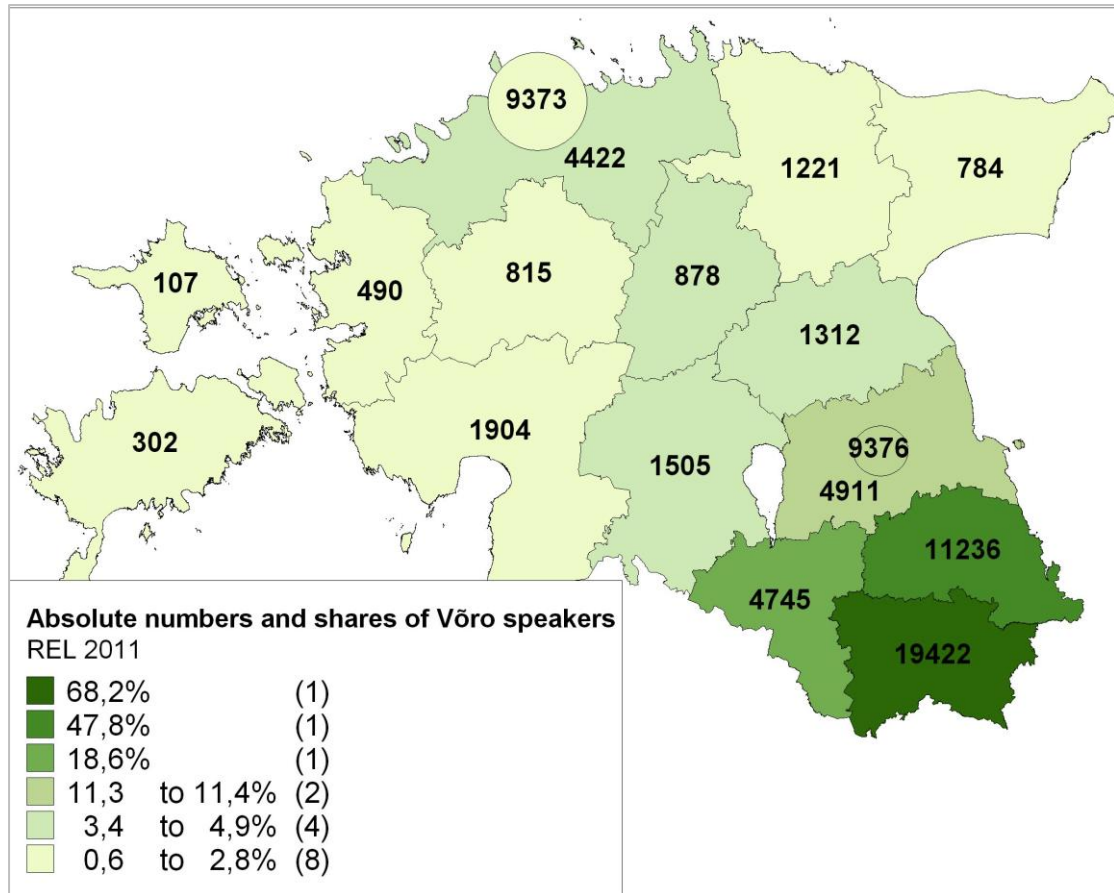


Figure 2. The absolute and relative number of Estonian permanent residents who reported using Võro, in counties and two bigger cities, Tallinn and Tartu. Population and Housing Census 2011.

The most relevant gap in the research on the Võro language is the lack of (micro-) sociolinguistic research. There is no information on language acquisition and no research which focuses on in-family cross-generational language transmission.

2.2 Sociohistory

2.2.1 The context of the investigated language community

The area where Võro is spoken is an ethnically homogeneous region currently containing approximately 4% non-Estonians (compared to a quarter of Russians and 5% of other nationalities in all of Estonia). However, historically there have been a number of dominant, vehicular and other languages. Due to a long period of German domination, which started in the Middle Ages, Middle Low German and then High German played significant roles in Estonia. The role of German as a vehicular language decreased and was replaced by Russian, first in the course of Russification towards the end of the Czarist rule in the 19th and early 20th century, and then after World War II, when Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union after annexation.

Nevertheless, German, Russian and Estonian were all vehicular languages during the Czarist rule (for a summary, see Tender 2010; chapter 2.1 below).

With the foundation of the Republic of Estonia in 1918, Russian was taught as the first foreign language at school, but in 1936 the first foreign language learnt at school was changed to English (Estonica 2010, as quoted in Tender 2010). During the Soviet rule, Russian was again the first foreign language, so most cohorts schooled before 1991 had to study Russian from the very first grades. Today, English is the most selected foreign language at school (Tender 2010).

Another language which has lost its importance in southern (and southeastern) Estonia, but should be mentioned, is Latvian. Until the 7th century, northern and eastern Latvia was populated by Finnic (South Estonian and Livonian) tribes, which slowly assimilated into Baltic tribes in the second half of the first millennium (see Vaba 1997 for a summary). The ethnic border was fully established by the 13th century, although it has not been rigid; there has been a bilingual population in the borderland (ibid.) When the Estonian-Latvian border was established in 1920, it was not an entirely ethnic border: some South Estonian speakers remained in villages beyond the Latvian border (cf. Mela 2001). At the turn of the millennium, Mela (2001: 204) reports around 300 Estonians in the Alūksne district (Latvian: *Alūksnes rajons*³) who “mainly speak a southern variant of Estonian (Võro), which does not differ significantly from the Võro spoken in Estonia”.

To conclude, Võro speakers’ vehicular language is Estonian (i.e. the standard language, which is largely based on North Estonian dialects or its common colloquial varieties) and they are an autochthonous speech community whose vernacular language has survived standardisation and other pressures.

While there has been no detailed research on identity, most Võro speakers seem to identify themselves as Estonians, although some Võro speakers might have a strong local identity. Nevertheless, they call themselves *võrokõsõq* “the Võros” (plural form containing a derivational suffix which is usually perceived as diminutive). They mostly call their language either *võro* or *võru kiil* ‘the Võro or Võru language’ or, to a lesser extent, according to toponyms or micro ethnonyms, e.g. *põlva kiil*, *räpinä kiil*, *mehka kiil* or *haani kiil*. Due to the re-districting of Võru County, its 1783-1920 areas were split between four contemporary counties, in which identities have been constructed over the years. Therefore, most Võro speakers seem to use contemporary administrative names, i.e. names of the county, for their territory, although some people still use (*vana*) *Võromaa* or *Võromaa* ‘(old) Võro or Võro land’ for the area. The Seto sub-dialect is classified as a category of *Võru murre* (‘the Võru dialect’) by Estonian dialectologists (see also Koreinik 2013); however, Võro speakers

³ Due to redistricting in 2009 *Alūksnes novads* includes Alūksne town and 15 parishes.

and the Setos differentiate between each other and are not happy when grouped together as Setos or Võro speakers, respectively.

Võro speakers mainly use Standard Estonian as their everyday literary standard. However, a new South Estonian (Võro) standard has been elaborated by language activists and the Võro Institute (the “old” South Estonian standard was based on the Tartu dialect and used from the 16th to the 19th century; see below). The standard is based on common Võro, which in turn is based on traditional (sub-)dialects of Võro, being, however, also influenced by other South Estonian varieties and Standard Estonian (Iva 2007). “Common Võro” refers to an ever-homogenising oral use, which includes fewer and fewer sharp regional linguistic traits, but displays all innovations characteristic of South Estonian in general (Iva 2001, 2002). Spoken varieties of Võro are mutually comprehensible.

A group of language professionals agreed upon *vahtsõnõ kiräviis* ‘the new orthography’ for both Võro and Seto varieties in 1995. However, this new standard includes forms which may appear strange to some Võro speakers, being linguistically more archaic, geographically distant or otherwise unfamiliar or stigmatised (as Seto). Similarly, Seto speakers report the frequent use of Võro more often than Võro speakers do for the Seto language (Koreinik & Pajusalu 2007). In general, the new South Estonian (Võro) standard is not firmly established or rigid. Although no special survey has been conducted on attitudes toward the standard, the vocabulary is said to be Seto-like and the spelling is described as foreign. The standard is believed to belong to activists rather than to speakers. However, the perception of the ownership of the standard (and the language) likely depends on different experiences people may have had with the standard and written language in general.

In the context of this analysis, the majority-minority contacts of Võro speakers (with speakers of the Estonian common and standard language) began with the enforcement of the Estonian literary standard (the ideology of a standard language), growing mobility and urbanisation at the end of the 19th century. However, local vernaculars or *maakeel* ‘country language’ (i.e. North and South Estonian dialects) have always been less prestigious languages vis-à-vis the dominant languages, viz. German and Russian.

From the 16th century on, two written standards emerged in the area of today’s Estonia: the northern or “Tallinn language” and the southern or “Tartu language”. In the 19th century, the northern variety ousted the southern written language also in southern Estonia, so that Modern Standard Estonian came to be based on the tradition of the “Tallinn language”. Print capitalism, modernisation and nation-building caused written South Estonian to recede primarily because printing for the small southeastern Estonian market was not profitable (Laanekask 2004, and Ross

2005). South Estonian gradually disappeared from written secular use, was limited to the religious domain and was eventually abandoned by the church as well. Although an ABC-book in Võro South Estonian was published as late as 1885 – as one of the leaders of national movement believed that children should learn to read in their mother tongue before learning the standard based on North Estonian – demands were already being made to replace vernacular instruction in southeastern Estonian schools with common language instruction (Laanekask 2004; cf. Hurt 1885)⁴. Despite the development and implementation of the Northern-based standard during the late 19th and the 20th century, the use of South Estonian oral varieties⁵, including Võro, only began to weaken in the years after World War II and is now best preserved by Võro and Seto speakers (Pajusalu et al. 1999).

The uniqueness of the group of Võro speakers is a disputed matter, as their cultural practices are seen as a part of Estonian traditional culture, which in turn is believed to be a typical hybrid culture. With urbanisation, (self-)colonisation, and globalisation, although these are rather ambivalent concepts (cf. Hennoste 2003), the traditional lifestyles of Võro speakers seem to resemble those of speakers of common (and standard) Estonian. Public attention to South Estonian vernaculars is partly a result of collective action by the Võro Movement, which was initiated 20 years ago. Its activists have aimed to improve the prestige of the Võro language. By promoting “historic-linguistic separatism”, the activists have found supporters as well as opponents among Estonian linguists and decision makers (Ehala 2007; see also Koreinik 2011).

A survey in 1998 indicated that women, young people, educated people, and urbanites reported less frequent use of Võro (Eichenbaum & Koreinik 2008). While Võro may have covert prestige for some users, it is definitely a less prestigious language compared to Standard Estonian. The low prestige ascribed to Võro is probably linked to its peripheral position compared with the Estonian prestige centres (see also Ehala 2004). Ehala and Niglas (2007) also conclude that Võro is neither used nor valued in the Estonian society.

The Võro Movement, which was initiated along with the “second national awakening” shortly before the end of the Soviet rule (1987-1988), is committed to

⁴ The last edition of *Wastne Testament* (“New Testament”) in South Estonian literary language was published later, in 1905.

⁵ The South Estonian varieties of Finnic are traditionally seen in public discourse as dialects of Estonian. Standard Estonian and common Estonian are based mostly on North Estonian varieties. Estonian dialectology distinguishes two (or three) groups of dialects – North Estonian (including the Northeastern Coastal dialect, sometimes distinguished as the third main dialect) and South Estonian. South Estonian in turn includes varieties of Mulgi, Tartu, Seto, and Võro. Even though the latter two, Seto and Võro, are similar, they are differentiated because of different religious backgrounds (Orthodox vs. Lutheran) and the identity of speakers. (cf. Pajusalu et al. 2002)

improving the prestige of Võro. Moreover, based on linguistic differences and the unintelligibility of Võro for most Estonian speakers, language activists have advanced the idea of South Estonian as a separate Finnic language (Ehala 2007; cf. Kansui 1999). In the 1990s the Võro Movement sought state support, which resulted in the foundation of the Võro Institute in 1995. The Võro Institute succeeded in introducing the use of Võro to some degree in schools. However, the Võro language as a subject still remains peripheral in the *schoolscape* (Brown 2005). Since 2000 a state programme has allocated funds targeted to the maintenance of all South Estonian varieties and cultures. In 2004 its council proposed that the Estonian government recognise South Estonian as a language in order to improve its prestige, to expand its domains and to make its use lawful. An *ad hoc* government committee of experts failed to reach a decision and South Estonian varieties are still not recognised as (a) regional language(s).

Today Võro is a semi-standardised vernacular which has some institutional support. The argument against state recognition is to be found in the public discourse of language endangerment (Koreinik 2011). Hennoste (1999) has also described a totalitarian language situation, characterised by the ideologies of purism and standardisation, by prescriptive language planning, and by resistant identity and language consciousness, which lasted from the national awakening of the 1860s until the late 1980s. To conclude, the Võro Movement has taken advantage of the changed language situation to draw public attention to this vernacular language in the process of language shift.

2.2.2 Territorial and political context

The geographical territory where the majority of Võro speakers are located is approximately a triangular area of 4200 km² near Estonia's southeastern border with Latvia and Russia. There are also small speech communities in Estonia's bigger cities and elsewhere in Estonia, as well as abroad⁶. There is no information on language behaviour there.

In the development of Standard Estonian, there was “a prolonged period when two regional codified written languages [i.e. North and South Estonian] existed, competing against both one another and the superimposed high language(s) at the time (Latin, Middle Low German, High German, Early Modern Swedish and Russian) in order to broaden their functions to prestigious spheres, before an all-Estonian standard was eventually engineered” (Raag 1999: 34). After the German and Danish conquests of Estonia in the 1220s, social and linguistic stratification coincided: a ruling minority of colonists used German and the indigenous majority spoke Estonian

⁶ For example, the anniversary of an organisation uniting Estonian immigrants with Võro roots in Canada, *Võrulaste Koondis*, was celebrated in Toronto in 1998 (*Vaba Eesti* 18/08/1998).

varieties. This situation remained almost unchanged for seven centuries. Beginning in the mid-1600s multilingualism gradually grew, and the Russification of the late 19th century altered language hierarchies (Hennoste 1999). Along with societal modernisation and the zenith of the Estonian national movement at the end of 19th century, German influences were abandoned, the vocabulary was elaborated, and the orthography was reformed. The radicals of the movement despised illiterates, dialects, the old (“German”) orthography of the Estonian written language, as well as the Tartu language, the then written standard of southern Estonia (Laanekask 2004). For example, hymnals and other church texts and schoolbooks were published in the South Estonian literary language and distributed in Tartu and Võro County until the Estonian national awakening, and some fiction even later (Pajusalu et al. 1999).

After the 19th century national awakening, language ideologies became increasingly totalitarian (Hennoste 1999). A fear that Estonians might be germanised motivated the policy of cultural Russification in the Baltic provinces (Raun 1991). Russification did not assimilate people linguistically and culturally, and did not stop the emergence of the Estonian nation and standard building (Jansen & Ruutsoo 1999; Raag 1999). Nevertheless, in addition to the fear of Germanisation, the fear of Russification also developed among Estonians (Jansen 2007: 434). With Estonian Independence in 1918, politically and linguistically privileged minorities – Germans and Russians – lost their privileges. Since 1925 the Law on Cultural Autonomy of Ethnic Minorities has enabled the non-ethnic Estonian citizens of groups over 3000 to foster their cultural life and found schools in their mother tongues (Müüripeal & Neljas 1999). Despite the cultural policy aimed at tolerance for other ethnic groups, the colloquial language and dialects – North Estonian as well as South Estonian ones – were still considered to be incorrect varieties or illegitimate sub-languages (Hennoste 1999).

The Soviet occupation of Estonia brought about a massive immigration of Russians and other ethnic groups of the Soviet Union in the 1960s-70s (Raun 1991). Migration caused unilateral bilingualism, with about two thirds of Estonian speakers, mostly bilingual in Estonian and Russian, and about one third of Russian monolinguals (Hogan-Brun et al. 2007). In the Soviet era, the Estonian language and culture became symbols of psychological resistance and sources of ethno-political mobilisation (Vihalemm 1999, 2002; Hallik 2002). The new language policy of the restored nation in the 1990s had the political aspiration of turning Estonian into the lingua franca in Estonia (Hallik 2002).

As the traditional habitat of Võro speakers is economically underdeveloped and peripheral, people, especially the young, are prone to out-migration. Ainsaar (2004) describes the inflow of rural people to towns in the early 1900s. Urbanisation was at its maximum after World War II. Pragi (1988) describes southeastern Estonia,

including the counties of Põlva and Võru, the core area of the Võro speakers, as a medium-urbanised peripheral territory with a rather unstable population, which suffered most from depopulation. A number of municipal areas where Võro speakers reside remain outside of (county) centres and belong to rural peripheries with no railways or bigger roads (see for details Ainsaar 2004). According to Kansui (1999), in Estonia after regaining independence in 1999, the Baltic Sea coastal area received all of the economic benefits of liberalisation, “but in the remote border area where Võro is located, unemployment, depopulation, brain drain and other social problems have become obvious”. Some members of the Võro Movement hoped that language revitalisation would also help to revitalise the local community in other aspects (ibid.).

Thus, while some activist speakers have supported the minority position of Võro speakers since the end of the 1980s, this has remained a matter of debate. In the late Soviet period, some literati and critics of the Estonian official national culture expressed their disapproval of its Germanised (colonised) nature. The initiators of the idea of the Võro Movement got some support from those dissident literati (see also regarding the Võro-Seto language, Kalle Eller 1999). Kansui (1999) defines the Võro Movement as a regionalism movement and categorises its intellectuals according to their claims into two types: activists who see Võro speakers as an ethnic minority, and those who accept Võro speakers as belonging to an independent group of Estonians, as a sub-ethnos. Despite the seemingly radical ideas of the former, both types of intellectuals are moderate and demand neither independence nor autonomy. Their objectives lie in cultural enrichment and the enlightenment of the local people; compared with the social movements of the 1960s and the 1970s, Kansui (1999) characterises the movement as lacking the “surge of popular interest”.

In the forefront of the Võro Movement has been the NGO *Võro Selts VKKF*, which was founded in 1988. Since 1989 the NGO has organised open summer universities and has published annually *Võro-Seto Tähtraamat*, an almanac in which literary contributions and both the Julian and the Gregorian calendars are published, and Võro and Seto holidays are highlighted. Since 2004, the NGO has published the fortnightly local newspaper *Uma Leht* ‘Our own paper’ (see chapter 2.4.3 below). Since 2008, the song festival “Uma Pido” ‘Our own party’ has taken place regularly.

The Mercator European Research Centre on Multilingualism and Language Learning (aka Mercator Education), which is part of a network of three research and documentation centres specialising in regional and minority languages within the European Union, has published a regional dossier on the Võro language in education in its series (see also Koreinik 2007). However, Võro speakers are mentioned neither in the Euromosaic nor in the databases of the Council of Europe, which keeps a database for the European Charter for Regional or Minority languages.

2.2.3 Cultural context

Broadly speaking, the northern part of the Estonian population was shaped by contact with Scandinavian and coastal Finnish tribes, while southern Estonia remained part of a culture that created a unique type of “textile-impressed” ceramics, and its population had mainly inland and southern contacts (Laul 1997). Some researchers have hypothesised that the Volga-Finnic culture also extended to southern Estonia (ibid.). Hence, there are major differences between northern and southern Estonia, the latter being linguistically and culturally divided into four areas: Mulgi, Southern Tartu, Võro and Seto. The vernacular of the Setos is close to that of Võro speakers but the Seto tradition is customarily grouped separately because of their different religion (Orthodox) and culture.

Southern Estonia is the biggest and the most important of the Estonian cultural peripheries; its folklore is described as the richest and the most unique (Krikmann 2000). The same holds true for the popular calendar (Hiemäe 2006). Today, the Võro speakers, who themselves avoid the word “minority”, are mainly known for their vernacular and some practices of traditional peasant culture, which often resembles the general Estonian traditional culture, but also has similarities to the practices of neighbouring eastern Finnic tribes and others.

One of the most distinctive traditions and significant burial customs of Võro speakers is cutting crosses into trees (Kõivupuu 1998, 2009; Torp-Kõivupuu 2003). In the phenomenon of the cross-trees (cross-spruce, -pine, -birch), unique in Europe, the tree is conceptualised as the habitat of the soul. The earliest reports on cross-trees date back to the 17th century, and the latest ceremonies have been documented in the 2000s (Kõivupuu 2009). There are some other cultural practices which are still practised in southeastern Estonia: the tradition of the smoke sauna (*suidsusann*, *savvusann*), and some dishes of southern Estonian cuisine (e.g. the traditional unseasoned cottage cheese *sõir*, different dishes from cottage cheese, smoked meat and mushrooms).

There are some other cultural practices which were different in the Baltic governorates of Estonia and Livonia⁷. Pae et al. (2009) consider the distribution of the Estonian cattle breed as one of the indicators of the cultural-geographical differences between northern and southern Estonia, though it changed a lot during the second half of the 20th century. Provincial differences are also explicit in sacral landscape planning, architecture and religious conversion. One of the examples of sacral landscape planning is the presence or absence of cemeteries in churchyards (Pae et al. 2006). Another example is the figure of the cockerel (rooster), which is

⁷ Until 1918, northern Estonia belonged to the Governorate of Estonia, and southern Estonia to the Governorate of Livonia. Thus, the ancient linguistic and cultural boundary largely coincided with administrative boundaries.

commonly found on top of church towers in the former Livonia (*ibid.*), while crosses are common on top of churches in northern Estonia.

Despite all the differences, the material culture of southern Estonia has been integrated into the general Estonian cultural practices. In general, national costumes are not widely known or recognised. National costumes used to be common for different parishes (church congregations), and are exhibited today at local song and dance festivals, but some people and groups wear national costumes of other Estonian parishes, without considering the origin of the costumes. During the Soviet period, the latter was a common practice, which now seems to have diminished. Information about national costumes is available, but not widely disseminated at schools. The cyclical process of the all-Estonian song festivals and other festivals seems to work in favour of both local identity and national costumes. The local song festival “Uma Pido” seems to have had an impact on local identity. There have been attempts to provide Võro speakers with an anthem and a flag, but those have not been very successful so far.

In general, some of the cultural (everyday) practices are carried on in the traditional form of living (e.g. traditional cuisine and burial customs), and some symbols (e.g. some popular songs) and practices have been maintained or re-introduced by media. However, there is an ongoing commodification of rural life, where “a community’s culture, previously developing in tacit cultural practices, has moved from a self-regulating process to a consciously acknowledged commodity packaged and offered for tourist consumption” (Bardone et al. 2013).

The Christianisation of southern Estonia (i.e. Livland, the Livonian Governorate) was somewhat different from the rest of the Estonian territory (i.e. Estland, the Estonian Governorate). The Reformation of the 16th century was followed by Re-Catholisation, which was important in the establishment of the Polish rule. The Jesuits were successful in the promotion of the Counter-Reformation in Livland (Raun 1991). “Both Catholic and Lutheran churches now emphasised the learning of the vernacular by the respective clergy. Yet the elements of paganism remained important in peasant beliefs, especially in burial customs” (*ibid.* 32). The Herrnhut (Moravian) Brethren supported the efforts of popular (public) education, but actively opposed paganism, e.g. by destroying sacrificial sites. In the 1880s economic hardship led some 60,000 southern Estonian peasants to convert to Russian Orthodoxy, which privileged them over Lutherans in the Russian Empire (Kruus 1930).

Given the decreasing importance of the church and traditional religious doctrines and rituals for individuals and in the Estonian society (e.g. see Liiman 2001), the Võro speakers’ religious identity is similar to that of Estonians. Today Võro speakers may follow some rituals of the Lutheran Church, but some funeral customs (see above for

cross-trees) still demonstrate some animist features in their religious behaviour (see also Kõivupuu 2003). Moreover, according to Pae et al. (2006: 294), “community cemeteries can be considered highly significant for the maintenance or strengthening of local identity. For instance, the Cemetery Sundays of many parishes are amongst the well-attended events of the year, attracting both current residents and people historically related to the parish. The catchment area of a graveyard can be regarded as the only sociocultural factor that recalls the ancient parochial structure. The positive impact of a cemetery on community identity can also be discerned in the case of ethnic and religious minorities.”

In sum, religion plays a minor role in the construction of the ethnic identity of Võro speakers. Recently, Võro has been occasionally used in sermons in the churches of Kanepi (1998), Pindi (2006), Urvaste (2008) and Hargla (2012), which plays a symbolic role in language maintenance. Some priests but also some secular people have held funeral sermons in the Võro language or have used some Võro language in religious ceremonies, but there is no information on either private religious observance or the perceived importance of language use in religion. Despite some animist rituals in burial customs, religion and religious symbols do not distinguish Võro speakers from the majority.

There have been academic and other attempts to establish the difference between majority assumptions and minority understandings, i.e. the majority think that the cultural symbols and characteristics of different minority groups are similar to each other, while the minority consider them similar to the cultural symbols and traits of the majority. There is a slight difference in the popular calendar, customs and festivals. However, there has been no overview of how much these are followed by people today. Vesik (2000) believes that those (South Estonian) traditional festivals and customs which are marketed and featured in media have survived. Moreover, marketing has a real impact on celebration, mainly on gift-giving and eating habits (ibid.). The characteristic features of the minority’s culture occur in (small) literature, folklore, (pop) music, theatre and in the traditional (South) Estonian lifestyle and practices. However, the borders of South Estonian literature (including Võro) are ambivalent and depend on interpretation (Velsker 2005).

There are a number of authors writing in the Võro language. Some of them are well-known all over Estonia (Madis Kõiv and Ain Kaalep) and some even in other countries (Jaan Kaplinski and Kauksi Ülle). There are a number of younger Võro-speaking poets, performers and songwriters, e.g. Jan Rahman, Aapo Ilves, Olavi Ruitlane, Contra and Mari Kalkun. Some of their works are known to a wider public, and some have value for particular audiences. Ivari Padar, Member of the European Parliament, a former minister and the leader of the Social Democrats, and some

other MPs are prominent Võro speakers. Some of them seem to have a symbolic value for the minority or for its particular sub-groups: youth, intellectuals etc.

2.3 Demographic Context

2.3.1 Statistics and basic demographic information

Prior to 2011 there were neither official reports on the number of Võro speakers nor uniform and clear definitions to determine the group of Võro speakers. Therefore, in the ELDIA project, all permanent residents of respective municipalities where Võro has traditionally been spoken are considered to be potential Võro speakers.

In 2011, for the first time, the latest Population and Housing Census (PHC 2011) enabled respondents to report their knowledge of Estonian dialects.⁸ Altogether, 10.1% of Estonian permanent residents self-reported using a dialect. The most common dialects include Võro (87,048 speakers, incl. 12,549 speakers of the Seto sub-dialect), the Islands (*Saarte*) dialects (24,520, incl. 1,320 speakers of the Kihnu sub-dialect), and Mulgi (9,698) (Source: Statistics Estonia/Statistical Database/Population and Housing Census/PHC 2011: Permanent residents with Estonian as their mother tongue by ability to speak a dialect and sex, 31 December 2011).

The census data are confidential and used only for statistical purposes; for example, population statistics are based on population censuses and registered changes of the population: births, deaths, marriages, divorces and changes of residence (migration). All results of the PHC 2011 will be published in accordance with the Data Protection Law between 2012 and 2014. The results of the PHC 2000 are used as the basis for the population estimation here (see Figure 2 above).

Another source of population data is the Population Register, which is comprised of mostly personal data, including surname and given name, date of birth, place of residence, native language, nationality, and postal address, which may include e-mail address. The Population Register Act also regulates the processing of data and access to data. According to its §4, the subjects of the Population Register are Estonian citizens and aliens who have obtained residence permits in Estonia. The access of legal persons and natural persons with legitimate interests to data in the Population Register “shall be ensured upon its maintaining” (§5, §65). AS Andmevara is an authorised processor of the Estonian Population Register. There are access services to the Population Register, e.g. the compilation of samples based on provided terms.

⁸ Including questions on dialects and regional ethnic affiliations in the census was discussed already long before the census was conducted, and the debate continues: Seto and Võro activists have been accused of “ethnoregionalism” and inventing ethnoses (Jääts 2013).

§72 determines the procedure for providing access to data to natural and legal persons with legitimate interests. §75 regulates access to data of the Population Register for scientific or statistical purposes. Access is allowed with the permission of the chief processor, i.e. the Estonian Ministry of Internal Affairs, only if this does not breach the inviolability of private life or create a danger to the security of the state. Addresses of residence can be issued as a list of residential addresses of persons entered in the sample, prepared on the basis of prescribed traits without issuing other data entered in the Population Register. No other, unofficial registers of Võro speakers are available.

The bulk of potential Võro speakers live in 25 urban and rural municipalities of four counties: Antsla, Haanja, Lasva and Misso (the northeastern part of Misso is an indigenous area of Setos), Mõniste, Rõuge, Sõmerpalu, Urvaste, Vastseliina, Varstu, the town of Võro and Võro rural municipality (Võru County); Laheda, Kanepi, Kõlleste, Mooste, Orava, Põlva town and Põlva rural municipality, Räpina, Valgjärve and Veriora (Põlva County); Karula and Taheva (Valga County); and Meeksi (Tartu County) (see also Eichenbaum & Koreinik 2008). The following information is available on the population of the residents of municipalities, but not on the group of speakers. According to the 1881 and 1897 censuses, the residents of the former Võru County, which had the same borders in 1783-1920, numbered 90,479 (in 1881) and 97,158 (in 1897). Due to re-districting, data from the 1922 and 1934 censuses are not fully comparable to the data from earlier censuses. For example, some areas, including then rural municipalities, but also parts of municipalities, have been added to Tartu County and Valga County, which was established in 1920. Disregarding most of the redistricting, there were 89,640 residents according to the 1922 census (Eichenbaum & Koreinik 2008). Eichenbaum & Koreinik (2008) have calculated the residents of the former Võru County from different censuses (see Table 1 below):

Size of rural and urban population	1970	1979	1989	2000
Rural population	58,503	51,600	47,302	44,886
Urban population	23,065	26,783	29,710	25,860
TOTAL	81,568	78,383	77,012	70,746

Table 1. Population data from the censuses of 1970, 1979, and 1989. (Source: Statistics Estonia)

However, adjusted data from the 2000 census provide different results. In the new millennium, the residents of the municipalities (see above) which by and large formed Võru County between 1783-1920 numbered 66,251 in 2000 and 65,486 in 2009 (1 January). See Table 2 below.

Gender	2000		2010	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Age group				
0-4	1,636	1,633	1,595	1,498
5-9	2,438	2,232	1,566	1,443
10-14	2,914	2,662	1,697	1,693
15-19	2,424	2,125	2,551	2,319
20-24	1,770	1,445	3,012	2,785
25-29	1,990	1,886	2,494	2,280
30-34	1,991	2,161	1,796	1,513
35-39	2,418	2,284	2,026	1,966
40-44	2,377	2,267	1,992	2,241
45-49	2,178	2,091	2,330	2,368
50-54	1,874	1,885	2,200	2,330
55-59	1,830	2,055	1,917	2,082
60-64	1,732	2,156	1,554	1,832
65-69	1,434	2,147	1,302	1,892
70-74	1,134	2,235	1,136	1,922
75-79	704	1,799	837	1,726
80-84	310	820	545	1,521
85+	317	889	343	1,179
Age unknown	5	3	3	0
TOTAL	31,476	34,775	30,896	34,590

Table 2. Population in 25 municipalities where Võro is spoken, 1 January 2009, by age group, year, and gender. (Source: Statistics Estonia)

As in academic and public discourse the Võro speakers' language is traditionally considered to be a dialect or a sub-language and, as such, a part of the Estonian language, statistics do not differentiate between them and Estonians. According to a sample survey from 1998, the share of residents aged 25-64 of the former Võro County (1783-1920) who report speaking the language (freely in all circumstances and about all topics, freely in familiar surroundings about familiar matters, or a little when in a Võro-speaking environment) is 86% and understanding the language (understand but do not speak) is 13% (Eichenbaum & Koreinik 2008). The percentages above are based on relative samples.

2.3.2 The assessment of the criteria that form the basis of existing information

The 1998 sample survey was representative by gender. Some age groups were over-represented, and some under-represented (Eichenbaum 1998; Koreinik & Rahman 2000). As the sample was compiled on the basis of the Population Register, which does not require people to reside where registered, younger people, many of whom actually lived outside the area (educational migration), were difficult to trace during

the fieldwork. The actual samples were compared with the population by age and gender (χ^2 -statistics) (see Tables 3 and 4 below).

It is difficult to describe the age cohorts of Võro speakers, as the group is difficult to define or identify. Ageing of the population characteristic of general rural peripheries describes the population of Võro speakers as well. Nevertheless, there are Võro speakers in all age groups. However, as the main language shift is believed to have taken place between the 1960s-80s, older cohorts must have more active users than younger ones. Org et al. (1994) presented a case study which also describes the language use of different generations. Ehala (2007: 48) has compared the non-users of Võro in the generations of grandparents, parents and children, and has found, also drawing on Pajusalu et al. (2000), that the pattern “closely resembles the well-known S-curve of language change”. It is also possible that in-migrated old people do not use the language and some youngsters born into families of Võro speakers do. However, there is no adequate information on in-country migration. Gender is taken into account in the 1998 survey. As for descriptive statistics, the frequency of reported language use and language command was differentiated by gender.

There are no reports available on the birth rate of Võro speakers because it is very difficult to define who really belongs to this group or who does not. However, data on births, deaths and natural increase are available for residents of Põlva and Võro Counties, which cover the core area of both Seto and Võro speakers. In 2008, the natural increase was negative for Põlva and Võro Counties: -180 and -187, respectively. The natural increase has been negative since the beginning of the 1990s.

There is no information on mixed marriages. However, Eichenbaum & Koreinik (2008: 118), drawing on the 1998 sample survey, indicate that there are 54% of residents aged 25-64 for whom both parents were born in the Võro-speaking area (viz. former Võro County) and 65% for whom one parent is of former Võro County origin.

While the core area of Võro speakers is in 25 municipalities of four counties – Põlva, Tartu, Valga and Võro – there is a mismatch between the territory of 25 administrative units and the Võro-speaking area; however, this is rather unimportant. There are no reliable data on out-migration, which could have been used to estimate the size of the speech community living outside the area. In the Võro-speaking area, out-migration is believed to be many times bigger than in-migration. For example, the population of Võro County decreased (negative natural and mechanical growth of the population) between 2000-2011 by 16.16% (PHC 2011, Statistics Estonia).

As Võro speakers do not necessarily identify themselves primarily as Võro speakers, it is rather difficult to estimate the size of the group. Perhaps the best estimate is the share of those 25-64-year-old residents who have reported neither speaking nor understanding, which was 10% in the 1998 survey. Beyond that age, there is no information on language use. Given that, in terms of linguistic ecology, the Estonian language loses when the Russian language gains, and vice versa (see also Koreinik 2011), background knowledge on Russian speakers is equally important. The number of Russians in Põlva and Võru Counties (viz. the core area of Võro and Seto speakers) is small: approximately 95% are Estonians, 4% are Russians and the rest are other ethnic nationalities (Source: Statistics Estonia). During the 1998 survey, information on education and occupation was collected, but it was not analysed in detail, as educational and occupational groups were too small to draw reliable conclusions.

2.3.3 The basic shortcomings of existing demographic data

Demographic information is generally reliable in Estonia; however, there are no data on the language use or language command of all residents, as Võro is considered a dialect or sub-language of Estonian. The Population Register has data on registered residence, but people are not required to live in the administrative units that they have registered in. This makes some groups, e.g. commuters, students and younger people, difficult to reach and may result in a very low response rate. The Population Register contains imprecise addresses, e.g. for Võru and Põlva Counties 20-40% of the addresses are too general or misleading (Source: Statistics Estonia). Another, connected, problem is the lack of reliable data on in-country migration.

Statistics Estonia provides data for administrative and settlement units by gender/age/ethnicity (1 January every year). The Population Register issues data for both. Statistics Estonia issues adjusted data on population size and composition every year. It is possible to draw up gross tables of the population composition from www.stat.ee. Indicators of age, gender and the length of residence, if the latter is available and reliable, are key factors for Võro speakers in the context of ELDIA. Access to demographic data is regulated by the Population Register Act of Estonia and the Personal Data Protection Act. Access to data of the Population Register for scientific or statistical purposes is allowed with the permission of the Estonian Ministry of Internal Affairs only if this does not breach the inviolability of privacy or create a danger to the security of the state.

2.4 Language and Minority Policies in Practice

2.4.1 General context of language-political practices

There are no clear definitions of who is (or who is not) a Võro speaker or a member of the Võro-speaking community. Võro speakers are bilingual Estonians, switching between Estonian and Võro depending on circumstances and audiences. Some Võro speakers seem to have a stronger sense of Estonian identity than others, who may have multiple identities (see also Kansui 1999). There is nothing currently known about attitudes that the minority and majority might have towards each other. Furthermore, there is no academic or other research on the attitudes of Võro speakers towards Estonian, or Estonian speakers towards Võro. Although all respondents reported on their completed educational levels in the 1998 survey, the levels of education of Võro speakers were not analysed.

2.4.2 Standardisation of the minority language

Until the 20th century two literary languages – the Tallinn and Tartu languages (*tallinna ja tartu keel*) – were used in a number of domains in northern and southern Estonia, respectively. The South Estonian (Tartu) literary standard was used in southern Estonian churches, courts, print media, schools, administration (e.g. *Agenda Parva* in 1622, the translation of the New Testament, *Wastne Testament* in 1686 (the last edition in 1905), the newspaper *Tarto maa rahwa Näddali-Leht* in 1806, and the ABC book *Wastne Võro keele ABD raamat* in 1885) and in personal settings. Then modernisation, political decisions, print-capitalist forces and nation-building efforts made South Estonian gradually disappear from public written use (see also Laanekask 2004 and Ross 2005). According to a traditional view of dialectology, *Võru murre* ‘the Võro dialect’ (incl. the Seto sub-dialect) was the only variety spoken in the area. Despite the building of an all-Estonian standard, the vitality of South Estonian oral varieties weakened only after World War II. South Estonian has outlived the enforcement of Standard Estonian best in the Võro area (Pajusalu et al. 1999: 88).

At the end of the 1980s a revival of South Estonian varieties started. The first systematic efforts to standardise Võro occurred in the Kaika “Summer universities”: annual open summer schools for 200-300 speakers and non-speakers interested in the Võro language and literature, theatre and music, folklore, traditions and local cultural history. A group of activists, the Võro Movement, have been in the forefront of language planning and maintenance activities. The new standard was developed by native speakers and activists, both linguists and non-linguists. The underlying principles of the new South Estonian (Võro) standard aimed to find a compromise

between sharp sociolinguistic markers, maintaining specific South Estonian features and following the tradition of the old South Estonian (Tartu) literary standard (Iva 2002). The standardisation led to the publication of a bilingual Võro-Estonian dictionary in 2002, containing 15,000 entries. The Estonian-Võro dictionary will be ready in a couple of years.

Nevertheless, the new Võro literary standard is not widely recognised outside the Võro Institute and debates over the orthography continue. Criticism of the new standard both among the speech community and language activists has led to a situation in which at least three slightly different orthographies are in use in different publications. The main difference between the variants is how the glottal stop is marked (whether it is marked by the letter "q", by an apostrophe or remains unmarked). While since 2005 õ has been suggested for the denotation of the vowel /ɨ/, which is close to the Russian ы or Polish y (thus merging the characteristically Võro vowel with the non-high vowel õ which appears not only in Võro but in Standard Estonian as well) some authors still mark it with y.

2.4.3 Language use in different domains

Short (radio) and infrequent (TV) broadcasts, and some print and new media are available in Võro. Võro is regularly used in short (approx. five-minute) radio news once every other week by the public broadcasting station. A couple of local radio stations have broadcast some programmes or parts of programmes in Võro. There have been different TV episodes and series about interesting Võro speakers and the traditional lifestyle in Võro by the public broadcasting station. In 2011-2012 the TV drama series *Tagamõtsa*, about life in a rural community in five episodes, was produced and shown by the same TV station. All of these programmes have been funded by the state programme "South Estonian language and culture" and its follow-ups. Most of them have the function of supporting language use.

Saar (2005) analysed the use of Võro in (print) media from the 1980s to the 2000s. In the mid-1980s Võro was mainly used in local newspapers in sections of (pejorative) jokes and less for representing vernacular speech. In the mid-1990s Võro was used in all journalistic genres. Since 2000 *Uma Leht* (UL) has been published every other week, with about 10,000 copies, and online. According to a phone survey in 2005, UL was read regularly or occasionally by three quarters of the residents of Võro and Põlva Counties aged 15-74, approximately 32,000 readers (Source: Saar Poll 2005). UL is distributed by direct mail in the Võro-speaking area (see also Faster (2005), and Koreinik (2005)). As UL is an entirely Võro language medium, other local newspapers have almost stopped using Võro (Saar 2005). However, sporadic texts in Võro have been published in all-Estonian print media, the latest example being an opinion piece by the well-known Võro-speaking writer and intellectual Jaan Kaplinski in the

national newspaper *Eesti Päevaleht* (Kaplinski 2010). Kaplinski writes in Võro in a multilingual blog as well (jaankaplinski.blogspot.com).

Another example of Võro in print media is the first Võro-language version of the oldest Estonian children's magazine *Täheke*, which was first published in February 2005, with other editions coming out in November 2005, December 2007, September 2008, October 2009, August 2010, June 2012, and July 2013. *Täheke* was first published in Estonian in 1960 and it is targeted to children between five and ten years of age. The Võro versions were distributed without charge among first-graders and those who study the Võro language in the Võro-speaking area (see also Koreinik 2007).

As for new media, there is plenty of traditional and pop music by Võro speakers on YouTube. A selection of songs from two song festivals, "Uma Pido" in 2008 and in 2010, has also been uploaded in YouTube. Võro is used sporadically in blogging, chat rooms and fora in the social media. There is an open group of frequent Võro speakers on Facebook (*Ma kõnõlõ egä päiv võro kiilt* 'I speak Võro every day'), which had 90+ members, but the membership has declined and only a few posts have been made recently.

Theatre in the Võro language has been very popular over the past couple of decades. Theatre has been one of the most advanced performing arts, and the use of Võro in theatre has been the most explicit. There have been many theatre companies and groups, e.g. professionals and (semi-)amateur performers, villagers and urbanites, adults and children, who have performed in a number of plays staged in Põlva and Võro Counties, and outside the region, in Tallinn and Tartu. The first production in Võro which enjoyed all-Estonian success was a play by Madis Kõiv and Aivo Lõhmus, staged by Ingo Normet and performed by his students from the drama school of the Estonian Academy of Music and Theatre in 1993. Another initiative was the Võro Theatre Studio (2003-2008), whose production in Võro *Rehepapp* represented Estonia in the Scandinavian theatre festival Arosia 2002. The radio play version of the studio's *Ennola* was produced for the Radio Theatre of the public broadcasting station. In addition to original productions, some of the best pieces of world literature and drama have been translated into Võro and staged, e.g. *Kuikan pelto* by the Finnish author Pentti Saarikoski, Shakespeare's *Mid-summer Night's Dream* and Miller's *The Creation of the World and other Business*.

As for educational media, a competition in the knowledge of the Võro language and local culture for local students (Grades 8 and 11) was launched in 2001. The competition *Ütski tark ei sata' taivast*⁹ was moved to the web in 2009 and is

⁹ A traditional saying in Võro, literally 'No wise person falls from the sky', meaning that 'nobody is born wise, nobody possesses all knowledge from birth, things must be learnt'.

accessible online when the competition is held. Since early 2006, the Võro Institute has cooperated in the project of a children's website, where a new Võro-language version episode of the animated cartoon *Jäno-Juss* (Johnny-the-Bunny) has been uploaded. All episodes are available from <http://lastekas.ee/?go=multikaq>. There are also some games in the Võro language available on the Võro Institute's homepage.

Pre-school education in Estonia is targeted to children under the age of 7. The Võro language is not used as a medium or taught as a subject in crèche and nursery school groups. There have been only a few informal playgroup-like initiatives so far. In 2004 a spontaneous informal club-like activity was initiated by a rural community in Haanja, where local fathers taught a group of pre-school children to value their home language, nature, local identity and traditions. Another playgroup was formed in a local creativity school in Võro. Children and their mothers sang local folk songs and played dance games. The children were encouraged to use Võro or Seto and the teacher used only Võro and Seto. As there were no special teaching materials available, instructors used existing teaching materials, e.g. the CD *Laulami latsilõ, laulami latsiga* ("Let's sing to the children, let's sing with the children"). Children and parents participated together in the Võro Folklore Festival.

In 2009, a "language nest" (an immersion kindergarten), which was also inspired by the above-mentioned initiatives, was organised for pre-school children. An eight-hour language nest is held once a week. Most of the children are between 1-7 years old and are native speakers of Võro. This makes the language nest different from other similar initiatives, where most children have not acquired the language at home. There are two educators, one of whom has the background of a pre-school teacher, and the other has a child-care certificate. Both are native speakers.

Bilingual education has been introduced in different schools in Estonia which focus on foreign languages, e.g. French, English and German. In those schools, the subject is taught by the CLIL (*content-language integrated learning*) method. The same method is used in schools where the language of instruction is Russian. In 2007 a more systematic transition to bilingual education in Russian schools started. Võro, however, has so far not been included in bilingual CLIL programmes.

Primary education in Estonia includes years 1-9 in basic school and is provided until the end of the compulsory school age. The Võro language, integrated into local (cultural) history, is being taught in 19 schools in the language area in 2012/2013. The Võro language is taught mostly in basic school, in most cases as an extracurricular activity, but as an elective in nine schools.

In the national curriculum, the Võro language as a subject can be taught as part of the subject called "local lore" (*kodulugu*). In addition, the Võro Institute has elaborated an experimental curriculum, where teaching the subject *the Võro*

language and culture is structured into three stages: *ABC in Võro* in Stage I (years 1-3), *local (cultural) history in Võro* in Stage II (years 4-6), and *Võro language and literature* in Stage III (years 7-9). Although the Võro language is taught in slightly more than half of the schools in the language area, the share of pupils who are studying, compared to the whole student body in the single structure of the area, has remained low (Koreinik 2007).

Most teaching materials are created, published and provided by the Võro Institute. The materials include a reader/textbook (*Võrokiilne lugõmik*, 1996), a primer (*ABC kiräoppus*, 1998), a song collection (*Tsirr-virr lõokõnõ*, 1999), a workbook for the primer, a workbook for the audiotape, a book of local cultural history (*Võromaa kodolugu*, 2004), an illustrated vocabulary (*Piltsynastu*, 2004), and a variety of audio and (audio-)visual materials. In addition, there are many texts which can be and are used for teaching: fiction, poetry, a travelogue, print media and an annual series of the children's own creation (*Mino Võromaa*, since 1987).

There is some teacher training for class teachers and other teachers who have taken on teaching the Võro language. The training is provided by the Võro Institute. Teachers are encouraged to use their own native variety of Võro. However, it has been observed that not all teachers stick to speaking Võro when teaching it. There is a need to revise the teaching methodology, as in the context of the language shift it is not clear whether the language should be taught as a native or a foreign language.

There are no universities in the Võro-speaking area; tertiary education is provided in vocational schools. However, since 1996 the Võro language as a subject can be studied at the University of Tartu. At first the title of the subject was "The Võro dialect" (0.7 ECTS). Since 2003 the subject has been called "South Estonian I" for beginners, and "South Estonian II" for advanced students. Graduates are awarded 1.3 ECT. Since 2004 there have been two series of lectures: "Modern Southern-Estonian Literature" and "History of the South Estonian literary language". The language of instruction of all these courses is Võro. Some theses and dissertations have been defended in Võro. In 2006 and in the 2011/2012 spring semester it was also taught at the University of Helsinki.

In collaboration with the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics (the Chair of History and Dialectology of the Estonian Language) of the University of Tartu, the Võro Institute has a tradition of publishing multilingual research papers (*Publications of Võro Institute*). Since 1997 26 volumes have been published; the texts of the last five issues were subjected to double-blind peer-reviews. The academic series include articles in Võro, Estonian, Finnish, Karelian and Kven, with English and Võro summaries. Another publication which publishes research papers on South Estonian is the yearbook of the Centre of Southern Estonian Language and Culture at the University of Tartu (*Tartu Ülikooli Lõuna-Eesti keele- ja kultuuriuringute keskuse*

aastaraamat). It includes articles in Võro and Seto, mostly about linguistics, literature and folklore.

Since the mid-1990s the Võro Institute has been disseminating the results of different research projects in its annual interdisciplinary conferences, where Võro is also used. The conferences are organised by the Võro Institute and linguists from the University of Tartu. The only serious attempt at educational research into schooling in Võro has been the work done by the then doctoral candidate of Indiana University Kara D. Brown. As the optional subject is not a part of the national curriculum she describes the Võro class, similarly to the other local aspects of culture, as peripheral in the school environment or *schoolscape* (see also Brown 2005).

According to the results of the 1998 study, most people between the age of 25 and 64 said that teaching Võro optionally was a desired measure to maintain the language. Most of them (slightly less than 70%) did not support compulsory learning.

Estonian is the language of public administration, although many local officials and specialists have been observed to use Võro or to code-switch at work, mostly when communicating with colleagues but also with clients. Võro is used by most employees of the Võro Institute and the Centre of South Estonian Language and Cultural Studies at the University of Tartu, where it is a working language. No court cases in which both Võro and Estonian have been used are known. Most likely there have been cases where Võro was used but it was considered either an idiolect or a dialect of Estonian.

Võro is mainly a rural community language, but it is also spoken in urban sites in the Võro-speaking area. There is no information about how frequently it is used in the non-governmental sector, village halls or elsewhere. However, in 2005 the Võro Institute awarded officials, specialists and organisations who had used Võro at work, in advertising, in communication with clients, etc. According to the 1998 survey, 28% of 25-64-year-old residents reported using Võro often with colleagues, and 13% reported never using it. However, the other patterns (when, where, and to whom) of its use are not known. There have been a few services in Võro in local churches (in Pindi, Kanepi and Urvaste). There are no data on religious practices on the individual level (see chapter 2.2.3 above). The results of the 1998 survey suggest that cross-generational transmission has been interrupted (see also Ehala 2007). As for other ethnic groups, it has been observed that some local Russians or members of other ethnic groups have used Võro when communicating with Estonian and Võro speakers.

2.4.4 Identity-connected language-political behaviour

There are a number of other groups and performers who have used Võro in different genres (e.g. pop, ethno-pop and singer's song) to different extents, both inside and outside the area (Aapo Ilves, Mari Kalkun, Kait Tamra, Indrek Kalda, Jan Rahman, Jaan Pulk, the band *Ummamuudu* 'In our own way', the project band *Viie pääle*, the Taul sisters, Jaan Pehk, the band *Singer Vinger* and others). Moreover, an ethno-pop project involving a group named *Neiokõsõ* was selected by the TV audience to compete for Estonia with a Võro language song in the Eurovision song contest in 2004. Ehala & Niglas (2007: 431) have stated that "this is perhaps the widest international publicity that the Võro language and culture have ever reached". In 2008 the first ever Võro-language song festival *Uma Pido* was held in Võru, the second festival was in the surroundings of Põlva in 2010, and in 2013 the third festival will be held in Võru again. It has opened up new opportunities for musicians, songwriters, performers and pop-groups. Different choirs have learnt songs in Võro for *Uma Pido*. There were over three thousand singers in both years. YouTube is also used for uploading tunes for *Uma Pido*. Some activists have also created a Võro version of Wikipedia (<http://fiu-vro.wikipedia.org/>). There is no systematic information on chat sites; most likely Võro is used sporadically. There are some forums where activist speakers and others have used Võro.

There have been a couple of Social Democrat MPs, a former minister and a member of the European Parliament who have used Võro in public. Some local politicians have used Võro especially when they are asked to use it. Võro is used in some papers in the publications of the Võro Institute by some authors. It is also used in conferences and when defending dissertations by activist speakers.

2.4.5 Gender aspects of every-day language policies

There is no specific data on gender issues pertaining to the Võro language or identity. In general, gender is related to both language change and changes in population. While gender is not a factor in migration and its influence mainly becomes visible in cultural practices, for women the reasons for migration include "marriage market" opportunities, in addition to the labour market (Ainsaar 2004). In modern societies, women are believed to be the innovators as far as language shift is concerned and tend to under-report their use of less prestigious languages (cf. Labov 2001).

2.5 Languages in Contact and Language Maintenance

The Võro language has the main typical characteristics of South Estonian which distinguish it within the Finnic language group (see Pajusalu 2007: 246-249, 258-

260). The same can be said of the Seto language, which has been traditionally considered to be a sub-dialect or a sub-dialect group of Võro. The situation of the Tartu and Mulgi dialect area, on the border of the North Estonian language area, has been determined by the greater proximity of these varieties to North Estonian. Nevertheless, South Estonian has historically been the foundation for both the Tartu and Mulgi dialects.

Early treatments of the Finnic languages do not mention South Estonian as a separate language, i.e. in terms of languageness (see Pajusalu 1996); this might be explained by (language) ideologies of that time. Later, when discussing historical linguistic branching, most linguists agreed that modern South Estonian varieties have developed from a proto-language which split from the proto-forms of North Estonian and other Finnic languages already at a very early stage (Saareste 1952, Ariste 1956, Sammallahti 1977, Viitso 1985, Wiik 1995, 1996, Iva 2007, Kallio 2007 and Pajusalu 2009). Wiedemann (1864) wrote that the Võro dialect should be considered as being completely distinct from the Tallinn dialect. Moreover, he observed in the mid-1860s that there were inhabitants who were bi-dialectal from early childhood and regarded the Tallinn dialect as a comprehensible foreign language.

As Võro has been considered a dialect or a variety of Estonian, and dialects have been, in general, an important source for Estonian corpus planning, it is difficult to estimate the size of the shared lexicon. South Estonian, including Võro, has some shared lexicon features with Finnish and Estonian, but there are words which occur only in South Estonian (see below). There is no detailed information on the mutual intelligibility of those languages. Although there are a number of differences, which have been pointed out by a number of authors (Wiedemann 1864, Saareste 1952, Keem 1997 and Iva 2002), the lexicon of contemporary (common, levelled) Võro seems to support mutual understanding between Võro and Estonian to a great extent. However, there are important differences between Võro and Estonian on all levels of language.

In what follows, the differences that have been present in the entire old area of South Estonian and those which do not exist in North Estonian dialects are listed. Some features characteristic to Võro are unique in the whole Finnic language area. On the phonetic level, Võro has speech sounds (phonemes) which do not exist in (North) Estonian: the affricate, which may be either voiceless (e.g. *tsiga* ‘a pig’) or voiced (e.g. *kööds* ‘a rope’), the glottal stop (with some central grammatical functions such as that of the plural marker, e.g. in *pini-q* ‘dogs, hounds’; see also Iva 2005), and, alongside the illabial mid vowel *õ* (“back e”) which is typical of all Southern Finnic languages, a higher illabial non-front vowel (“back i”). In South Estonian, there have been sound changes that date to the earliest period and

differentiate South Estonian from all other Finnic languages: **kt > tt*, e.g. *kõtt* ‘stomach.NOM’ and *üte* ‘one.GEN’, cf. Estonian *kõht*, *ühe* and Finnish *kohtu* ‘uterus’, *yhden*. Similarly, only in South Estonian is the original **ht* reflected by *tt*, e.g. *vatt* ‘foam.NOM’ and *kattõ* ‘two.PART’ (cf. Estonian *vaht* and Finnish *vaahto*). In certain words, only South Estonian and Livonian have a diphthong *ai* instead of *ei*, e.g. *hain* ‘grass.NOM’ and *saisma* ‘to stand’ (cf. Estonian *seisma*, Finnish *seisomaan*). There are a number of newer regular sound changes in both North and South Estonian, whereas in the Võro language many changes which have occurred in North Estonian did not happen. Vowel harmony, a prosodic feature lost in North Estonian, has been preserved in Võro (see Pajusalu 2007 and Pajusalu et al. 2009).

As for morphology, in traditional South Estonian, verbs are divided into two major conjugations (see Pajusalu 1996: 49-56). In the active conjugation the present form of the third person singular lacks an ending: *saa* ‘is getting’, *süü* ‘is eating’, *tege* ‘is doing’, and *tulõ* ‘is coming’; in the forms of the medial conjugation there is the marker *s* (< **ksen*): *jutustas* ‘is telling’, *virisäs* ‘is crumbling’, *vaos* ‘is sinking’, *kaos* ‘is disappearing’. The reflexive meaning of this category is understandable to today’s Võro speaker: *murd* ‘(s/he) is breaking smth’ vs. *murrus* ‘(it) is breaking off’, and *küdsä* ‘((s)he is) baking’ vs. *küdsäs* ‘(the cake) is baking’. In a few cases, there are parallel options. This feature is completely alien to Standard (North) Estonian, in which all verbs have similar inflectional endings, the third person singular present-tense forms are always marked (*saa-b* ‘is getting’, *jutusta-b* ‘is telling’), and the *-s* is not a reflexive/medial suffix but the past tense marker (*jutusta-s* ‘(s/he) told’).

Generally, the South Estonian verb paradigm is archaic and therefore often resembles Finnish, but also has large, principal differences. Unlike North Estonian, South Estonian has preserved some traces of the inflection of the negative auxiliary, as it distinguishes between the present negation particle *ei* and the past negation particle *es*: *ei tiiq* ‘(s/he) doesn’t do’ : *es tiiq* ‘(s/he) didn’t do’; see also Lindström 1997). The case endings show many differences to North Estonian. For instance, the ending of the illative (“into” case) is *-he* or dialectally *-de*, while Standard Estonian has *-sse* (an independent innovation). The inessive (“in” case) ending, reflecting an original **-sna > *-hna*, is either *-h* or *-n*, while in North Estonian, the same suffix has developed into *-s*. In South Estonian, in contrast, the *-s* (or *-st*) is the ending of the translative (which in North Estonian ends in *-ks*). Moreover, unlike North Estonian, South Estonian does not mark the nominative plural with a *-d* (< **-t*) but with a glottal stop. Thus, there are salient differences between South and Standard Estonian in important and frequent core elements of the grammar.

The Võro language also differs from (North) Estonian in its vocabulary (see Koponen 1998); there are more than 19,000 South Estonian words which are not used in North Estonian. In spoken Võro, newer vocabulary is shared and loanwords are

taken from the common Estonian. However, one may encounter differences in the most basic vocabulary. Part of the characteristically South Estonian words in Võro have cognates in Finnish but not in North Estonian (e.g. *kooldaq* ‘to die’, cf. Standard Estonian *surra*, Finnish *kuolla*; *lämmi* ‘warm’, cf. Standard Estonian *soe*, Finnish *lämmi*; *kõiv* ‘birch’, cf. Standard Estonian *kask*, Finnish *koivu*), which sometimes gives rise to the lay conception that “South Estonian is closer to Finnish than to North Estonian”. However, South Estonian also has words which differ completely from both (North) Estonian and Finnish, e.g. *mõsk-* ‘to wash’ (Standard Estonian and Finnish *pese-*), or *hahk* ‘grey’ (Standard Estonian *hall*, Finnish *harmaa*). Furthermore, the system of demonstrative pronouns (the division of labour between *seo*, *taa* and *tuu*) has no exact equivalent in any other Finnic language (Pajusalu 1998).

There are no big differences between Võro and North Estonian on the level of syntax. The differences are concentrated on the level of government and in the structure of negative clauses (Lindström 1997). Some of above-mentioned lexical and structural differences are disappearing fast; some seem to be withstanding the pressures (Org et al. 1994, Iva T. 2002, Mets 2010). The need to adopt new lexicon for the requirements of modern times is rather strong.

2.5.1 Monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism

The majority of the Võro-speaking population is bilingual in Võro and (common) Estonian, but the level of multilingualism is not known. Most likely there are no monoglots left. Adults with elementary, secondary and post-secondary education have learnt at least one foreign language. Most middle-aged people learned Russian from early on in their schooling, but after the Soviet period the knowledge of Russian has dramatically decreased. Today children learn at least two foreign languages, most often English, but also Russian, German and, to a lesser extent, French or Finnish (see chapter 4.3.1.3 below).

The interruption in cross-generational language transmission, the levelled language use of younger generations, large individual in-group differences, and signs of interference and limited register demonstrate a rapid language shift to common Estonian (Org et al. 1994; Iva 2001; Ehala 2007). The main shift occurred in the 1960-1980s (Org et al. 1994). Research has shown some inner changes in the Võro language (Iva 2001; Mets 2010). The general context of language contact is modernisation (including the growth in mobility), urbanisation and nation- and standard-building.

In the late 1980s, the activists of the Võro Movement made proposals to create an orthography of South Estonian (Iva 2007). In the first open “Summer University” organised by the activists, the linguist Toomas Help proposed a unique and bold

Võro orthography which differed greatly from Standard Estonian orthography. A wider, heated discussion on spelling took place at the beginning of the 1990s. International experts in the Võro and Seto languages agreed upon a single Võro-Seto standard in 1995. So far most of the publications that have been published by the Võro Institute have followed the standard, but the spelling norms have caused heated disputes. The main counterargument is the inappropriateness of the standard within the Estonian cultural context (*ibid.*). The spelling differs from that of Estonian in three characters: “q” (marking glottal stop), “y” (high illabial non-front vowel) and “” (palatalisation, a feature which, unlike the other two, does appear in Standard Estonian but is not marked in the orthography). Apart from spelling, the standard also favours older and sociolinguistically more distinct forms over more recent ones that are closer to Estonian (see also Iva 2007). The reception of the standard has been problematic due to the oral practice of Võro so far and social and political factors, e.g. othering, which draws borders within the Võro-Seto language continuum.

Although Võro seems to be transferred as a language of adults – children are passive users of language – family still plays a major role in acquiring Võro. Nevertheless, it is not entirely clear how language acquisition occurs.

Differences between the standard and the spoken/written language are indicated by a few authors (Teras 2001, Iva 2002 and Iva 2007). Given the oral usage of Võro, differences between the spoken and the written languages need further investigation. Võro is likely being used to a different extent in different domains: in alternative community media vs. local county papers, everyday use vs. official use, and in classrooms vs. in extra-curricular activities; however, there is no detailed information on this issue.

There is no information either on attitudes towards multilingualism or what is considered to be multilingualism by Võro and Estonian speakers or whether a command of both Võro and Estonian is considered bilingualism at all.

2.5.2 Results of the language contact

While a lot of research has been done on historical language contacts of South Estonian (Must 2000, Pajusalu 1996, Vaba 1997b and Koponen 1998), there is little known of the language contact situation now; code-switching and code-mixing has not been investigated sufficiently (see also Pajusalu 1996, Mets & Praakli 2007 and Mets 2010). There have been extensive studies on Russian and Latvian loanwords in Estonian dialects (Must 2000 and Vaba 1997b), but not in the contemporary use of Võro. Grammatical influence has been confirmed in only a few studies (for a

summary, see Iva 2007). Iva (2007) points out the very intensive impact of (common) Estonian on Võro.

The main language shift seems to have taken place in the 1960s-1980s. According to Ehala (2006), the Võro language can be described as moving from Stage 6 to Stage 7 of Fishman's Graded Inter-generational Disruption Scale for Threatened Languages (see also Fishman 1991; Keevallik 1996): from "some inter-generational use" to "only adults beyond child-bearing age speak the language". The case study in 1991 also indicated a language shift: while informants born prior to 1935 preferred Võro over Standard Estonian and there were signs of interference in the speech of the middle group, the group born after 1960 demonstrated large in-group differences (Org et al 1994). Instead of being triggered by migration, language shift has likely been caused by (language) political decisions and socio-economic changes.

2.5.3 Perception of learnability and willingness to use the language

Language activists have used the argument of the unintelligibility of Võro for most Estonian speakers when advancing the idea of South Estonian as a separate Finnic language (Ehala 2007). Ehala & Niglas (2007: 431) also state that "for speakers of standard Estonian, Võro is unintelligible without sufficient education, because there are differences in all levels of grammar as well in phonology and lexicon". Yet, there has been no empirical analysis of its intelligibility (see also Koreinik 2007).

The status quo is characterised by the development of polylogical or heteroglossic ideologies. There are at least two opposing language ideologies, one of which supports the preservation of Võro as a heritage (language) and its documentation in the framework of (cultural) enrichment projects and which fosters iconisation (the language turning into a symbol of an ethnic group), while the other is in favour of active language maintenance. However, both reinforce essentialist representations of language (Koreinik 2011; see Maffi 2000 for preservation vs. maintenance). It goes without saying that the ideology of preservation is dominant. While it seems that Võro speakers estimate their command of Võro rather accurately and there are a number of opportunities to use the language, the desire to use it is weak.

3 Data Sampling and Methods

3.1 Introduction to Fieldwork

Chapter 3 describes the design and the practicalities of gathering new empirical data. Designing the data sampling was originally the task of Jarmo Lainio of the University of Stockholm, who participated in ELDIA in 2010. Due to problems which finally led to the University of Stockholm leaving the project, this work phase was severely delayed, and the survey questionnaire was finalised under heavy time pressure by Kari Djerf and Ulriikka Puura (University of Helsinki). The fieldwork was conducted following the ELDIA Fieldwork Manual, which was prepared by Jarmo Lainio, and reported following the Fieldwork Report Template, which was written by Karl Pajusalu, Kadri Koreinik and Kristiina Praakli (all from the University of Tartu).

In this chapter, first the fieldworkers are described. Then information on when and where the fieldwork took place is provided. Finally, the sampling methods are described.

For the fieldwork, eight fieldworkers were recruited: seven (Lilian Freiberg, Kaile Kabun, Ene Laube, Talvi Onno, Maike-Liis Rebane, Nele Reimann-Truija and Aino Suurmann) for the questionnaire survey and one (Triinu Ojar) for both individual and focus group interviews. For the CG, a mail survey was used; the questionnaires (and later reminder letters) were mailed by Kadri Koreinik, who also had overall responsibility for the fieldwork in southeastern Estonia. All fieldworkers were female and of different ages (born in 1946-1989). Most of them had previous fieldwork experience: one had been working as a fieldworker for Statistics Estonia for years, others had been involved in different research projects, and only one interviewer, an under-graduate student, had no previous experience in fieldwork. Despite their different levels of experience, the fieldworkers received extra training for the survey. The interviewer Triinu Ojar also received different reading materials to familiarise herself with the procedures. All fieldworkers were bilingual (Estonian-Võro) and ready to switch languages. All of them were residents of the language area and some clearly identified themselves with the Võro-speaking minority.

The fieldwork was planned for the winter/spring 2011: the survey was scheduled for January-March 2011 and interviews for February-April 2011. The CG questionnaires were mailed in late December to 1000 addressees all over Estonia and the CG mail survey was expected to end within a couple of weeks of that date, i.e. by mid-January 2011. However, only the first 246 filled-in questionnaires were returned by the due date, with roughly a dozen following after the deadline. At the end of January 741 reminder letters were sent out.

The survey took place in the municipalities of “old Võromaa” (Antsla, Haanja, Kanepi, Karula, Kõlleste, Laheda, Lasva, Meeksi, Mooste, Misso, Mõniste, Orava, Põlva, Räpina, Rõuge, Sõmerpalu, Taheva, Urvaste, Valgjärve, Vastseliina, Varstu, Veriora, the Võru rural municipality, and the towns of Põlva and Võru), i.e. in the approximate territory of Võru County in its 1783-1920 borders.

The survey had to be prolonged for another month since some filled-in questionnaires were returned in early May 2011. As a result of the delay in the survey, the interviewing took longer as well. The last focus group interview took place on 25 May. The focus group interviews took place in public settings, e.g. in the building of the Võro Institute and on the premises of the gardening school in Räpina. Individual interviews took place in private settings, in informants’ homes, and in two cases, in the building of the Võro Institute. The main obstacle that may have influenced the fieldwork was the cold and snowy weather, especially in February, and the resulting bad road conditions, as the fieldworkers usually had to drive around the countryside to find respondents listed in the sample. Moreover, it was extremely difficult to trace respondents who did not reside where they had registered. Many younger respondents lived and worked abroad. There were no on-going political debates that affected the fieldwork.

3.2 Sample Survey

3.2.1 The structure of the minority speakers’ questionnaire

Two survey questionnaires were used, one for the target group (minority language, MinLg; in Võro and Estonian) and the other one for the control group (CG; in Estonian and Russian). The target group survey questionnaire consisted of 63 questions. More precisely, they were question sets, because many questions had a number of alternatives that increased the actual number of questions to 373. These included 31 open-ended questions, some of them used as alternatives. The control group survey questionnaire consisted of 47 question sets, while the total number of questions was 305 and the number of open-ended questions 20.

Initially, it was planned that the questionnaire would be tested and revised in two pilot studies before distributing and implementing it. However, the partner in charge of the preparation of the questionnaire had to withdraw from the project, which caused a fundamental delay in the detailed planning of the survey. Ultimately, it was not possible to elaborate on the questionnaire on the basis of the foreseen pilot studies. The consequence of the reorganisation of this work stage was that the questionnaire was too massive and lengthy for the respondents. Nevertheless, it fulfilled its main purpose and provided the needed data for the CSR.

The questionnaire can be found in Annex 3. (A revised version of the MinLg questionnaire, developed on the basis of the experiences from the ELDIA case studies, will be published as attachment to the EuLaViBar toolkit, which will be part of the ELDIA comparative report.)

The target group questions were divided into the following thematic categories:

1. *Basic information about the informant (1–6)*. This section covered the personal information of the anonymous respondents: age, birth place (country, rural or urban), education and profession. These were the basic sociological variables that were compared to other variables in the data analysis.
2. *Background of language usage (7–27)*. This extensive section mapped the stage at which the informant had learnt the minority and majority language(s) at issue, the information about language usage with family members and relatives, such as spouses, children, parents and grandparents, sisters and brothers and other family members. Language usage at school age was inquired about separately.
3. *Language skills (28–32)*. This section outlined the language skills of the informants in the minority language, majority language, English and eventually in another language. The questions included variables concerning the private and public sphere, such as home, work, school, street, shopping, library, church, authorities and local activities.
4. *Attitudes towards different languages and desire to use them (33–59)*. This was the largest and most complex section of the questionnaire. The respondents were asked to evaluate various statements about the usage and mixed usage of the minority and majority language. Furthermore, several variables were used to cover the informant's attitude towards language usage in various contexts. The respondents had to characterise the relevant languages by means of various adjectives and comment on their usefulness. The last part of this section dealt with the role of language planning and the ideas of correct language usage.
5. *Language usage in the public and private sphere (60–61)*. This brief section completed the points of the two preceding ones by asking more detailed questions on the presence of the minority language in the public sphere.
6. *Culture, media and social media in different languages (62–63)*. The last section sought to determine how the informants used media in different languages. The same selection that was applied earlier was repeated here:

minority language, majority language, English and another language. Both sets of questions focused on reading and writing.

Many respondents found the questionnaire difficult to answer. Some indicated that they had never thought about such matters (e.g. Q37-38). The questions for which answers were provided in semantic differentials (Q41-43) seemed especially difficult to answer or simply confusing. The wordings of some questions were inadequate (e.g. Q6C, Q24), and some questions were misinterpreted (e.g. Q25-27).

3.2.2 Minority language speakers' survey

Data collecting modes. A survey with both self-completion and interviewer-assisted self-completion was used. The former method worked well with younger respondents who were busy with domestic duties or otherwise occupied. The latter type was necessary for senior respondents.

Target population, sampling frame and sample size. The definition of the study population was complicated in the case of the study's Võro speakers: as Võro is not recognised as a language and its speakers are not counted in censuses or recorded by authorities, all residents of the area (see a list of municipalities above) were considered potential speakers of Võro. In addition, some screening was done by the fieldworkers. The sampling frame was the Population Register of Estonia, whose chief processor, the Estonian Ministry of Internal Affairs, was contacted. Random sampling was used. Of the original sample of 1000, 300 respondents were randomly selected and the rest were reserved as a backup sample.

Response rate. The response rate was 72%.

Survey outcome. The following table summarises the survey outcomes.

Survey outcome	N	%
Completed questionnaire (1)	160	39.1
Partial questionnaire (more than 50% completed) (2)	136	33.3
Out of scope: CG questionnaire was used (3)	0	0.0
Out of scope: survey not carried out (4)	13	3.2
Non-contact: correct address not found (5)	15	3.7
Non-contact: Contact attempts failed (6)	40	9.8
Refusal by the respondent (7)	25	6.1
Refusal by a respondent's family member (8)	4	1.0
Refusal due to e.g. incapability (9)	7	1.7
Technical problems (0)	9	2.2
TOTAL	409	100

Table 3. Survey outcome: Võro

NB! The outcome codes 5 and 6 are difficult to differentiate, as fieldworkers found it too difficult to estimate the actual reason for non-contact.

The questionnaire can be found in Annex 3.

3.2.3 The structure of the control group questionnaire

The CG survey questionnaire was based on the contents and structure of the MinLG survey. However, several parts of the questionnaire were shortened, especially with respect to the use and adopting of the MinLG. The major differences in comparison with the MinLG survey are the following: a detailed section about cross-language and intra-generational language use was changed into a few focussed questions, and questions concerning attitudes were either changed or replaced (e.g. in many cases questions were asked about two different MinLGs in each case study).

Structurally, the CG questionnaire consisted of the following parts: basic information about the respondent (Q1-6), background of language usage (Q7-11), language skills (Q14-18), attitude towards different languages (Q12-13, 19-46), and culture, media and social media in different languages (Q47).

In general, the questionnaire seemed to fulfil its purpose. However, there were some questions in which the wording was ambiguous or which were difficult to understand. The questions to which answers were provided in semantic differentials seemed difficult to answer or simply confusing. Moreover, for Russian speakers all questions concerning Võro speakers or their language seemed irrelevant: most of them had never heard of Võro speakers. Finally, as the Russian version of the CG questionnaire was the same as the Estonian one, some Russian speakers may have misunderstood the meaning of question 10: *Использовался ли в Вашей семье, кроме эстонского, какой-либо другой язык или диалект в общении с родителями или прародителями*¹⁰? There were a number of “no” answers to this question even if a respondent’s family was clearly Russian-speaking.

The CG questionnaire can be found in Annex 3.

3.2.4 Control group survey

Data collecting modes. A mail survey was used for the CG.

¹⁰ Do you have any other languages than Estonian in your family background in the generation of your parents and grandparents?

Target population, sampling frame and sample size. In the case of the CG survey, defining a study population was simple: all permanent residents of Estonia. The sampling frame was the Population Register of Estonia. Random sampling was used. The sample size was 1000.

Response rate. The response rate was 36.8%.

Survey outcome. As indicated above, reminder letters provided an important addition to the initial response rate. The survey outcomes are summarised in the following table:

Survey outcome	N	%
Completed questionnaire	159	42.1
Partial questionnaire (more than 50% completed)	209	51.3
Out of scope: CG questionnaire was used	0	0.0
Out of scope: survey not carried out	0	0.0
Non-contact: correct address not found	7	1.9
Non-contact: Contact attempts failed	0	0.0
Refusal: by the respondent	0	0.0
Refusal: by the respondent's family member	0	0.0
Refusal due to, e.g., incapability	2	0.5
Technical problems	1	0.3
TOTAL	378	100.0

Table 4. CG survey outcomes

3.3 Individual Interviews

3.3.1 On the organisation of the interviews

Target population. Selecting and contacting interviewees. The task for individual interviews was to select competent Võro speakers. However, as the target group for the survey were potential speakers whom we contacted for follow-up interviews, speakers with receptive command were also selected for individual interviews. Ninety-six out of 296 respondents who filled out the questionnaire agreed to be interviewed, either individually or in a focus group. All eight interviewees whom we contacted, depending on their responses on language use, agreed to be interviewed. The others were left on a waiting list for focus group interviews.

No background information form was used.

Recording device(s). An audio recorder EDIROL R-09RH was used to record the material. It worked well and the quality of the recordings was excellent.

Interview template. The semi-structured interviews were conducted following the centrally planned interview template which included the following questions:

I. Mother tongue

- i. What is/are your mother tongue/mother tongues? Is it easy or difficult to determine your mother tongue? Why? (Is your first language literally your mother's or parent's language? Can a local dialect /any other non-standard variety be a mother tongue? Why? Why not?)
- ii. Who else in your family/in your neighbourhood uses your mother tongue? Please describe who the speakers are. (If/when you have children, do you want to speak/use/transfer your mother tongue to them? Why? Why not? Is your mother tongue highly or poorly valued in your family/neighbourhood/society? Is your mother tongue recognised in the society? How? What is the importance of language for your religion?)
- iii. Who is a speaker of your mother tongue? How well does one have to know it to count as a speaker of it? Is being a speaker of the MinLG an imperative prerequisite for being a member of the respective (minority) group? What is the role of other cultural symbols than the language in the identification of the group, separate from other groups? What do you see as the most important cultural symbols that characterise the group?
- iv. What does your mother tongue mean to you? What kind of advantages have you had because of your mother tongue? Have you faced obstacles when using your mother tongue? What kind of obstacles?
- v. Are there differences between generations regarding the use of your language(s)? What languages were used by your parents and grandparents?
- vi. Do you think your mother tongue is strong/vital in general? (Is it disappearing or even dying out?) How do you feel about that? Who is responsible for your mother tongue? Why? What should be done to enable your mother tongue to develop? What are the best ways to ensure the future of your mother tongue(s)? Should the language(s) be preserved or maintained? Who should be in charge of saving the language(s)? (Speakers? Society through taxes, etc.?)

II. Other languages

- i. What have been important languages for you during your lifetime? Why? Are there differences in your personal-life milestones (moving to another location, parenting, changing schools) or periods of life, e.g. childhood/adolescence/ senescence?
- ii. What languages have you mastered at the everyday level? Where do/did you learn them?/Who taught them to you? What is the language that has been the easiest for you to learn/to use? What is the language that has been the most difficult to learn/to use? Why? Would you like to master more languages? What further languages? Why?
- iii. In your opinion, what makes other languages attractive/ugly or useless? Please explain/give examples.
- iv. Should people acquire other languages than their own mother tongue? Why?

III. Attitudes towards multilingualism

- i. Do you need to use more than one language in your everyday life? With whom do you speak different languages? In what circumstances? Why?
- ii. What languages would it be good to know? Why? Does it make one's life easier? More difficult? Please explain.
- iii. Are multilingual people valued more highly than monolingual people in your society? If so, in what ways? Does the knowledge of many languages change people? Please give examples.
- iv. Whose responsibility is it to teach different languages? Do you think that your society should be more multilingual? Less multilingual? Why? Do you think it would be better for everyone to use only one language, and which should that be in that case?

IV. Languages and modernisation

- i. How has the modernisation of life (e.g. technological change, increased mobility, new communication modes etc.) influenced the use of languages in your society/for you at home?
- ii. Do you use new media (e.g. the Internet)? What languages do you use in new media? Do you use some language more/less than earlier because of new media languages?
- iii. To which places/countries have you travelled? Which languages have you used for communication there? Did you succeed in communicating? When? If not, what went wrong and when?
- iv. What languages do people use with tourists/visitors in your region?

- v. Is language teaching efficient in schools? What should be done to make it more effective? Please give some examples! What should be the role of media/the Internet?
- vi. Do you think that all languages you know should have their own media? Which languages? What media?
- vii. What do you think about the future of languages? Do you think there will be more or fewer languages used in the world/in your country in ten years? How would you describe the future of your mother tongue?
- viii. What are the important steps to achieve a better understanding between different ethnic groups/nations? Is such an understanding necessary at all? How important is a better knowledge of languages in this?

3.3.2 Interview descriptions

Because the research in ELDIA yielded a large amount of data that had to be stored and made traceable and transportable, a special name code system was developed for the files. Each file name includes the abbreviation of the country (EE for Estonia) where the research was conducted and the speech community studied (SETO), the form of the interview (*II* for individual interview, *FG* for focus group) and the age group of the interviewee(s). In the case of the individual interviews and some of the FG interviews a code for gender (*f* for female, *m* for male) was also added. Thus, for instance, EE-VRO-IIAG3f denotes a female Võro speaker in Estonia in an individual interview, representing age group 3.

The interview with EE-VRO-IIAG3m took place on 18 February 2011 in the village of Navi, at the informant's home. The length of the audio recording is approximately 42 minutes. The interview was conducted in a relaxed atmosphere. In addition to Võro, the informant also had Seto ancestors.

The interview with EE-VRO-IIAG4m took place on 1 March 2011 in Võru, at the informant's home. The length of the audio recording is approximately 49 minutes. The interview was conducted in a relaxed atmosphere. The interviewers had the impression that the interviewee perhaps could not understand some questions, and questions about new media seemed to be irrelevant for him.

The interview with EE-VRO-IIAG5f took place on 2 March 2011 in Puutli, at the informant's home. The length of the audio recording is approximately 45 min. The atmosphere was relaxed. The questions about new media were irrelevant, as the informant didn't use the Internet.

The interview with EE-VRO-IIAG5m took place on 13 March 2011 in Kuutsi, at the informant's home. The duration of the audio recording is approximately 66 minutes.

The atmosphere was relaxed, but the informant did not follow the pre-set topics, and the last five minutes were completely off-topic.

The interview with EE-VRO-IIAG4f took place on 14 March 2011 in Parksepa, at the informant's home and lasted approximately 48 minutes. The informant was cooperative as she had worked as a fieldworker herself.

The interview with EE-VRO-IIAG1m took place on 15 March 2011 in Võru, at the Võro Institute's office. The length of the audio recording is approximately 23 minutes.

The interview with EE-VRO-IIAG1f took place on 17 March 2011 in Võru, at the Võro Institute's office. The duration of the audio recording is approx. 51 minutes. The informant was interested in further participation in a focus group interview.

The interview with EE-VRO-IIAG2m took place on 19 March 2011 in Linnamäe, at the informant's home. The length of the audio recording is approximately 28 minutes. The informant was not very talkative, and perhaps agreed to the interview only because his neighbour was a Võro activist. Questions about new media seemed to be irrelevant for him.

3.4 Focus Group Interviews

3.4.1 Focus group interviews with MinLG speakers

Target population. Focus group participants were required to have at least a receptive command of Võro. Ninety-six out of 296 respondents who completed the questionnaire agreed to be interviewed, either individually or in a focus group.

Selecting and contacting interviewees. In the case of individual interviews, non-probability sampling was used: in addition to those informants who were picked from those who had agreed on further cooperation in ELDIA, for the focus group interviews informants outside the survey were contacted, as many who had first agreed later ignored calls for interviews.

No background information form was used.

Recording device(s). A video camera SONY HDR-CX155 and an audio recorder EDIROL R-09RH were used to record the material. Both devices worked well and the quality of the recordings was excellent.

Interview template.

The **interview template** comprised the following thematic fields:

- 1) How did you learn the MinLG?

- 2) Are you bilingual/multilingual? Why/why not?
- 3) How do you use different languages in your everyday life?
- 4) Is it an asset or a problem in your case?
- 5) Is it necessary to speak the MinLG in order to belong to the minority group?
- 6) What do you think of the word minority? Are you a minority member?
- 7) What do you consider yourself to be? What do you identify as? How important is language for that identity?
- 8) What do you think others/the majority think of the MinLG and its speakers?
- 9) Diversity in society – is it increasing? Should it increase or decrease?
- 10) Were there attempts to prohibit learning the MinLG when you were a child or was it supported? By whom?
- 11) Should the public/society, for example schools, have a responsibility to support the MinLG, for example by providing instruction in or about it?
- 12) How do you think the MinLG is good for your society?
- 13) Do you think the MinLG has any use in modern society?
- 14) What do you think will be the fate of the MinLG in 10 years?
- 15) What other things do you want to add, or rephrase?
- 16) Any other comments?

3.4.2 Interview descriptions

Focus group Males & Females 50-64 (EE-VRO-FGAG4): the interview took place in the first floor hall of the Võro Institute on 18 April 2011, between 14:00-16:00. The participants were: male (51) – farmer, rural; male (53) – ceramicist, educator, rural; male (54) – repairs road-making machinery, rural; female (57) – on disability allowance, rural; female (60) – works in a museum, from Võru. Altogether 16 (9 of the survey respondents who gave their consent) persons were contacted. The participants were unfamiliar with each other. There were no dominant voices in the discussion, and all were Võro speakers.

Focus group Males & Females 65+ (EE-VRO-FGAG5): the interview took place in the first floor hall of the Võro Institute on 19 April 2011 between 13:00-14:15. The participants included: male (67) – retired, worked in forestry, Võro speaker; female (68) – retired, in-migrated from Narva, Estonian speaker; female (79) – retired, agricultural education, rural, switched between Võro and Estonian; female (77) – retired, worked part time in a local museum, switched between Võro and Estonian; altogether 9 (8) persons were contacted, and some interviewees were partly Võro and partly Estonian speakers.

Focus group Females 30-49 (EE-VRO-FGAG3): the interview took place in the first floor hall of the Võro Institute on 19 April 2011 between 19:00-21:30. The participants: female (39) – teacher on maternal leave, urban, lives in Võru, born in Saaremaa but considers herself local, used Estonian; female (41) – works in a village hall, a cultural worker and a village activist, rural, used Estonian; female (40) – masseuse, now rural, switched between Võro and Estonian; female (37) – social worker, used Estonian; female (37) – works at a customs office, from Võru, used Estonian; female (44) – sports official, urban, switched between Võro and Estonian. Altogether 18 (13) people were contacted.

Focus group Males 30-49 (EE-VRO-FGAG2): the interview took place in the first floor hall of the Võro Institute on 20 April 2011 between 18:00-19:20; The participants: male (42), carpenter, from Põlva, spoke Võro; male (43), from Võru, works in sales, switched between Võro and Estonian; male (41) – repairman, rural, Võro speaker; male (46) – works at a border service, from Võro but migrated in, spoke mainly Estonian but also some Võro; male (33) – theatre director, actor, from Võru, Võro speaker. Altogether 19 (11) people were contacted; different practices and opinions were featured.

Focus group Males & Females 18-29 (EE-VRO-FGAG1): the interview took place in the first floor hall of the Võro Institute on 26 April 2011 between 17:00-18:00. The participants: female (28) – educator at a kindergarten, but also works for the Võro language nest, rural, Võro is her home language; female (exact age unknown) – from Võro, studied Võro as an extra-curricular activity at school, Estonian speaker; female (exact age unknown) – works as a marketing specialist at a municipal cultural institution, Estonian speaker; male (27) – works as a manager at a local theatre, from Võru, didn't speak Võro but allegedly speaks well. Altogether 30 (17) people were contacted; different practices and divergent opinions were demonstrated.

Focus group Activists (EE-VRO-FGAGA): the interview took place on the premises of the gardening school in Räpina on 13 May 2011 between 18:00-19:00. The participants: female (43) – from Võru, worked at the Võro Institute as a project manager, researcher, as a director for seven years; female (36) – from Tallinn, but spent all school breaks in Võromaa, rural, has worked as an editor-in-chief at a local Võro-language newspaper for seven years; female (30) – lived in different places all over Estonia, but originally from Võru, folk musician; male (40) – works in various creative industries – art, literature, music, mostly in Võro; male (37) – poet and also works for public service TV, known as a Võro speaker whose language use did not depend on circumstances. Altogether nine people were contacted; consensual agreement was reached.

3.4.3 Focus group interviews with CG representatives

Target population. The target population were all politicians at the local or the national level (e.g. elected to the parliament from the Võro-speaking area). Moreover, different officials from ministries and local governments were defined as the target population.

Selecting and contacting interviewees. The researchers created a list of potential informants. The initial list for **Group Politicians & Authorities** (EE-VRO-FGP) included MPs who were elected from the region, local politicians, and officials from different ministries and organisations (e.g. the Institute of the Estonian Language). The initial list for **Group Media** (EE-VRO-FGM) included journalists who had covered the topic before, for most media channels, and for most of the local printed media. Most of the contacted people could not come, and as a result both focus groups had fewer people than was required in the Fieldwork Manual (8-12).

No **background information form** was used.

Recording device(s). A video camera, SONY HDR-CX155, and an audio recorder, EDIROL R-09RH, were used to record the material. Both devices worked well and the quality of the recordings was excellent.

The **interview template** comprised the following topical fields:

- 1) What is your mother tongue? How did you learn it?
- 2) Are you bilingual/multilingual? Why/why not?
- 3) How do you use different languages in your everyday life?
- 4) Is it an asset or a problem in your case?
- 5) What do you think of the word minority? Are you a minority member?
- 6) What do you consider yourself to be? What do you identify as? How important is language for that identity?
- 7) What do you think others/the majority think of the Seto and Võro and their speakers?
- 8) Diversity in society – is it increasing? Should it increase or decrease?
- 9) Should the public/society, for example schools, have a responsibility to support the Seto and Võro, for example by providing instruction in or about it?
- 10) How do you think the Seto and Võro are good for your society?
- 11) Do you think the Seto and Võro have any use in the modern society?
- 12) What do you think will be the fate of the Seto and Võro in 10 years?
- 13) What other things do you want to add, or rephrase?
- 14) Any other comments?

3.4.4 Interview descriptions

The **Focus group Politicians & Authorities (P)** interview took place in the first floor hall of the Võro Institute on 20 May 2011 at 14:00-15:30. The participants were: a male (62) who was an official at the Ministry of Education and Research; a male (45) who worked at the Ministry of Education and Research; a female (38) who was a municipality official; a male (34) who was an MP representing the Pro Patria and Res Publica Union. Altogether 16 people were contacted; some participants were familiar with each other. There were no dominating voices and there was consensus of opinion.

The **Group Media (M)** focus group interview took place in the first floor hall of the Võro Institute on 25 May 2011 at 16:00-17:00. The participants were: a male (45) who was a journalist and former editor-in-chief, and had worked for different media platforms (all-Estonian print, National Public Service Broadcasting/TV, radio, and community media); a female (34) who was a journalist and writer, had worked for different magazines and newspapers, had worked as an editor for Võro-language TV broadcasts, and was from Saaremaa; a male (46) who was a journalist, writer and poet, was working for an all-Estonian weekly, freelanced for a local county paper, and was from Tallinn. Altogether 15 people were contacted. Two participants were familiar with each other; there were no dominating voices present, and a consensus of opinion was reached.

3.5 Sociodemographic Distributions

The distributions of gender (Q01) and age (Q02) are presented below, where the observed frequencies are compared with expected frequencies, and a chi-square test was run. According to the test, the distributions were not independent, i.e. the sample was representative of the population. The data on the population were taken from the statistical database of population indicators and composition, population figures and composition by sex, age and administrative unit or type of settlement, 1 January 2011 (Statistics Estonia).

<i>VRO</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>Observed Frequency</i>	<i>Sample Percent</i>	<i>Population Percent</i>	<i>Expected Frequency</i>	χ^2
	male	143	49.48 ¹¹	46.19%	133	0.68
	female	146	50.52	53.81%	156	0.58
	TOTAL	289	100.00	100.00%	289	1.26

Table 5. Observed and expected frequencies of gender

¹¹ Values are rounded to the nearest hundredth of a percent to calculate as precise a value as possible. One decimal place is used elsewhere.

VRO	Value	Observed Frequency	Sample Percent	Population Percent	Expected Frequency	χ^2
	18 - 29	73	24.83	24.60%	72	0.01
	30 - 49	100	34.01	29.80%	88	1.75
	50 - 64	51	17.35	22.70%	67	3.71
	65+	70	23.81	22.90%	67	0.11
	TOTAL	294	100.00	100.00%	294	5.58

Table 6. Observed and expected frequencies of age

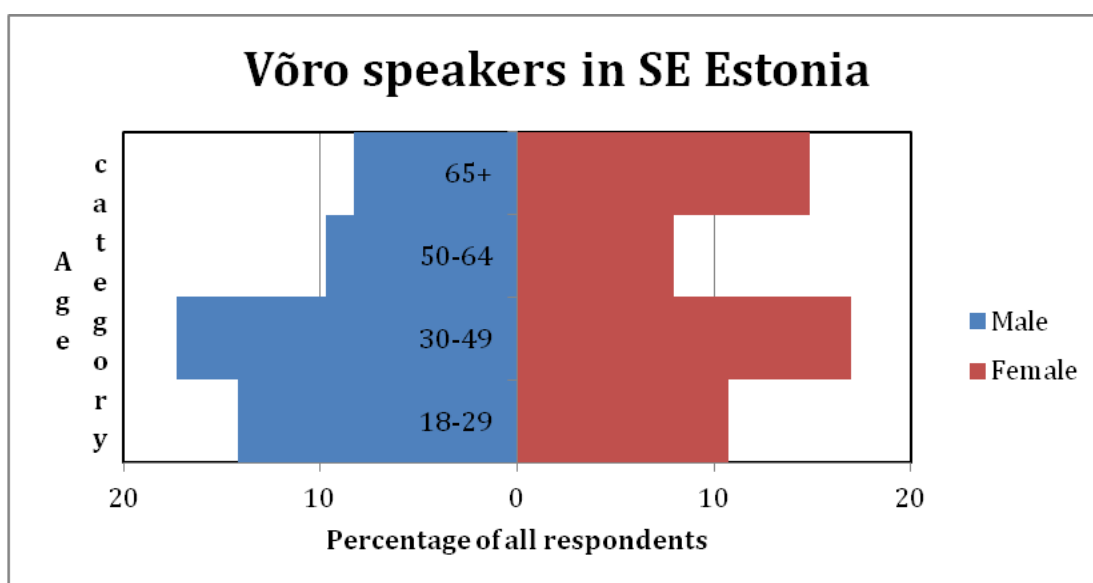


Figure 3. Võro speakers in SE Estonia: age and gender distributions

3.6 The Principles Underlying the ELDIA Data Analyses

by Anneli Sarhima and Eva Kühhirt

The new materials that were collected by means of the questionnaire survey and the interviews were systematically analysed within ELDIA Work Package 5 (WP5). In order to enhance the comparability of the results obtained in the different case studies the analyses of all datasets, including that which is discussed in this report, were conducted in the same way. The analyses followed the ELDIA WP5 Manual and the WP5 Manual Sequel, which were compiled by Anneli Sarhima and Eva Kühhirt (University of Mainz, Germany) with the support of Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark (Åland Islands Peace Institute) and the project researchers involved in the various case studies. The instructions were confirmed by the ELDIA Steering Committee.

3.6.1 Minority languages as part of multilingualism in modern societies

At its most general level, the goal of the data analyses was to provide new information on a selection of central sociolinguistic, legal and sociological aspects of

modern European multilingualism. In contrast to most other studies concerned with (European) minority languages, the ELDIA research agenda stresses the necessity of assessing minority language vitality in relation to a much wider multilingual context than that of a particular minority language and the local majority language. Like speakers of majority languages, speakers of minority languages in Europe use different languages in different contexts, although there are also cases where members of an economically disprivileged minority do not have equal access to the entire range of languages, e.g. by way of education. It is our belief that the vitality of a minority language depends not only on its relationship with the local majority language but also on the position which it occupies within the matrix of all the languages that are used in that particular society, and sometimes even of languages spoken in the neighbouring countries, as is the case with, for example, Northern Sami, Meänkieli, Karelian and Seto.

In ELDIA, new data were methodically collected from minority-language speakers and control group respondents, relating not only to the use of and attitudes towards the minority language in question but also to the use of and attitudes towards the relevant national languages and international languages (English, German, French, and, in some cases, Russian). Thus, one of the aims of the data analyses was to identify patterns of multilingualism and try to determine whether local multilingualism patterns favour or threaten the maintenance of a particular minority language. Instructions on how to analyse and report on the central issues pertaining to multilingualism were developed jointly under the supervision of Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, the leader of the ELDIA Work Package within which the Comparative Report of all the case studies will be produced. The observations on the patterns of multilingualism in Estonia and especially among the Võro speakers in Estonia are summarised below in chapter 4.3.1.9.

3.6.2 The operational goal of ELDIA

As stated in the Introduction of this report, the operational goal of the ELDIA-project is to create a European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar). This will be a concrete tool, easily usable for measuring the degree of vitality of a particular minority language or indeed any other type of language.

The EuLaViBar will be created in two steps. First, the analyses conducted on the data gathered during the project will be summarised in case-specific language vitality barometers, i.e. individual vitality barometers will be created for each of the minority languages investigated. The Language Vitality Barometer for Võro in Estonia is presented in chapter 5 of this Case-Specific Report. Then, during WP7 (Comparative Report), a generalisable EuLaViBar based on the comparison of these

individual-language barometers will be created by an interdisciplinary group of senior researchers from the fields of linguistics, sociology and law.

The EuLaViBar will be the main product of ELDIA. It will be submitted to the European Council and made public at the end of the project in August 2013. Consequently, the specific methodological steps involved in creating a vitality barometer for any particular language cannot be spelled out in the current report. The full rationale behind the preparation of the survey questionnaire data by the linguists for the statistical analyses, as well as the instructions on classifying the questionnaire data in a manner which allows for calculating the case-specific barometer, will be discussed in detail in the Comparative Report. Instructions for creating a language vitality barometer will be given in the EuLaViBar Handbook. They will be available as open-access documents on the ELDIA Website (www.eldia-project.org) from the autumn of 2013 onwards.

The following section briefly introduces the ELDIA concept of language vitality and how it can be measured. The other sections then describe the scope and aims of the data analyses and how they were made.

3.6.3 Defining and measuring language vitality

According to the ELDIA research agenda, the vitality of a language is reflected in and should be measurable in terms of its speakers being willing and able to use it, having the opportunity to use it in a wide variety of public and private contexts, and being able to develop it further and transfer it to the following generation. The definition is solidly based on what is currently known about the factors that promote or restrict language vitality and/or ethnolinguistic vitality in general. In this respect, the ELDIA approach has significantly benefited from work by Joshua Fishman, Leena Huss, Christopher Stroud and Anna-Riitta Lindgren. It also draws greatly on UNESCO reports on language vitality and endangerment (2003; 2009).

ELDIA aims at studying and gaining access to the full range of critical aspects of language diversity, use and maintenance in the language communities investigated, including economic aspects. Consequently, the methodological approach, which has been developed gradually during the different project phases, combines revitalisation, ethnolinguistic vitality research and the findings of diversity maintenance research and economic-linguistic studies. In brief, the EuLaViBar is the result of a novel practical application of ideas by two prominent language-economists, viz. François Grin and Miquel Strubell. In our analyses we have systematically operationalised, firstly, Grin's concepts of "capacity", "opportunity" and "desire" (see, e.g. Grin 2006, Gazzola & Grin 2007), and, secondly, Strubell's idea of language-speakers as consumers of "language products" (see, especially, Strubell

1996; 2001). We have also developed a language vitality scale and operationalised it over the entire ELDIA survey questionnaire data. As can be seen further below in this section, our scale draws on, but is not identical with, Joshua Fishman's Graded Inter-generational Disruption Scale (GIDS) which, since the 1990s, has served as the foundational conceptual model for assessing language vitality (Fishman 1991).

On the basis of the operationalisations described above, all the information that was gathered via the ELDIA survey questionnaire was analysed for each case study individually. The results are summarised in the case-specific Language Vitality Barometer (see chapter 5). As mentioned, the principles of the operationalisations and the underlying theoretical and methodological considerations will be discussed and explained in detail in the Comparative Report. In sum, the EuLaViBar, and thus the data analyses, involve constitutive components on four different levels: Focus Areas (level 1) which each comprise several Dimensions (level 2), the Dimensions being split into variables (level 3) and the variables into variants (level 4).

The four Focus Areas of the EuLaViBar are Capacity, Opportunity, Desire and Language Products. In the ELDIA terminology, these are defined as follows (the ELDIA definitions are not fully identical with those by Grin and Strubell):

- **Capacity** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar is restricted by definition to the subjective capacity to use the language in question and refers to the speakers' self-confidence in using it. The objective abilities to use a language are related to factors such as education and patterns of language use in the family, which are difficult to measure and impossible to assess reliably within ELDIA; they are thus excluded from the definition.
- **Opportunity** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to those institutional arrangements (legislation, education etc.) that allow for, support or inhibit the use of languages. The term refers to actually existing regulations and does not, therefore, cover the desire to have such regulations. Opportunities to use a given language outside institutional arrangements are also excluded from the Focus Area *Opportunity*: the opportunities for using a given language in private life do not count as "opportunity" for the EuLaViBar, neither does the opportunity to use it in contexts where institutional and private language use intertwine or overlap (e.g. "private" conversations with fellow employees during the coffee break).
- **Desire** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to the wish and readiness of people to use the language in question; desire is also reflected via attitudes and emotions relating to the (forms of) use of a given language.
- **Language Products** as a Focus Area of the EuLaViBar refers to the presence of or demand for language products (printed, electronic, "experiential", e.g.

concerts, plays, performances, etc.) and to the wish to have products and services in and through the language in question.

In addition to the Focus Areas, the ELDIA methodological toolkit consists of four main Dimensions along which each of the four Focus Areas is described and evaluated with regard to language vitality. These are *Legislation*, *Education*, *Media*, and *Language Use and Interaction*, and they are defined as follows:

- **Legislation** as a Dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to the existence or non-existence of legislation (supporting or inhibiting language use and language diversity) and to public knowledge about and attitudes towards such legislation.
- **Education** as a Dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to all questions concerning formal and informal education (level of education, language acquisition, the language of instruction, opinions/feelings/attitude towards education, etc.).
- **Media** as a Dimension of the EuLaViBar refers to all questions regarding media, including media use, the existence of minority media, language in media production, language in media consumption, majority issues in minority media and minority issues in majority media.
- **Language Use and Interaction** as a Dimension of the EuLaViBar includes all aspects of language use (e.g. in different situations / with different people, etc.).

In the case-specific data analyses, the Dimensions were described in terms of pre-defined sets of language-sociological variables which were used, survey question by survey question, to describe and explain the statistical data. The variables include, in alphabetical order:

- Community members' attitudes towards their language and its speakers
- Community members' attitudes towards other languages and their speakers
- Domain-specific language use
- The existence of legal texts in the minority language in question
- The existence of media
- Cross-generational language use
- Intra-generational language use
- Language acquisition
- Language maintenance
- The language of teaching in schools
- Legislation concerning education
- Media use & consumption
- The mother tongue

- The role of languages in the labour market
- Self-reported language competence
- Support/prohibition of language use.

The variants of the variables were defined in the above-mentioned WP5 Manuals. They were chosen so that they allowed for scaling each possible type of survey response along the following ELDIA language maintenance scale:

- 0 **Language maintenance is severely and critically endangered.** The language is "remembered" but not used spontaneously or in active communication. Its use and transmission are not protected or supported institutionally. Children and young people are not encouraged to learn or use the language.
→Urgent and effective revitalisation measures are needed to prevent the complete extinction of the language and to restore its use.
- 1 **Language maintenance is acutely endangered.** The language is used in active communication at least in some contexts, but there are serious problems with its use, support and/or transmission, to such an extent that the use of the language can be expected to cease completely in the foreseeable future.
→**Immediate** effective measures to support and promote the language in its maintenance and revitalisation are needed.
- 2 **Language maintenance is threatened.** Language use and transmission are diminishing or seem to be ceasing at least in some contexts or with some speaker groups. If this trend continues, the use of the language may cease completely in the more distant future.
→Effective measures to support and encourage the use and transmission of the language must be taken.
- 3 **Language maintenance is achieved to some extent.** The language is supported institutionally and used in various contexts and functions (also beyond its ultimate core area such as the family sphere). It is often transmitted to the next generation, and many of its speakers seem to be able and willing to develop sustainable patterns of multilingualism.
→The measures to support language maintenance appear to have been successful and must be upheld and continued.
- 4 **The language is maintained at the moment.** The language is used and promoted in a wide range of contexts. The language does not appear to be threatened: nothing indicates that (significant amounts of) speakers would give up using the language and transmitting it to the next generation, as long as its social and institutional support remains at the present level.

→ The language needs to be monitored and supported in a long-term perspective.

As pointed out earlier, in the same way as with the Focus Areas, the scale was systematically operationalised all through the ELDIA survey questionnaire data. A systematic scale of all the possible types of answers to a certain question in the ELDIA survey questionnaire was developed, so that, on the basis of the statistical results, it is possible to draw conclusions concerning the current language-vitality state of affairs with regard to what was asked. As will be shown in the ELDIA Comparative Report, by employing this knowledge it is ultimately possible to draw conclusions about the relative language-maintaining effect of such matters as the language-educational policies implemented in the society in question.

3.6.4 Practical procedures in the data analyses

The analyses of the survey questionnaire data and the interview data were conducted by linguists. In order to achieve the ultimate operational goal, the analyses focused on those features that are fundamental for the EuLaViBar in general. Consequently, they concentrated on a relatively restricted selection of the dimensions of the gathered data, and it was often not possible to include in the unified analysis method every feature that might have been deemed relevant in the individual cases.

3.6.4.1 Analyses conducted on survey questionnaire data

The ELDIA statisticians provided the linguists with one-way tables (frequencies and percentages of the different types of responses for each item, i.e. response options for each question) and with scaled barometer scores for each individual question. The linguists then analysed all the statistical data and wrote a response summary of each question. The summaries consisted of a verbal summary (i.e. a heading which expresses the main outcome of the question) and a verbal explanation presenting and discussing the main results that can be read from the tables. As part of their data analyses, the linguists also created the graphic illustrations inserted in chapter 4.

Both the minority survey questionnaire and the control group questionnaire contained many open-ended questions and other questions that could not be analysed automatically with statistical analysis programmes. All such questions were analysed questionnaire by questionnaire, in order to document how often each particular open-ended question was answered and how often it was answered in a particular way. In the open-ended questions, and in many of the closed questions, the respondents were given the option of commenting on their answer or adding

something, e.g. the name of another language. When going through the questionnaires manually, the researchers made notes on such additions and comments, summaries of which have been used in writing chapter 5 of the current report. In order to make the open-ended questions suitable for the required statistical analyses, the results of the manual analyses were manually entered in tables provided in the WP5 Manual Sequel, which offered options for categorising the answers along the language vitality scale in the required, unified manner.

3.6.4.2 Analyses conducted on interview data

The interviews conducted in WP4 were transcribed and analysed in WP5 as well. The transcriptions of the audio and the video files were prepared with Transcriber, which is a computer software designed for segmenting, labelling and transcribing speech signals. Transcriber is free and runs on several platforms (Windows XP/2k, Mac OS X and various versions of Linux). In ELDIA, the software was used to create orthographic interview transcriptions with basic and speech-turn segmentations. The transcription principles were jointly developed by researchers involved in the data analyses of the various case studies; the set of transcription symbols was discussed and confirmed at an ELDIA workshop in Oulu in August 2010. The transcription principles are summarised in Annex 2.

In the next step, the orthographic transcriptions were imported into the ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) software which is a multimedia annotation tool developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (<http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/>). In the ELDIA analyses, ELAN was used for coding the interview data for content and, to a modest extent, linguistic analyses. ELAN, too, is available as freeware and runs on Windows, Mac OS X and Linux. The user can select different languages for the interface (e.g. English, French, German, Spanish or Swedish). In ELDIA, the same ELAN settings were used throughout all the data sets: the transcription tier(s) are followed by three main (= parent = independent) tiers, viz. Status of Language (StL), Discourse Topics (DT) and Linguistic Phenomena (LP).

When conducting the ELAN analyses, the researchers examined all their interview transcriptions and marked the places where the language or discourse topic changed. Tagging the discourse was conducted at the level of so-called “general” category tags for the discourse theme. Due to the tight project schedule, a clear focus was kept on the central issues; the researchers who did the tagging had the possibility of creating new tags for coding other phenomena for their own use.

The scheme tagging the discourse topics is shown in the following table:

Category tag for discourse theme	Description of the phenomena which will be tagged with the category tag in question
Language use	Mother tongue, interaction, language skills (comprehension, speaking, reading, writing), level of language proficiency, support for language use, MajLg/MinLg, language competition, secondary language
Language learning	Language acquisition, mode of learning language X/Y/other languages; mother tongue, MinLg/MajLg, transmission
Education	Level of education, labour market, occupation, language of instruction, mother tongue
Mobility	Level of mobility (highly mobile, mobile, non-mobile), commuting, translocalism
Attitude	Pressure (pressure, non-pressure, indifferent), language mixing, mother tongue, language learning, multilingualism, societal responsibility, nationalism, minority activism, ethnicity, correctness, identity, conflicts, historical awareness/ experiences, legislation
Legislation	Level of knowledge (knowledge/non-knowledge), attitude towards legislation, quality and efficiency of legislation, language policy, labour market, support/prohibition of language use, language policy
Media	Use of media, sort of media (social, local, national, cross-border, MajLg, MinLg, multi/bilingual)
Sphere	Public, semi-public, private
Dialogue partner(s)	Self, father, mother, grandparents, children, spouse, relatives, friends, co-worker, neighbours, boss, public officials, others
Place	School, home, work place, shops, street, library, church, public authorities, community events
Stage of life	Childhood, adolescence, adulthood, seniority; pre-school, school, university/higher education, professional life, retirement, today
Gender	male, female
Mother tongue	Competition, communicative value, attachment (social/cultural), visions of normativity/correctness, maintenance, identity, importance on labour market, current state, historical awareness, conflicts

Table 7. Category tagging of discourse phenomena

Having coded the discourse topics with the respective tags, the researchers analysed each interview, discourse topic by discourse topic. In order to make the interview data maximally usable in the Case-Specific Reports, they were asked to write brief half-page descriptions of each interview, paying attention to the following variables: e.g. age, gender, level of education (if known), profession/occupation (if known), first-acquired language, mobility, language use in the childhood home, language use with parents and siblings today, language use with spouse, language use with their

children, language use with their grandchildren. The researchers were also asked to provide a fairly general discourse description of each interview, summarising their observations on the following issues:

- how the information obtained from the interviews relates to the results of the questionnaires, i.e. to what extent what the informant(s) say supports them and when/to what extent it contradicts them;
- any new problems, attitudes, or viewpoints which come up in the interviews
- comments on what still remains unexplained
- comments on the fruitfulness of the interview data, i.e. make a note of well-expressed views which gave you an 'aha'-experience when you were working on the interviews

The results of all the data analyses described above were submitted to the Steering Committee in the form of a project-internal WP5 Report. These were saved on the internal project website; they will not be published as such or made available to the public after the project ends but their authors will use them for post-ELDIA publications. Alongside the Case-Specific Reports, WP5 reports also will feed into the Comparative Report.

4 New Data on Legislation, Media, Education, Language Use and Interaction

4.1 Legal and Institutional Analysis

by *Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark*¹²

The question of language has always been an important aspect of the legal and political context of Estonia. The legislative framework is mainly concerned with the requirements on the use of the Estonian language, while also providing for clear regulation of the use of foreign languages, including the languages of national minorities. The position of the Estonian language in Estonia is clearly reflected in the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia. Its preamble states: “[The Constitution] shall guarantee the preservation of the Estonian nation, language and culture through the ages.” The constitution further accords the Estonian language the status of state language in Estonia (§6). Two additional provisions of the constitution are important to mention, although they do not expressly deal with language. §45, providing for the freedom of expression, clearly includes the right to express oneself in a language of choice subject to appropriate restrictions. Another provision touching upon language is §49, providing for the right to preserve one’s ethnic identity. It is believed that ethnic identity cannot be preserved unless a person can use his/her respective language or if the existence of that language is in danger. This provision is in fact the basis for §37 (the right to choose the language of instruction) and §§50–52 (on national self-governing entities and the use of a national minority language). In addition to provisions regulating the use of languages, the constitution also provides for protection against discrimination based on language (§12). (Meiorg 2012: 15-18)

In principle, the constitutional protection of the Estonian language also applies to “regional varieties of the Estonian language” (in Estonian: *eesti keele piirkondlik erikuju*), such as Võro and Seto, as these are considered parts of the generic Estonian language, along with the Estonian Literary Standard (in Estonian: *eesti kirjakeele norm*), and Estonian Sign Language (in Estonian: *viipekeel*).

Beyond the constitutional provisions mentioned, Estonia has enacted extensive legislation on language, mainly concerning the use of the Estonian language. The main legal instruments relating to language are the Language Act, which was revised recently (the current version entered into force on 1 July 2011), and the regulations adopted on its basis.

¹² This is a summary based on the more extensive analysis authored by Marianne Meiorg (2012).

The Language Act regulates the use of Estonian as the state language, language proficiency requirements in specific areas and instances where languages other than the state language can be used. The requirements as to the use of the Estonian language are divided into two parts. Official use, i.e. in the exercise of public authority, must comply with the Estonian Literary Standard. In other cases of public use, such as in advertisements, announcements and signs, the language use must comply at least with the “good practice” of the Estonian language. In the latter case, regional varieties of the Estonian language, including Võro and Seto, can be used. This is a significant development, since until the recent revision of the Language Act regional varieties could only be used on public signage provided there was a similar text in the Estonian language of at least the same size. (Meiorg 2012: 18-25)

The phrase “regional varieties of the Estonian language”, as referred to in the Language Act, can also be found in different policy documents and discussions. Accordingly, “regional varieties of the Estonian language” is understood to encompass the dialects historically spoken by people living in specific regions, such as by the Võro people in southern Estonia and the Seto people in southeast Estonia. The Võro and Seto communities, however, advocate taking into use the term “regional languages” as it is used in the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which Estonia has not signed.

The Language Act includes two new provisions relating to dialect. First, the state is required to support the protection, use and development of the regional varieties of the Estonian language (§3(3)). Second, in regions where “dialectal languages” have historically been spoken official texts can, in addition to the Literary Standard, also be written in the respective dialectal language (§4(1)). The coherency of the language legislation has increased considerably as a result of adopting the new Language Act. The rights attached to the term “regional varieties of the Estonian language” have also become clearer. However, it could be argued that the introduction of the completely new term “dialectal language” (*murdekeel*), used obviously as a synonym for “regional varieties”, has again made terminology less coherent.

The Estonian educational system is flexible in regard to the language of instruction in individual educational institutions. The constitution states that, although everyone has the right to be taught in Estonian, the language of instruction of the particular educational institution is within the discretion of that institution (§37). (Meiorg 2012: 25-28.)

The regulation of place names is important from the perspective of the Võro and Seto languages, as many place names in the respective regions are, or used to be, in these languages. The Place Names Act recognises this and thus provides that the spelling of a place name must follow Estonian orthography, although it may reflect

the local dialectal sound structure of the name (§10). It is specifically provided that Estonian dialects, with or without their own orthography, are considered to be parts of the Estonian language for this purpose (§10(3)). The regulation on place names has proven to be supportive of both Võro and Seto. However, efforts to restore old place names have not been without setbacks. (Meiorg 2012: 18-25, 57-61.)

Language legislation in Estonia is a complicated area. In addition to the main acts, such as the Language Act, the Place Names Act, the Names Act and others mentioned above, there are numerous regulations adopted by the government based on these acts. All this creates a considerable body of law, of which the practical impact is difficult to assess. This is especially the case in relation to the Võro and Seto languages, as their status with regard to language legislation is still somewhat unclear. There is no actual practice delineated in the implementation of the regulation with regard to these languages. (Meiorg 2012: 18-25.)

4.2 Media Analysis

by Reetta Toivanen

The aim of the media discourse analysis¹³ in Estonia was to find out how minority languages, language maintenance, language loss and revitalisation were discussed in the majority versus minority language media. Furthermore, the research was conceived to provide further information on the developments in the area of inter-ethnic relations in the studied countries. The underlining assumption shared by the separate country analysis was that the way media comment on language minorities eventually reveals the context in which a language minority tries to maintain and revitalise their mother tongue. The attitudes shared in the majority media explain, to a certain extent, the attitudes of the majority society towards the minority language communities. The opinions and attitudes in the minority media show the challenges and opportunities the minority community shares with its own members.

The key questions of the media discourse analysis can be summarised as follows:

1. How are minorities discussed in the majority and minority media?
2. How are majority and minority media positioned, or how are they positioning themselves and each other, in the field of media?
3. How do majority and minority media inform the public about what is happening in the field of inter-group relations?

¹³ The actual research was carried out by Kadri Koreinik at the University of Tartu, who was trained to use a manual for the media discourse analysis. The manual included questions and advices how the researchers should go through the vast amount of material and come up with illustrative examples and answers concerning legislation, education, media, and language use and interaction.

4. Is the maintenance of languages a topic and how is it discussed?
5. What kinds of roles and functions are assigned to majority and minority languages in the media?

In order to gain a longitudinal approach to the material and also address issues concerning change of status and the situation of the studied minority language communities, three different periods were chosen for the actual analysis. For Estonia, the chosen periods of analysis were 1) February – April 1998, when the Council of Europe’s European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities entered into force, 2) spring 2004 (debate on status of SE), and 3) November 2010 – January 2011, for an outline of recent development.

In Estonia, the media discourse analysis focused on two small language communities: the Seto and the Võro. This is a summary of the media discourse analysis of the Võro media and the Estonian majority media. The Võro speakers considered themselves to be bilingual Estonians, whereas there was an ongoing dispute about the independent character of the language. Some researchers have maintained that Võro is actually a southern Estonian dialect.

Due to the state’s cultural policy, media in the Võro language have been funded by the state programme “Language and Culture of Southern Estonia 2000-2004” and its follow-ups. In addition to print media, short radio news programmes and TV episodes are broadcast on the national public service broadcasting station. Võro is somewhat used in blogging and in social media. Until the mid-1990s, Võro was used in all journalistic genres.¹⁴ With the newspaper *Uma Leht*, first published in 2000, being an entirely Võro-language channel, other (local and county) newspapers have almost stopped using Võro.¹⁵ Moreover, with the support of the same programme, eight Võro-language issues of Estonia’s oldest children’s monthly magazine, *Täheke* (‘Little Star’), have been published between 2005 and 2011. Besides *Uma Leht*, there are two local newspapers – *Võrumaa Teataja* (‘Võrumaa Gazette’) (VT) and *Koit* (‘Dawn’) – in Estonian, which are published in Põlva and Võru Counties, which include Seto municipalities (Meremäe, Mikitamäe, Misso and Värska) and cover the core area of Võro speakers. Both focus mostly on local affairs but also publish opinions on more general topics (e.g. parliamentarians publishing their political agenda, and state-owned enterprises doing their PR).

¹⁴ Saar Poll 2005 = The study of the readership of *Uma Leht*.

¹⁵ (ibid.) Mariko Faster points out that the first Estonian newspaper “*Tarto maa rahwa Näddali-Leht*” published already in 1806 in the South Estonian (Võro) standard, see Faster 2005.

Moreover, two major all-Estonian daily newspapers, *Eesti Päevaleht* (Estonian Daily Newspaper) (EPL) and *Postimees* (The Postman) (PM),¹⁶ published in Estonian, were also selected for the analysis. Both are daily newspapers which represent the social mainstream (cf. Mautner 2008) and can be considered as fora where most policy claims have been discussed. Both are published six times a week, and online versions are constantly updated.

As the majority-minority divide in media is traditionally defined in terms of Estonian vs. Russian, the media behaviour of ethnic Estonians and Estonian Russians has been monitored for decades now (Vihalemm 2001; Vihalemm 2008: 77-81). General trends in print media consumption in Estonia are towards an ageing newspaper readership, with occasional reading among younger generations (Vihalemm 2006). Quality papers are read by elite groups (Vihalemm & Kõuts 2004). The peripheral southeastern Estonian is economically less developed than those in the North and this may also determine the southerners' media consumption. The analyses of media (behaviour and content) for South Estonian varieties have been limited to a few BA theses and other research papers.¹⁷ The study of media behaviour in the area where Seto and Võro are spoken is out of date. However, according to Vokksepp (2008) the majority (72%) of the subscribers of *Koit* (one of the county newspapers) are 65 and older. The second choice of readers of *Koit* was *Postimees*. A similar outcome might be expected for the readership of another local paper in Estonian, *Võrumaa Teataja*.

In Estonia, the topics of Võro and Võro speakers are rather marginal in the public majority discourse. The mainstream media seem to publish articles on them only when the status quo seems to have changed or is being challenged: legal changes or the selection of a minority language song to represent Estonia in the Eurovision competition. Otherwise, the topics are brought up sporadically. Paradoxically, the minority newspaper avoids topics which “minoritise” the Võro speakers (i.e., highlight their position as a group different from the dominant “mainstream Estonian” population) and seems not to have an explicit political agenda. This can be explained by the position of the majority of Võro speakers. Moreover, the coverage and attitudes of the local county paper in Estonian seem to depend on the authors, a small number of people, and their preferences and views.

In minority media, on the other hand, locality-building and identity-building are represented by the community as the re-inventing of heritage. It is often repeated that the Võro language is “our own language”.

¹⁶ Circulation ca. 56,600, see Estonian Newspaper Association <http://www.eall.ee/tiraazhid/index.html> (last accessed in June 2011). Hereinafter abbreviations widely accepted in Estonia are also used in this analysis.

¹⁷ See e.g. Saar (1996); Harju (1999); Afanasjev (unpublished manuscript); Vokksepp (2008); Koreinik (2011).

In Estonia, it is difficult to say whether anything changed during the research period. The reluctance of Võro speakers toward being labelled as a minority, in both majority and minority media, makes the comparison in this limited text corpus difficult.

In Estonia, Võro is defined as “our minority” in the Estonian press. That their cultural and language activities are funded by the Ministry of Culture is not seriously criticised anywhere. The Võro activists and the minority language press have their own complaints and concerns, but they keep their demands moderate. There is no threatening of the majority, nor any serious conflicts expressed in the minority language discourse. They clearly do not want to be labelled as trouble-makers but, instead, seek a harmony even though it may cost them some rights or the true realisation of their rights.

4.3 Sociolinguistic Analysis of Survey and Interview Findings

4.3.1 Language Use and Interaction

4.3.1.1 Mother tongue

Estonian was the language that most potential Võro speakers had learnt first. When respondents were asked what was/were their mother tongue(s) or the language(s) they learned first, Estonian only and Võro only were reported as the first languages by 56.3% and 26.8%, respectively. Both Estonian and Võro were named by 14.4%. It should also be mentioned that the category “Võro” includes “Seto”, as those varieties are mutually comprehensible but equally different from Estonian. Some respondents may even have had difficulties with differentiating between them, especially when one parent was of Võro and the other was of Seto origin. Other first languages were named by 2.5%; Russian and German were mentioned by two and one respondents, respectively. In sum, 85% reported only one mother tongue or first language. Sometimes people had difficulties in choosing:

no sis om iks kiräkiil (EE-VRO-FGAG4-02m)
 ‘well then (it) is the standard language’

Those shares can be compared with the quarter of Võro speakers who responded that they had learnt Estonian at school only (Q9); this included those whose home language in the pre-school years had been other than Estonian: Võro, Russian or other. As for other mother tongues named, other South Estonian vernaculars and local varieties were mentioned. For example, an informant had doubts about the naming of the language:

mille nüüd tervele lõunaeesti keelele panti võro silt külge (EE-VRO-FGAG4-01m) ‘why is all South Estonian put under the label ‘Võro’

An informant defined what the Võro language was for her:

no võro kiil om mul (.) nagu esivanembite kiil (EE-VRO-IIAG4f)
‘well the Võro language is for me, kind of my ancestors’ tongue’

The fact that Estonian is the first (written) language for most Võro speakers was also supported by the share of respondents who chose to fill in the Estonian-language questionnaire, clearly demonstrating potential Võro speakers’ preferences for written Estonian and implicitly also reflecting the novelty and weakly established status of standard Võro. The great majority of respondents chose the Estonian-language questionnaire instead of the Võro version; all three people who picked the Võro-language questionnaire were men. The novelty of the standard was also exemplified in the distributions of self-reported language competence of Võro, Estonian and a number of foreign languages (see chapter 4.3.1.3 “Self-reported language competence” below).

As for the all-Estonian CG, 68.1% and 31.0% claimed that Estonian and Russian, respectively, were their first languages (with 71.9% and 28.1% choosing and filling in the questionnaire in Estonian and in Russian, respectively). Less than a tenth claimed that they had more than one language as their mother tongue. 4.2% and 1.9% reported Võro and Seto as their first languages, respectively.

4.3.1.2 Cross-generational and intra-generational language use

Approximately 70% of the respondents reported that their grandparents had spoken Võro or Võro alongside Estonian to their grandchildren (Q10-11). For a little more than half (54.9% and 51.5% for maternal and paternal grandparents, respectively), Võro was the sole language their grandparents had used, while 23.3% and 17.6% reported that their maternal and paternal grandparents, respectively, used both Võro and Estonian when speaking to them. Together with other language combinations, which were reported in only a few cases (the most often mentioned foreign language was Russian), this means that the grandparents of between approximately a quarter and a fifth of the respondents had followed multilingual practices. Roughly the same share of grandparents (but with reversed gender relations, 17.1% and 25.9% for maternal and paternal grandparents, respectively) had spoken only Estonian.

Võro-speaking grandparents, thus, seemed to be a rule, not an exception:

sis koton meil kõnõldi inne eesti keelen aga mu oll vanavanaimä (.) sääne (.) äge mutt tuu kõnõl küll koguig küll inne võro kiilt (EE-VRO-FGA-02f)

‘then at our home we used to speak Estonian only, but I had a great-grandmother, such a... tough old lady, she spoke all the time only in Võro’

mul (.) vanõmba es kõnõlõ võro kiilt ja mii ellimi Talnan a mul oll vanaimä kes om mu jaos nigu kõgõ tähtsamb isik olnu timä elli Kanepin ja muidoki timä sääl kõik tuu külä elo tuu käve kõik nigu uman keelen (EE-VRO-FGA-05f)

‘my parents did not speak Võro and we lived in Tallinn, but I had a grandma who was for me kind of the most important person; she lived in Kanepi and of course she was there, and all that village life was conducted in our language’

More than half reported that their mothers and fathers had spoken Võro or Võro in addition to Estonian to them in their childhood (Q15, Q17). Approximately 35% reported that their mothers and fathers had spoken only Võro. Slightly more than a fifth reported that their parents had used both Estonian and Seto with them. 42.1% and 38.6% reported their mother and father, respectively, had spoken to them only in Estonian in their childhood.

Slightly more than half reported that their parents used only Estonian when speaking to the respondents now (Q16, Q18). Approximately half of the fathers were reported to use Võro or Võro in addition to Estonian with respondents, while 45.7% of mothers were reported as doing the same.

Approximately 35% reported having spoken Võro to their oldest and youngest children (Q21). About 15% reported having spoken only Võro. 65.3% and 58.6% reported having spoken only Estonian to the oldest and the youngest children (including adult children), respectively. Between a fifth and a quarter reported having used more than one language when speaking to their oldest and youngest children, respectively. A few parents had used Russian, Finnish and English when communicating with their offspring. An informant’s reasons why she had not spoken Võro to her children:

tuu aigu üldse es tõstatata ka seda võro kiilt üldse esile pigem oll tuu et teda es tahetagi et kõnõlõsi (EE-VRO-IIAG4f)

‘at that time the Võro language was not highlighted at all; rather, it was so that they didn’t even want it to be spoken’

As for speaking Võro to children, some people seemed to have changed their minds with the rise in the language prestige of Võro. An activist speaker described this:

ma kõnõlõ latsega (.) väiksemba lastega no häste kõikaig iks võro kiilt suurõmb tüküs talle vahepääl muidoki talle eesti keeli vastama ku ta võtt määndsegi jutuotsa üles ja ma joba naka timäga eesti keelen üten mõtlema vot sis ma (.) ütäl hetkel avasta et ma jälleki ma kõnõlõ taga eesti keelen (EE-VRO-FGA-03f)

‘I speak with the child, with the smaller child, well, almost always in the Võro language; the older (one) strives to answer, well, occasionally in Estonian when she starts talking and I in turn start thinking in Estonian together with her and then, well, I suddenly realise that again I am speaking Estonian to her’.

The reason for not speaking is illustrated by the following quote:

kõige väiksembä latsõga tuu om nüüd katsa aastanõ tuuga iks vahepääl kõnõlõ võro kiilt aga noh toda om küllält vähe et ei olõ säänest nagu toda atmosfääri (EE-VRO-FGAG4-02m)

‘with the youngest child, she is eight now, with her, well, occasionally (I) speak Võro but, well, this happens rather seldom because there’s no, I mean, that kind of atmosphere’

Most kids did not speak and were not spoken to in Võro:

ma näe et uma lats uma väikse latse sõpruga kes aigaolt külän käävä üts neist ei mõista iks sukugi võru kiilt aga ma timäga kõnõlõ ka võru keeli sis tuu jääs mullõ ulli näoga otsa vahtma (EE-VRO-FGA-03f)

‘I see that my own child, with his little friends who occasionally visit us, one of them does not understand Võro at all but I speak Võro to him as well, and then he stares at me with a stupid face’

On the other hand, a couple of decades before, another activist speaker had surprisingly witnessed how children can acquire Võro at a very young age:

siuke siuke lats esi viil ei nigu nigu peris puhtalt ei kõnõlõ pääleki ja pand siukest Võro kiilt (EE-VRO-FGA-04m)

‘such a, such a child, doesn’t like, like speak clearly at all yet, and is now talking in so (fluent) Võro’

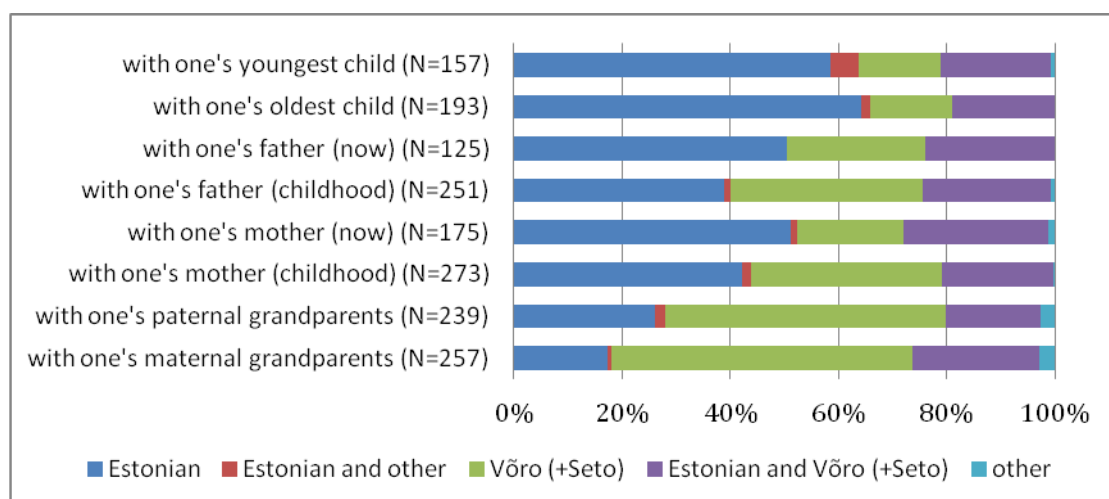


Figure 4. Cross-generational language use, %

As for intra-generational language use, slightly less than half of the Võro speakers reported their parents having spoken only Võro among themselves (Q14). 57-58%

of fathers and mothers were reported to have spoken to the other parent in Võro and both in Võro and in Estonian. Approximately 39% of fathers and mothers were reported to have spoken only Estonian to one another. Approximately a tenth of Võro speakers reported their parents had followed multilingual practices when speaking to each other. Parents who had spoken Võro between themselves but not with their children seemed to be so common that an in-migrated CG representative noted:

hästi paljud vanemad kes räägivad Võro keelt oma lastega täiesti teadlikult ja selgelt räägivad ainult eesti keelt et et see on vist vähemalt vahepeal olnud täiesti hästi selline tugev tendents et (.) et hea küll et me omavahel võime Võro keelt rääkida aga last- lastega räägime eesti keelt (EE-EST-FGM-02)
 ‘fairly many parents who speak Võro, with their children they completely consciously and clearly speak Estonian only so that, so that it may have been in the meantime a really, such a strong tendency that, that, OK, we can speak Võro with each other but with child-, with the children we speak Estonian’

Another informant did not support speaking Võro to children and believed that Võro-speaking children had spelling difficulties:

ma kujuta ette et nendel tulevastel lastel tule tuuga kirjandi või lõpueksamidel raskusi (EE-VRO-IIAG5f)
 ‘I imagine that in future those children will have difficulties with the final thesis or final exams’

Similarly to the respondents’ language use with their parents, the respondents’ language choices with their older and younger siblings (Q19) indicate that the use of Võro has been receding: Võro was used in the respondents’ childhood slightly more often than now. 32.9% of the respondents had used Võro with their younger and 25.9% with their older siblings in childhood. Now, approximately a quarter of the respondents reported speaking to their older and younger siblings in Võro.

A substantial part of the respondents reported using Võro or both Võro and Estonian with their partners or spouses (Q20). 47.2% claimed to use only Estonian. A third reported multilingual practices when speaking to a partner or a spouse. 2.2% reported using other languages (including Russian and English) to partners. As the following quote demonstrates, partners could be rather picky about each other’s language:

minu mehe selline ma ütlen selle peale (.) et lõuna murre noh see mind esimesed aastad ikka häiris niimoodi (.) et ma ütlesin et kui sa minuga räägid siis palun kirjakeeles (EE-VRO-FGAG3-06f)
 ‘my husband’s, this, I call it... the southern dialect, well, in the first years (of our marriage) it kept disturbing me, so... I said: when you talk to me then please do it in the standard language’

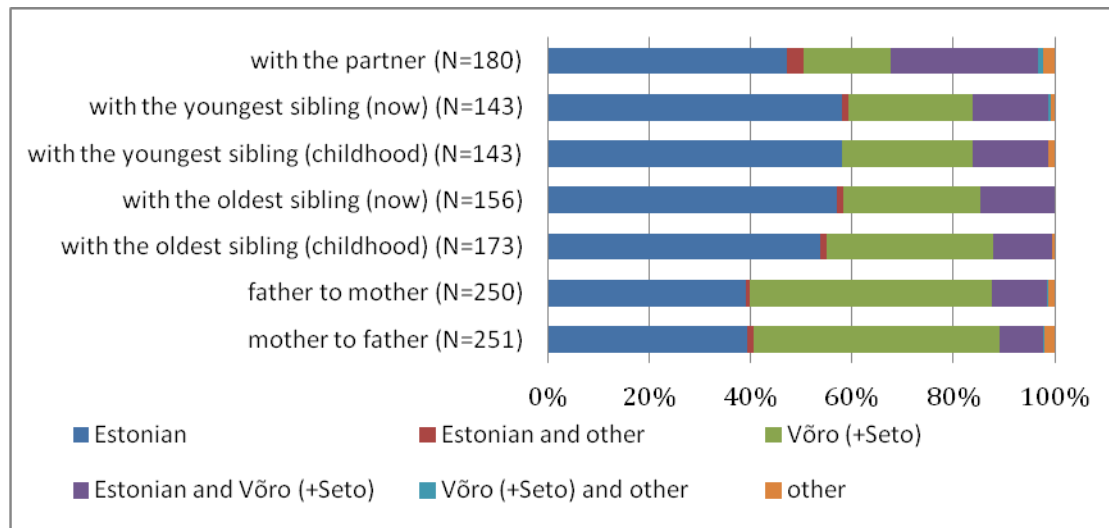


Figure 5. Intra-generational language use (%)

In the case of the all-Estonian CG, Q10 (*Do you have any other languages than Estonian in your family background in the generation of your parents and grandparents?*) was answered by only 43.5% (161 respondents); 11.6% of them mentioned Võro, 3.9% Seto, 4.2% German, 3.0% Finnish and more than a fifth named Russian. The wording of the question must have been confusing to Russian speakers as many chose the response “no”.

Approximately two thirds of the CG responded when asked to point out what language(s) they used with their current spouse or partner. Slightly less than half mentioned Estonian, and 1-2% named Võro and Seto. Approximately a quarter mentioned Russian. 2.8% named English and 8.9% claimed to speak more than one language with their current spouses or partners.

4.3.1.3 Self-reported language competence

Slightly more than two thirds of potential Võro speakers claimed to speak Võro fluently or well. For “understanding (of spoken Võro)”, 80.6% selected the option “fluently” or “well”, while 14.2% and 4.9%, respectively, claimed to understand Võro “fairly” or “poorly”. Only one person selected the option “not at all”; this person actually should have been excluded as not belonging to the sample of potential users of Võro. While slightly over two thirds spoke Võro fluently or well, about a quarter spoke fairly or poorly. 7.0% did not speak Võro at all. Similarly 6.4% did not read Võro at all. Slightly less than half read Võro fluently or well, 31.0% and 13.5% read Võro fairly or poorly, respectively. The low shares of writing fluently or well and the 41.3% of those who did not write at all may indicate several things: most speakers do not need to write in Võro as they can do all their writing in Estonian or other languages, not all Võro speakers have learnt the written standard or they do not accept it, and activists’ spelling debates have made language users insecure. Only

5.2% and 8.0%, respectively, claimed to write Võro fluently or well. Similarly, 23.4% and 22.0% reported writing fairly or poorly, respectively. The relatively poor results for written language skills are also reflected in the interview material. For example, an activist speaker admitted:

pruugi küll ma suurõmbalt jaolt kirotä iks (.) esiki mu teksti omma iks suurõmbalt jaolt iks eesti keelen -- (.) et et võru kiil om rohkem suu perrä ja sis kiräkiil om kirutamise perrä (EE-VRO-FGA-04m)

‘I use, well, mostly I still write... even my texts are, for the most part, in Estonian... as, as, the Võro language is more for the mouth (for speaking) and the standard language is for writing’

However, there were young adults who had studied a bit of Võro at school:

meil oli see et kuuendas klassis ma meil oli nagu võru keele tund et seal ma nagu õppisin seda kirjutamist ka (EE-VRO-FGAG1-02f)

‘we had it, so that, in the sixth grade I... we had, like, Võro language classes, so that there I kind of learned to write too’

Despite the poor results especially for reading and writing Võro, self-reported language competence remains one of the most important results in ELDIA, as this is the first assessment of Võro speakers’ language skills: previously, there had only been informed guesses.

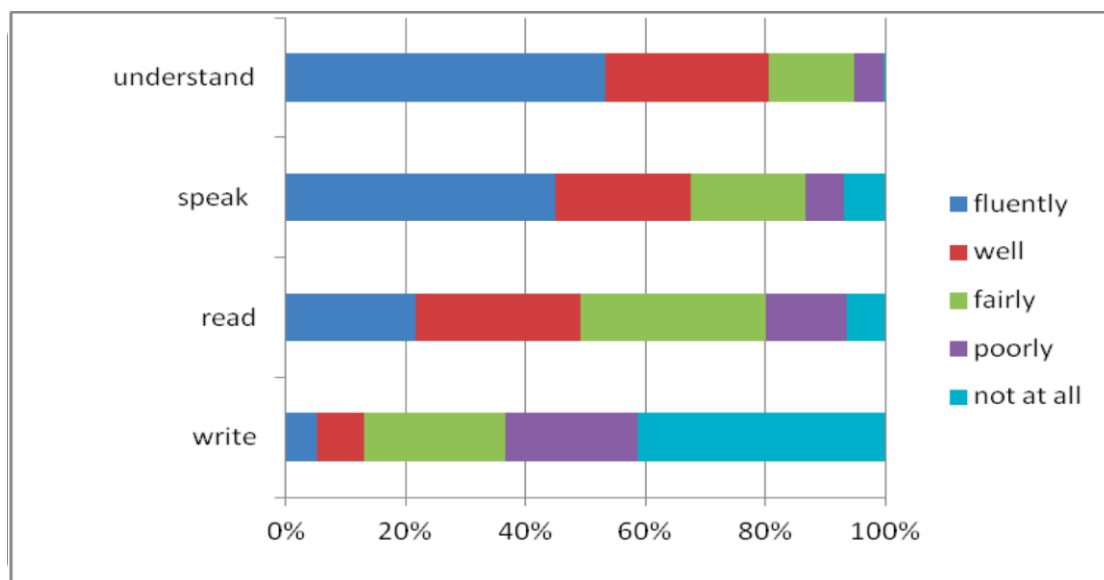


Figure 6. Levels of language skills for Võro, %

There were no respondents who claimed to understand, speak or read Estonian poorly or not at all, and only a few reported understanding, speaking or reading Estonian fairly. The overwhelming majority (approx. 99%) reported understanding, speaking and reading Estonian fluently or well. Writing Estonian was a bit different. 78.6% claimed to write Estonian fluently and 19.0% reported that their writing was good.

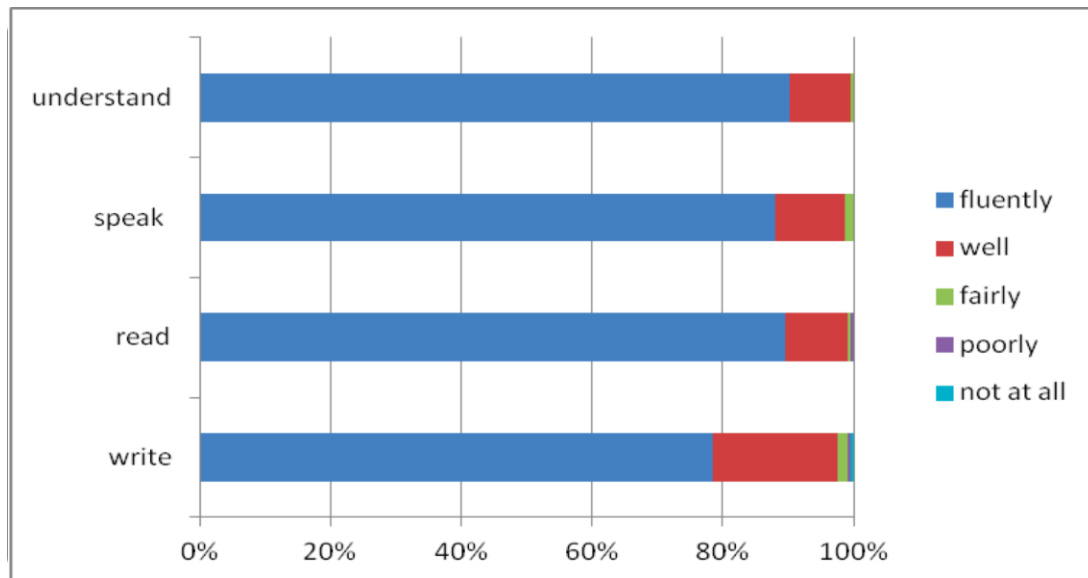


Figure 7. Levels of language skills for Estonian, %

Fluent foreign language skills were reported less frequently. Only slightly more than a quarter reported understanding **English** fluently or well. Approximately a third did not understand English at all. 4.7% claimed to speak English fluently, but 42.3% did not speak English at all. The reading and writing levels in English were not any better. 48.5% reported not reading English at all. Slightly less than half claimed not to write in English.

Assuming that most potential Võro speakers were of local origin and considering that in local schools German often had had a stronger position than English (which had been taught as a foreign language in selected schools only), the respondents could have been expected to report better competencies in **German**. However, German had even lower percentages than English. 55.2% did not understand German at all and only 3% reported understanding German fluently. Speaking, reading and writing in German were reported as even lower than understanding.

The most reported foreign language was **Russian**, which was taught from the first grade during the Soviet rule. An informant regretted that he had had to learn Russian instead of English:

noh vinne kiil oll üks väega mm minu jaos väega noh vastuvõtmatu, võibolla et oles inglīs=keelt nii põhjalikult õpetatu ku venne keelt siis võibolla et oles tollega pa- pa- paremini jah (EE-VRO-IIAG2m)

‘well, Russian was very much, mm, against the grain for me; perhaps if English had been taught as thoroughly as Russian, then (things) maybe were better with it (i.e. the knowledge of English) indeed’

Of the foreign languages given in the questionnaire, **Finnish** – despite its conspicuous relatedness to Estonian and Võro – was used and understood by the fewest people: 58.9% did not understand, 73.3% did not speak, two thirds did not

read, and 79% did not write Finnish at all. Furthermore, 7-14% of the respondents claimed to understand, speak, read or write some **other languages** which were not listed in the questionnaire (French, Spanish, Swedish, Latvian, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Turkish and Seto were named). An informant described his children’s language skills:

inglise keelt na saavad päris häste hakkama aga saksa keelega on nigu, ja noh nendel noorematel veel ei ole võõrkeeli noh, ja vanem tütar tuu kes Tallinan om tuu om vene keelega p- vajadus om aga probleem (EE-VRO-IIAG2m)

‘English is what they master rather well, but with German it’s so-so, and, well, the younger ones don’t know foreign languages yet, and my oldest daughter, who is in Tallinn, she has, with the Russian language, she needs it (i.e. to know Russian), but that’s a problem.’

The following bar chart illustrates the respondents’ self-reported English skills.

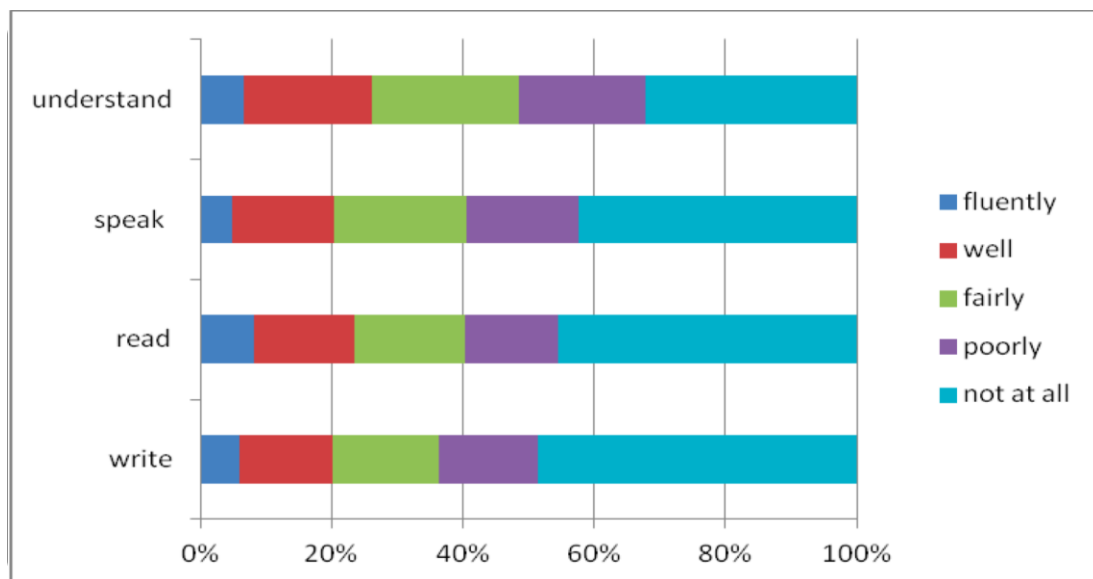


Figure 8. Levels of language skills for English, %

4.3.1.4 Domain specific language use

Võro was used more often in private informal settings, but there was no domain in which the majority of Võro speakers would always have used Võro. The distribution of answers to Q32 (*Indicate to what extent you use your languages in the following domains*) can be summarised as follows. Only slightly less than a quarter of potential Võro speakers claimed to use Võro *always* at home. Approximately a tenth *never* used Võro at home. The rest, approximately two thirds, used Võro at home to some extent: *often*, *sometimes* or *seldom*. This can be interpreted as extensive code-shifting when talking to different people or about different topics. Quite a few people also *always* used Võro in some domains of the

private sphere: talking to neighbours, friends, and relatives (17.4%, 13.4% and 11.0%, respectively).

At work, Võro was *often* and *sometimes* used by slightly less than a fifth. Võro was *never* used at church and at school by 71.9% and 65.0%, respectively (most of these respondents, however, probably never go to church or to a school). Slightly over 59.2% did not use it at the library or with public authorities. 36.3% and 30.4% reported not using Võro in shops or in the street. There were few who responded affirmatively when asked whether they used Võro in other domains; to name only a few: when visiting someone in the countryside, when hunting, when talking to seniors or great-grandparents, at general practitioners, with “diaspora” Võro speakers, as their language had been better preserved, and when someone approached the respondent in Võro. It can be concluded that Võro was used mainly in informal domains, private settings with familiar people (see Figure 9 below).

A good example of the domain-specific use of Võro came up in an interview with a media professional:

oli kokku lepitud et räägime võru keeles eksju? ta on ta tõesti räägib lähedalt eks? ja nii kui kaamera käima pandi hakkas ta eesti keeles rääkima ja täiesti nagu (.) noh täiesti õpitud oli nagu see et kui sa lähed nagu suhtlema kellegagi kes ei ole nagu sinu külast või sinu naabrimees sa räägid eesti keelt et (.) ja see kaamera tuleb Tartust ahhaa automaatselt on eesti keel onju? et ja et hästi hästi naljakas on ja noh me ei saanudki tema käest (.) võrukeelset juttu (EE-EST-FGM-01f)

‘we had agreed: we will speak Võro, won’t we? He is, he really, he’s a great speaker, you know. And as soon as the camera was turned on, he started speaking Estonian, and completely like, well, it was completely something he had, like, learnt that when you are going to, like, to communicate with somebody who is not like from your village or a neighbour of yours, then you’ll speak Estonian, so that... and the camera comes from Tartu, aha, automatically it will be the Estonian language, won’t it? So that.. it’s very, very funny, and, well, we never got it from him, the Võro-language talk.’

School was an Estonian-language domain in which language use was contrasted to that of home:

ma (.) khm tegelikult tõtõst latsena es sa aru tollest määnsestki keelevaihest ennem ku ma kuuli lätsi kuiki ma käve latsiaian ka a vat säääl ma es saa viil aru et keelega määnegi suur vaih om seen kotun kõlõldi ja (.) külä pääl sis oll mul viil kodu ümber külä kõik kõnõliva võro kiilt et täiesti normaalne kiil kiäki et õkva nii es ütle et võro kiil (--) kooli lätsi sain arvu et om määnegi ammetlik kiil olõman ja mitteammetlik ütesõnaga kotun om mitteammetlik ja koolin piät kõnõlõma ammetlikku kiilt (EE-VRO-FGA-03f)

‘I, hm, actually, really as a child I didn’t understand this, any kind of a language difference, before I went to school, although I went to

kindergarten, too, but, you know, there I didn't understand yet that there is such a great difference between the languages, what is spoken at home and, in the village, then I still had it, the village around my home, everybody spoke Võro, so that (it was) a completely normal language, nobody ever even used the word 'Võro language'... I went to school, understood that there's something like an official language and an unofficial one, in other words, at home there's the unofficial one, and at school you must speak the official language'

tulli liina sis kui sai vist säitse täüs jah et koolin pidi iks kõnõlõma kiräkeelen (EE-VRO-FGAG4-05f)

'I came to town when I turned, I think, seven, yes, (and found out that) one had to speak the standard at school'

However, respondents recalled that the Võro language was used at school too, but outside the classroom:

algkoolin käve neli klassi sis sääl õpetajatõga kõnõldi umavahel võru keelt -- a tunnin pidi kirjakeelen kõnõlõma (EE-VRO-FGAG4-03m)

'I went to the elementary school, the first four grades, there (people) talked with the teachers (and) among themselves in Võro – but in class one had to speak the standard language'

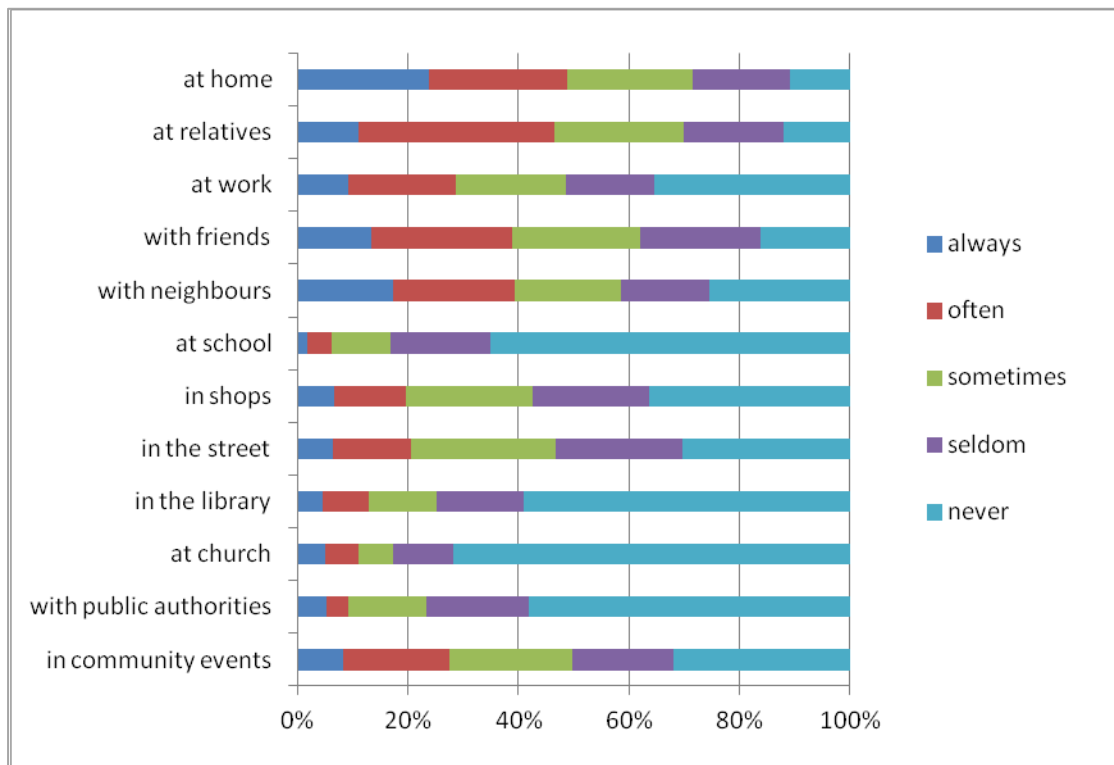


Figure 9. Domain-specific use of Võro in SE Estonia, %

In Q39, the respondents had to indicate how much they agreed with the statements that Võro “should be used” in diverse domains of the public sphere. The most positive attitudes were indicated with the statements about the use of Võro on the

education system and on TV; 39.4% and slightly over a third, respectively, totally agreed or agreed. The use of Võro in those domains may have received the most favourable responses because Võro had been introduced in school in the mid-1990s and the respondents had watched Võro-language programmes for more than a decade by then. 28.4% totally agreed or agreed with the statement that Võro should be used in hospitals. However, approximately a third found it difficult to say whether Võro should be used on TV, at police stations, on the Internet or in education. 62.1% and 63.2% did not agree or did not quite agree that Võro should be used in the parliament and in court, respectively. Despite the doubts about the use of Võro in the public sphere, in Q59 almost two thirds (64.9%) claimed that Võro was easy to use in most situations.

When asked “*In what situations do you feel that Võro is not capable of expressing the needed content?*”, Võro speakers named in North Estonia, in an Estonian-language environment, when calling 110 (police) or 112 (emergency), when communicating with younger people, at the doctor’s, and in state offices. An informant concluded:

no sis arstile piät küll jah kõnõlõma iks tuud rääkima temaga (EE-VRO-FGAG4-04f)

“well, to the doctor, you must, yes, talk, you know, speak it (Estonian) with her”¹⁸.

In northern Estonia, Võro cannot be used:

minu isa oskab võru keelt aga elades sis niiõelda Tallinna lähedal ma mitte kunagi ei kuulnud praktiliselt võru keelt tema suust (EE-EST-FGP-01f)

‘my father knows Võro but when he was living, then, so to say, in the vicinity of Tallinn, I never heard, in practice, the Võro language from him’

Yet, when asked Q61 (*Is Võro used in the following domains (in your country/region)?*), **quite many people noted that Võro is used locally, most often in municipal administration and media.** The use of Võro was reported in a variety of domains: local (municipality) administration (73.4%), in printed (70.2%) and electronic media (69.3% in radio and 65.4% in TV), in outdoor advertising (50.4%) and commercials (41.9%), in hospitals (50.4%), in education (40.9%), by police (38.2%) and in employment (34.2%) and health insurance offices (30.6%) (Q61). Speaking Võro in the public sphere and in formal domains was out of question: slightly over half said that it was not possible to use Võro in ministries and courts.

Testifying to the increased prestige of the Võro language locally, a CG media professional said:

¹⁸ Note that speakers can also refer to the use of Võro or Estonian by using the characteristically different verbs for ‘to speak, to talk’: *kõnõlõma* (Võro) vs. *rääkima* [Standard Estonian].

ikkagi kõik siin maavanemad linnapead juba hea meelega demonstreerivad noh seda oskust kui ühte niisugust kvaliteedimärki et umbes noh ma olen trendikas eksole (EE-EST-FGM-02m)

'yet all the county governors and mayors around here demonstrate it with pleasure, well, that skill (= knowledge of the Võro language), as kind of a sign of quality, roughly like, well, "aren't I trendy"'

It is also possible to draw conclusions about the use of Võro by analysing the shares of use of Estonian in different domains. **More than half of the potential Võro speakers reported always using Estonian in all domains, except with relatives, where Estonian was reported as being used by slightly less than half.** 69.2% always used Estonian with public authorities. 7.8% mentioned using it in other domains, mainly with people who could not understand other languages (Võro?) (see Figure 10 below). As far as the CG study is concerned, 16.3% never used Estonian at school, approximately 12% never used Estonian at home, with relatives or in the library, and a tenth never used Estonian with friends or with neighbours. Most likely, the group of those who never use Estonian mainly consists of Russian speakers.

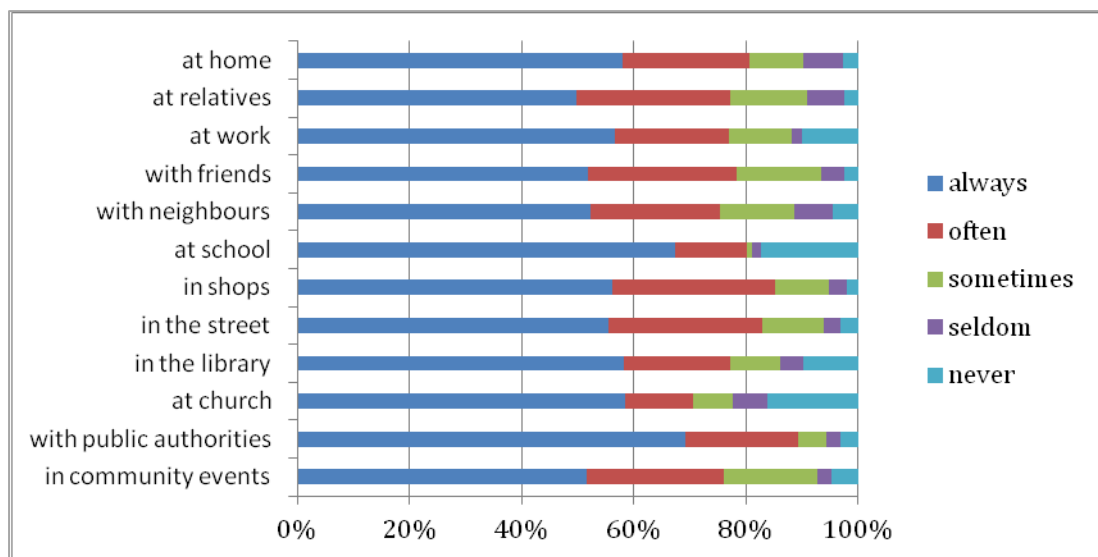


Figure 10. Domain-specific use of Estonian in SE Estonia, %

Most respondents reported never using English in most of the domains. Most often, English was used at work, with friends, at school and in the street. 4% reported *always* using English at work. Approximately a tenth *often* used English with friends. On the other hand, only 39% *never* used English at work and approximately a half *never* used English to some extent with friends. Slightly over 5% claimed to use English when travelling or abroad. For the CG as well, *at school*, *at work* and *with friends* were the domains where English was used the most often. 2.9% claimed to *always* use English at work.

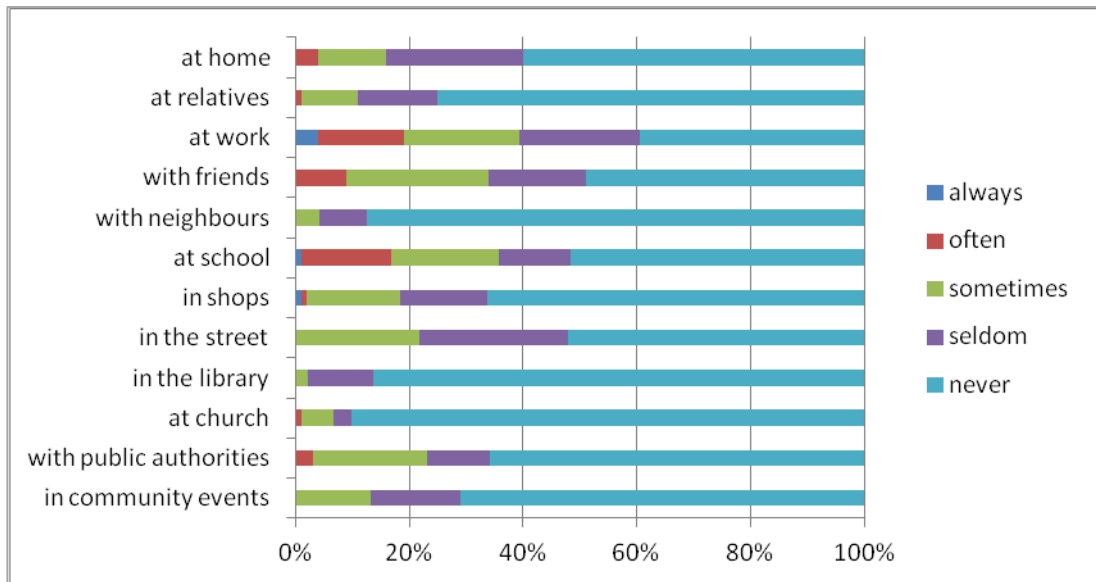


Figure 11. Domain-specific use of English in SE Estonia, %

Approximately 15-20% mentioned using other languages than Võro, Estonian and English in different domains. The most often named was Russian, followed by German, Finnish and other languages.

4.3.1.5 Languages and the labour market

The respondents did not see any utilitarian value in Võro use in the labour market. Slightly more than three quarters did not believe that competence in the Võro language facilitated getting a higher salary. A third found it difficult to say whether competence in Võro facilitated finding a first job. Similarly, slightly less than a third doubted whether competence in Võro facilitated advancing in one’s career or changing to a new job. However, when asked what the function of Võro was, respondents often replied as this informant did:

suhtlemisõ funktsioon om keele funktsioon om tan puhas keele funktsioon (EE-VRO-FGAG4-03m)

‘the function of communication is the function of language; (that) is the pure function of language’

While **almost 90% of respondents found it necessary to be competent in Estonian when entering the labour market**, there were fewer (approximately two thirds) who believed that mastering Estonian helped to get a higher salary, advance in one’s career or change to a new job. 88.6% totally agreed or agreed that competence in Estonian facilitated finding a first job. Only 39.2 totally agreed or agreed that competence in Estonian facilitated getting a higher salary and slightly less than a quarter did not agree or did not quite agree with that statement. A third did not know whether competence in Estonian facilitated getting a higher salary or not.

In the control group, an even clearer majority believed in the importance of Estonian on the labour market. (This may relate to the fact that while Võro speakers probably think of their Estonian skills as something self-evident, the control group included Russian speakers who may have experienced problems due to their lacking competence in Estonian.) More than 92.4% agreed (options “I totally agree” and “I agree” in sum) that competence in Estonian facilitated finding a first job, while 71.8% and 68.7% of the CG totally agreed or agreed that it helps in advancing in one’s career and changing to a new job, respectively. There were less than half who believed that Estonian language skills facilitated getting a higher salary; 28.9% of the CG found it difficult to say.

English was found to be absolutely necessary if advancement in career or higher pay was expected. More than three quarters totally agreed or agreed that competence in English facilitated finding a first job and changing to a new job. 68% totally agreed or agreed that competence in English facilitated getting a higher salary. 85.5% totally agreed or agreed that competence in English facilitated advancing in one’s career. For the CG too, English had a high value in the labour market: 85.4% totally agreed or agreed that competence in English facilitated advancing in one’s career, 79.7% totally agreed or agreed that it facilitated finding a first job and slightly over three quarters supported the statement that English facilitated changing to a new job. 61.4% totally agreed or agreed that it facilitated getting a higher salary. An informant recalled that English had been valued for decades:

see vene aja lõpul kes ingliskeelt mõistseva sellel algul näed oll töötasugi oll suuremb noil (EE-VRO-IIAG5f)

‘at the end of the Russian (= Soviet) era, whoever knew English at the beginning (of the transition period), you see, those also got paid better’

4.3.1.6 Language maintenance

Slightly more than half of potential Võro speakers answered affirmatively when asked whether there were institutions or people who cultivated the Võro language in Estonia. 45.7% had no idea (Q55). Of the institutions and people mentioned, the Võro Institute was by far the most often named; some respondents also mentioned the local newspaper *Uma Leht*, language teachers, and individual language activists (Kauksi Ülle, Kaido Kama, Contra, Aapo Ilves and some others). For Estonian, a similar question was asked. 47.5% answered affirmatively and 51.4% did not know whether such institutions or people who cultivated Estonian existed (Q56). The Institute of the Estonian Language, the Mother Tongue Society, the University of Tartu, the Language Inspectorate, schools, institutions of higher educations, Estonian philologists, etc. were named.

Interestingly enough, despite all existing Võro-language activities, 56.1% of the respondents doubted whether there were attempts being made to save Võro, 40.4% were sure that such attempts had been made. When asked to describe those attempts, often Võro-language media and schooling, the song festival “Uma Pido”, open summer universities, different print materials and extra-curricular activities were named. An informant said:

tuu võru instituut ja võru keele ja kultuuri selts om olnu sest ma arva et ilma noide no võibolla tõistõ inemiste ka lihtsalt mitte ainult noide asutusteta olõssi mi võru kiil viil rutõmbide är kaonu (EE-VRO-FGAG4-05f)

‘there have been that Võro Institute and the Society for Võro language and culture, because, I think that without those, well, perhaps, if it weren’t for those certain people too, and not just those institutions, our Võro language would have disappeared even faster’

It was admitted that random factors could be crucial as far as language maintenance was concerned:

a mõnikord või olla väega lihtsa asi et mõni aasta tagasi otse estraadilugu oll kõnõtraat om meelen viil ja see üle kogo eesti lauldi võro keelen (EE-VRO-FGAG4-02m)

‘but sometimes it can be a very simple thing; a few years ago there was a popular song, *Kõnõtraat* [‘The Talking Wire’], (I) still remember it, and it was sung all over Estonia in the Võro language’

The CG was asked a similar question about both minority languages under study, Seto and Võro. Slightly over three quarters and 85.2% did not know whether there were institutions, organisations or persons which cultivated the use of Võro and Seto, respectively. 22.7% and 14.2% answered positively about the existence of cultivators of Võro and Seto, respectively. Less than a tenth named the Võro Institute. Contra, *Uma Leht*, society and local schools were also named by a few.

Most of the respondents (57.6%) had no idea whether there was a pure or correct version of Võro. To this question (Q57), only 11.7% gave a clearly positive and 30.7% a negative answer. Those who believed that such a version existed were also asked who spoke it; these answers most often mentioned the Võro Institute, Kaido Kama, Kauksi Ülle, Contra, senior citizens and a grandmother.

An informant, who otherwise believed that there was a correct version of Võro, claimed that she herself didn’t master it:

ei selges ei ole tedä saanu grammatika ilmselt lonkas katõ jalaga (EE-VRO-FGAG4-05f)

‘no, I haven’t really learnt it, (my) grammar, obviously, is limping on both legs’

Another one, reflecting a purist ideology also explained why she did not speak Võro:

aga üldiselt ma ei räägi et ma olen selline perfektsionist (.) et ma tahan et kui asi käiks siis asi käiks puhtalt ja siukest purssimist ma väga ei talu (EE-VRO-FGAG3-06f)

‘but in general, I don’t speak, I’m such a perfectionist... so that I want that if something be done then it be done properly, and such broken language I just cannot stand’

On the other hand, some interviewees had a more relaxed attitude towards language correctness in Võro:

vot sjoo võro keelen omgi hää et tan grammatikat ei olõ (EE-VRO-FGAG4-04f)
‘you see, the good thing about the Võro language is that it doesn’t have any grammar’

Another interviewee was not pleased with the standardisation of Võro:

nüüd taa sääne siistnukast säälnukast ja keskele kohegi kokko puntrahe ja mändseidegi säädüspärsusi perrä kirja pantu võro kiil (EE-VRO-FGAG4-01m)

‘now this Võro language which has been [collected] from this corner and that corner and to the middle, somewhere, bundled together and written down according to some kind of rules’

4.3.1.7 Support and prohibition of language use

Slightly over a quarter of potential Võro speakers had experienced in their childhood attempts to prevent parents (in general) from using Võro with children (Q22). More than half of these had experienced such attempts either at home or at school; 18.6% reported experiencing that both at home and at school.

However, almost three quarters of the respondents (74.7%) had not experienced explicit prohibition in their childhood. This can be explained by (1) Võro speakers’ increasing bilingualism and (2) the age of the respondents. Firstly, Võro speakers have simply been able to switch language depending on the situation and thus avoided triggering discriminatory attitudes. Secondly, the younger Estonian-speaking or bilingual generations may have never experienced those attempts, as only the oldest group’s schooling fell into the period when Võro speaking was denigrated the most, i.e. before the 1960s, but occasionally later too.

An informant recalled:

ku ma kuuli lätsi siis mu mul edimesse klassi siis keegi lats la lastest ütöl et ku är kõnelegu tuud ära räägi seda matsikeelt mul om tuu nii ilusasti meelen (EE-VRO-IIAG2m)

‘when I went to school, then my, in the first class, then a child, some of the children said that I shouldn’t talk that way, [quotes, switching into Estonian:] “don’t speak that boorish language.” I remember that so well’

A rather exceptional dialogue was held by two respondents in the youngest group: the first informant assumed that children learning Võro was not desirable:

EE-VRO-FGAG4-01m: *no ma mõtlen nagu et kas see nagu mingi lastele nagu ei hakka külge vä nad ei räägi väga vä?* ‘well I think, like, that, won’t it somehow... like, it doesn’t stick with the kids, they don’t speak very (much), do they?’

EE-VRO-FGAG1-01f: *aga mu latse kõnelõsõki võro keeleh* ‘but my children speak the Võro language’

Those who reported having experienced attempts to prohibit the use of Võro were asked where these attempts were made. 12.9% pointed out a number of contexts, which are beautifully illustrated by the next two quotations from the focus group interviews:

mina kodus ei räägi võru keelt (.) et et tegelikult mu vanemad on (.) mõlemad Võrumaa juurtega ja kodus on koguaeg räägitud aga räägitigi niimoodi et see aeg kui meie niimoodi rääkima õppisime õega siis räägiti kodus tahtlikult kirjakeelt -- et koolis nõuti kirjakeelt ja selleks et mitte igasuguseid probleeme tekitada siis vanemad nagu arvestasid sellega (EE-VRO-FGAG3-06f)

‘I don’t speak Võro at home... actually my parents are... both have Võrumaa roots and at home (Võro) has been spoken all the time but (it) was spoken in such a manner that in those times when we, (my) sister and I learned to speak, then at home they deliberately spoke the standard language – the standard was required at school, and in order to avoid problems of any kind, so my parents kind of took that into account’

mul oll iks eesti keele õpetaja kes es lupaki kõnõlda võro kiilt koolin es tohi mitte üts sõna (EE-VRO-FGAG4-04f)

‘I had, well, a teacher of Estonian, who didn’t even allow us to speak Võro at school, it wasn’t allowed, not a single word’

An informant concluded:

tuudaigu es kiteta võru keelt koskilgi hääs (EE-VRO-FGAG4-03m)
‘at that time they didn’t approve of the Võro language anywhere’

The follow-up question Q24 – whether similar views are expressed today – was, regrettably, formulated ambiguously (“whether the language should/should not be used with children”), and so the result (three quarters answered negatively) cannot be interpreted.

Slightly less than half of the CG totally agreed or agreed that it was important for those children whose parents spoke Võro to them (in this country) to learn Võro in school also. Approximately a third found it difficult to say.

A CG informant also recalled attempts to prevent the use of Võro:

käisin eeh siin viiekümnendatel aastatel Võrumaal koolis klassi ja praktiliselt kogu kooli ainsa kirjakeelse inimesena nii jaa kooli suhtumine mis tulenes muidugi kõrgetest ministeeriumidest oli see et murde kasutamine oli keelatud selle eest kas otseselt või kaudselt karistati minul probleemi ei olnud sest pole kunagi rääkinud seda aga aga teistel lastel oli oli küll (EE-EST-FGP-02m)

‘I went to school, eh, in the 1950s here in Võrumaa, and being the only standard-speaking person in the class and actually in the whole school, so, well, the attitude of the school, which, of course, derived from the ministries high above, was that using the dialect was forbidden, for it one was punished either directly or indirectly. I didn’t have any problems, because I’ve never spoken it, but, but, the other kids did, did indeed.’

Less than a half of the potential Võro speakers in our sample (42%) reported that their parents had tried to support them in using Võro, while more than two thirds (68%) had been encouraged by their parents to use Estonian. Obviously, the wording of the question could be understood in many ways, and deducing from respondents’ comments, people often did not count the mere every-day use of the language as “support”. As for the Võro language, they often replied “no” and commented that “there was no need for that”, “it was our home language”, “the use of Võro as a home language was natural and self-explanatory”, or “no special efforts were made”. As an interviewee put it:

ei ütte ei teist et tuu oll nii loo- loomulik asi siin kõnõldi võro keelt ja tallinan kiräkiilt (EE-VRO-FGAG4-02m)

‘neither one nor the other, it was such a nat-, natural thing, here Võro was spoken and in Tallinn the standard was spoken’

However, some respondents, most likely those who said “no”, mentioned that it was important to master correct Estonian when beginning school. Nevertheless, some parents were reported to have stressed the importance of speaking Võro, “otherwise, it will die out”. As for Estonian, informants stated “my father was an educated man”, “because we are Estonians”, “it was required outside home”, “nevertheless, it was the mother tongue”, “parents supported school requirements”, “the use of correct Estonian was certainly supported”, “it was necessary for getting good grades at school”, and “when learning to read”, for instance.

A clear majority (58%) of those respondents who had children did not try to make them learn or use Võro. Many explained this as being due to their children’s mobility, i.e. their places of residence being far from the Võro-speaking area or even

abroad. Those who claimed to be supportive mentioned “if children are interested” but also “I speak Võro to them”. Here and elsewhere it was mentioned that Võro was a fun language: “we sometimes speak Võro for fun” (see chapter 4.3.1.9 “Multilingualism issues” below).

In general, it seems that while many parents generally supported their children’s learning and using of Võro, quite a lot of them left it to the children to decide whether to use Võro or not. An informant concluded:

et eks latsõ võtva tuu asa esi vabatahtligult (EE-VRO-FGAG4-04f)
 ‘children will do it themselves, of their free will, won’t they?’

4.3.1.8 Language attitudes

Mixing languages was common and considered acceptable within the community of Võro speakers. Most informants agreed that mixing languages was widespread among speakers of Võro: 84.5% agreed totally or agreed with that statement (Q33). Mixing languages is obviously not stigmatised or associated with a low level of education: more than half of the respondents did not agree (“do not quite agree”, or “do not agree at all”) with the statement that less educated people mix Võro with other languages, and 31% neither agreed nor disagreed. In general, informants considered mixing languages acceptable: 13.9% totally agreed and approximately half agreed with this statement; a fifth had no opinion.

Whether mixing languages is considered as a sign of good language skills was unclear: 45.1% did not take a stand on this issue, while slightly over a quarter either agreed or did not agree with this statement. 41% agreed that young people were the ones who often mixed languages, 30.4% were indifferent and 22.3% did not quite agree with the statement.

Despite the generally positive attitudes towards mixing languages, there were also more purist opinions:

olõs ikka hää ku saasi toda kõrralikku kiilt rohkemp hoita sest kas tuda (!)¹⁹
säänest vaja om millest varsti inämp aru ei saa kas ta om kiräkiil või võru kiil
 (EE-VRO-FGAG4-05f)
 ‘it would be good anyway if one could keep that correct language more, because, who needs such a thing of which one doesn’t understand any more whether it’s the standard language or Võro?’

Using Võro was clearly associated with older generations. Approximately 85% agreed totally or agreed that older people spoke Võro correctly. This is in accordance

¹⁹ Note that the informant, despite explicitly taking stand for “pure” Võro, uses a “mixed” form of the pronoun *tuu* ‘that’: partitive *tuda* (cf. Standard Estonian *toda*) instead of *tuud*.

with the comments on Q57, in which elderly people were often mentioned as the correct speakers of Võro. However, it depended on the place of residence, as an informant said:

vanaisa oll juba tõist põlve liinainemine nii et tal oll nagu tuu kiräkiil segämini võro keelega (EE-VRO-FGAG4-02m)

‘(my) grandfather was a city dweller already in the second generation, so that he had, like, the standard language mixed with the Võro language’

In Q37, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with the statements about young people and adults, male or female, being expected to use Võro. A substantial share of the respondents (39.3-45.9%) selected the option “difficult to say”. Among the remaining respondents, however, speaking Võro was again clearly connected to grown-ups rather than to young people. Slightly over 30% agreed (“agree” or “totally agree”) with the statement that adult men are expected to speak Võro; for expectations concerning adult women, the share of positive answers was roughly a quarter. Young boys and girls, on the contrary, were not expected to use Võro (Q37A-B): only 1.0% and 7.9% agreed totally or agreed, respectively, that young boys were expected to speak Võro. Girls were expected to do it even less frequently. As noted by an informant:

aga noorõ küll es kõnõlõ umavahel nii väga pallo (EE-VRO-FGAG4-05f)

‘but young people didn’t speak it between themselves very much’

Social contacts with Võro speakers were mostly considered easy and positive. In Q38, the respondents were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with statements about social contacts with Võro speakers: whether it is easy to make friends, work or spend the leisure time with a Võro speaker, or to marry a Võro speaker. The option “difficult to say” was selected by many respondents (in the question about marrying a Võro speaker, 64.3% chose this answer; in the other questions, the share of indifferent answers was more than a third), but of the remaining answers, the clear majority was positive.

More than three quarters believed that English would be more widely used in the following ten years (Q40); the answers about the expected fate of other languages were less clear. 44% did not know whether Võro would be used more widely or not in the coming decade. The comments in the interviews reflect a fatalistic, possibly slightly pessimistic attitude:

selge tuu et ta segunes nigunii rohkõmb -- et hää olõssi kui olõs nii nagu nüüdsama om sis om esiki häste (EE-VRO-FGAG4-02m)

‘it’s clear that it will be more mixed – it would be good if it were so as it is now, even that is good’

ei ole tal suurt suurt mõtet ei ole nii nii pingutada ei ole tedä vaja (EE-VRO-IIAG5f)
 ‘it doesn’t make a lot, a lot of sense; (you) don’t have to make such, such efforts’

There were fewer who doubted the fate of Estonian in the next ten years: 34.8% (Q40). 14.1% agreed totally and 39.3% agreed with the statement that it would be more widely used. The position and use of Russian also caused some doubts: 42.1% did not know whether Russian would be used more widely or not in the next decade. Only slightly less than a fifth mentioned some other languages which would be more widely used in the next ten years. Those included: Finnish (named by 14 people), Chinese (Mandarin) (11), German (11), Latvian (2) and French (2). An informant expected more Estonian-Latvian bilinguals:

mind nagu häirib see et meil on lätlastega on nii vähe ühiseid keeleoskajaid läti keelt võiks rohkem osata (EE-EST-FGM-03m)
 ‘I’m kind of disturbed that we have, with Latvians, so few people who know both languages, there should be more knowledge of Latvian’

The control group shared the Võro respondents’ confidence in the future of English; 84.5% totally agreed or agreed that English would be more widely used in the following ten years. The expectations concerning the future of Estonian were somewhat less optimistic (approximately half supported the view that Estonian would be used more widely), while clearly more respondents than in the Võro group, although still a minority (46.6%), believed that Russian would be used more extensively. (Again, note that the control group also included many Russian speakers.) Over 40% of the CG either doubted or did not agree (including the option “do not quite agree”) that both Seto and Võro would be used more widely in the coming decade.

A CG media professional commented on the future of Võro:

püsima ei jää sest kui ta kõigil on õpitud keel siis noh siis ongi nagu mingi mäng nagu mingi esperanto et justkui (.) tore mäng (.) oleks (.) ära õppida võru keel (EE-EST-FGM-02m)
 ‘(it) won’t be preserved, because if it is a learnt language for everybody then, well, then it will be like a kind of a game, like a kind of Esperanto, like... as if it were... a nice game... to learn the Võro language’

In questions 41-43, the respondents were asked to indicate their impressions of Võro, Estonian, and English on a five-point scale between antonym pairs of adjectives (for instance: *hard – rather hard – neither hard nor soft – rather soft – soft*). Many respondents obviously experienced this as a difficult task and mostly selected the neutral option. However, **it was clear that Võro was associated with the adjectives “old” and “traditional”, and many respondents also selected clearly**

positive adjectives rather than their negative antonyms: fun, kind, pretty, close, safe, powerful, and reliable. 78.6% of the respondents found Võro “fun” or “very fun”. Similar attitudes also surfaced in the interviews:

uma asi iks om illos illos kiil uma kiil om iks illos kiil (EE-VRO-FGAG4-04f)
 ‘your own thing is beautiful, isn’t it, a beautiful language, your own language is a beautiful language’

The idea of Võro being “fun” or even “funny” was also familiar to outsiders:

ma ma olõ kohanu säänest arvamist et ee Võrumaal eläva säändse imeliku ja naljaka inemise kes kõikaig õnne nalja tegevagi niiku suu vallalõ tegeva nii nakassõ kõik naarma sest maru naljakas om (EE-VRO-FGA-03f)
 ‘I, I have heard the kind of opinion that in Võrumaa such odd and funny people live who are always joking; as soon as (they) open their mouths then everybody starts laughing because it is so funny’

A CG media professional added, stressing the lack of familiarity of the Võro language that she encountered when she moved to the Võro language area:

hästi kummaline oli kuulda selliseid (.) noh sihukseid võrukeelseid sõnu (EE-EST-FGM-01f)
 ‘it was very odd to listen to those (.) well, such Võro-language words’.

Some informants had also encountered negative evaluations of Võro. An informant’s child had said:

imä mille sa kõnõlõt toda nii hirmsat võru kiilt ta ütäl muidugi (!) kiräkeelen (EE-VRO-FGAG4-05f)
 ‘Mummy, why do you speak that dreadful Võro language – s/he said it in the standard language, of course’

Estonian was experienced as a soft, close, decisive, kind, wealthy, pretty, old, reliable, traditional, successful and powerful language. 81.5%, 79.8 and 76.2% believed it was pretty or very pretty, close or very close, and safe or very safe, respectively. English was a far more unfamiliar language: only two thirds answered and many of them answered “neither” when asked to choose between binary oppositions. English was perceived as intelligent rather than unintelligent, and successful rather than unsuccessful; those categories were not obvious when describing Võro and Estonian.

4.3.1.9 Multilingualism issues

As described above, mixing Võro and Estonian was found to be common and acceptable; it seemed to be a common practice among respondents (see chapter 4.3.1.8). As to whether the societal bilingualism involving Võro and Estonian will be

preserved, the respondents' answers were less clear: 44% found it difficult to say, and there were an equal number who agreed and who disagreed with the statement *Võro will be more widely used in the following ten years*. An informant concluded:

alalõ om iks mi olõmi õnnõ kümme aastat (!) vanemba (EE-VRO-FGA-02f)
'(it) will remain, until we are at least ten years older'

More than half of Võro speakers did not know whether legislation supported knowledge of the language, but slightly less than half believed that the speakers of different languages and different languages were treated similarly in their region in Estonia.

If the passive knowledge of Võro is taken into account, Estonian and Võro are the two main languages used in the region, with foreign language skills lagging behind. On the other hand, looking at active language skills and the consumption and use of media and cultural products, it is clear that the two main languages were Estonian and English (see chapter 4.3.1.3 above and chapter 4.3.3 below).

As for the all-Estonian CG, foreign language skills, especially English skills, were reported to be better, and Russian was used by a remarkable share of respondents (many of whom were Russian speakers!), especially when consuming media. The control group also showed a general tolerance towards speakers of languages other than Estonian: when asked whether *it is acceptable when people living in this country speak Estonian imperfectly*, 27.6% and 43.6% totally agreed and agreed, respectively. The statement about whether it was important for children whose parents spoke Võro or Seto to them to learn Võro or Seto through education also caused more doubts – slightly less than a third found it difficult to say. Finally, 46.9% of the CG did not quite agree or did not agree with the statement that *too much knowledge of Estonian is demanded of people seeking employment* in Estonia.

The control group questionnaire also included a set of questions in which the respondents had to indicate to what extent they agreed with some statements about multilingualism. Diversity in general was seen as positive by a slight majority: 61.6% either totally agreed or agreed that *it would be a good thing if our society was more diversified*. 59.4% supported the statement *it is nice to hear many languages spoken on the streets of my hometown*, but 45-50% doubted whether they would like to have Võro or Seto speakers in their neighbourhood.

An informant's statement illustrates the doubtful attitudes towards multilingualism:

ma ei tea kui me oleme ikka eestlased siis me võiks ikka rääkida eesti keelt nagu et mitte mingi võtame siia mingi vene keele sekka nagu et eesti keel olekski mitmekeelne nagu ametlikult ma ei tea minu arust see nagu eesti on niigi väike maa ja siis on veel mingi mitu erinevat keelt ka siin nagu ametlikult kirjas siis läheb veits liiale (EE-VRO-FGAG1-02f)

‘I don’t know, if we still are Estonians then we could go on speaking Estonian, like, not like we’ll take some Russian language in here as well, like, that the Estonian language would be multilingual, like, officially; I don’t know, in my view, this Estonia is a small country already as it is and then (if) there are, kind of, many different languages here as well, like, officially written down, then it’s going a bit too far’

In the interviews, references to the majority’s doubtful attitudes towards the official support of minority languages also came up:

mõne ütlesiva et eks need võruka paku oma keelega üle (EE-VRO-IIAG2m)
 ‘some said “aren’t those Võro folks overdoing it with their language?”’

56.5% found it difficult to say whether the state was using too much taxpayer money on Võro. However, a CG media professional had doubts about public funding:

ma=i paneks nagu kätt ette nagu mingile entusiasmile eksju aga et niimoodi arutult ja huupi kuskile mingeid(.) rahalaevukesi saata on suhteliselt mõttetu ja tobe (EE-EST-FGM-01f)

‘I wouldn’t, like, create obstacles to a kind of enthusiasm (in language maintenance), you see, but to send some kind of, little shiploads of money somewhere in such a stupid and random way is relatively thoughtless and silly’.

In general, based on the results of the interviews, it seems that multilingualism itself can be understood in a variety of ways:

üldiselt inimesed vist ei ole mõelnud selle peale kui nad mingit tunnustamata keelt oskavad et see oleks omaette (.) keeleoskus (EE-EST-FGP-04m)

‘by and large, people have not likely thought about the fact that when they speak a kind of unrecognised language that it could be a language skill on its own’

noh kui ma väärtustan seda siinset võru keelt siis ma ju pean teda keeleks ja selle mõistmine on ju nagu (.) see piisav piisav (.) et teda mitmekeelsuseks pidada (EE-EST-FGM-01f)

‘well if I value this local Võro language then I consider it as a language and this language knowledge is already kind of... sufficient, sufficient... to consider it as multilingualism’

The most typical answer of a Võro speaker was:

ma ei ütle et võru kiilt ma kõnõlõ eesti kiilt ja vene kiilt ja natukõlõ inglise kiilt (EE-VRO-FGAG4-03m)

‘I don’t say: the Võro language. I speak Estonian and Russian and a bit of English.’

4.3.2 Legislation

4.3.2.1 Support and prohibition of language use

Approximately half of the Võro respondents did not know whether the legislation in Estonia supported or prevented the use of Võro (Q44). Only 10.8% answered affirmatively when asked: *Do you think that the legislation in your country supports the use of Võro?* Slightly more than a fifth said that Võro was not supported by Estonian legislation, and a bit less believed that it was supported partly. However, most respondents do not believe that laws directly prevent the use of Võro: The follow-up question (Q45) – whether laws prevented the use of Võro – yielded negative answers from 40.2% of the respondents.

This result is in accordance with the ELDIA legal and institutional analysis (Meiorg 2012; see chapter 4.1 above): the status of Võro and Seto with regard to language legislation is unclear. An informant said:

ütlemi et sis väga pikka aigu (.) õkva nigu es keeletä aga väga nigu ammetlikult es kiteta ka et noh siin om sääne küllaltki (.) khmhm määramada tsoon oll (EE-VRO-FGA-03f)

'let's say that for a long time... (it) was not forbidden straight out, but not very much, like, approved officially either. Well, here's such a, quite a... hmm, there was an indeterminate zone'

Respondents commented on the issue of legal support as follows: "there are signs that Võro can be spoken", "teaching Võro is financed", "speaking Võro is not forbidden and there are courses where it is taught. Officials who are from Võromaa use it when talking to farm people", and "the Võro Institute has been founded", but "supports only because of Võro people's pressure", "(I) think that likely the President supports it", and "a law to protect the Võro language is needed but the question is whether the state will allow (that)".

The prevention of the use of Võro drew the following comments: "documents cannot be filled in in Võro", "prevented in the state offices", "in the Estonian Republic the only legal language is Estonian...!?", "schooling is not in Võro", "(I) don't see the need for a small language to have 7 languages!", "not everything can be done", and "the constitution does not allow the use of Võro".

The position of multilingualism in general with regard to law was also unclear to most respondents: 54.1% were not sure whether the laws supported the use of many languages in the Võro-speaking area (Q46). The following comments were made: "in addition to Estonian, many foreign languages are taught at school", and "(the existence of) Russian schools", but also "the knowledge of a language in itself is not a problem, but the use may cause problems in different situations".

In the control group, even more respondents – a vast majority, approximately 65-70% – did not know whether legislation supports the use of Võro and Seto. Only 3-6% clearly believed that there is such legislation, the rest answered “no” or “partly”.

Slightly less than half of potential Võro speakers agreed or partly agreed that all different language speakers and languages in their area and country were treated in a similar way. 15.2% said that speakers and languages were not treated similarly and 37.6% did not know (Q50). The issue was commented on by respondents: “haven’t seen discrimination at the state level”, “nobody has forbidden speaking English or Russian”, “haven’t noticed the existence of the problem”, “all are equal”, “in our area for not knowing the (Estonian) language Russians are not ignored”, “in everyday communication, I think, languages are treated similarly”, “at least it is not forbidden to speak”, and “no obstacles are set”, but also “Russian speakers are treated with distrust”, “those who speak the standard are seen as more educated, more intelligent; they are treated with respect”, and “teachers or foreign languages could be stronger (better)”. Slightly less than three quarters did not know whether there was any legislation or regulations in Estonia which supported the knowledge of different languages in the labour market (Q51). There were almost an equal number of those who thought legislation supported (12.4%) and those who believed that legislation did not support (13.1%) different language skills in the labour market. Slightly over a quarter reported that laws supported or partly supported language skills.

In the all-Estonian control group, there was less confidence in the equal treatment for speakers of different languages – 23.9% gave a negative answer to the question concerning this, while an approximately similar share believed that speakers of different languages are treated equally. A large part of the respondents (even more than in the Võro group: 43.2%) did not know, while 8.4% selected the option *partly*.

Most of the control group respondents who commented on the issue (17.6%) did not believe that different language users were discriminated against (“haven’t encountered the problem”, and “haven’t noticed that someone is repressed”). However, there were a number of comments, often relating to Russian and/or coming from Russian-speaking respondents, such as “big intolerance towards Russians and people who speak dialects”, “there are restrictions with Russian”, “Russian is not tolerated, is it?”, “whoever wants to can handle (the situation)”, “in such a small state, there has to be one state language, in order to have a single cultural space. Culture is a highly important common value, where instead of a 'compote' it turns into a cheap mix. Let it be...”, “Norwegian citizens respect all ethnoses and their languages/dialects”²⁰, “(there) is almost no discrimination and

²⁰ *Норвежские граждане уважают любую нацию и их языки (23358201)*

racism from ordinary people, which cannot be said of the government”²¹, “the main language (is) Estonian, and the users of other languages (are) people of the lowest class”²², and “not all Estonian speakers love Russian speakers”²³. On the other hand, there were such comments as: “for example no-one forces Russian speakers to become Estonian speakers”, and “Russian speakers are treated equally in our region”.

4.3.2.2 Existence of legal texts

Question 47 – whether law texts which support the use of many languages are available in Võro – obviously puzzled many respondents. Almost two thirds did not know, while less than a third (31.7%) said that it was not available. The issue was commented on by only a few respondents, and some comments were inadequate or showed a misunderstanding of the question, e.g. one respondent wrote “likely not”.

4.3.2.3 Education and law

The general ignorance about or indifference towards legislation also came up in questions 48–49, in which the respondents were asked whether there was legislation regulating instruction *in* Võro and *about* Võro at schools. It was obviously difficult for the respondents to understand the difference between these questions (that is: the use of Võro as a teaching medium vs. Võro as a subject or part of the contents of teaching). The vast majority (76.3% in Q48, 82.1% in Q49) did not know whether such legislation exists, and slightly more than 14% said that there was no such legislation.

A few comments about instruction in Võro worth highlighting were “at school it cannot be taught when there is no law”, “something must be, as the Võro Institute has published an ABC-book”, “as far as I know, no”, and “if it is taught, then (the law) must be there”.

The CG’s responses were rather similar: 84.3% and 86.3% did not know whether there was any regulation on instruction in the Võro and Seto languages, respectively. A CG media professional did not see the point in introducing compulsory Võro-language education:

²¹ дискриминации и расизма от простых граждан почти нет, что не могу сказать о правительстве (23353633)

²² Основной язык эстонский, остальные носители других языков люди низшего класса (23355941)

²³ не все эстоноговорящие любят русскоговорящих (23359406)

kui näiteks (.) seada seaduseks et koolis peab olema noh ma ei tea seitse tundi nädalas võru keelt et siis noh (.) vot see ongi see et noh (.) et kuidagi totter oleks nagu kunstlikult haipida (EE-EST-FGM-01f)

‘if for example... one should write it into the law that at the school there must be, well, I don’t know, seven hours a week for Võro, then, well... you see, it’s just that, well... it would be somehow stupid to, like, hype it artificially’

4.3.3 Media

While most options of media and culture were reported as being consumed or practiced by few, most potential Võro speakers had read a Võro-language newspaper more or less frequently. There were only 16.9% who said that they *never* read newspapers in Võro. As there is only one newspaper in Võro, *Uma Leht*, the other 83.1% likely read it more or less often.

Radio was another media channel in Võro which received considerable attention; however, slightly less than a third *never* listened to the Võro-language radio programmes. Most likely, those who indicated that they listened to the radio more often than once a month were overestimating their behaviour, as the five-minute-long Võro-language radio programme is on the air only twice a month, or they were mixing up the Võro and Seto-language programmes, since the two languages are rather similar.

TV programmes in Võro were watched *every month* by 7.5%, and more seldom by half.

Similarly to consuming Internet content in Võro, producing content by texting, blogging or writing e-mails seemed to be rare in Võro: 82.8% *never* wrote e-mails in Võro. 14.6% believed that there was no Võro-language content available on the Internet. (Yet, according to the data from Statistics Estonia, in 2012 more than three quarters of the residents between 16 and 74 years of age in the counties of Võru (76.1%) and Põlva (78.4%) claimed to use the Internet!)

Võro-language books were *never* read by slightly more than two thirds. Võro-language plays and concerts were *never* attended by 57.4% and 56.6% of Võro speakers, respectively. (The major part of these respondents probably do not attend theatre or concerts in any other language, either. According to data by Statistics Estonia from a survey in 2004, 55.8% of Estonian residents between 15 and 74 years of age had not attended a theatre performance even once in the preceding 12 months, and 47.5% had not been to a concert.) 44.8% reported listening to Võro-language music seldom and approximately a third *never* listened to it.

An informant described his media use practices:

ma õkva ütle kuis ma pruugi eesti kiilt raamatit loe eesti keelen televiisorit kae eesti keelen raadiot kullõ eesti keelen -- umma lehte tuud tuud ma piä hindä jaos ümbre tõlkma tuu om väega määndseski kohitsedu keeleh üldiselt kirotõdu (EE-VRO-FGAG4-03m)

'I'll tell you straight out how I use Estonian. (I) read books in Estonian, (I) watch TV in Estonian and (I) listen to the radio in Estonian. *Uma Leht* (the local Võro-language bimonthly), that, that I must translate for myself, it's very, in general written in a kind of castrated language'.

Estonian plays a very prominent role in the media consumption of Võro speakers.

TV and radio in Estonian were followed by the majority of Võro speakers on a daily basis, and newspapers in Estonian were read *every day* by more than half of the respondents. Music in Estonian was listened to by slightly less than three quarters. Films were watched and Internet contents in Estonian were checked by slightly less than half of potential Võro speakers. Computer software in Estonian was used on a daily basis by 38.8%. While social media in Estonian was followed every day by 22.5%, approximately half never used it (in Estonian?).

Approximately 40% reported using English to some extent when consuming/producing media (contents) or culture.

Listening to music and using software every day in English were the most reported activities in English: 46.5% and 41.1%, respectively. Checking Internet contents, and watching films and TV every day in English were reported by approximately a quarter (25.4%, 28.2% and 23.8% of those who reported any practice in English). Reading newspapers in English was perhaps not the most reported activity; it was done more or less often by 44%. However, similarly to listening to the radio, more than half reported never doing it. Social media were never used in English by approximately half of those who responded. Other languages than Võro, Estonian, English were reported as being used by a far smaller number of people.

In active text production or cultural activities, the role of Võro seems to be marginal.

Võro was almost never used when writing letters, writing notes or other texts, composing songs, reciting poetry and participating in theatre groups by the majority of potential Võro speakers. Singing songs in Võro was reported slightly differently: while 72% never sang songs in Võro, a quarter reported doing this more seldom than every month. There were big shares of those who reported never doing similar things in Estonian as well, but there were fewer of those who reported never writing letters (14.8%), never writing notes and never singing songs in Estonian (both 41.1%). Apart from (e-)letters, English was never used for text or cultural production by the majority of people. 42.7% never wrote letters in English. Approximately 37% reported using English in text production or cultural practices.

In the all-Estonian CG, electronic media held the top position as far as consuming/actively using was concerned. More than two thirds watched TV and

62.0% listened to the radio in Estonian *every day*. 56.8% listened to music in Estonian *every day*. 47.7% and 45% read newspapers (both on paper and digital?) and checked Internet contents in Estonian daily. While social media were *never* used by approximately half of the CG, blogging was much less widespread – 88.2% *never* wrote blogs. Books in Estonian were never read by slightly less than a fifth. Thus, both potential Võro speakers and their all-Estonian compatriots favoured electronic media in Estonian but also used other media products and cultural events.

4.3.4 Education

4.3.4.1 Language acquisition

While 28.4% of Võro speakers first learned Estonian at school (Q8-9), it was the first language for most potential Võro speakers. Võro was first learnt either formally or at home by the bulk of respondents (93.8%), typically from parents, grandparents, in-laws and neighbours. Slightly less than a fifth had learnt Estonian first both at home and at school. 79.8% had learnt it either at home or formally, and 28.4% at school.

In general, people thought that they were literally born with the Võro language:

ma arva meil ei olõ keski tedä opnu võru kiilt ei ole opnu võru keel om sündümisest saadik suun olnu (EE-VRO-FGAG4-03m)

‘I think that nobody here has learnt it, the Võro language, hasn’t learnt it; they have the Võro language in their mouths since birth’

Or, especially younger people had often learnt Võro at their grandparents’ or in the villages:

säälkülä inemise kõnõliva ja sis tuu jäi lihtsalt külge vanaimä kõnõl jah (EE-VRO-FGAG3-03f)

‘the people from that village spoke (it), and then it just stuck to me; my grandmother spoke it indeed’

ma ole ole Räpinän sündunü ja siin elänu ja vanaimä man kõikaig sääl Veriora takah videli ja sõs kuiki nigu ollgi kõrraga (EE-VRO-FGA-01)

‘I was, was born in Räpina and I’ve lived here, and at my grandmother’s, all the time there in the woods of Veriora, I spent my time there, and then somehow it (= the language), like, was there at once’

Sometimes, Estonian was also acquired at school:

tulli taha Suu pääle Rabakuuli edimäste klassi ja tah naksi tah naksi sis iks rohkõmp eesti kiilt opma (EE-VRO-FGAG4-01m)

‘(I) came here (county centre Võru) to one of the local schools (in the Soo district) in the first class and here (I) started, here I started to learn more Estonian’

4.3.4.2 Language of instruction

94% reported being taught in Estonian in all schools they had attended (Q25). However, most people did not follow instructions and tried to answer questions by following filter questions; a very small share (1-3%) of people claimed they were taught in the Võro language in pre-school, primary and secondary school. Most likely, those informants misunderstood the question, thinking they were being asked about Võro as a subject. Again, few answered affirmatively when asked about Võro-language education in pre-school and secondary school. 10 respondents (3.5%) answered that they had Võro as a subject in primary school, which seems unlikely.

5 Case-Specific Language Vitality Barometer

The final product of the ELDIA project, the *European Language Vitality Barometer (EuLaViBar)*, will be created on the basis of the Case-Specific Reports and analyses. For this purpose, the vitality of the language at issue in each case study is illustrated with a radar chart. The idea and design of the barometer and the radar chart are the result of a continuous discussion and collective effort involving many members of the ELDIA consortium. (The barometer planning was initiated by Jarmo Lainio, the radar chart design was first suggested and sketched by Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark, and the radar charts in their present form, in particular, the quantification of the questionnaire survey results, are largely based on the data analysis design developed by Anneli Sarhimaa and Eva Kühhirt.)

In this chapter, survey findings are summarised by interpreting the scores of the radar chart. The radar chart below (Figure 13), based on the statistical analyses of the questionnaire results, has been created by Kari Djerf together with Eva Kühhirt and Katharina Zeller. Its four Focus Areas – Capacity, Opportunity, Desire and Language Products – have been described in detail in chapter 3.6 above. The values of different variables of the survey were recoded into new variables, which scaled from 0 to 4 on the ELDIA language maintenance scale (see chapter 3.6.3 above). For the radar chart, mean scores for each Focus Area were calculated.

The four Focus Areas are divided into Dimensions, which are marked with different colours, as shown in the legend below (Figure 12). The darker and lighter shades of each colour show the different grades of vitality as calculated from our questionnaire results: lighter shades indicate stronger vitality. Note that in the quadrants for capacity and desire, the Dimension of education (purple colour) was left out.

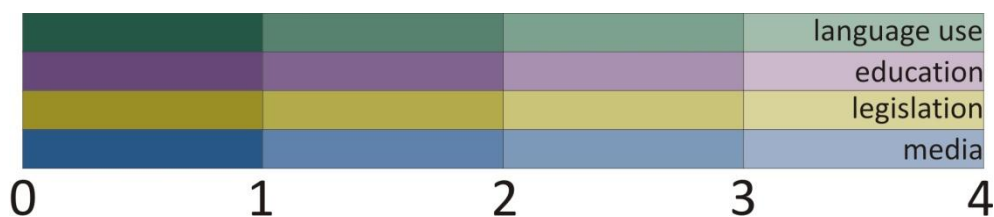


Figure 12. Colour codes for the Dimensions and grades of vitality in the EuLaViBar chart

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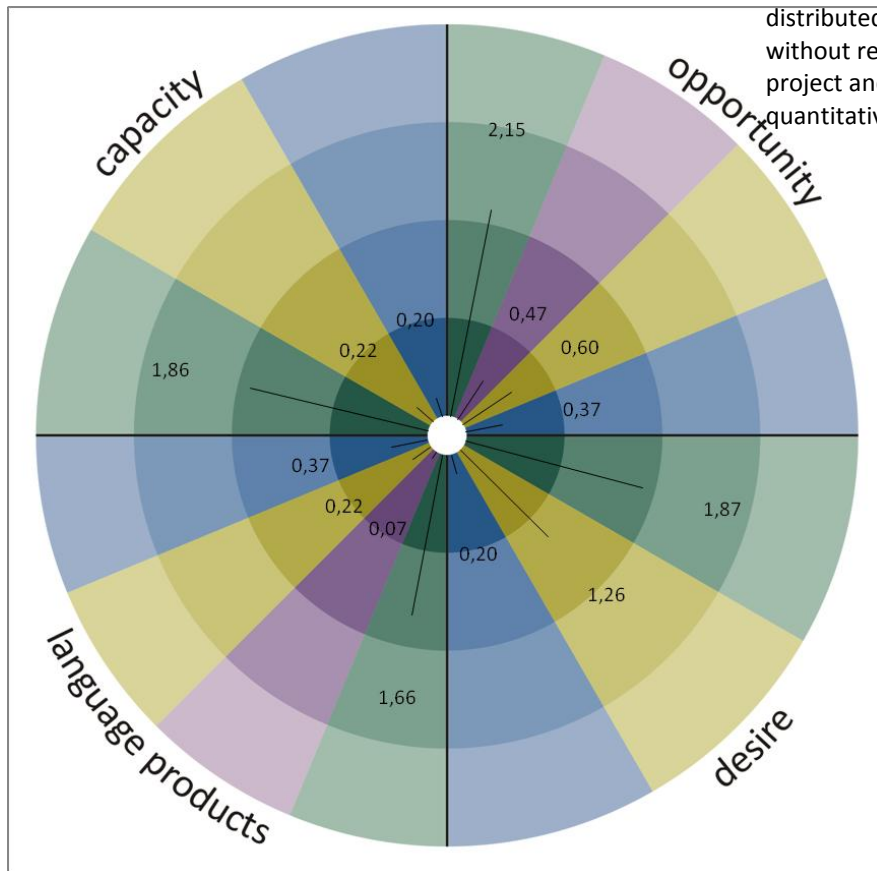


Figure 13. EuLaViBar chart illustrating the vitality of Võro in Estonia

5.1 Capacity

The Focus Area **Capacity** refers to the subjective capacity to use Võro and is split into three Dimensions: *Language Use and Interaction* (green), *Legislation* (yellow), and *Media* (blue). The Dimension *Language Use and Interaction* scored low (1.86), both the Dimension of *Legislation* (0.22) and *Media* (0.20) scored extremely low.

Language Use and Interaction

In general, the low score can be interpreted as another proof of the on-going language shift from Estonian-Võro bilingualism to the use of Estonian only. It is supported by qualitative findings and other research (Org et al. 1994, Ehala 2007, Eichenbaum & Koreinik 2008).

Today more than half of potential Võro speakers report Estonian as the language or the dialect they had learnt first or as their mother tongue. This share may include respondents who are actually first-language speakers of Võro but who are sensitive towards language prestige and reported Estonian because they regard Võro merely as a dialect of Estonian. However, it is probable that a substantial part of these

respondents has learnt Estonian as their first language, because the main language shift from Võro to Estonian occurred 50 years ago. On the other hand, there was a big share of those who reported Võro and those who could not decide which language came first and reported both Võro and Estonian as their mother tongues. Many informants mentioned that Võro was an extra tongue, a close and safe option, but not necessarily the essence of their identity in the way that Estonian is for Estonians; Estonian is the state language, as was repeatedly emphasised.

Võro has been a widely spoken home language but its transmission to the next generations is limited now. While the generation of grandparents was spoken to only in Estonian by approximately a fifth, a similar share of Võro speakers communicated with their children only in Võro. Võro speakers recalled using Võro with different family members more in their childhood than now. In fact, the communication strategies used in families must vary from the one-person-one-language strategy, to a situation in which the home language and the language used outside the home do not match, to using mixed codes in the home language, to late bilingualism (cf. Baker 2006).

As for intra-generational language use, about half claimed that they spoke Võro or both Võro and Estonian, or both Võro and Russian with their current spouses or partners. This may indicate the practices of late bilingualism: after finishing school, as adults people return to a minority language.

Speakers' self-reported oral language competences were rated rather high. Slightly more than two thirds of potential Võro speakers claimed to speak Võro fluently or well. While fluent Võro-speaking was reported rather frequently, reading and writing were definitely not the strongest language competences of Võro. This can be explained by the above-mentioned late bilingualism, the fact that Võro has only recently been literalised and that many Võro speakers may feel excluded as far as the new South Estonian standard, the Võro-Seto standard, is concerned. Most importantly, the Võro-Seto standard is "competing" with Standard Estonian, which most of respondents call their first language and in which written use is common to both Estonian speakers and Estonian-Võro bilinguals from their early years on. With fluent reading and writing skills in Estonian, bilingual Võro speakers might have felt that an alternative or another (Estonian) standard was not really needed. Debates over spelling and frequent changes in spelling are another factor to discourage people from reading and writing.

The capacity of Võro as an overwhelmingly oral language is reflected in reported domain-specific language use as well. Approximately two thirds claimed to use Võro always, often or sometimes at home and with relatives, which makes those domains the most reported domains for Võro. Võro was less used at school and with public authorities. Estonian, on the other hand, was reported as having been used always

or often by more than two thirds in all domains, with public authorities even being reported by the overwhelming majority of potential Võro speakers. The use of Estonian was supported by more parents than Võro was. More than half of the parents did not try to support their children in learning or using Võro. Many explained this as mainly Estonian-speaking children's free choice, the lack of utility in speaking Võro or simply by the fact that their offspring had or will leave the language area anyway.

Legislation

The mean score in this Focus Area was low due mainly to the calculation taking into account respondents' "yes" and "no" answers only, but not the response of majority who could not say whether there were legal texts in Võro or not and remained undecided. While legal texts are not translated into Võro, the respondents did not know that fact for sure. However, people may expect finding Võro in most unbelievable places and texts (e.g. Wikipedia texts in Võro have been created by a few language activists; Hamlet's monologue has been translated to Võro). Although qualitative interviews did not directly touch the issue, ambivalence in legal and institutional arrangements was reflected in the Legal and Institutional Analysis as well (see Meiorig 2012; chapter 4.1 above). It is stated that in general Estonian language legislation is a complicated area and the status of Võro is somewhat unclear.

Media

Subjective capacities to use Võro in the media received a very low score as well. While the number of language products in Võro is constantly growing (children's books and magazine, newspaper, short radio news, TV episodes, poetry, see chapter 2.4.3 above), the written word in Võro is still scarce. As was mentioned, Võro speakers mostly follow media or language products in Estonian, which is their first-acquired standard language. Younger residents, who often have the receptive knowledge of Võro only, also seem to use English-language content, especially on the Internet (Koreinik 2013). While most options of media and culture were reported as being consumed or practised by few, most potential Võro speakers read the Võro-language newspaper (the bimonthly direct mailed UL) more or less frequently. UL seems to be the only regular media platform which provides for the maintenance of Võro. The share of those who reported never practising any of the listed activities seems to accurately describe Võro speakers' cultural practices in Võro. The majority reported never producing or reproducing culture and media content in Võro. While most informants never did those things in the majority language, Estonian, either, it can be concluded that mere spoken-language proficiency without sufficient skills to follow, produce and reproduce written culture or language products in Võro may not ensure the maintenance of Võro. Low media capacities in Võro might be due to weak

written language skills (see also chapter 4.3.1.3; Koreinik & Praakli 2013) or limited media supply, but this result may also reflect problems in accessing Võro-language contents.

5.2 Opportunity

The Focus Area **Opportunity** refers to those institutional, legislative, educational and other arrangements that support or inhibit the use of languages, i.e. that do or do not make it happen. Opportunity is split into four Dimensions: *Language Use and Interaction* (green), *Education* (purple), *Legislation* (yellow), and *Media* (blue). While in *Language Use and Interaction*, the score was the highest Võro ever reached on this scale – 2.15, the other Dimensions – (0.47), *Legislation* (0.60) and *Media* (0.37) – scored very low.

Language Use and Interaction

While slightly more than three quarters of respondents reported not having experienced, in their childhood, attempts to prevent parents in general from using Võro with children, there were no opportunities known, either, that supported the public use or facilitated the cross-generational transfer of language in the past. The Võro language was considered a dialect which, as an archaic phenomenon, was supposed to disappear sooner or later. Võro was used more often in private and informal settings, but there was no domain where the majority of Võro speakers used Võro always. It seems that bilingual Võro speakers used to belong and still belong to different (speech) communities in which interaction does not necessarily function bilingually (cf. Romaine 2005). People in general are quite aware of institutions which cultivate the Võro language. Nevertheless, approximately half had no idea whether there had been attempts to save Võro. It may indicate that organisations aiming at language maintenance may not have succeeded in communicating those attempts to the wider public, or that people have no idea what those attempts should be. Furthermore, language maintenance has become another specialised area in the social division of labour, and language activists have become full-time professionals.

Education

While quite many potential speakers believed that Võro was, or both Võro and Estonian were, their mother tongue(s) or first language(s), Võro was learnt informally with the help of parents, grandparents, in-laws and neighbours, and Estonian was the language of instruction at school. This is supported by Brown (2005) who considers Võro marginal in *schoolscapes*. There is no systematic and effective provision of Võro language education. Some dozens of teachers, usually (primary-school) class teachers with special enthusiasm for the Võro language are

engaged with teaching Võro, but their language capacities and teaching methods vary to a great deal. For children, it depends on whether their class teacher happens to belong to that group; only 5% of pupils engaged in compulsory education (grades 1-9) had the opportunity to learn some Võro at school in 2005/2006 (Koreinik 2007). Since then, the situation has not improved; on the contrary, more rural schools where most of the teaching of Võro takes place have been closed down.

Legislation

Võro speakers had no idea whether there was any legislation regulating instruction in and about Võro in schools. As there is some schooling available in Võro, some informants might believe that legislation must have supported it. Besides education, people believe that as legislation does not prevent Võro from being used it must support it. To conclude, there was some ambivalence about whether there were legal or institutional arrangements to support Võro or to prevent its usage.

Media

The media usage of Võro, except for reading newspapers, was rather modest. Although the content of media in Võro has been growing, especially when compared to the last decades of 20th century, when Võro was used in media rarely and to represent rural and uneducated characters and to poke fun at them, its size does not reflect media possibilities that have been opened up with new media today (see Saar 2005, Koreinik 2013).

5.3 Desire

The Focus Area **Desire** is connected to the wish and readiness of people to use the Võro language. Desire is also reflected in attitudes about the use of Võro. It is split into three Dimensions: *Language Use and Interaction* and *Legislation* which scored 1.87 and 1.26, respectively, and *Media*, which scored extremely low (0.20).

Language Use and Interaction

In general, Võro was the language spoken to the generation of grandparents, but not to the generation of children. Moreover, while respondents' parents had tried to support them in using Võro, they as parents do not try to make their children learn and use Võro. At the same time, the majority do not recall attempts preventing parents in general from speaking Võro with their children. As today's children mostly do not speak Võro, they are not stigmatised either for using the less prestigious language, as was the case with previous generations. Instead of pushing their children to learn Võro, some highlighted the necessity to learn English. The lack of motivation for speaking Võro with children may also be caused by its low labour

market value: Võro-Estonian bilinguals simply do not see any practical profit in knowing the Võro language. While Võro was seen as a fun, pretty, close, safe, traditional and reliable language, it was also seen as having symbolic value only.

Võro was used more often in private informal settings, but there was no domain where the majority of Võro speakers used Võro always. This is confirmed by qualitative findings as well. Võro speakers seem to be very much in favour of Võro, as was exemplified in the focus group interview of middle-aged women, but when it comes to actual language use and especially talking to children, many people only use Võro “for fun”. On the other hand, Võro speakers often reflected purist ideologies and expressed their uncertainty à la “I do not know myself whether I speak correct Võro”. In general, adults were expected to speak Võro, but knowing Võro was not considered to be of any practical value.

Võro speakers thought that their language skills did not facilitate either getting higher salaries or advancing in careers. While they believed that Võro was easy to use in most life situations, they believed that there was some need to develop Võro to meet modern requirements. The latter could be one of the main reasons why many Võro speakers hesitated to speak it. In conclusion, having fluent and good understanding and speaking of Võro (see also Koreinik & Praakli 2013) does not necessarily make people want to use it.

To conclude, it cannot be said that there was no serious desire to use Võro. However, while Estonian society has changed very fast within the last 25 years, despite efforts to cultivate the Võro language and increase its prestige, it has remained a safe rural community language whose use is limited to familiar neighbourhoods and people. As many people have become increasingly mobile, parents in general may not see good practical reasons in transferring Võro skills to their offspring (e.g. Ehala 2006). Most Võro speakers have a safe, easy and, what is the most important, native alternative, Standard Estonian, especially when it comes to reading and writing.

Legislation

Language legislation does not seem to have improved the situation of Võro, either, and the legal status of the language is still somewhat unclear. This lack of clarity is also evident in the Võro speakers’ answers: half of them did not know whether the Estonian legislation supported or prevented the use of Võro. Roughly the same amount, however, believed that different languages and their speakers received equal treatment, especially in the Võro-speaking area. It might be the case that the Võro speakers did not recognise the languageness of the Võro language. However, in the 1998 study slightly less than half of residents aged 25-64 reported that there should be a law created for the preservation of Võro (Eichenbaum & Koreinik 2008).

Qualitative interviews and earlier observations also indicate that people prefer documentation and language preservation to active language maintenance. Koreinik & Praakli (2013) have also demonstrated that language rights for Võro are not mentioned in semi-public discourse on language sustainability.

Media

Compared to the use and consumption of media and text production in Estonian, similar practices in Võro were reported less often. According to the 1998 survey, approximately a third is against a Võro-language newspaper, a fifth is positive about it and the rest is undecided. Only a third would always watch Võro-language episodes on TV. Harju (2000) points out that, for example, seniors, while being the most active users of Võro-language media, are paradoxically against the creation of Võro-language media channels. She explains it by fact that those seniors have experienced the disapproval of Võro in all walks of life during most of their lives. Thus, it has and will remain problematic whether minority media is desired when the bilingual speech community can use media in their other language, Estonian.

The desire of respondents is also a reflection and outcome of the capacity and opportunity reported. Besides above mentioned ideological barriers to use it, Võro is a newly standardised language, which also sets technological barriers to its reading and writing. Younger people have mainly receptive language capacities, while the elderly, who speak Võro fluently, usually do not master the new written standard and thus cannot or do not want to produce or consume media contents. For this reason, a diglossic arrangement is entrenched in which Estonian is used in writing and Võro is confined to the role of everyday spoken language in the private sphere.

5.4 Language Products

The Focus Area **Language Products** is concerned with the existence of language products and a demand for such. It is divided into four Dimensions: *Language Use and Interaction* (green), *Education* (purple), *Legislation* (yellow), and *Media* (blue). Again the Dimension *Language Use and Interaction* scored the highest (1.66) among the Dimensions but still low compared to other Focus Areas. The Dimension *Education* scored extremely low (0.07). The other Dimensions, *Legislation* and *Media*, scored very low as well (0.22 and 0.37, respectively).

Language Use and Interaction

Estonian, the first language for the majority, was also the language of instruction for most Võro speakers.

The EuLaViBar scores for this dimension reflect both the respondents' knowledge of the domains in which Võro is used and their opinions on whether it should be used in certain domains. Surprisingly, the scores for the latter question were lower. It seems as if the respondents would not consider the use of Võro necessary even in those public domains where it is used, but there may be other explanations for these results as well. Probably, due to various reasons such as the unclear status of Võro, the respondents had difficulties in interpreting the questions or expressing their expectations.

Legislation

Respondents were not aware whether legal texts in Võro existed or not. They might have difficulty in finding good reasons for translating, as for Võro-Estonian bilinguals the translation of legal texts into Võro would have a symbolic, but not an instrumental end. On the other hand, they may have heard that language activists have translated many other texts into Võro.

Media

As there is only one newspaper in Võro, *Uma Leht*, the majority of Võro speakers read it more or less regularly. While Võro appears in the national public broadcasting service as short regular radio or irregular TV broadcasts, the newspaper seems to be the most consumed media channel in Võro. In general, except for newspapers, radio and TV, respondents either said they never consumed any media in Võro or did not believe it was available at all. While there is some content in Võro on the Internet produced by activist speakers, similarly to other threatened minority languages, those who are fluent in Võro are likely not capable or willing to consume and produce Internet content.

5.5 The Vitality of Võro

The barometer results seem to correspond to what experts and knowledgeable activists know about the current situation. Võro is estimated as being severely endangered, as well as affected by an on-going language shift. Similar findings have been presented in different sources (e.g. Ehala 2006, and the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger). Some Dimensions – *Legislation*, *Media* and *Education* – scored very low in all Focus Areas, indicating the domains where language endangerment is most critical.

Compared to the Seto language, the Dimension of *Language Use and Interaction* had the highest (but still low!) scores in Opportunity (2.15), Desire (1.87) and Capacity (1.86), but slightly lower scores in Language Products (1.66). The Dimension of *Legislation* scored slightly higher in Desire than in other Focus Areas; this may be

caused by a belief in equal treatment of languages as far as legislative regulation is concerned. In other Focus Areas, the scores of Legislation were lower, demonstrating the severe endangerment of Võro. Although the very low score in the Dimension of *Education* within Language Products does not reflect the supply of school materials (readers, textbooks, audio and videotapes etc.) and other materials which can be used in the domain of education, it may demonstrate the limited access of speakers to and awareness of those materials. Surprising and difficult to interpret was also the higher score of *Language Use and Interaction* in Opportunity than in Capacity. Low scores in Media can be explained, in general, by minority (but also small) languages having difficulties in reaching functional completeness in media; in our case, Võro is available on limited media platforms (Moring 2007). Estonian and increasingly global English dominate the media landscape in Estonia.

The ELDIA consortium stresses that the language vitality barometer must never be used to conclude that some language is not “worth” institutional and/or financial support. The barometer cannot and should not be used to predict the fate of an individual language.

The barometer helps policy-makers and stakeholders to identify conditions that threaten the maintenance of a given language, those that promote its maintenance, and those that need to be improved in order to support the maintenance of language diversity. With the help of the barometer, special support can be directed to areas indicated by low vitality scores.

6 Conclusions

Relying on different, qualitative and quantitative, media and legal, analyses, the following main conclusions can be drawn:

- While people seem to value their spoken skills of Võro, their desire to transfer the Võro language to their children seems to be limited. A majority of parents did not try to make children learn or use Võro. Using Võro was clearly associated with older generations. This partly results from low labour market value of Võro, especially when children move to other Estonian regions and centres, where Võro may have only symbolic meaning for them.
- Potential Võro speakers are Võro-Estonian bilinguals, but they may interact in different monolingual domains, e.g. the home language and the language of local neighbourhoods is Võro, but at school Estonian is used, and Estonian media is followed. Writing is done mainly in Estonian.
- While language activists have been engaged in producing different language products in Võro, the majority does not seem to be aware or have access to those. In text production or cultural activities, the role of Võro seems to be marginal. Similarly, roughly half of the respondents were not aware of any efforts to cultivate Võro.
- Võro was associated with the adjectives “old” and “traditional”, and many respondents also selected clearly positive adjectives rather than their negative antonyms: fun, kind, pretty, close, safe, powerful, and reliable. Furthermore, the topic of Võro was emotionally close and sensitive for many informants; Võro is associated with their home and childhood. Social contacts with Võro speakers were mostly considered easy and positive.
- Language legislation in Estonia is a complicated area. On the basis of the new language law and other laws, the government has adopted numerous regulations, but the practical impact of all these is difficult to assess. The status of Võro with regard to language legislation is still somewhat unclear. Although changes in Language Law seem to favour dialects more than ever before, language legislation does not seem to have enhanced the status of Võro. Moreover, approximately half of the Võro respondents did not know whether the legislation in Estonia supported or prevented the use of Võro; neither did the majority of the control group.
- In Estonia, the topics of Võro and Võro speakers are rather marginal in the public majority discourse. The mainstream media seem to publish articles on Võro only when the status quo seems to have changed or is being challenged. Otherwise, the topics are brought up sporadically. Paradoxically, the minority newspaper does not seem to have an explicit political agenda.

7 References

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WIIK, KALEVI. (1995). *Itämerensuomalaisten kansojen ja kielten syntykysymyksiä*. [= 'Questions of the genesis of the Finnic peoples and languages'] Turku.

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8 List of Abbreviations

AG	age group
EST	Estonian
EuLaViBar	European Language Vitality Barometer
FG	focus groups
II	individual interview
MajLG	majority language, Estonian
MinLG	minority language, Seto
RUS	Russian
SE	South Estonia(n)
SETO	Seto
VRO	Võro
Q	question

Annex 1: Policy Recommendations

- Within the context of weakened cross-generational language transmission and the low market value of Võro, many parents claim to have liberal attitudes and let their children decide whether or not to use Võro. Parents probably do not realise that they have already made choices for their children by not talking to them in their first language. Therefore, parents should be better motivated to transmit Võro cross-generationally.
- Given the fact that many Võro speakers who reported using Võro live outside their traditional area, some measures should be taken to target those people as well (cf. PHS 2011).
- The construction of a minority identity and increasing language prestige may have an impact on language transmission. However, other nation-wide and global policies and migration may work against identity construction. The concept of a minority member as someone in need and in trouble may work against recognition of Võro speakers as a minority who have the human right to develop the language they have learnt first. Two other concepts, bilingualism and multilingualism, need to be re-introduced to wider audiences, as at the moment the understanding of those concepts does not seem to mirror the reality of bi- or multilingualism.
- Compared to Estonian and, for example, English, there are far fewer language products for Võro. Standardisation and the spread of the written word may be crucial. As there are limited resources available, activists must think carefully about what kind of language products would have the greatest impact on language transmission.
- Nevertheless, language activists responsible for standardisation have to be aware of the double stigma which minority language speakers may face (see Lane 2011). In the case of Võro, because of purist attitudes towards Estonian, there may even be a triple stigma, e.g. belonging to a group of Võro speakers, not meeting the Estonian standard and not meeting a new Võro standard. Therefore, in the process of standardising, activists must be aware of non-users (resisters, rejecters, the excluded and the expelled) (see also Wyatt, Thomas & Terranova 2002).
- In general, language activists and policy planners have to take into account the fact that bilingual Võro speakers belong to different communities, and those communities and their interaction do not function bilingually (cf. Romaine 2005).

Annex 2: Transcription Symbols

1. INTONATION

At the end of prosodic unity

- . falling intonation
- , stable intonation
- ? rising intonation

2. PAUSES

- () pause

3. SPEECH RATE AND AMPLITUDE

AHA (CAPITALS) indicate speech that is louder than the surrounding talk

4. OTHER SYMBOLS

- (()) indicates editorial comments, e.g., ((click)), ((laughing)), ((sneeze))
- impos- (hyphen) indicates incompleting word
- indicates removed sequence
- [!] indicates a form which is contrary to expectation

Annex 3: Questionnaires

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5 Haridustase. Palun nimetage Teie kõrgeim haridustase:

- haridus puudub/pole koolis käinud
- põhiharidus: _____aastat
- kutseharidus/keskharidus: _____aastat
- kõrgharidus::
_____aastat_____teaduskraad

6 A) Mis on Teie amet? _____

B) Mis on Teie praegune põhitegevusala:

- töötan või õpin väljaspool kodu
- töötan kodus (nt koduperenaine, talupidaja)
- olen pensionil
- otsin tööd või olen töötu
- muu, mis? _____

C) Kas töötate sellises kohas, kust tööle sõiduks ühes suunas on üle 50 kilomeetri?

- iga päev
- iga nädal
- iga kuu
- muu, mis? _____

B. KEELEKASUTUST PUUDUTAV TAUSTATEAVE

7 Mis on Teie emakeel(ed)või see keel/murre, mille õppisite esimesena?

8 Kus ja kellelt Te võru keele õppisite?

9 Kus ja kellelt Te õppisite eesti keele?

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Teie vanavanemad (kui nad on/olid elus Teie eluajal):

10 Mis keelt/keeli või murret/murdeid kasutasid Teie emapoolsed vanavanemad Teiega suheldes?

11 Mis keelt/keeli või murret/murdeid kasutasid Teie isapoolsed vanavanemad Teiega suheldes?

Teie vanemate taustaandmed

12 Palun nimetage Teie isa kõrgeim haridustase:

- haridus puudub/pole koolis käinud
- põhiharidus: _____aastat
- kutseharidus/keskharidus: _____aastat
- kõrgharidus:
_____aastat _____teaduskraad
- ma ei tea

13 Palun nimetage Teie ema kõrgeim haridustase:

- haridus puudub/pole koolis käinud
- põhiharidus: _____aastat
- kutseharidus/keskharidus: _____aastat
- kõrgharidus:
_____aastat _____teaduskraad
- ma ei tea

Teie vanemate keelekasutus:

Kui üks Teie vanematest ei olnud elus või ei elanud Teie perega koos, palun märkige "ei saa vastata".

14 Mis keelt/keeli või murret/murdeid räägivad/rääkisid Teie vanemad omavahel:

- ei saa vastata, sest isa ja ema ei elanud koos, üks neist oli surnud vms
- mõlema vanema olemasolu korral, palun täpsustage!

Isa emaga: _____ Ema isaga: _____

15 Mis keeles/keeltes või murdes/murretes rääkis Teie ema Teiega Teie lapsepõlves?

- ei saa vastata, sest ema ei olnud, oli surnud vms
- Palun nimetage see keel/murre või need keeled/murded. Kui keeli oli rohkem, palun nimetage, millistes olukordades neid keeli kasutati:

16 Mis keeles/keeltes või murdes/murretes räägib Teie ema Teiega praegu?

- ei saa vastata, sest ema ei ole, on surnud vms
- Palun nimetage see keel/murre või need keeled/murded. Kui keeli on rohkem, palun nimetage, millistes olukordades neid keeli kasutatakse:

17 Mis keeles/keeltes või murdes/murretes rääkis Teie isa Teiega Teie lapsepõlves?

- ei saa vastata, sest isa ei olnud, oli surnud vms
- Palun nimetage see keel/murre või need keeled/murded. Kui keeli oli rohkem, palun nimetage, millistes olukordades neid keeli kasutati:

18 Mis keeles/keeltes või murdes/murretes räägib Teie isa Teiega praegu?

- ei saa vastata, sest isa ei ole, on surnud vms
- Palun nimetage see keel/murre või need keeled/murded. Kui keeli on rohkem, palun nimetage, millistes olukordades neid keeli kasutatakse:

Teie keelekasutus Teie õdede-vendadega (kaasa arvatud kasuõdede või- vendadega):

Kui Teil pole (olnud) õdesid ja/või vendi, jätkake küsimusega 20.

19 Mis keelt/keeli või murret/murdeid kasutate või kasutasite oma õdede ja/või vendadega kõige sagedamini?

a. kes on vanemad kui Teie:

lapsepõlves _____

praegu _____

b. kes on nooremad kui Teie:

lapsepõlves _____

praegu _____

Teie keelekasutus Teie abikaasaga/elukaaslasega:

Kui Teil ei ole abikaasat/elukaaslast, palun jätkake küsimusega 21.

20 Mis keelt/murret või keeli/murdeid Te kasutate oma praeguse abikaasaga/elukaaslasega?

Kui Te kasutate rohkem kui ühte keelt, palun täpsustage, millistes situatsioonides Te erinevaid keeli kasutate?

Teie keelekasutus Teie lapsega/lastega:

Kui Teil ei ole lapsi, jätkake küsimusega 22.

21 Mis keeles/keeltes või murdes/murretes räägite Te oma lapsega/lastega?

Mul on _____ laps/last.

Täpsustage, mis keeles/keeltes räägite Te oma vanima ning noorima lapsega:

a. vanima lapsega: _____

b. noorima lapsega: _____

Väikeste laste keelekasutuse ja kasvatusega seotud seisukohad

22 Kas Teie lapsepõlves esines katseid mitte kasutada lastega rääkides võru keelt?

Ma ei tea Ei Jah

Kui Te vastasite "ei" või "ma ei tea", palun jätkake küsimusega 24.

23 Kui vastasite "jah", kus neid seisukohti rakendati (Palun märkige kõik võimalikud variandid):

Kodus (täpsustage kuidas) _____

Koolis (täpsustage kuidas) _____

Mujal, kelle poolt ja kuidas? _____

24 Kas sellised seisukohad on levinud ka praegu (tänapäeval), et lastega peaks/ei peaks võru keelt kasutama?

Ma ei tea Ei Jah. Palun täpsustage, kes selliseid seisukohti avaldab ja kuidas:

Keelekasutus koolis

Mis keelt/keeli kasutati koolis õppekeel(t)ena, kui Teie koolis käisite?

PS: küsimus ei puuduta keelekasutust keeletundides, vaid ka seda keelt/neid keeli, mida õpetajad kasutasid teiste ainete õpetamisel.

25 Mind on õpetatud kõikides koolides ühes õppekeeles

- Jah, täpsustage, mis keel _____
ja jätkake küsimusega 27
- Ei, jätkake järgmise küsimusega.

26 Mis keelt/keeli kasutati õppekeel(t)ena muude õppeainete puhul (v.a keeletunnid)?

	Võru keel	Eesti keel	Teised keeled	
			_____	_____
Lasteaias/eelkoolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Põhikoolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Keskoolis või kutseõppeasutuses	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27 Kas Teie koolis võimaldati haridust võru keeles?

Lasteaias/eelkoolis	<input type="checkbox"/> Ei	<input type="checkbox"/> Jah, mitu tundi nädalas?	_____ tundi
Põhikoolis	<input type="checkbox"/> Ei	<input type="checkbox"/> Jah, mitu tundi nädalas?	_____ tundi
Keskoolis või kutseõppeasutuses	<input type="checkbox"/> Ei	<input type="checkbox"/> Jah, mitu tundi nädalas?	_____ tundi

C. TEIE KEELTEOSKUS

Järgmisena palume Teil hinnata Teie keeleoskust. Märkige iga keele ja iga osaoskuse (arusaamine, rääkimine, lugemine, kirjutamine) puhul, kuidas Te oma keeleoskust nendes keeltes hindaksite.

28 Ma saan aru järgmistest keeltest:

	vabalt	hästi	mõnevõrra	halvasti	üldse mitte
võru keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
eesti keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglise keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vene keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soome keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
saksa keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29 Ma räägin järgmisi keeli:

	vabalt	hästi	mõnevõrra	halvasti	üldse mitte
võru keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
eesti keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglise keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vene keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soome keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
saksa keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

30 Ma loen järgmistes keeltes:

	vabalt	hästi	mõnevõrra	halvasti	üldse mitte
võru keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
eesti keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglise keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vene keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soome keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
saksa keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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31 Ma kirjutan järgmistes keeltes :

	vabalt	hästi	mõnevõrra	halvasti	üldse mitte
võru keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
eesti keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglise keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vene keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soome keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
saksa keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. KEELEKASUTUS

32 Märkige ristiga, mil määral Te kasutate keeli järgmistel puhkudel. Tehke rist vastavasse kastikesse.

A. võru keel

	alati	sageli	mõnikord	harva	mitte kunagi
kodus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulastega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tööl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõpradega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabritega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tänaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamatukogus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kirikus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ametnikega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kohalikel üritustel*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muudes situatsioonides, kus?*** _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Kohalike ürituste all peame silmas valla, küla, linna või linnaosa üritusi ja sündmusi, nt klubiõhtud, rahvapeod jms.

** Võite lisada midagi omal valikul.

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B. eesti keel

	alati	sageli	mõnikord	harva	mitte kunagi
kodus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulastega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tööl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõpradega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabritega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tänaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamatukogus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kirikus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ametnikega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kohalikel üritustel*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muudes situatsioonides, kus?*** _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Kohalike ürituste all peame silmas valla, küla, linna või linnaosa üritusi ja sündmusi, nt klubiõhtud, rahvapeod jms.

** Võite lisada midagi omal valikul.

Kui Te ei kasuta kunagi muid keeli, jätkake küsimusega 33!

C. inglise / _____ keel

	alati	sageli	mõnikord	harva	mitte kunagi
kodus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulastega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tööl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõpradega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabritega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tänaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamatukogus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kirikus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ametnikega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kohalikel üritustel*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muudes situatsioonides, kus?*** _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Kohalike ürituste all peame silmas valla, küla, linna või linnaosa üritusi ja sündmusi, nt klubiõhtud, rahvapeod jms.

** Võite lisada midagi omal valikul.

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D. _____ keel

	alati	sageli	mõnikord	harva	mitte kunagi
kodus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulastega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tööl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõpradega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabritega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tänaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamatukogus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kirikus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ametnikega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kohalikel üritustel*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muudes situatsioonides, kus? **	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Kohalike ürituste all peame silmas valla, küla, linna või linnaosa üritusi ja sündmusi, nt klubiõhtud, rahvapeod jms.

** Võite lisada midagi omal valikul.

E. KEELEHOIAKUD JA SOOV KEELI KASUTADA**Keelte läbisegi kasutamine**

33 Mida Te arvate järgmistest väidetest keelte läbisegi kasutamise kohta? Tehke rist vastavasse kastikesse.

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Keelte läbisegi kasutamine on võru keele rääkijate hulgas laialt levinud.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Üksnes madala haridustasemega inimesed kasutavad võru keelt teiste keeltega läbisegi.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Noored kasutavad sageli võru keelt teiste keeltega läbisegi.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vanemad inimesed räägivad võru keelt korralikult.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Keelte läbisegi kasutamine viitab erinevate keelte heale oskusele.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Keelte läbisegi kasutamine on vastuvõetav.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Võru keele ja eesti keele väärtustamine ning toetamine

34 Kas Teie vanemad püüdsid Teid toetada võru keele kasutamisel?

- Ei Jah

Palun kommenteerige

35 Kas Teie vanemad püüdsid Teid toetada eesti keele kasutamisel?

- Ei Jah

Palun kommenteerige

36 Kui Teil on endal lapsi, kas püüate toetada nende võru keele õppimist ja kasutamist?

- Mul ei ole lapsi, jätkake küsimusega 37

- Jah, mul on laps(i). Kas toetate tema/nende võru keele õppimist ja kasutamist?

- Ei

- Jah, palun täpsustage, kuidas
-
-

Väiteid võru keele kasutamise kohta erinevate rühmade puhul

37 Tavaliselt eelistavad erinevast vanusest või soost inimesed ühte keelt teisele. Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Poistelt eeldatakse võru keele kasutamist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tüdrukutelt eeldatakse võru keele kasutamist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Täiskasvanud meestelt eeldatakse võru keele kasutamist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Täiskasvanud naistelt eeldatakse võru keele kasutamist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38 Järgmisena esitatakse mõned väited võru keele rääkijate kohta. Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne sõbruneda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne tutvuda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne abielluda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne koos töötada.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne koos aega veeta.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Võru keele kasutamine

39 Mida Te arvate võru keele kasutamise kohta avalikus sfääris selles riigis, kus Te elate? Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Võru keelt peaks kasutama televisioonis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama politseijaoskonnas.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama Riigikogus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama haiglates.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama kohtus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama internetis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama haridussüsteemis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Erinevate keelte tulevik

40 Kuidas muutub Teie hinnangul järgmiste keelte tähtsus järgmise 10 aasta jooksul? Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Võru keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglise keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vene keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____ keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Keelte iseloomustamine

Järgmisena püüdke alljärgnevate sõnapaaride abil kirjeldada, mida Te kummagi keele puhul tunnete või mõtlete. Märkige vastused skaalal 1-5, näiteks

	1	2	3	4	5	
ilus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	inetu

41 Võru keel tundub:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kange
ebaturvaline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	turvaline
lähedane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauge
usaldusväärne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebausaldusväärne
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebakindel
moodne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsiooniline
jõuetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jõuline
lõbus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igav
inetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ilus
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselik
õel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahke
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaene
edutu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	edukas
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	noor
arukas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	rumal
hooliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hoolimatu
harimatu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	haritud
passiivne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivne

42 Eesti keel tundub:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kange
ebaturvaline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	turvaline
lähedane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauge
usaldusväärne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebausaldusväärne
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebakindel
moodne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsiooniline
jõuetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jõuline
lõbus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igav
inetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ilus
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselik
õel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahke
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaene

edutu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	edukas
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	noor
arukas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	rumal
hooliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hoolimatu
harimatu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	haritud
passiivne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivne

43 Inglise keel tundub:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kange
ebaturvaline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	turvaline
lähedane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauge
usaldusväärne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebausaldusväärne
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebakindel
moodne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsiooniline
jõuetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jõuline
lõbus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igav
inetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ilus
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselik
õel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahke
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaene
edutu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	edukas
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	noor
arukas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	rumal
hooliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hoolimatu
harimatu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	haritud
passiivne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivne

Keeleseadusandlus

Keeleseadusandlus ja inimeste arusaam sellest

44 Kas Teie hinnangul Eesti seadusandlus toetab võru keele kasutamist?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

45 Kas Teie hinnangul Eesti seadusandlus takistab võru keele kasutamist?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

46 Kas Teie hinnangul toetab Eesti seadusandlus mitme keele oskamist ja kasutamist piirkonnas, kus Te elate?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

47 Kas selline seadusandlus on kättesaadav ka võru keeles?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

48 Kas on olemas seadusi, mis reguleerivad võru keele kasutamist õppekeelena koolides?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

49 Kas on olemas seadusi, mis reguleerivad seda, kuidas koolides antakse teadmisi võru keele kohta?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

50 Kas eri keelte rääkijaid ja keeli koheldakse Teie piirkonnas Eestimaal võrdselt?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite “jah” või “osaliselt”, palun täpsustage:

Keel ja tööturg

51 Kas Eestis on seadusi või muid regulatsioone, mis toetavad eri keelte oskust tööturul?

Ei Jah Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite “jah”, palun täpsustage:

52 Milline on Teie hinnangul võru keele roll tööturul? Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske õelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Võru keele oskamine lihtsustab esimese töökoha leidmist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele oskamine võimaldab saada kõrgemat töötasu.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele oskamine hõlbustab karjääri edenemist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele oskamine hõlbustab töökoha vahetust.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

53 Milline on Teie hinnangul eesti keele roll tööturul? Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Eesti keele oskamine lihtsustab esimese töökoha leidmist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele oskamine võimaldab saada kõrgemat töötasu.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele oskamine hõlbustab karjääri edenemist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele oskamine hõlbustab töökoha vahetust.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

54 Milline on Teie arvates inglise keele roll tööturul? Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Inglise keele oskamine lihtsustab esimese töökoha leidmist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglise keele oskamine võimaldab saada kõrgemat töötasu.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglise keele oskamine hõlbustab karjääri edenemist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglise keele oskamine hõlbustab töökoha vahetust.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Keelehoole ja õigekeelsus

55 Kas Eestis on institutsioone/organisatsioone või isikuid, kes tegutsevad aktiivselt võru keele hooldega (arendamise, kasutuse edendamise, korraldamisega)?

Ei Jah Ma ei tea

Kui vastasite "jah", palun täpsustage. Millised institutsioonid või kes?

56 Kas Eestis on institutsioone/organisatsioone või isikuid, kes tegutsevad aktiivselt eesti keele hooldega (arendamise, kasutuse edendamise, korraldamisega)?

Ei Jah Ma ei tea

Kui vastasite "jah", palun täpsustage. Millised institutsioonid või kes?

57 Kas on olemas puhas/korrektne võru keele kuju?

Ei Jah Ma ei tea

Kui vastasite "jah", kes seda räägib ja millal? _____

58 Kas võru keelt tuleks arendada, et see vastaks paremini ühiskonna ja avalikkuse vajadustele?

Ei Jah Ma ei tea

59 Kas võru keelt on kerge kasutada enamikus eluolukordades?

Jah

Ei. Palun vastake, mis olukordades ei ole Teie hinnangul võru keeles võimalik ennast väljendada.

F. AVALIK JA INDIVIDUAALNE KEELEKASUTUS

Keelekasutus ja keele elavdamise (revitalisatsiooni) kogemus

60 Kas on tehtud katseid võru keele elavdamiseks Eestis?

Ma ei tea

Ei

Jah. Palun kirjeldage mõningaid nendest katsetest _____

61 Kas võru keelt on võimalik kasutada järgnevates kohtades Eestis?

	jah	ei	ei tea
Riigikogus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
politseijaoskonnas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
maksuametis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
haigekassas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
töötukassas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
haiglates	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kohtutes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ministeeriumides	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kohalikes ja maakondlikes asutustes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
haridusasutustes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
trükimeedias (ajalehed jne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raadios	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
televisioonis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
välireklaamides	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kommertsreklaamides meedias	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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G. AKTIIVNE KEELEKASUTUS KULTUURIS JA MEEDIAS

62 Kui sageli Te tarbite kultuuri või kasutate aktiivselt elektroonilist meediat?

A. võru keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi	võru keeles puuduvad selleks võimalused
Ma loen ajalehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma loen raamatuid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin teatris	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin kontserdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan raadiot (uudiseid, jutusaateid jne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan internetti, nt loen veebilehti, uudiseid, blogisid jne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan võrukeelset arvutitarkvara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan e-kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan tekstisõnumeid (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan sotsiaalmeediat (Facebook, Twitter, jututoad, foorumid)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma mängin interaktiivseid mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan blogisid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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B. eesti keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi	eesti keeles puuduvad selleks võimalused
Ma loen ajalehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma loen raamatuid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin teatris	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin kontserdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan raadiot (uudiseid, jutusaateid jne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan internetti, nt loen veebilehti, uudiseid, blogisid jne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan eestikeelset arvutitarkvara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan e-kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan tekstisõnumeid (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan sotsiaalmeediat (Facebook, Twitter, jututoad, foorumid)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma mängin interaktiivseid mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan blogisid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kui Te ei kasuta kunagi muid keeli, jätkake küsimusega 63!

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C. inglise / _____ keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi	selles keeles puuduvad selleks võimalused
Ma loen ajalehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma loen raamatuid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin teatris	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin kontserdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan raadiot (uudiseid, jutusaateid jne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan internetti, nt loen veebilehti, uudiseid, blogisid jne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan inglisekeelset arvutitarkvara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan e-kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan tekstisõnumeid (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan sotsiaalmeediat (Facebook, Twitter, jututoad, foorumid)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma mängin interaktiivseid mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan blogisid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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D. _____ keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi	_____ keeles puuduvad selleks võimalused
Ma loen ajalehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma loen raamatuid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin teatris	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin kontserdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan raadiot (uudiseid, jutusaateid jne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan internetti, nt loen veebilehti, uudiseid, blogisid jne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan _____ arvutitarkvara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan e-kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan tekstisõnumeid (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan sotsiaalmeediat (Facebook, Twitter, jututoad, foorumid)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma mängin interaktiivseid mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan blogisid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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63 Kui sageli Te tegelete järgmiste tegevustega nendes keeltes?

A. võru keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi
Ma kirjutan kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma pean päevikut või teen märkmeid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan ilukirjanduslikke tekste (luuletusi, jutte)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma teen laule	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma laulan laule	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma esitan luulet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma osalen teatritrupi töös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. eesti keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi
Ma kirjutan kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma pean päevikut või teen märkmeid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan ilukirjanduslikke tekste (luuletusi, jutte)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma teen laule	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma laulan laule	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma esitan luulet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma osalen teatritrupi töös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kui Te ei kasuta kunagi muid keeli, on küsitlus Teie jaoks lõppenud. Täname Teid küsitluses osalemise eest!

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C. Inglise keeles / _____ keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi
Ma kirjutan kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma pean päevikut või teen märkmeid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan ilukirjanduslikke tekste (luuletusi, jutte)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma teen laule	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma laulan laule	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma esitan luulet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma osalen teatritrupi töös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. _____ keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi
Ma kirjutan kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma pean päevikut või teen märkmeid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan ilukirjanduslikke tekste (luuletusi, jutte)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma teen laule	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma laulan laule	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma esitan luulet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma osalen teatritrupi töös	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Suur tänu Teile osalemise ning vastamisele pühendatud aja ja vaeva eest!

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5 Märgiq arq, määne om su (kõgõ korgõmb) haridus:

- Olõ-õi koolin käünüq
- Põhiharidus: põhikuul: _____aastat
- Kutsõ- vai keskharidus: _____aastat
- Korgõmb vai akadeemiline haridus:
_____aastat/ Tiiduskraat: _____

6 A) Miä om su ammõt? _____

B) Midä sa parhilla põhilidsõlt tiit:

- käü tüül vai opi
- tüütä koton (nt kodopernaanõ, talopidäjä)
- olõ pensionil
- otsi tüüd/olõ ilma tüüldä
- midägi muud, miä? _____

C) Noilõ, kiä tüütäseq kotost kavvõmban ku 50 km: ma sõida kotost tüüle ja tagasi

- egä päiv
- egä nätäl
- egä kuu
- midägi muud, miä? _____

B. KEELETARVITUSÕ TAUSTATEEDÜS

7 Miä om su imäkiil (vai imäkeeleg) vai tuu kiil, midä naksit kõnõlõma kõgõ inne?

8 Kon ja kink käest olõt opnuq võro kiilt?

9 Kon ja kink käest olõt opnuq eesti kiilt?

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Vanavanõmbaq (kui nä ommaq/olliq elon su eloaol):**10** Mis kiilt/kiili kõnõliq sukka imäpoolidsõq vanavanõmbaq?

11 Mis kiilt/kiili kõnõliq sukka esäpoolidsõq vanavanõmbaq?

Vanõmbidõ taustateedüs**12** Märgiq arq, määne om su esä (kõgõ korgõmb) haridus:

- Olõ-õi koolin käünüq
- Põhiharidus: põhikuul: _____ aastat
- Kutsõ- vai keskharidus: _____ aastat
- Korgõmb vai akadeemiline haridus:
_____ aastat / Tiidüskraat: _____
- Ei tiiäq

13 Märgiq arq, määne om su imä (kõgõ korgõmb) haridus:

- Olõ-õi koolin käünüq
- Põhiharidus: põhikuul: _____ aastat
- Kutsõ- vai keskharidus: _____ aastat
- Korgõmb vai akadeemiline haridus:
_____ aastat / Tiidüskraat: _____
- Ei tiiäq

Vanõmbidõ keeletarvitus:

Ku üts vanõmbist oll' koolnuq vai elä-äs ti perrega üten, märgiq ärq kast "saa-ai vastadaq"

14 Mis kiilt/kiili kõnõlösõq/kõnõliq vanõmbaq umavaihõl:

- Saa-ai vastadaq (esä ja imä elä-äs üten vai üts näist oll' koolnuq)
- Saa vastadaq

Esä kõnõl' imäga _____kiilt Imä kõnõl' esäga _____kiilt

15 Mis kiilt/kiili kõnõl' imä sukka, ku sa lats ollit?

- Saa-ai vastadaq (imä elä-äs perrega üten vai oll' koolnuq)
 - Saa vastadaq. Kirodaq, mis kiilt vai kiili (ku imä kõnõl' sukka mitund kiilt, sis kirodaq, kunas vai mis puhul tä määnest kiilt tarvit')
-

16 Mis kiilt/kiili kõnõlös imä sukka parhilla?

- Saa-ai vastadaq (ei saaq imäga kokko vai om imä koolnuq)
 - Saa vastadaq. Kirodaq, mis kiilt vai kiili (ku imä kõnõlös sukka mitund kiilt, sis kirodaq, kunas vai mis puhul tä määnest kiilt tarvitas):
-

17 Mis kiilt/kiili kõnõl' esä sukka, ku sa lats ollit?

- Saa-ai vastadaq (esä elä-äs perrega üten vai oll' koolnuq)
 - Saa vastadaq. Kirodaq, mis kiilt vai kiili (ku esä kõnõl' sukka mitund kiilt, sis kirodaq, kunas vai mis puhul tä määnest kiilt tarvit'):
-

18 Mis kiilt/kiili kõnõlõs esä sukka parhilla?

- Saa-ai vastadaq (ei saaq esäga kokko vai om esä koolnuq)
- Saa vastadaq. Kirodaq, mis kiilt vai kiili (ku esä kõnõlõs sukka mitund kiilt, sis kirodaq, kunas vai mis puhul tä määnest kiilt tarvitas):

Keeletarvitus velji ja sõsaridõga (kasuveleq ja kasusõsaraq üten arvaduq):

Kui sul olõ-õi velji ega sõsarit olnuq, mineq edesi 20. küsümise mano.

19 Mis kiilt/kiili tarvitat vai tarvitit ummi sõsaridõ-veljiga kõgõ inämb?

a. vanõmbidõ velji-sõsaridõga:

latsõpõlvõn _____

parhilla _____

b. noorõmbidõ velji-sõsaridõga:

latsõpõlvõn _____

parhilla _____

Keeletarvitus mehega/naasõga/tõõsõpoolõga:

Kui sul olõ-õi miist/naist/tõistpuult, mineq edesi 21. küsümise mano.

20 Mis kiilt vai kiili tarvitat uma parhilladsõ mehe/naasõ/tõõsõpoolõga?

Kui pruugit mitund kiilt, sis kirodaq, kunas vai mis puhul määnest kiilt pruugit

Keeletarvitus latsiga:

Kui sul olõ-õi latsi, mineq edesi 22. küsümise mano.

21 Mis kiilt/kiili kõnõlõt ummi latsiga?

Mul om _____ lats/last.

Kirodaq, mis kiilt/kiili kõnõlõt uma kõgõ vanõmba ja noorõmba latsõga:

a. kõgõ vanõmba latsõga kõnõlõ _____ kiilt

b. kõgõ noorõmba latsõga kõnõlõ _____ kiilt

Arvamisõq väikeisi latsiga kõnõlõmisõ kotsilõ

22 Ku sa ollit lats, kas sis anti mõistaq, et latsiga massa-ai võro kiilt kõnõldaq?

ei tiiäq es andaq anti külh

Kui vastassit "es andaq" vai "ei tiiäq", mineq edesi 24. küsümise mano.

23 Ku vastassit "anti külh", sis kirodaq, mis kotussin niimuudu mõistaq anti (või ollaq ka mitu kotust):

Koton (kirodaq, kuis) _____

Koolin (kirodaq, kuis) _____

Muial (kirodaq, kiä ja kuis) _____

24 Kas parhilla andas mõistaq, et latsiga pidänüq vai es pidänüq võro kiilt kõnõlõma?

Ei tiiäq Ei andaq Andas külh. Kirodaq, kiä midä mõistaq and

Keeletarvitus koolin

Ku sa koolin kävet, mis kiilt/kiili pruugiti säääl sis oppamisõ keeles?

Panõq tähele! Jutt olõ-õi keeletunnõst, a keelest, midä oppajaq kõnõliq tõisin tunnõn

25 Minno om opat kõigin koolõn üten keelen

- Jah, kirodaq, mis keelen _____
ja mineq edesi 27. Küsümise mano
- Ei (kaeq järgmäst küsümist)

26 Mis kiilt/kiili pruugiti oppamisõ keeles muin tunnõn ku keeletunniq?

	Võro kiil	Eesti kiil	Tõõsõq keeleq	
			_____	_____
Latsiaian/eelkoolin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Põhikoolin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kesk- vai kutsõkoolin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27 Kas su koolin oll' määnestki võrokeelist oppamist?

Latsiaian/eelkoolin	<input type="checkbox"/> Ei	<input type="checkbox"/> Jah, mitu tunni nädälin?	_____ tunni
Põhikoolin	<input type="checkbox"/> Ei	<input type="checkbox"/> Jah, mitu tunni nädälin?	_____ tunni
Kesk- vai kutsõkoolin	<input type="checkbox"/> Ei	<input type="checkbox"/> Jah, mitu tunni nädälin?	_____ tunni

C. KEELEMÕISTMINÕ

Mis kiili sa mõistat? Märgiq ega keele ja ega mõistmisõ (arvosaaminõ, kõnõlõminõ, lugõminõ, kirotaminõ) mano, ku häste sa tuud hindä meelest mõistat.

28 Ma saa arvo järgmäidsist keelist:

	väega häste	häste	küländ häste	halvastõ	mitte sukugi
võro kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
eesti kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglüse kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vinne kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soomõ kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s'aksa kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29 Ma kõnõlõ järgmäidsi kiili:

	väega häste	häste	küländ häste	halvastõ	mitte sukugi
võro kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
eesti kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglüse kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vinne kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soomõ kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s'aksa kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

30 Ma mõista lukõq järgmäidsi kiili:

	väega häste	häste	küländ häste	halvastõ	mitte sukugi
võro kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
eesti kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglüse kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vinne kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soomõ kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s'aksa kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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31 Ma mõista kirotaq järgmäidsin keelin:

	väega häste	häste	küländ häste	halvastõ	mitte sukugi
võro kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
eesti kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglüse kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vinne kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soomõ kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
s'aksa kiil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. KEELETARVITUS

32 Märgiq ärq, kinka, kon vai mäantside asjo man ku pall'o määnestki kiilt pruugit. Tiiq õigõ kastikõsõ sisse rist.

A. võro kiil

	kõik aig	sagõhõlõ	mõnikõrd	harva	mitte kunagi
koton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulaisiga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tüü man	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõproga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabridõga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poodin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
uulidsa pääl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamadukogon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kerikun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ammõtnikkõga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
uma nuka üritüisil*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muial, konkotsil?*** _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Uma nuka üritüisi all mõtlõmi valla, külä, liina vai liinajao üritüisi ja tegemiisi, nt klubiõdaguq, rahvapidoq jms.

** Võit esiq midägi mano pandaq.

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B. eesti kiil

	kõik aig	sagõhõlõ	mõnikõrd	harva	mitte kunagi
koton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulaisiga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tüü man	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõproga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabridõga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poodin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
uulidsa pääl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamadukogon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kerikun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ammõtnikkõga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
uma nuka üritüisil*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muial, konkotsil?***	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Uma nuka üritüisi all mõtlõmi valla, külä, liina vai liinajao üritüisi ja tegemiisi, nt klubiõdaguq, rahvapidoq jms.

** Võit esiq midägi mano pandaq.

Kui sa ei pruugiq kunagi muid kiili, mineq edesi 33. küsümise mano!

C. C. inglüse kiil/ _____ kiil

	kõik aig	sagõhõlõ	mõnikõrd	harva	mitte kunagi
koton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulaisiga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tüü man	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõproga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabridõga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poodin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
uulidsa pääl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamadukogon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kerikun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ammõtnikkõga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
uma nuka üritüisil*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muial, konkotsil?***	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Uma nuka üritüisi all mõtlõmi valla, külä, liina vai liinajao üritüisi ja tegemiisi, nt klubiõdaguq, rahvapidoq jms.

** Võit esiq midägi mano pandaq.

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D. _____ kiil

	kõik aig	sagõhõlõ	mõnikõrd	harva	mitte kunagi
koton	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulaisiga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tüü man	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõproga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabridõga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poodin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
uulidsa pääl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamadukogon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kerikun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ammõtnikkõga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
uma nuka üritüisil*	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muial, konkotsil?***	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Uma nuka üritüisi all mõtlõmi valla, külä, liina vai liinajao üritüisi ja tegemiisi, nt klubiõdaguq, rahvapidoq jms.

** Võit esiq midägi mano pandaq.

E. ARVAMISÕQ KIILI KOTSILÕ JA TAHTMINÕ KIILI PRUUKIQ**Kiili segämine**

33 Midä arvat naist üteliisist kiili läbiseqi pruumisõ kotsilõ? Tiiq õigõ kastikõsõ sisse rist.

	tävveste nõun	nõun	rassõ üteldäq	olõ-õi nõun	olõ-õi sukugi nõun
Kiili läbiseqi pruuminõ om võro keele kõnõlõjidõ hulgan väega harilik.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Õnnõ madala haridusõga inemiseq prukvaq võro kiilt tõisi kiiliga segämini.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Noorõq prukvaq pall'o võro kiilt tõisi kiiliga segämini.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vanõmbaq inemised kõnõlõsõq võro kiilt kõrraligult.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiili läbiseqi pruuminõ näütäs kiili hääd mõistmist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiili või külh läbiseqi prukiq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Võro ja eesti keele tähtsapidamine ni tugõminõ

34 Kas su vanõmbaq tugõsiq su võro keele pruukmist?

- Ei Jah

Kirodaq täpsämbähe

35 Kas su vanõmbaq tugõsiq su eesti keele pruukmist?

- Ei Jah

Kirodaq täpsämbähe

36 Kui sul om hindäl latsi, kas toet näide võro keele opmist ja pruukmist?

- Olõ-õi latsi, mineq edesi 37. küsümise mano
- Om latsi. Kas tiit midägi, et nä võro kiilt opnuq ja pruuknuq?
- Ei
- Jah. Kirodaq, midä sa tuu hääs tiit
-
-

Arvamiisi tuu kotsilõ, kuis esiqsugudsõq inemiseq pruukvaq võro kiilt

37 Om harilik, et esiqsugudsõ vannusõga vai esiq suku inemiseq kõnõlõsõq ütte kiilt inämb ku tõist kiilt. Märgiq ärq, ku pall'o olõt nõun järgmäidsi üteliisiga:

	tävveste nõun	nõun	rassõ üteldäq	olõ-õi nõun	olõ-õi sukugi nõun
Arvatas, et poiskõsõq pruukvaq võro kiilt.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Arvatas, et tütriguq pruukvaq võro kiilt.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Arvatas, et täüskasunuq meheq pruukvaq võro kiilt.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Arvatas, et täüskasunuq naasõq pruukvaq võro kiilt.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

38 Tan ommaq mõnõq üteliuseq võro keele kõnõlõjidõ kotsilõ. Märgiq arq, kuvõrd sa naidõga nõun olõt:

	tävveste nõun	nõun	rassõ üteldäq	olõ-õi nõun	olõ-õi sukugi nõun
Võro keele kõnõlõjaga om kerge sõbras saiaq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro keele kõnõlõjaga om kerge tutvas saiaq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro keele kõnõlõjat om kerge naasõs võttaq/kõnõlõjalõ om kerge mehele minnäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro keele kõnõlõjaga om kerge üten tüütäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro keele kõnõlõjaga om kerge üten vapa aigo viitäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Võro keele pruukminõ

39 Midä arvat võro keele pruukmisõst riigi avaligun elon? Märgiq ärq, kuvõrd olõt nõun naidõ üteliisiga:

	tävveste nõun	nõun	rassõ üteldäq	olõ-õi nõun	olõ-õi sukugi nõun
Võro kiilt pidänüq pruukma televisioonin.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro kiilt pidänüq pruukma politseijaoskunnan.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro kiilt pidänüq pruukma Riigikogon.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro kiilt pidänüq pruukma haigõmajon.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro kiilt pidänüq pruukma kohton.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro kiilt pidänüq pruukma Internetin.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro kiilt pidänüq pruukma haridusõn.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kiili tulõvik

40 Kuis muutus su meelest naidõ kiili tähtsüs järgmädse 10 aastaga seen. Märgiq ärq, kuvõrd olõt nõun naidõ üteliisiga:

	tävveste nõun	nõun	rassõ üteldäq	olõ-õi nõun	olõ-õi sukugi nõun
Võro keele tähtsüs kasus järgmädse 10 aasta seen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele tähtsüs kasus järgmädse 10 aasta seen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglüse keele tähtsüs kasus järgmädse 10 aasta seen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vinne keele tähtsüs kasus järgmädse 10 aasta seen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____ keele tähtsüs kasus järgmädse 10 aasta seen?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kiili loomus

Püvväq järgmäidsi sõnapaarõ abiga seletäq, midä sa mäantsegi keele puhul tunnõt vai mõtlõt. Märgiq vastusõq ärq numbridõga 1-5, näütüses

	1	2	3	4	5	
illos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jälle

41 Võro kiil tunnus mullõ:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmeq	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kõva
kaitsmalda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kaidstõ
lähküne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kavvõlinõ
kimmäs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kimmüseldä
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	otsustustamalda
vahtsõaolinõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsioonilinõ
jovvulda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jovvulinõ
rõõmsa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ikäv
jälle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	illos
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naasõlik
hõel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahkõ
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaenõ
hukkalännüq	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kõrdalännüq
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuur
tark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ull
piinütundõlinõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	pääletükjä
harimalda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	harit
vaganõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	teküs

42 Eesti kiil tunnus mullõ:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmeq	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kõva
kaitsmalda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kaidstõ
lähküne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kavvõlinõ
kimmäs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kimmüseldä
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	otsustustamalda
vahtsõaolinõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsioonilinõ
jovvulda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jovvulinõ
rõõmsa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ikäv
jälle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	illos
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naasõlik
hõel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahkõ
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaenõ

hukkalännüq	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kõrdalännüq
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuur
tark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ull
piinütundõlinõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	pääletükjä
harimalda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	harit
vaganõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	teküs

43 Inglüse kiil tunnus mullõ:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehmeq	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kõva
kaitsmalda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kaidstõ
lähküne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kavvõlinõ
kimmäs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kimmüseldä
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	otsustustamalda
vahtsõaolinõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsioonilinõ
jovvulda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jovvulinõ
rõõmsa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ikäv
jälle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	illos
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naasõlik
hõel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahkõ
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaenõ
hukkalännüq	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kõrdalännüq
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	nuur
tark	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ull
piinütundõlinõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	pääletükjä
harimalda	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	harit
vaganõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	teküs

Kiil ja säädüs

Keelesäädüseq ja tuu, kuis inemiseq naist arvo saavaq

44 Kas su meelest tugõvaq Eesti säädüseq võro keele pruukmist?

Ei Jah Osalidsõlt Ei tiiäq

Kui märget "jah" vai "osalidsõlt", sis kirodaq tuust täpsämbähe:

45 Kas su meelest sekäseq Eesti säädüseq võro keele pruukmist?

Ei Jah Osalidsõlt Ei tiiäq

Kui märget “jah” vai “osalidsõlt”, sis kirodaq tuust täpsämbähe:

46 Kas su meelest tugõvaq Eesti säädüseq mitmõ keele mõistmist ja pruukmist piirkunnan, kon sa elät?

Ei Jah Osalidsõlt Ei tiiäq

Kui märget “jah” vai “osalidsõlt”, sis kirodaq tuust täpsämbähe:

47 Kas sääntseq säädüseq ommaq kättesaadavaq ka võro keelen?

Ei Jah Osalidsõlt Ei tiiäq

Kui märget “jah” vai “osalidsõlt”, sis kirodaq tuust täpsämbähe:

48 Kas om olõman säädüisi võro keele koolin opikeeles pruukmisõ kotsilõ?

Ei Jah Osalidsõlt Ei tiiäq

Kui märget “jah” vai “osalidsõlt”, sis kirodaq tuust täpsämbähe:

49 Kas om olõman säädüisi tuu kotsilõ, kuis koolõn andas tiidmiisi võro keele kotsilõ?

Ei Jah Osalidsõlt Ei tiiäq

Kui märget “jah” vai “osalidsõlt”, sis kirodaq tuust täpsämbähe:

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50 Kas kõiki kiiliga ja näide kõnõlõjõdõga käüdäs Eestin ja Võromaal ümbre üttemuudu, nigu võrdsidõga?

- Ei
 Jah
 Osalidsõlt
 Ei tiiäq

Kui märget “jah” vai “osalidsõlt”, sis kirodaq tuust täpsämbähe:

Kiil ja tüüturg

51 Kas Eestin om säädüisi, määrüisi vms, miä tugõvaq mitmõ keele mõistmist tüüturul?

- Ei
 Jah
 Ei tiiäq

Kui märget “jah”, sis kirodaq tuust täpsämbähe:

52 Määne om su meelest võro keele tähtsüs tüüturul? Märgiq ärq, kuvõrd olõt nõun naidõ üteliisiga:

	tävveste nõun	nõun	rassõ üteldäq	olõ-õi nõun	olõ-õi sukugi nõun
Võro keele mõistjal om lihtsämb edimäst tüükotust löüdäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro keele mõistminõ avitas korgõmbat palka saiaq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro keele mõistminõ avitas karjääri tetäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võro keele mõistminõ avitas vahtsõt tüüd löüdäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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53 Määne om su meelest eesti keele tähtsüs tüüturul? Märgiq ärq, kuvõrd olõt nõun naidõ üteliisiga:

	tävveste nõun	nõun	rassõ üteldäq	olõ-õi nõun	olõ-õi sukugi nõun
Eesti keele mõistjal om lihtsämb edimäst tüükotust löüdäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele mõistminõ avitas korgõmbat palka saiaq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele mõistminõ avitas karjääri tetäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele mõistminõ avitas vahtsõt tüüd löüdäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

54 Määne om su meelest inglüse keele tähtsüs tüüturul? Märgiq ärq, kuvõrd olõt nõun naidõ üteliisiga:

	tävveste nõun	nõun	rassõ üteldäq	olõ-õi nõun	olõ-õi sukugi nõun
Inglüse keele mõistjal om lihtsämb edimäst tüükotust löüdäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglüse keele mõistminõ avitas korgõmbat palka saiaq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglüse keele mõistminõ avitas karjääri tetäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglüse keele mõistminõ avitas vahtsõt tüüd löüdäq.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Keelehoolitsus ja keele kõrralikkus

55 Kas Eestin om asotuisi/ütisüisi vai inemiisi, kiä hoolitsõsõq võro keele iist (arõndasõq, tugõvaq ja kõrraldasõq võro kiilt)?

Ei Jah Ei tiiäq

Ku vastassit "jah", sis kirodaq, määntseq asotusõq vai inemiseq?

56 Kas Eestin om asotuisi/ütisüisi vai inemiisi, kiä hoolitsõsõq eesti keele iist (arõndasõq, tugõvaq ja kõrraldasõq eesti kiilt)?

Ei Jah Ei tiiäq

Ku vastassit "jah", sis kirodaq, määntseq asotusõq vai inemiseq?

57 Kas om olõman puhast vai kõrralikku võro kiilt?

Ei Jah Ei tiiäq

Kui vastassit "jah", sis kiä ja kunas tuud kõnõlõs? _____

58 Kas võro kiilt tulnuq arõndaq, et tä vastanuq parõmbahe ütiskunna ja avalikkusõ nõudilõ?

Ei Jah Ei tiiäq

59 Kas võro kiilt om kerge pruukiq inämbüse asjo man, miä elon ette tulõ?

Jah

Ei. Sis kirodaq, mis asjo man saa-ai võro keelega häste toimõ

F. AVALIK JA ERÄKEELETARVITUS

Keele tarvitaminõ ja elävämbäs muutminõ

60 Kas Eestin om midägi tett võro keele hoitmisõs?

- Ei tiiäq Olõ-õi Jah. Kirodaq, midä sa tuust tiät

61 Kas võro kiilt saa Eestin pruukiq järgmäidsin paigon?

	jah	ei	ei tiiäq
riigikogon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
politseijaoskunnan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
massuammõtin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
haigõkassan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tüütükassan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
haigõmajan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kohtun	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ministeeriumin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
valla/liina- ja maakunnaasotuisin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
haridusõn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
trüküaokirändüsen (aoleheq jms)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raadion	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
televisioonin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
välireklaamõn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
televisiooni-, raadio- ja trüküreklaamin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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G. AKTIIVNÕ KEELETARVITUS MEEDIÄN

62 Ku sagõhõhe sa esiq pruugit meediät nain keelin?

A. võro keelen

	egä päiv	mitu kõrda nädälin	egä nätäl	egä kuu	harvõmb	ei kunagi	võro keelen ei saaki tuud tetäq
Loe aolehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe raamatit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käü tiatrin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käü kontsõrdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kullõ raadiot (uudissit, jutusaatit jm)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kae televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kullõ muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kae filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe/kae/kullõ Internetti, nt loe võrgolehti, uudissit, blogisit jm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pruugi võrokeelist puutritarkvarra	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda e-kirjo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda tekstisõnomit (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pruugi võro kiilt tutvusvõrgustigõn (Facebook, Twitter, jututarõq, arotusõq foorumiq)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mängi interaktiivsit mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda bloggi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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B. eesti keelen

	egä päiv	mitu kõrda nädälin	egä nätäl	egä kuu	harvõmb	ei kunagi	eesti keelen ei saaki tuud tetäq
Loe aolehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe raamatit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käü tiatrin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käü kontsõrdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kullõ raadiot (uudissit, jutusaatit jm)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kae televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kullõ muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kae filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe/kae/kullõ Internetti, nt loe võrgolehti, uudissit, blogisit jm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pruugi eestikeelist puutritarkvarra	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda e-kirjo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda tekstisõnomit (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pruugi eesti kiilt tutvusvõrgustigõn (Facebook, Twitter, jututarõq, arotusõq foorumiq)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mängi interaktiivsit mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda bloggi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Ku sa ei pruugiq kunagi muid kiili, mineq edesi 63. küsümise mano!

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C. inglüse / _____ keelen

	egä päiv	mitu kõrda nädälin	egä nätäl	egä kuu	harvõmb	ei kunagi	taan keelen ei saaki tuud tetäq
Loe aolehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe raamatit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käü tiatrin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käü kontsõrdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kullõ raadiot (uudissit, jutusaatit jm)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kae televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kullõ muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kae filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe/kae/kullõ Internetti, nt loe võrgolehti, uudissit, blogisit jm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pruugi _____keelist puutritarkvarra	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda e-kirjo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda tekstisõnomit (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pruugi taad kiilt tutvusvõrgustigõn (Facebook, Twitter, jututarõq, arotusõq foorumiq)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mängi interaktiivsit mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda bloggi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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D. _____ keelen

	egä päiv	mitu kõrda nädälin	egä nätäl	egä kuu	harvõmb	ei kunagi	taan keelen ei saaki tuud tetäq
Loe aolehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe raamatit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käü tiatrin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Käü kontsõrdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kullõ raadiot (uudissit, jutusaatit jm)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kae televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kullõ muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kae filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe/kae/kullõ Internetti, nt loe võrgolehti, uudissit, blogisit jm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pruugi _____ keelist puutritarkvarra	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda e-kirjo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda tekstisõnomit (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pruugi taad kiilt tutvusvõrgustigõn (Facebook, Twitter, jututarõq, arotusõq foorumiq)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mängi interaktiivsit mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda bloggi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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63 Ku sagõhõhe sa tiit naid asjo järgmäidsin keelin?

A. võro keelen

	egä päiv	mitu kõrda nädälin	egä nätäl	egä kuu	harvõmb	ei kunagi
Kiroda paprõkirjo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Piä pääväraamatut vai kiroda asjo üles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda ilokirändüsteksti (luulõtuisi, juttõ)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tii esiq laulõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laula laulõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe luulõtuisi ette	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võta ossa tiatritrupi tüüst	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

B. eesti keelen

	egä päiv	mitu kõrda nädälin	egä nätäl	egä kuu	harvõmb	ei kunagi
Kiroda paprõkirjo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Piä pääväraamatut vai kiroda asjo üles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda ilokirändüsteksti (luulõtuisi, juttõ)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tii esiq laulõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laula laulõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe luulõtuisi ette	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võta ossa tiatritrupi tüüst	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kui sa ei pruugiq kunagi muid kiili, om küsütelemine su jaos läbi. Suur teno sullõ ossavõtmisõ ja vastamisõ iist!

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C. inglüse keelen / _____ keelen

	egä päiv	mitu kõrda nädälin	egä nätäl	egä kuu	harvõmb	ei kunagi
Kiroda paprõkirjo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Piä pääväraamatut vai kiroda asjo üles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda ilokirändüsteksti (luulõtuisi, juttõ)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tii esiq laulõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laula laulõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe luulõtuisi ette	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võta ossa tiatritrupi tüüst	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

D. _____ keelen

	egä päiv	mitu kõrda nädälin	egä nätäl	egä kuu	harvõmb	ei kunagi
Kiroda paprõkirjo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Piä pääväraamatut vai kiroda asjo üles	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kiroda ilokirändüsteksti (luulõtuisi, juttõ)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tii esiq laulõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Laula laulõ	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Loe luulõtuisi ette	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võta ossa tiatritrupi tüüst	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Suur teno sullõ ossavõtmissõ, vastamissõ, kulunu ao ja nättü vaiva iist!

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6 A) Mis on Teie amet? _____

B) Mis on Teie praegune põhitegevusala:

- töötan või õpin väljaspool kodu
- töötan kodus (nt koduperenaine, talupidaja)
- olen pensionil
- otsin tööd või olen töötu
- muu, mis? _____

7 Palun nimetage Teie isa kõrgeim haridustase:

- haridus puudub/pole koolis käinud
- põhiharidus: _____aastat
- kutseharidus/keskharidus: _____aastat
- kõrgharidus:
_____aastat. Teaduskraad _____
- ma ei tea

8 Palun nimetage Teie ema kõrgeim haridustase:

- haridus puudub/pole koolis käinud
- põhiharidus: _____aastat
- kutseharidus/keskharidus: _____aastat
- kõrgharidus:
_____aastat. Teaduskraad _____
- ma ei tea

B. KEELEKASUTUST PUUDUTAV TAUSTATEAVE

9 Mis on Teie emakeel(ed) või see keel/murre, mille õppisite esimesena?

10 Kas Teie suguvõsas on Teie vanemate või vanavanemate põlvkondades kasutatud eesti keele kõrval ka mingit teist keelt/murret?

- ei tea ei jah

Palun nimetage see keel/need keeled:

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Teie keelekasutus Teie abikaasaga/elukaaslasega:

Kui Teil ei ole abikaasat/elukaaslast, palun jätkake küsimusega 12.

11 Mis keelt või keeli Te kasutate oma praeguse abikaasaga/elukaaslasega?

Kui Te kasutate rohkem kui ühte keelt, palun täpsustage, millistes situatsioonides Te erinevaid keeli kasutate?

Väikeste laste keelekasutuse ja kasvatusega seotud seisukohad**12 Kas on oluline, et kõik lapsed õpiksid oma emakeelt haridussüsteemi kaudu?**

Ei tea Ei Jah

13 Kas olete kohanud seisukohti, et lastega peaks/ei peaks rääkima teatud keeli?

Ei tea Ei Jah. Palun kirjeldage, kes selliseid seisukohti väljendab ja kuidas.

C. TEIE KEELTEOSKUS

Järgmisena palume Teil hinnata Teie keeleoskust. Märkige iga keele ja iga osaoskuse (arusaamine, rääkimine, lugemine, kirjutamine) puhul, kuidas Te oma keeleoskust nendes keeltes hindaksite.

14 Ma saan aru järgmistest keeltest:

	vabalt	hästi	mõnevõrra	halvasti	üldse mitte
eesti keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglise keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vene keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soome keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
saksa keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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15 Ma räägin järgmisi keeli:

	vabalt	hästi	mõnevõrra	halvasti	üldse mitte
eesti keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglise keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vene keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soome keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
saksa keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

16 Ma loen järgmistes keeltes:

	vabalt	hästi	mõnevõrra	halvasti	üldse mitte
eesti keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglise keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vene keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soome keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
saksa keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17 Ma kirjutan järgmistes keeltes:

	vabalt	hästi	mõnevõrra	halvasti	üldse mitte
eesti keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
inglise keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vene keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
soome keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
saksa keel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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D. KEELEKASUTUS

18 Märkige, mil määral Te kasutate keeli järgmistel puhkudel. Tehke rist vastavasse kastikesse.

A) eesti keel

	alati	sageli	mõnikord	harva	mitte kunagi
kodus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulastega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tööl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõpradega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabritega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tänaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamatukogus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kirikus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ametnikega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muudes situatsioonides, kus?*					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Võite lisada midagi omal valikul.

Kui Te ei kasuta teisi keeli mitte kunagi, jätkake küsimusega 19

B) inglise keel

	alati	sageli	mõnikord	harva	mitte kunagi
kodus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulastega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tööl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõpradega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabritega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tänaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamatukogus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kirikus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ametnikega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muudes situatsioonides, kus?*					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Võite lisada midagi omal valikul.

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C) _____ keel

	alati	sageli	mõnikord	harva	mitte kunagi
kodus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulastega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tööl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõpradega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabritega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tänaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamatukogus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kirikus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ametnikega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muudes situatsioonides, kus?*					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Võite lisada midagi omal valikul.

D) _____ keel

	alati	sageli	mõnikord	harva	mitte kunagi
kodus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sugulastega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tööl	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sõpradega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naabritega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
koolis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
poes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tänaval	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
raamatukogus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kirikus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ametnikega	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
muudes situatsioonides, kus?*					
_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

* Võite lisada midagi omal valikul.

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E. KEELEHOIAKUD JA SOOV KEELI KASUTADA

19 Siin on mõned väited keelte kohta. Palun märkige, milline neist variantidest vastab Teie arvamusele.

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
On vastuvõetav, et Eestis elavad inimesed räägivad eesti keelt vigadega.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On oluline nende laste jaoks, kelle vanemad räägivad nendega võru keelt, et nad õpiksid võru keelt ka haridussüsteemi kaudu.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On oluline nende laste jaoks, kelle vanemad räägivad nendega setu keelt, et nad õpiksid setu keelt ka haridussüsteemi kaudu.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Töötajatelt nõutakse Eestis liiga palju eesti keele oskust .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Võru, setu ja eesti keele väärtustamine ning toetamine

20 Kas Teie vanemad rääkisid Teile võru, setu ja eesti keele tundmise tähtsusest?

Ei

Jah. Palun täpsustage, kuidas kõigi kolme keele/murde puhul:

a. võru keel _____

b. setu keel _____

c. eesti keel _____

Väited võru ja setu keele kasutamise kohta erinevate inimeste rühmadega

21 Ma olen võimeline vaadeldes ära tundma erinevate keelte kõnelejaid Eestis.

Ei

Jah. Palun märkige erinevate keelte kõnelejate puhul, kuidas Te neid ära tunnete?

a. võru keel _____

b. setu keel _____

c. eesti keel _____

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22 Järgnevalt mõned väited võru ja setu keele kõnelejate kohta. Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate:

a) võru keel	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne sõbruneda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne tutvuda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne abielluda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne koos töötada.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele kõnelejaga on lihtne koos aega veeta.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) setu keel	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Setu keele kõnelejaga on lihtne sõbruneda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keele kõnelejaga on lihtne tutvuda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keele kõnelejaga on lihtne abielluda.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keele kõnelejaga on lihtne koos töötada.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keele kõnelejaga on lihtne koos aega veeta.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Võru ja setu keele kasutamine

23 Järgnevalt on esitatud väited võru ja setu keele kohta. Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

a) võru keel	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Võru keelt peaks kasutama televisioonis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama politseijaoskonnas.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama Riigikogus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama haiglates.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama kohtus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama internetis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keelt peaks kasutama haridussüsteemis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) setu keel	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Setu keelt peaks kasutama televisioonis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keelt peaks kasutama politseijaoskonnas.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keelt peaks kasutama Riigikogus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keelt peaks kasutama haiglates.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keelt peaks kasutama kohtus.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keelt peaks kasutama internetis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keelt peaks kasutama haridussüsteemis.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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Erinevate keelte tulevik

24 Kuidas muutub Teie hinnangul järgmiste keelte tähtsus järgmise 10 aasta jooksul. Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Eesti keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglise keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Vene keele tähtsus kasvab järgmise 10 aasta jooksul .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Keelte iseloomustamine

Järgmisena püüdke alljärgnevate sõnapaaride abil kirjeldada, mida Te kummagi keele puhul tunnete või mõtlete. Märkige vastused skaalal 1-5, näiteks

	1	2	3	4	5	
ilus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	inetu

25 eesti keel tundub:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kange
ebaturvaline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	turvaline
lähedane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauge
usaldusväärne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebausaldusväärne
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebakindel
moodne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsiooniline
jõuetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jõuline
lõbus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igav
inetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ilus
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselik
õel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahke
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaene
edutu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	edukas
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	noor

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arukas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	rumal
hooliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hoolimatu
harimatu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	haritud
passiivne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivne

26 inglise keel tundub:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kange
ebaturvaline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	turvaline
lähedane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauge
usaldusväärne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebausaldusväärne
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebakindel
moodne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsiooniline
jõuetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jõuline
lõbus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igav
inetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ilus
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselik
õel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahke
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaene
edutu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	edukas
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	noor
arukas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	rumal
hooliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hoolimatu
harimatu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	haritud
passiivne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivne

27 võru keel tundub:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kange
ebaturvaline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	turvaline
lähedane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauge
usaldusväärne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebausaldusväärne
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebakindel
moodne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsiooniline
jõuetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jõuline
lõbus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igav
inetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ilus
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselik
õel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahke
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaene
edutu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	edukas
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	noor
arukas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	rumal
hooliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hoolimatu
harimatu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	haritud
passiivne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivne

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28 setu keel tundub:

	1	2	3	4	5	
pehme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kange
ebaturvaline	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	turvaline
lähedane	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	kauge
usaldusväärne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebausaldusväärne
otsustav	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ebakindel
moodne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	traditsiooniline
jõuetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	jõuline
lõbus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	igav
inetu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ilus
mehelik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	naiselik
õel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	lahke
rikas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	vaene
edutu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	edukas
vana	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	noor
arukas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	rumal
hooliv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	hoolimatu
harimatu	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	haritud
passiivne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	aktiivne

Keeleseadusandlus

29 Kas Teie hinnangul Eesti seadusandlus toetab võru keele kasutamist?

- Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

30 Kas Teie hinnangul Eesti seadusandlus toetab setu keele kasutamist?

- Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

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31 Kas Teie hinnangul Eesti seadusandlus takistab võru keele kasutamist?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

32 Kas Teie hinnangul Eesti seadusandlus takistab setu keele kasutamist?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

33 Kas Teie hinnangul Eesti seadusandlus toetab mitme keele oskamist ja kasutamist piirkonnas, kus Te elate?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

34 Kas on olemas seadusi, mis reguleerivad võru keele kui aine õpetamist koolides?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

35 Kas on olemas seadusi, mis reguleerivad setu keele kui aine õpetamist koolides?

Ei Jah Osaliselt Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

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36 Kas eri keelte rääkijaid ja keeli/murdeid koheldakse Teie piirkonnas Eestis võrdselt?

Ei

Jah

Osaliselt

Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

Keel ja tööturg

37 Kas Eestis on seadusi või muid regulatsioone, mis toetavad eri keelte oskust tööturul?

Ei

Jah

Ma ei tea

Kui märkisite "jah" või "osaliselt", palun täpsustage:

38 Milline on Teie hinnangul eesti keele roll tööturul? Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Eesti keele emakeelena oskamine lihtsustab esimese töökoha leidmist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele emakeelena oskamine võimaldab saada kõrgemat töötasu.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele oskamine emakeelena hõlbustab karjääri edenemist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Eesti keele oskamine emakeelena hõlbustab töökoha vahetust.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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39 Milline on Teie hinnangul inglise keele roll tööturul? Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Inglise keele oskamine lihtsustab esimese töökoha leidmist .	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglise keele oskamine võimaldab saada kõrgemat töötasu.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglise keele oskamine hõlbustab karjääri edenemist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Inglise keele oskamine hõlbustab töökoha vahetust.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

40 Milline on Teie arvates võru keele roll tööturul? Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Võru keele oskamine lihtsustab esimese töökoha leidmist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele oskamine võimaldab saada kõrgemat töötasu.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele oskamine hõlbustab karjääri edenemist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Võru keele oskamine hõlbustab töökoha vahetust.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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41 Milline on Teie arvates setu keele roll tööturul? Märkige, mil määral Te nõustute järgnevate väidetega:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Setu keele oskamine lihtsustab esimese töökoha leidmist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keele oskamine võimaldab saada kõrgemat taset.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keele oskamine hõlbustab karjääri edenemist.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Setu keele oskamine hõlbustab töökoha vahetust.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Vaated keelte kohta

42 Kas on olemas mingi keel või mingid keeled, mida on eriti lihtne õppida?

- Ei Jah, järgnevaid keeli on eriti lihtne õppida

43 Kas on olemas mingi keel või mingid keeled, mida on eriti raske õppida?

- Ei Jah, järgnevaid keeli on eriti raske õppida

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44 Märkige, milline on Teie seisukoht ühiskonna mitmekesisuse osas:

	nõustun täiesti	nõustun	raske öelda	pigem ei nõustu	ei nõustu üldse
Oleks hea, kui meie ühiskond oleks mitmekesisem.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
On tore kuulda erinevaid keel kõneldavat minu kodulinnas või -küläs.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma sooviksin, et minu naabruses oleks võru keele kõnelejaid.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma sooviksin, et minu naabruses oleks setu keele kõnelejaid.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma arvan, et riik kulutab liiga palju maksumaksja raha võru keele toetamiseks.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma arvan, et riik kulutab liiga palju maksumaksja raha setu keele toetamiseks.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Keele kultiveerimine ja õigekeelsus

45 Kas Eestis on institutsioone/organisatsioone või isikuid, kes tegutsevad aktiivselt võru keele hooldega (arendamise, kasutuse edendamise, korraldamisega)?

Ei Jah Ei tea

Kui vastasite "jah", palun täpsustage. Millised institutsioonid või kes?

46 Kas Eestis on institutsioone/organisatsioone või isikuid, kes tegutsevad aktiivselt setu keele hooldega (arendamise, kasutuse edendamise, korraldamisega)?

Ei Jah Ei tea

Kui vastasite "jah", palun täpsustage. Millised institutsioonid või kes?

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F. AKTIIVNE KEELEKASUTUS KAASAEKSES MEEDIAS

47 Kui sageli Te tarbite kultuuri või kasutate aktiivselt elektroonilist meediat?

A) eesti keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi	eesti keeles puuduvad selleks võimalused
Ma loen ajalehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma loen raamatuid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin teatris	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin kontserdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan raadiot (uudiseid, jutusaateid jne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan internetti, nt loen veebilehti, uudiseid, blogisid jne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan eestikeelset arvutitarkvara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan e-kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan tekstisõnumeid (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan sotsiaalmeediat (Facebook, Twitter, jututoad, foorumid)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma mängin interaktiivseid mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan blogisid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kui Te ei kasuta kunagi muid keeli, on küsitlus Teie jaoks lõppenud. Suur tänu osalemast!

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B) inglise keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi	inglise keeles puuduvad selleks võimalused
Ma loen ajalehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma loen raamatuid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin teatris	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin kontserdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan raadiot (uudiseid, jutusaateid jne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan internetti, nt loen veebilehti, uudiseid, blogisid jne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan ingliskeelset arvutitarkvara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan e-kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan tekstisõnumeid (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan sotsiaalmeediat (Facebook, Twitter, jututoad, foorumid)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma mängin interaktiivseid mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan blogisid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

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C) _____ keeles

	iga päev	mitu korda nädalas	iga nädal	iga kuu	harvem	mitte kunagi	_____ keeles puuduvad selleks võimalused
Ma loen ajalehti	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma loen raamatuid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin teatris	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma käin kontserdil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan raadiot (uudiseid, jutusaateid jne)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan televiisorit	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kuulan muusikat	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma vaatan filme	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan internetti, nt loen veebilehti, uudiseid, blogisid jne	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan _____ keelset arvutitarkvara	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan e-kirju	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan tekstisõnumeid (SMS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kasutan sotsiaalmeediat (Facebook, Twitter, jututoad, foorumid)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma mängin interaktiivseid mänge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ma kirjutan blogisid	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Muu: _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Suur tänu! Oleme väga tänulikud, et osalesite selles uuringus.

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