Triinu Ojamaa

Language as a Symbol of Ethnicity and Multiculturality in Estonian Exile Literature

Abstract: The article focuses on Aksel Valgma's immigrant novel *Elu üksiklinnud* [The Solitary Birds of Life] (1966). Valgma was an Estonian exile writer who arrived in Australia in 1949. Based on his own experiences, he depicts the cultural encounter between two successive immigration waves: the voluntary immigrants who were interested in rapid integration into Australian society, and the post-war refugees who, still dreaming about a return to their homeland, strove to maintain their ethnic culture in its deepest purity. The aim of the article is to highlight differences between the identity processes of Estonian immigrants in Australia, commenting on the background to their language use and demonstrating how Valgma contrasts Estonian–English mixed language with normal Estonian in his dialogues. Identity studies generally deals with the importance of language in maintaining ethnic identities in a multicultural environment. This article demonstrates how Valgma in his novel uses language for both purposes: as a symbol of ethnicity as well as one of multiculturality.

Keywords: cultural encounters, identity processes, immigrant literature, mixed language

1 Introduction

This article deals with the reflections of immigrants' identity processes in Estonian exile literature.¹ The study grew out of an interdisciplinary project, "Perspectives of Music in Constructing Estonian Open Identity" (2009–2013), within the framework of which we strove to explore the most essential markers of diaspora Estonians' ethnocultural identity (e. g. music, language, religion, food). The research was based on semi-structured interviews collected in various European countries as well as in the US, Canada, and Australia. In general, social scientists use interviews and questionnaires as their main research tools; however, the Estonian-Canadian sociologist Tõnu Parming (1979, 32) writes: "Cultural aspects tend

¹ The author wishes to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments. Research for this article was supported by the Centre of Excellence in Estonian Studies (European Regional Development Fund) and is related to research project IUT 22 – 2 (Estonian Research Council).

to be expressed best in fiction, which often can be more pertinent than statistical-sociological studies.”² Inspired and encouraged by his ideas, I turned to exile literature, expecting to find more information on the immigrants’ acculturation strategies.

Estonian exile literature was strongly influenced by World War II. During the war, about eighty thousand people had to flee from successive foreign occupations, German and Soviet. There were a number of well-known writers among the refugees who continued writing abroad, and in the mid-1960s several younger writers made their debuts – they represented the second immigrant generation. As early as the 1940s and 1950s, some publishing houses were established in Sweden and Canada with the aim of disseminating literature written in Estonian. By the end of 1945, 160,000 Estonian books had been published in Sweden (Horm 1946, 21). Although this figure included different kinds of printed matter (booklets and so on) in addition to fiction, the quantity was still impressive. The diaspora Estonians we interviewed within the framework of the aforementioned project spoke proudly of how, in the context of their host country, their homes attracted attention because of how many books they had. Despite all this, one can regard Estonian exile literature as a “closed literature.” In Estonia, these books were banned by the Soviet authorities. On the other hand, because of the language barrier, they were unavailable to an international readership. Thus, the target group of Estonian exile writers consisted only of Estonian readers in exile.

Most of the elderly authors set their novels in the pre-war period. The action often takes place in safe cottages surrounded by beautiful nature, where the days are filled with gratifying work. A significantly smaller number of authors touch on the exile period (Kangur, Muru, and Tonts 1991, 7) – mainly those who belong to the second immigrant generation. Drawing on their own immigrant experiences, they deal with problems of identity and adaptation in their new homeland. In addition to literary value, the novels and short stories written, for example, by Elin Toona (in the US), Salme Ekbaum (in Canada), Aksel Valgma (in Australia), and Enn Nõu and Ilmar Jaks (in Sweden) can also be regarded as important sources which help us to understand more deeply problems of identity and acculturation processes in general.

The present article focuses on Aksel Valgma’s novel *Elu üksiklinnud* [The Solitary Birds of Life] (1966). I use acculturation theory as a wider theoretical framework according to which immigrants can assimilate, be marginalized, separate, or integrate into the host society (Berry 1992). In other words, when coming into continuous first-hand contact with another culture, they either maintain their

2 All translations in this article are my own.

ethnocultural identity, expressing it via religion, language, and so on, or convert it into a sense of belonging to the culture of their new homeland.

I will discuss the following issues: (1) what circumstances can give rise to the mixed-language tradition of immigrants, which consists of elements of their language of origin and the language of the dominant group of the host country, and (2) how does the opposition between Estonian–English mixed language and normal Estonian reflect certain aspects of immigrants’ acculturation processes in Valgma’s novel?

2 Language as a marker of Estonian ethnic identity

Several studies (Valk and Karu 2001; Raag 2004) have demonstrated that, in diaspora Estonians’ opinion, the most important attribute of their ethnic identity is their language of origin. In interviews conducted from 2009 to 2013, our project team focused primarily on the mutual impact of musical activities and ethnic identity. But when discussing this issue, the interviewees moved easily from music to lyrics. They explained that the main thing that supported their feeling of belonging to Estonia was “songs in *Estonian*”; they argued that their language of origin was the most important characteristic of being an Estonian. Next, several interviewees – especially those of the younger generation – proceeded to discuss problems related to language skills. The respondents’ opinions were contradictory: some of them concluded that a “proper” Estonian must be able to speak, read, and write in Estonian; others declared that a person can consider themselves an Estonian whatever their command of the language. It is known that, as a means of communication, language can also function as a symbol of ethnicity. If the importance of the communicative function of language diminishes, its symbolic role can intensify significantly: a language can become just a symbol of identity without having any pragmatic value (Vihalemm 1999, 69). By bearing this tendency in mind, we can better understand the opinion of several interviewees who argued that the Estonian language is a very important attribute of Estonian identity, but that an Estonian does not have to be able to communicate in Estonian.

There was also a small group that represented the viewpoint according to which a “proper” Estonian can speak either Estonian or English, but should never mix these two languages. The interviewees explained that use of the mixed language points to a lack of culture and demonstrates one’s bad taste.

We conducted interviews with diaspora Estonians all over the world; the analysis showed that the demand for language purity was especially strong among

Estonian Australians. The history of immigration helps to explain why. Before World War I, the Estonian-Australian community was not numerous; a larger immigration wave arrived in the 1920s. Most of those immigrants left their homeland voluntarily because the young Republic of Estonia (established in 1918) had not fulfilled their expectations for a better life. They were mainly farmers who wished to own more land (Salasoo 1986, 126–127). We define the representatives of the 1920s immigration wave as “old” Estonians. The second wave (about six thousand people) arrived in Australia after World War II. They were forced immigrants who dreamed of a day they could return to the homeland. We define them as “new” Estonians.

Thus, the Australian Estonian diaspora was formed mainly on the basis of these two different immigration waves. By the time we conducted the interviews, the first generation of the “old” Estonians had passed away and their descendants had assimilated. We obtained some information about the attitudes, living standards, and cultural traditions of the “olds” from the memoirs of the elderly “new” Estonians.

In the 1950s, attitudes to language purity became one of the most conspicuous differences between the voluntary and forced immigrants to Australia. The latter strove hard to maintain their language in its highest purity. The voluntary immigrants’ attitude was different. They were interested in adapting to Australian society to gain economic well-being. Their hyphenated identity (their dual sense of cultural belonging, in this case belonging to Estonia and Australia) began to develop during their first decade abroad. The essential attribute of the “old” Estonians’ identity was not only Estonian but, first and foremost, English as the language of the dominant group in their new homeland.

3 Aksel Valgma and his immigrant novel

Aksel Valgma was born in Estonia in 1910. He graduated from one of the elite gymnasiums in Tallinn and began his career as a journalist. In 1944, Valgma, like many other intellectuals, fled to Germany to escape recruitment into the Soviet Army; in 1949 he immigrated to Australia. By law, his gymnasium diploma was invalid in the host country and he was employed as a factory worker. Thus, apart from homeland, he also lost his professional career. Later on, he managed to get a job as an editor at a small Estonian-Australian weekly, *Meie Kodu* [Our Home]. Valgma is known also as a writer of children’s books. *The Solitary Birds of Life* is his only novel (Sinijärv 2000); it is written in Estonian, and it has not been translated into any other languages. The novel was published in Sweden in 1966. The

author committed suicide in August of the same year as he failed to adapt to life in exile.

Valgma's novel contains many autobiographical details. The scene of the novel is set not far from Sydney in the early 1950s. The protagonist, Juhan Kuusik, is a middle-aged Estonian refugee. Before World War II, he had had a career as a civil servant, but in Australia, as an immigrant, he had to work in a felt factory. The protagonist was disappointed in the host country: life in multi-ethnic and multicultural Sydney caused stress; a mass layoff left him without any income; moving to the countryside did not improve the situation, as Australia's natural world was strange and hostile; the neighbouring farmers with an Anglo-Australian background seemed to be boorish; the local "old" Estonians did not support his patriotic feelings towards Estonia; his wife became friends with neighbours and began to adopt the Australian lifestyle. The protagonist severed relations with his friends and family. In his solitude, he was permanently dreaming of returning to his homeland, even though he knew that he could never realize his dream. In the context of acculturation, the protagonist and his wife had chosen different strategies. The protagonist behaved like a typical separator who remained encapsulated in his culture of origin. His wife, as well as the other characters, represented either assimilators or integrators (that is, they willingly established contacts with Australian culture). The protagonist solved his problems through suicide.

Valgma's novel is an excellent source for acculturation studies. A sharp-eyed writer with a refugee background, based on his own experiences, depicts the cultural encounter between World War II immigrants and local Australians as well as between two successive waves of Estonian immigrants. The discrepancies between "old" and "new" Estonians in Australia emerge in the characters' attitudes towards the Republic of Estonia, their ethnic culture as well as culture in general, and differences in language use.

The conflict between the immigrants of the two different waves culminates in chapter 14, which describes the "new" Estonians' visit to a wealthy "old" Estonians' chicken farm one Christmas Eve. Right at the beginning of the chapter, Valgma makes an allusion to a certain ambiguity in the "old" Estonians' identity. Several studies carried out in recent decades (e.g. Kõiva 2007) indicate that diaspora Estonians in various host countries show great respect for Estonian national symbols: the tricolour featuring three horizontal bands (blue, black, and white) and the coat of arms (three lions) are often displayed in their homes. In Valgma's novel, a farmer, Mr Timm (an "old" Estonian), has placed three lion sculptures at his gates, which causes a discussion among the arriving guests. The problem is that the sculptures could, in principle, symbolize either the Estonian or British coat of arms; that is, they could refer to a sense of belonging to either Estonia or

Australia. Some of the guests are of the opinion that the lions express Mr Timm's Estonian patriotism; others believe that they actually demonstrate his being an Australian. It is only at the end of the chapter that it becomes obvious which of the viewpoints is closer to the truth.

The idea of almost all episodes in this chapter is to demonstrate the “wannabe”-Australian nature of the “old” Estonians: they want to be what they are not, at least not yet. Valgma contradistinguishes “old” Estonians from “new” Estonians – the latter are characterized by their more patriotic attitude towards their country of origin. In the following, I aim to demonstrate how the author distinguishes between these two groups by their language use.

4 Normal Estonian vs Estonian–English mixed language

Diaspora Estonians all over the world have always been eager to tell humorous stories about their poor language proficiency in a new cultural environment. Ain Haas, an Estonian-American social scientist, has analysed these stories in one of his articles, presenting examples from real life. For example: “The refugees who arrived in Indianapolis were usually unable to communicate in English at first. One matron wanted to order some beef tongue at a delicatessen and ended up asking for ‘a pound of cow language’” (Haas 1992, 8). The matron's linguistic faux pas was caused by differences between the Estonian and English languages on a semantic level. Estonian lexis does not include a monosemic equivalent for the English word *language*. The Estonian word *keel* is polysemic: its semantic field encompasses the meaning of “language” as well as “tongue.”

Valgma included a few similar stories in his novel. For example, in the chapter about Christmas Eve, Mrs Timm explains to “new” Estonians that the first years of their life in Australia were complicated because of their poor English. To exemplify the situation, she tells a story of how she went shopping: “I was asked what I wanted. This much I understood. I wanted a leg of mutton. How do you say that? I couldn't do anything else but pat on my thigh and utter ‘baa’ and ‘baa’ ...” (Valgma 1966, 161).

By the time the immigration wave of the 1940s reached Australia, the “old” Estonians had become bilingual and their children spoke mainly or only English. At home and while communicating with compatriots, the first generation often used a mixed language, which consisted of *A* (Estonian) and *B* (English) languages. Estonian words predominate in the mixed-language utterances. The speaker combines normal Estonian words with ones that consist of Estonian and

English elements. The two languages belong to two different types. In simple terms, Estonian represents a synthetic type of language because it is characterized by a high morpheme-per-word ratio, whereas English belongs to the analytic type. It is important to note that, instead of prepositions, the Estonian–English mixed language usually uses inflectional suffixes, for example: normal English *over the weekend* vs Estonian–English mixed language *weekendiks*, formed out of *weekend* (English stem) + *i* (Estonian stem vowel) + *ks* (Estonian transitive suffix).

Valgma made use of this mixed language in his dialogues. For example, Mrs Timm (“old” Estonian) tells Mrs Kuusik (“new” Estonian): “*Meie poeg Harry hakkab ehitama televisiooni-stationi. Tütar merritas Newcastle’isse, neil on seal veike fruit-shop. Ma vahel sõidan sinna weekendiks*” (Valgma 1966, 160; italics added). In translation, the peculiarity of mixed language inevitably gets lost: “Our son Harry is going to build a television station. [Our] daughter married [into a family living] in Newcastle; they have a small fruit-shop there. I sometimes go there over the weekend.”

Where word choice is concerned, one can point out that *station*, *marry*, *fruit-shop*, and *weekend* are not Australia-specific words which could have been absorbed into immigrants’ language of origin together with new things or phenomena: their equivalents also exist in Estonian. In addition to that, it is important to mention that the first generation of “old” Estonians still had a good command of Estonian – much better than it did of English. This means that English words in Mrs Timm’s utterances are not necessary. Their purpose is to express closeness to a certain group, in this case the Anglo-Australians, the dominant group in Australian society. In Valgma’s dialogues, one can see an expression of essential changes in the immigrants’ identity process. Language is one of the identity markers for Estonians, and replacing normal Estonian with the mixed language indicates a movement from Estonian towards Australian identity.

If we return to the dialogue that takes place between Mrs Timm and Mrs Kuusik, it is important to point out that Mrs Kuusik is not interested in the high standard of living of the former’s children: the only thing Mrs Kuusik asks about the children is whether they can speak Estonian. Mrs Timm replies that her son used to speak a few words but it was mainly for fun. Thus, in the Timm family, Estonian is losing its communicative function. In reality, “old” Estonians’ children assimilated rapidly, and their parents were proud that they adapted so well to their new homeland, just as Valgma demonstrates in his novel.

Unlike the “olds,” Valgma’s “new” Estonians speak their language of origin perfectly and strive to preserve it in exile. They do not want to become Australians but hope to return to their homeland as soon as the occupation is over. They see it as indispensable to teach Estonian to their children so that they will be able to manage in their real homeland later on.

Valgma's personal view about the maintenance of the Estonian language and culture in exile was quite conservative. "New" Estonians in his novel, especially the protagonist, express the author's personal convictions, which are strongly patriotic about Estonia. Immediately after Valgma had passed away, a very short obituary was published in the Estonian-Australian weekly *Meie Kodu* ("Aleksander Valgmat ei ole enam" 1966, 1). It characterizes Valgma along two lines: firstly, he was not able to adapt to life in exile and, secondly, the main purpose of his activity was to arouse interest in Estonian language and literature as a basis for patriotism among the younger immigrants. Valgma was editor of a youngsters' serial-story column in a newspaper and published children's books. In *The Solitary Birds of Life* his attitude towards the mixed language was clearly ironic.

I would juxtapose the Estonian-Australian case with those of Norwegian and Swedish immigrants to the US. According to Einar Haugen, the Norwegian-American settlers were proud of their bilingualism – with reservations: "They sometimes remarked unfavorably on persons who adopted an excessive number of English words (*engelsprengt*), while those who tried to speak pure Norwegian were felt to be 'stuck-up'" (Haugen 1987, 32). The attitudes of the Norwegian Americans and Estonian Australians are similar: it seems that a conflict-free identification with two different cultures requires a certain conventional balance in language use.

There is nothing novel or Estonian-specific about using mixed language in fiction. Vilhelm Moberg's famous documentary novel series *The Emigrants*, published in the 1940s and 1950s, would be a good comparative example. The series portrays the daily life of early Swedish settlers in Minnesota, and it is rich in similar dialogues. The series has been translated from Swedish into English, but the mixed language has been lost in the English version (e. g. Moberg 1995). Any mixed language consists of *A*- and *B*-languages. In Moberg's novels, *A* is Swedish and *B* is English, but in the English translation only *B* remains. The mixed language is enjoyably expressed in the Estonian version (e. g. Moberg 2005), where *A* is Estonian and *B* is English, just as in Valgma's novel *The Solitary Birds of Life*.

In connection with Moberg's tetralogy, I would also like to point out an essential difference in comparison with Valgma's novel. As I demonstrated above, Valgma, based on language use, contrasts voluntary with forced immigrants. Moberg, however, speaks only about the voluntary ones (settlers). Nevertheless, one can observe some contrast in terms of gender. Karl Oskar, the protagonist, starts mixing languages soon after arriving in the US because he, as a male, has to communicate with Anglo-American officials and traders outside of his own farm. In Karl Oskar's speech, Moberg mixes morphemes of the *A*- and *B*-languages in a manner similar to Valgma. Oskar's wife Kristina maintains her pure Swedish as she very rarely leaves home. Kristina is gentle in character; she never protests against her husband's doings and decisions. The only thing she criticizes is Karl

Oskar's use of mixed language. Karl Oskar is upset when Kristina reproaches him for incorrect use of his language of origin. Karl Oskar says that he "cannot *understå* [understand]" her critics (Moberg 1987, 550). He is proud of becoming an American, and English is one of the markers of his American identity. Thus, Kristina symbolizes a tradition-bearer and Karl Oskar is instead a creator of new life. Drawing parallels with *The Solitary Birds of Life*, one can say that, in her love and yearning for her homeland, Kristina can be compared to forced immigrants, and Karl Oskar to voluntary ones.

5 A cultural encounter between two immigrant groups

In addition to language use, Valgma demonstrates in the chapter about Christmas Eve sources of disagreement ranging from climate to culture. "Old" Estonians curse the Estonian weather that is always too cold. "New" Estonians complain about the Australian heat that makes them ill. An "old" Estonian's conclusion is: "It is because you haven't got accustomed to it yet. Our blood has already turned thin here, we can't stand cold anymore" (Valgma 1966, 160). In this episode one can see a clear differentiation between "you" and "we" – the two immigration waves – based on the feeling of belonging either to the host country or the country of origin.

Discussions about the cultural differences between the two countries, Estonia and Australia, cause more serious quarrels in comparison to relatively neutral conversation about weather. "Old" Estonians make critical remarks about Estonia: the streets are muddy, people are poor, and so on. They think that the refugees have no reason to cry over their homeland as the best place in the world and to emphasize the superiority of Estonian culture over the Australian one. Mr Timm says to "new" Estonians: "I don't like this bragging! If nothing else helps, you wheel out your opera houses" (Valgma 1966, 165). There is a real-life basis for Mr Timm's remark in the fact that, when comparing the culture of the host country to that of the country of origin, Estonian immigrants often pointed to their musical traditions, including opera. The reason was that the National Opera in Tallinn opened in 1913. Estonians have always been proud of the opera house, which was and still is one of the symbols of high culture. In 1944, the building was completely ruined by Soviet air forces; bombs fell on it when an opera was being performed. Thus, the World War II refugees were very sensitive about the topic of the opera house. Mr Tuults ("new" Estonian) argues with Mr Timm: "I wonder if there are any big theatre buildings in Australia – I mean opera houses" (Valgma

1966, 166). Valgma compares Tults's question with throwing a lighted match into a haystack as the quarrel gets fiercer and fiercer. The irritated Mr Timm does not realize that Mr Tults is once again referring to the Australians' low cultural level and at the same time mocking his incorrect language use. He answers that opera can be a good thing, yet no one wants to listen to it.

In spite of discrepancies between the "old" and "new" Estonians, the chapter about Christmas Eve has a happy ending. Hoping to patch up the quarrel, Mrs Timm asks all the guests to come up to the piano. This is an unexpected object in the Timms' home, as they have neither time for, nor interest in, a musical hobby; no one in the family has ever played the piano. Mrs Timm explains that the "auction sale sold the piano very cheaply," and so they just bought it. She also has a songbook with old Estonian popular songs, which she took with her when she left her homeland. A long singalong follows, accompanied on the piano by Mr Tults, a "new" Estonian. Singing reconciles the "olds" and "news," at least for Christmas Eve. The idea of the unifying power of singing has always been widespread among Estonians, and it seems that Valgma saw it as a good way to ease the tension in the chapter about Christmas Eve.

6 Conclusion

This article has focused on the novel *The Solitary Birds of Life* written by the Estonian-Australian exile writer Aksel Valgma. The novel is based on his own immigrant experiences. In his dialogues, Valgma uses both normal Estonian and mixed Estonian–English language that intertwines *A*- and *B*-languages – Estonian and English. In the mixed-language utterances, the speakers combine normal Estonian words with ones that consist of Estonian and English elements (e.g. English stem + Estonian suffix), and thus the Estonian element dominates.

Why does Valgma make use of different sublanguages in his novel? To answer the question, I first turned to studies carried out by social scientists and linguists in the 1990s and 2000s. Several studies (e.g. Valk and Karu 2001) demonstrate that the essential attributes of Estonians' ethnocultural identity are love for Estonia as a beautiful country, blood relations, common history, and cultural traditions, including the Estonian language that functions as an axis of group identity among both resident and diaspora Estonians. We also have to look back at the history of immigration. The Estonian diaspora in Australia consists of voluntary immigrants who reached Australia at the beginning of the twentieth century, and forced immigrants who moved to Australia for political reasons after World War II ("old" and "new" Estonians respectively). In the first

decades of the post-war period, a belief began to spread among the “new” Estonians according to which the voluntary and forced immigrants had different attitudes towards their culture of origin. At about the time when Valgma was writing his novel, some Estonian-American sociologists strived to demonstrate that a major difference between the voluntary and forced immigrants was the well-developed ethnic self-awareness and respect for high culture of the latter (Pennar, Parming, and Rebane 1975, ix). The voluntary immigrants were characterized as “adventurers who looked for greener pastures and were ready to forget their past” (Salasoo 1986, 127). In the context of acculturation theory, which serves as a framework of my research, one can argue that the voluntary immigrants aimed more to assimilate into the host society while the forced immigrants, vice versa, strived to maintain their culture of origin, which in general could result either in separation or in integration. Thus, in real life the representatives of successive waves of migration moved in opposite directions.

In the 1950s, different cultural attitudes caused conflicts between “old” and “new” Estonians as well as between the first and second immigrant generations. These conflicts have been reflected in the novels written by younger exile authors with an Estonian background in various host countries (e. g. Sweden, the US, and Canada). Similarly to “old” Estonians, the younger “new” Estonians were more open to multiculturalism. Step by step, exile literature became a certain kind of forum where the real conflicts were played out and contradictory opinions were articulated and discussed by fictional characters. Due to that, exile literature, in addition to its literary value, can also be regarded as an excellent source for examining real immigrants’ acculturation processes during the post-war decades.

Valgma represented the first-generation writers. He was very patriotic and valued Estonian culture highly, especially language and literature. From his point of view, the “old” Estonians’ rapid distancing from their language and culture of origin and growing interest in the values, customs, and language of the host country were unacceptable. As a journalist, Valgma expressed his viewpoint in several articles and columns. The intrigue of his novel also grew out of the contrast that in real life drove a wedge between the two immigrant groups and caused inner conflicts in individuals. Neither the author nor his protagonist were able to attune their values to those of the “old” Estonians, and nor were they able to adapt to Australian society.

Different sublanguages in the characters’ dialogues enable the writer, firstly, to demonstrate a cultural encounter between the characters that represent different immigration waves and, secondly, to point out the predictable loss of the culture of origin. It is also important to note that the use of mixed language, no matter whether in real life or in fiction, indicates the immigrants’ identity shift from ethnic identity (Estonian) to hyphenated identity (Estonian-Australian).

Works cited

- "Aleksander Valgmat ei ole enam" [Aleksander Valgma Passed Away]. *Meie Kodu* [Our Home] 1 September 1966: 1. <http://dea.nlib.ee/fullview.php?frameset=3&showset=1&wholepage=keskmine&pid=s327980&nid=123900> (30 October 2018).
- Berry, John W. "Acculturation and Adaptation in a New Society." *Integrational Migration* 30.S1 (1992): 69–85.
- Haas, Ain. "The Estonian Community of Indianapolis." *FUSAC '91 ACÉFO: Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the Finno-Ugric Studies Association of Canada*. Ed. Joel Ashmore and Jutta Kõvamees Kitching. Toronto: FUSAC, 1992. 1–15.
- Haugen, Einar. *Blessings of Babel: Bilingualism and Language Planning, Problems and Pleasures*. Berlin, New York, and Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987.
- Horm, Arvo. "Meie ja maailm: Meie kultuurpropaganda – unustatud vaeslaps" [We and the World: Our Cultural Propaganda – a Forgotten Orphan]. *Kodukolle* [Hearthside] 7/8 (1946): 21–23.
- Kangur, Piret, Karl Muru, and Ülo Tonts. *Väliseesti kirjandus* [Estonian Exile Literature]. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 1991.
- Kõiva, Mare. "Austraaliaeestlased: Migratsioon, kohesioon ja ruumimudelid" [Estonians in Australia: Migration, Cohesion, and Spatial Models]. *Paar sammukest XXIII: Eesti Kirjandusmuuseumi aastaraamat* [A Couple of Steps XXIII: Yearbook of the Estonian Literary Museum]. Ed. Kõiva, Taive Särg, and Viire Villandi. Tartu: EKM Teaduskirjastus, 2007. 33–70. <http://www.folklore.ee/rl/pubte/ee/araamat/2007/2marekoiva.pdf> (30 October 2018).
- Moberg, Vilhelm. *Nybyggarna* [The Settlers]. Contains *Sista brevet till Sverige* [The Last Letter to Sweden], 1956, and *Romanen om utvandarna* [The Novel about Emigrants], vol. 2, 1959. Stockholm: Bonnier, 1987.
- Moberg, Vilhelm. *The Settlers: The Emigrant Novels: Book III*. 1956. Trans. Gustaf Lannestock. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1995.
- Moberg, Vilhelm. *Sisserändajad* [The Settlers]. 1965. Trans. Anu Saluäär. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 2005.
- Parming, Tõnu. "Eros ja Esto" [Eros and Estonianness]. *Metroo teine raamat* [The Second Book of Metro]. Ed. Enno Klaar. Stockholm: Metroo, 1979. 32–53.
- Pennar, Jaan, Tõnu Parming, and Peeter P. Rebane. *The Estonians in America: A Chronology & Fact Book*. New York: Oceana Publications, 1975.
- Raag, Raimo. "The National Identity and Culture of Estonians Living in the West 1944–1991." *Estonia: Identity and Independence*. Ed. David Cousnis, Eric Dickens, Alexander Harding, and Richard C. Waterhouse. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2004. 179–197.
- Salasoo, Inno. "The Estonians in Australia." *The Baltic Peoples in Australia: Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians*. Melbourne: AE Press, 1986.
- Sinijärv, Lilia. "Aksel Valgma." *Eesti kirjanike leksikon* [Lexicon of Estonian Writers]. Ed. Heino Puhvel. Tallinn: Eesti Raamat, 2000. 644.
- Valgma, Aksel. *Elu üksiklennud* [The Solitary Birds of Life]. Lund: Eesti Kirjanike Kooperatiiv, 1966.
- Valk, Aune, and Kristel Karu. "Ethnic Attitudes in Relation to Ethnic Pride and Ethnic Differentiation." *Journal of Social Psychology* 141.5 (2001): 583–603.
- Vihalemm, Triin. "Estonian Language Competence, Performance and Beliefs on Acquisition among the Russian-Speaking Inhabitants of Estonia 1989–1995." *International Journal of Sociology of Language* 139 (1999): 69–85.

Triinu Ojamaa received her MA in Cultural Anthropology and PhD in Linguistics from the University of Tartu, Estonia. She is currently employed at the Estonian Cultural Archives of the Estonian Literary Museum as a senior researcher. Her research interests include transnational migration, diasporic practices, and processes of professional and ethnic identity.