

Stephan Kessler / Marko Pantermöller (eds.)

The Social Status of Languages in Finland and Lithuania

A Plurimethodological Empirical Survey
on Language Climate Change

Lietuviai | Русские Литвы | Finland | Polacy na Litwie | Русские Литвы | Kaksikielinen
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**PARDUOTUVĖSE KAVINĖ VAISTINĖS POLIKLINIKOSĖ LIGONINĖS / INSTITUCIJOSĖ IR ĮSTAIGOSĖ
KURIA KALBA JUS BENDRAUJATE? SAVO PARDUOTUVĖSE KAVINĖ VAISTINĖS / POLIKLINIKOSĖ
LIGONINĖS INSTITUCIJOSĖ IR ĮSTAIGOSĖ? KURIA KALBA JUSŲ BENDRAUJATE / LIETUVIŲ RŪŠŲ
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KALBATE SAVO MIESTO VAISTINĖS KALBA POLIKLINIKOSĖ LIGONINĖS / INSTITUCIJOSĖ IR
ĮSTAIGOSĖ? AR ĮSTAIGOSĖ? IR SAVO PARDUOTUVĖSE KAVINĖ LIETUVIŲ / RŪŠŲ / LENKŲ KALBA?**

LanguagePolicyLanguagePolicyLanguagePolicy

Miten tilannetta käsiteltiin, kun asiakas aloitti keskustelun paikallisella vähemmistökielillä? Far du någon gång kämt att du i en viss situation skulle ha pratat "fel språk" eller stött på någon annan form av cräntvisa på grund av ditt modersmål? Mitä Suomen valtion tulee tehdä, jotta maan kaksikielisyys on turvattu tulevaisuudessakin? Jag tycker att studierna i svenska/finska språket borde vara obligatoriska också i fortsättningen på följande skolor ...

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Finland and Lithuania stand for different ways of dealing with societal multilingualism and minority issues. However, in recent years, questions of language policy had been discussed more controversially in both countries. Thus our detailed surveys on Finland and Lithuania focused on how different population groups think about the lingual situation there. This publication presents the researchers' results from between 2014 and 2016 regarding the attitudes towards the minority and majority languages. Key to the research was an especially developed methodological mixture, including the matched-guise technique. The surveys' final reports to the German Research Foundation (DFG) are followed by contributions that give more details on the legal status of the languages in Finland and Lithuania or describe the specific features of urban multilingualism there. Members of the editor's funded research group "Discursive Multilingualism".

The Editors

Stephan Kessler holds the chair of Baltic Studies at the University of Greifswald. His research topics are in linguistics as well as in literary studies.

Marko Pantermöller is professor of Finnish philology at the University of Greifswald. He puts the main stress on language policy, contact linguistics and morphology.

The Social Status of Languages in Finland and Lithuania

SPRACHKÖNNEN UND SPRACHBEWUSSTHEIT
IN EUROPA / LANGUAGE COMPETENCE AND
LANGUAGE AWARENESS IN EUROPE

Herausgegeben von / Edited by Anei Koll-Stobbe

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PETER LANG

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PETER LANG



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Amei Koll-Stobbe
Series editor's short introduction

This is the eleventh volume in my book series on *Language Competence and Language Awareness in Europe*. I am happy that this volume highlights the ideologically and sociologically loaded topic area of language policy. The Baltic Scholar Kessler and the Finno-Ugrian Philologist Pantermöller study language contacts and conflicts within and across the borders of sparsely populated national cultures in Scandinavia (Sweden and Finland), and the Baltics (Lithuania, Estonia). These European Union member states who, according to Eurostat (May 2019), are the member states at the bottom line in population density of all 27 states, went through complex political and social histories during the last hundred years. As a consequence the population is faced with diverse language options within and across their national boundaries: Languages serve different functions, and have a variant status depending on who chooses which communicative code with whom, and in which communicative context. This fringe part of Europe is also of particular interest to systemic contact linguists since languages of different typologies clash into each other in this part of Europe (Indo-European/Germanic and Finno-Ugric/Finnic languages). On top of that we can encounter clashes between less and more demographically powerful national cum regional languages (Swedish versus Finnish; Latvian/Estonian/Lithuanian versus Russian), and modern, or even global versus ancestral languages that characterize the language hub (e.g. English and e.g. Sami).

The volume stem from a project that empirically, and critically researched language policy in the poly-lingual language cultures of Finland and Lithuania. At the core of the quantitative and qualitative study lies the (semantically) fuzzy concept of language attitudes. Language attitudes, and language opinions, or sentimentalism in the European North/North-East are grounded in political changes and migration before, and after World War II, as well as in the social and economic changes following the break-down of the soviet regime almost thirty years ago

The publication as a collected volume developed from the editors' final project report to the German Research Foundation in 2016/17. The report was supplemented by invited papers from specialists in Baltic, and Finnic language cultures that focus on language choice in varying domains and genres. It is the first empirical study of language attitudes and language policy in Finland and Lithuania in book form.

Editors' Preface

For both Finland and Lithuania, there is already a well-established tradition in sociolinguistics of dealing with the language situation and policies of the respective countries. There is no shortage of related social-empirical surveys and above all, the social *de facto*-status of languages—i.e. the attitudes of the population towards majority and minority languages (i.e. Finnish or Swedish in Finland, and Lithuanian, Polish or Russian in Lithuania)—has also been the subject of investigation. However, since we found that these attitudes have not been surveyed either by indirect methods only or by a combination of direct and indirect methods, we were able to obtain funding from the German Research Foundation (DFG) for the years 2014–2016 to conduct a survey to correct this diagnosed deficiency. We want to thank the German Research Foundation for the trust placed in our project.

Our survey investigated the social status *de facto*, which language speakers in Finland and Lithuania assess as most prestigious. Both countries have similarities in that their inhabitants are highly respectful of their languages and aim for politically correct behaviour according to language policy. Therefore, in addition to language status, statements made about the everyday life of the state's language policies were also collected from the subjects of the survey. Judgments, from within each society, about the social effects of these linguistic/political measures are, to some extent, entirely different from official lines. The wide-ranging survey intends to give the opportunity to compare both countries using parallelism of the statistical data collected.

In Finland, often cited as a reference country concerning language policy, studies about questions of language loyalty and the status of Finnish and Swedish have already been conducted. However, the political tensions relating to language issues, which have recently manifested themselves, frequently constitute a contradiction in the results of different studies. From this, it would seem that previous research under a more extended period has not been able to illustrate the potential for social tensions resulting from language problems, the effects of which are undeniable and sometimes bear unexpected consequences constituting severe discussions between political decision-makers in Finland and Lithuania. Therefore, the methodology of our research project has been of vital importance. For the first time, a combination of an indirect and direct method—the experimental matched-guise technique and a more traditional questionnaire—has been applied in both countries. By using two research methods simultaneously,

we hoped to achieve optimal results. Particular attention focused on the question of the extent of respondents' knowledge about the subject of research, which would influence the results of the survey.

At an event in the Finnish Embassy in Brussels in October 2016, European language policy experts, as well as representatives of Finland and Lithuania, were informed about the first key results of our research project, which was used as a basis for subsequent discussion between scientists, political representatives, regional and language protection activists. The open discourse revealed a particular sensitisation gap between scientists and activists on the one hand and political officials on the other.

The research material has been obtained from several towns in Lithuania and Finland and has been differentiated according to relevant social factors. Our geographical variation of the research locations draws into account the varying conditions of the usage of the languages. The central part of this book contains the documentation of the project including its evaluations. **Yvonne Bindrim's** study surveyed the relationship between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking population in Finland. The comparison of the results reveals that indirectly and directly elicited stances need to be distinguished from one another and that stereotypes are considerably more common than previously assumed. **Anastasija Kostiučenko** investigated the language situation in Lithuania and its sociolinguistic constellation. Her article presents detailed documentation of the study conducted by her in Lithuania. As a result, people in Lithuania were tolerant of each other and language issues only became 'hot' when raised to a political level.

The book is followed by three shorter contributions which look at the language situation in Finland and Lithuania from different perspectives and thus reveals more facets for the reader. **Vava Lunabba's** analysis looks at language in Finland from a political-historical perspective which takes account of the legislative process. In the history of Finland's national languages, there has been an era of language disputes. However, changes in the population structure have had their effects on the language conditions in Finland. The general language climate appears to have become harsher during recent years in Finland. **Meilutė Ramonienė** examines the linguistic behaviour of Lithuanian city-dwellers in the private sphere and new trends of urban multilingualism in Lithuania. She analyses the linguistic repertoire—the use of languages at home—in mental processes (such as thinking or counting) and when using the media. Her report is based on data from three large-scale surveys carried out from 2007–2012 in Lithuanian cities. **Laima Kalėdienė** reviews trends appearing in public usage of the Lithuanian language. She evaluates the changes that have emerged during

the first fifteen years of the new millennium as well as how the problems of management of the language policy that resulted from the trends have succeeded in solving both state and society.

Finally, we would like to thank our staff, Dr Anastasija Kostiučenko and Dr Yvonne Bindrim, who have carried out the project in Lithuania and Finland with great enthusiasm and personal commitment. In terms of data analysis, both scholars have worked intensely on the necessary statistics. Thanks to them, the public now holds the interesting results of our project in their hands.

Greifswald, in Spring 2019
Marko Pantermöller and Stephan Kessler

Yvonne Bindrim

On the Relationship between Language Attitudes and Linguistic Opinions in Finland

Abstract. This study aims to survey the relationship between the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking population in Finland using an indirect and a direct method in combination: the matched-guise test and a questionnaire. The comparison of the results reveals that indirectly and directly elicited stances need to be distinguished from one another, and that stereotypes are considerably more common than previously assumed.

Overview

- 1 Introduction
- 2 The study
 - 2.1 Matched-guise test
 - 2.2 The questionnaire
 - 2.3 Data collection
 - 2.4 Participants
 - 2.5 Results
- 3 Conclusion
- Appendix

1 Introduction

Finland is a country with two national languages: Finnish and Swedish (CF 731/1999). With about 5 % of the total population, the Swedish-speaking community makes up a rather small proportion, but both the Finnish Constitution and the Language Act guarantee the Swedish language a status equal to Finnish. Thanks to this, Finland is often cited as a model multilingual country with regard to the protection of linguistic minorities. However, the legal equality of languages and language users cannot govern the ways in which speakers of different languages treat each other. It does not control what stance a community's linguistic majority, in particular, takes on speakers of a lesser used language; and it does not touch the opinions on the legal status of the lesser used language and on the linguistic rights that speakers of this lesser used language enjoy. Despite the exemplary legal situation, tensions exist between speakers of Finnish and

Swedish in Finland's everyday life, and the country's bilingualism is a topic of recurrent debates.

In 1997, the Finnish organization Folktinget (the Swedish Assembly of Finland, Swed./Finn. *Svenska Finlands Folkting*) together with sociologist Erik Allardt with their survey *Vårt land, vårt språk* (Folktinget 1997) laid the foundation for a number of extensive studies on the status of the Swedish language in Finland. Recent studies, e.g. those by the Swedish-speaking Finnish think tank Magma (2008; 2013), and Samforsk, the Social Science Research Institute at Åbo Akademi (2014), build upon this early work. None of the three studies alone can bring to light the tensions between speakers of Swedish and Finnish in everyday life. By comparing the results of the above-mentioned studies, however, a negative trend in the relationship between the language groups becomes apparent (cf. e2 2017: 40). The conflicts are not new. What is new, though, is that with populism increasing in Finland like in other countries, it has become more acceptable to voice critical or negative opinions about minorities there, too. A very recent example is ethnonationalist comments made by the populist Finns Party youth wing (HS 12/01/2019).

The earlier studies have two things in common: firstly, they do not identify any negative or strongly negative stance in the Finnish-speaking participants towards the Swedish language or speakers of Swedish. Secondly, both studies take on a direct approach, i.e. the participants are aware of the topic of the study. Both Folktinget and Magma collected their data with the help of personal interviews as part of omnibus-surveys. In a direct survey, the salience of the object of study can be another factor influencing the participants' responses, in addition to the well-known interviewer effect and halo effect. It activates not only the participants' knowledge and their experiences with the topic, but also stereotypes. This effect may be either welcome or undesirable, depending on the study's objective. In addition, the participants may be inclined to manipulate their answers because of social conventions like political correctness and taboos or in order to be provocative. Since each of the studies with a direct approach was not capable of diagnosing the conflicts between speakers of the two national languages, the question arises whether a combination of an indirect and a direct approach would be better suited to find out about the participants' stance on the object of study.

In a study with an indirect approach, the real object of study is not revealed to the participants, which makes it possible to identify their privately held stance towards it. For the study at hand, it is necessary to distinguish between the participants' attitudes towards languages or speakers of a specific language with regard to the means of elicitation: A stance that is elicited via a direct approach

is labelled 'opinion' and the stance identified in an indirect way is referred to as 'attitude'. The studies mentioned above refer to directly elicited stances on the Swedish language and Swedish speakers in Finland as 'attitudes'; except for the researchers at Samforsk (2014), who use the term 'opinion'. In these studies, a distinction between the types of stance identified within a study is not necessary since all studies used direct means of elicitation.

The term 'attitude' has been used with a very general sense in earlier studies, and even though the terminology has been refined over time, the term's use still varies today. Ajzen gives the following definition of attitude: 'An attitude is a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event' and 'a hypothetical construct that, being inaccessible to direct observation, must be inferred from measurable responses.' These responses are made up of components that go as far back as to Plato: cognition, affect, and conation. (Ajzen 2005: 3–4.) Attitudes are generally assumed to be learned. Peter Garrett points out the influencing factors, which are relevant also to my study: 'Two important sources of attitudes are our personal experiences and our social environment, including the media' (Garrett 2010: 22).

For a long time, studies pointed out only a weak correlation between the attitudes that were elicited by surveys and actual responses (i.e. behaviour observed). This issue was addressed with the differentiation between implicit and explicit attitudes: 'Implicit attitudes—being automatically activated—are assumed to guide behaviour by default unless they are overridden by controlled processes' (Ajzen 2005: 36). In the study of language attitudes, Lambert and colleagues found out that participants' responses were influenced by their knowing what the true object of study was (e.g. when using a questionnaire, one possible direct method). An indirect method, such as the matched-guise test, was found to evoke 'more private emotional and conceptual reactions' (Lambert *et al.* 1965: 90). Other terms for implicit and explicit attitude include subconscious and conscious attitudes (Kristiansen 2009) as well as (implicit) attitudes and (explicitly reported) views (Mattfolk 2011) or attitudes and opinions (Östman/Mattfolk 2011). Lambert's hypothesis is confirmed, among others, by Kristiansen's (2009) study of Danish dialects. In his study, Kristiansen showed that language change can be explained with the help of subconscious attitudes, but that the conscious attitudes stand in contrast to the language use as it is observed. Thus, attitudes and opinions are not necessarily congruent.

The terminological distinction in the present study is in line with Östman/Mattfolk (2011: 80), distinguishing between 'attitudes' and 'opinions': a stance that is expressed implicitly/(un-)/subconsciously is referred to as 'attitude' and an explicitly/consciously expressed stance is labelled 'opinion.' The first is elicited by

indirect methods and the latter via direct methods. Throughout this article, these two terms are used exclusively in the respective sense presented right above.

The objective of this study is to establish whether the relationship between speakers of Finnish and Swedish is as strained as can be concluded from the public discourse or whether there is no urgent need for worries. The latter is what interpretations of earlier extensive empirical data on the language situation tend to hint at. In the study, these questions are addressed by a survey consisting of two parts and combining a direct and an indirect method applied to the same sample of participants. A comparison between the two methodologically different parts is facilitated by points of comparison integrated into each part. The parallel survey allows for a comparative contextualisation of the previous studies that were conducted primarily via direct methods.

The results presented here are based on the data of a larger survey that was conducted from 2014 to 2016 in five towns in Finland. For this article, I examined the attitudes of different groups towards the Finnish and Swedish language in Finland: Finnish-speaking participants on the one hand and Swedish-speaking as well as both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking participants on the other hand. In the second part, the participants were questioned for their opinion on issues of language policy, the Swedish language, Swedish speakers, as well as their everyday experience as language users.

In addition to identifying the participants' stance, the results provide insights into the methods used. By comparing the results of individual questions in the two parts of the survey, answers can be found to methodological questions. One main question is whether the combination of an indirect and a direct method can bring to light the existing conflicts or areas of tension between the language groups.

The participants' first language¹ is assumed to be one of the factors that influence their attitudes and opinions. As a second potential factor of influence, the presence of the other language is included in the study. The latter is operationalised through the choice of towns with different linguistic composition. For this article, I analysed data collected in the towns of Joensuu, Helsinki and Vaasa. These three towns represent three different linguistic majority ratios. The target group of the survey were participants fulfilling all three criteria: having

1 In this article, the term first language is used in singular or plural form to refer to the language(s) which the participants stated as their mother tongue(s) (Finn. *äidinkieli/-kielet*, Swed. *modersmål*) in the questionnaire.

been socialised in Finland, speaking exclusively Finnish and/or Swedish as their first language(s) and having one of the three towns as a place of residence.

The next chapter presents the study design, the conduct of the survey and the participants. It is followed by the analysis of responses, which is done separately for the two methods, after which the methods are compared. In chapter 2.5.1, the results of the experimental indirect method, the matched-guise test, are presented. The test addresses the question of whether and to which degree the language that a person uses (here: Finnish and Swedish) influences how another person feels about the speaker. The differences in perception are analysed quantitatively (degree of influence) as well as qualitatively (type of influence). Chapter 2.5.2 presents the questionnaire responses to fundamental issues of language policy. Chapter 2.5.3 offers a comparison between the responses from the matched-guise test and the questionnaire. The comparison brings to light the relation between the participants' attitudes towards and opinions on the speakers of Swedish (with attitudes and opinions being identified for the language groups as well as for individuals).

As mentioned above, when referring to my study, the term 'attitude' is used for an indirectly elicited stance on languages and their speakers and 'opinion' for a directly elicited stance. 'Stance' is used as a general umbrella term. Another ambiguous term is 'significance.' Its use here is limited to the context of statistical testing methods and therefore refers exclusively to significance in its statistical sense. Whenever 'language group' is mentioned in this article, this term refers to the two groups of participants with different first languages that are being compared here: one is the Finnish-speaking participants, and the second group consists of Swedish-speaking together with both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking participants.²

Frequently used terms for language groups are abbreviated, e.g. Ps^{sw+} for 'Swedish-speaking and both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking participants.' The abbreviation aims at ensuring a smoother reading of the text. The names of the

2 The participants' statement on their first language(s) is to be understood rather as an expression of linguistic identity than as a reliable assessment of their language skills, especially for those that stated both Finnish and Swedish as their first languages. The questionnaire provided 'Finnish,' 'Swedish' and 'other' (with specification) as response options to the question on the participants' first language. The language skills were not tested nor were all participants asked for a self-assessment of their language skills for this survey. This is why the participants are not referred to as bilinguals, but as Finnish- and Swedish-speaking, and why they are merged with the monolingual Swedish-speaking participants into one language group.

surveyed towns are abbreviated as well: JNS for Joensuu, HKI for Helsinki and VAA for Vaasa.

2 The study

The study consists of two methodologically different parts. The first is an experimental part, in which an indirect method is employed: the matched-guise technique (abbreviated MGT in the following).³ It was developed in the 1950s by Wallace Lambert and colleagues in Canada as a method of identifying the attitudes of English and French speakers, respectively, towards speakers of the two languages. The researchers assume that

listener's attitude toward members of a particular group should generalize to the language they use. From this viewpoint, evaluational reactions to a spoken language should be similar to those prompted by interaction with individuals who are perceived as members of the group that uses it, but because the use of the language is one aspect of behaviour common to a variety of individuals, hearing the language is likely to arouse mainly generalized or stereotyped characteristics of the group. (Lambert *et al.* 1960: 44)

Since its introduction, the method has been used mainly for research on people's attitudes towards speakers of regional or social linguistic varieties. In line with the application by Lambert *et al.*, the method is used here in a multilingual context (Finland) for the identification of attitudes towards speakers of different languages (Finnish and Swedish).

In the second part of the study, participants were questioned about their personal attitudes towards issues of language policy and about their own experience as a language user in various contexts of everyday life.

The participants' answers were collected with the help of LimeSurvey, an online survey tool. The computers or other devices they used to participate in the survey (desktop computer, laptop, tablet, smartphone) were either the participants' own or belonged to the institution that they were associated with and as a member of which they took part in the survey. Before the participants started the test, they were assured that the survey was conducted anonymously. They were further made aware of the fact that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions, but that instead, their personal stance was of interest. The test was conducted on site for all participant groups with me, the writer

3 Another term used for the matched-guise technique is matched-guise test, although it is not a test in the narrow sense of the word. In this contribution, the term matched-guise technique is used to refer to the method as such, the term matched-guise test to refer to the experiment in this and in other studies.

of this article, as the conductor of the study. I analysed the resulting data with the help of the statistics software SPSS and additionally with the spreadsheet programme Microsoft Excel for the questionnaires.

2.1 Matched-guise test

The participants (abbreviated Ps) listened to eight different (digital) recordings of one and the same text. The recordings in Finnish and Swedish and by male and female voices were played alternately (Fig. 1). The participants' task was to imagine the speakers and evaluate them while listening. The evaluation of each recording was to be marked on a semantic differential comprising 12 scales (Fig. 2). The semantic differentials were titled 'speaker 1' to 'speaker 8'.

| Speaker |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
| F 1.a | G 1.a | G 2.a | F 2 | F 3 | G 1.b | G 2.b | F 1.b |
| fi | sw | fi | fi | sw | fi | sw | fi |
| f | m | f | m | f | m | f | f |

Legend: F = filler, G = guise, m = male, f = female, fi = Finnish, sw = Swedish.

Fig. 1. Set-up of the matched-guise test

The Ps were not informed that the eight recordings they heard were not made by eight different people, but only by six. Two persons, the guise speakers (abbreviated G in general or G^m and G^f, respectively, for the male and female speaker), read the text twice: once in Swedish and once in Finnish. These recordings are referred to as Swedish guise and Finnish guise of the G^m and the G^f. All other speakers, called fillers (F1–3), mainly served to distract the Ps from the fact that they heard and assessed two speakers twice. For the assessment of speakers 1–8 a set of relevant bipolar scales was used (Fig. 2).

An odd-point scale is most effective in preventing frustration among the Ps because they are not forced to pick one or the other side of the scale (they were obliged to tick one point in each scale). In the pre-tests, however, this led to a large proportion of Ps ticking the neutral, central point of the scale.⁴ In reaction, a compromise was chosen for the main test. It aimed at counteracting the Ps' strategy of choosing the central point of the scale as their

4 It is questionable whether a person can have an actually neutral stance on a familiar concept (here: a Finnish- and/or Swedish-speaking person socialised in Finland

	(6)	(5)	(4)	(n/a)	(3)	(2)	(1)	
friendly vänlig / ystävällinen	<input type="radio"/>	unfriendly ovänlig / epäystävällinen						
honest ärlig / rehellinen	<input type="radio"/>	dishonest oärlig / epärehellinen						
reliable pålitlig / luotettava	<input type="radio"/>	unreliable opålitlig / epäluotettava						
social social / sosiaalinen	<input type="radio"/>	unsocial osocial / epäsosiaalinen						
intelligent intelligent / älykäs	<input type="radio"/>	simple-minded enfaldig / yksinkertainen						
well-off välmående / hyvinvoiva	<input type="radio"/>	destitute medellös / varaton						
confident självssäker / itsevarma	<input type="radio"/>	insecure osäker / epävarma						
ambitious ambitiös / saavutuksiin pyrkivä	<input type="radio"/>	lazy lat / laiska						
educated bildad / sivistynyt	<input type="radio"/>	uneducated obildad / sivistymätön						
successful framgångsrik / menestynyt	<input type="radio"/>	unsuccessful misslyckad / epäonnistunut						
respected ärad / arvostettu	<input type="radio"/>	disrespected orespekterad / ei arvostettu						
influential inflytelserik / vaikutusvaltainen	<input type="radio"/>	uninfluential maktlös / ei vaikutusvaltainen						

Fig. 2. The semantic differential

towards another (Finland-) Swedish- or Finnish-speaking person). Edwards *et al.* (1971) studied the different cognitive structures of what is called a neutral stance, and claim that 'A mid-scale attitude can originate in at least three ways: (a) by having a balanced number of positive and negative experiences with the attitude object, (b) by having only neutral experiences, or (c) by having no registered experiences with the object' (Edwards et al. 1971: 36). Based on the criteria for participation in this survey, we can safely assume that the three traits conditioning a neutral stance apply not at all (c) or only to a very low degree (a, b) to the Ps of this study. Most importantly, all Ps speak Finnish and/or Swedish as their first language and have been socialised

default answer and only picking a side for cases of a relatively strong stance. At the same time, the risk of frustrating the Ps with the obligation to pick a side should not be increased. The compromise was a 7-point scale with the central point marked as 'no answer' (n/a in Fig. 2). In the oral instruction prior to the beginning of the survey, the conductor of the study pointed this out explicitly. The 'n/a'-answers were not included in the analysis. To process the data, the scales were coded with 6 points (as depicted in Fig. 2), 6 marking the highest degree of a trait's presence (e.g. 'friendly') and 1 marking the highest degree of negation of the respective trait (e.g. 'unfriendly'). Only the extreme ends of the scales were marked with adjectives; the individual points on the scales were not labelled.

2.2 The questionnaire

Following the matched-guise test, the participants (Ps) were immediately directed to the questionnaire, where they were asked to fill in their basic personal details (first language, age *etc.*). After this step, the digital survey was paused for a conversation between the Ps and me as the conductor of the study about the first part of the survey. The Ps learned about the functioning of the matched-guise technique and were prepared for the topic of the questionnaire, which is Finland's bilingualism and language policy.

The questionnaire consisted of one part that was identical for all Ps and that comprised questions on current topics of language policy. It was followed by the second part with questions specific for the individual Ps: students were asked about their language use at school and employees were asked about their language use at work, for instance. Chapter 2.5.1.8 will present the answers to a

in Finland. In the survey, the participants were asked whether they had spent the majority of their life in Finland and/or whether they attended compulsory comprehensive school (1st to 9th grade) in Finland. The answers allow for the conclusion that all Ps whose answers are included in this analysis have learned the country's respective other national language at school (compulsory school subject in Finland since 1977; *koulurakennus* (1), ABE 467/1968). The few older Ps can be assumed to experience the country's bilingualism through their work as employees in national or local authorities either directly (in bilingual municipalities) or indirectly (in monolingual Finnish-speaking municipalities). Moreover, certain aspects of Finland's bilingualism are the topic of regularly recurring (and sometimes heated) debates in politics and the media. For these reasons, it was found highly unlikely that Ps could have an actually neutral attitude towards the Swedish and Finnish languages and their speakers in Finland and therefore the scales were designed accordingly.

selection of these questions. In part, the wording of the questions was tailored to the individuals, e.g. to the Ps' respective first language so that the Finnish-speaking Ps were evaluating an issue from the perspective of the linguistic out-group and the Swedish-speaking as well as the both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Ps took the perspective of the linguistic in-group. The questionnaire was dynamic not only with regard to the wording but also in that it adapted in the course of the survey based on previous details and answers.

2.3 Data collection

In debates on language policy in Finland, the division line between the camps is mostly congruent with the division between the Finnish-speaking population and the Swedish-speaking population. However, the stance on language policy also varies regionally. This suggests that in addition to a person's first language, the intensity of a person's contact to the Swedish-speaking population and culture also has an impact on their stance on issues of language policy. For this study, the proportion of Swedish-speaking population in the towns where the survey was conducted was used as an indicator for the intensity of the contact. Therefore, I included the answers from three towns of different linguistic composition in the analyses.

The first town is Joensuu (JNS), situated in monolingual Finnish-speaking Eastern Finland, more precisely in North Karelia (Finn. *Pohjois-Karjala*, Swed. *Norra Karelen*), at a long distance from Swedish-speaking areas. With 0,1 % of the municipality's population being Swedish-speaking (Fig. 3; stat.fi 1), JNS is officially monolingual Finnish-speaking (see Lunabba, 2019: 8, for the criteria for determining the linguistic status of a municipality, and see Fig. 1 of Lunabba's contribution in this book for a map of bilingual municipalities in Finland). In JNS, the Swedish-speaking culture is not visible; it is thus likely that to the people living there, Swedish feels more like a foreign language than like the other domestic language.

The second place where the survey was conducted, is Helsinki (Swed. *Helsingfors*; HKI), Finland's capital situated on the southern coast. The city is officially bilingual with a Finnish-speaking majority and a proportion of Swedish-speaking population of 5.7 % (stat.fi 1) at the time of the survey. Many of the nearby municipalities in the Helsinki-Uusimaa Region (Finn. *Uusimaa*, Swed. *Nyland*) are bilingual as well, with Finnish as the majority language. In HKI, the Swedish language is present to a certain extent, primarily and mostly limited to its presence on public signs (in contrast to commercial and private signs; see also Syrjälä 2012: 78). In everyday life, Swedish is of only limited use,

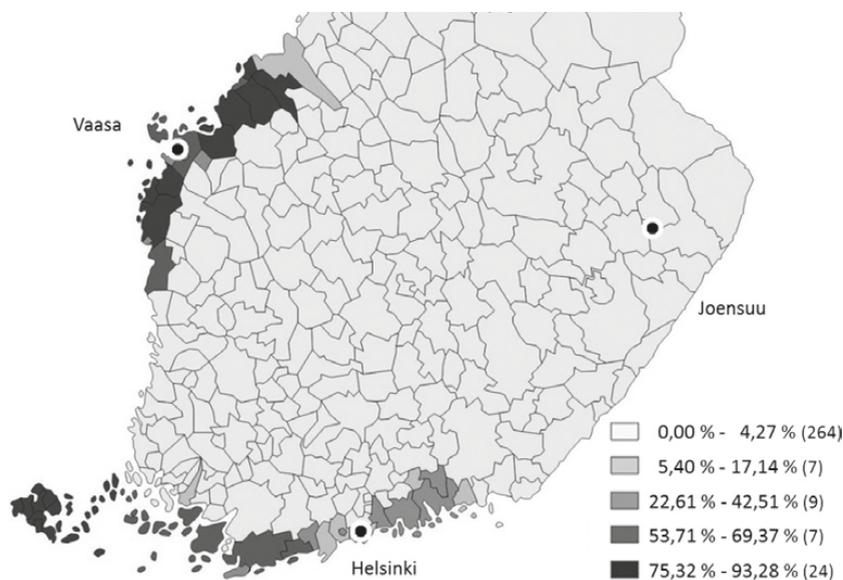


Fig. 3. The proportion of Swedish-speaking population in the municipalities in Finland
Legend: Numbers in brackets indicate the number of municipalities with the respective range of percentages.—Source: Municipality borders 2015 © MML, 2019. As of 31/12/2015.⁵

except for local and state authorities. The infrastructure for the language is good, however, and cultural flagships like the Swedish Theatre (Swed. *Svenska Teatern*), the Swedish Adult Education Centre of Helsinki (Swed. *Svenska arbetarinstitutet*, short 'Arbis (i Helsingfors)') are familiar institutions for the entire population. The absolute number of speakers of Swedish is high enough (36,004 speakers; stat.fi 2) that some events are held separately from the Finnish-speaking population. This is the case for the traditional picnic on May, 1st (Finland Swed. *vappen*) and the party on its eve as well as for Finnish Swedish Heritage Day (Swed. *Svenska dagen*) and Saint Lucy's Day. The events are announced in the country's Swedish-speaking media.

5 The relevant date for demographic statistics for each year is 31st December. The data collection period (December 2015–June 2016) stretches over this relevant date in 2015. The proportions of speakers of Swedish given here refer to the municipality as an administrative unit (Finn. *kunta*, Swed. *kommun*), whereas the data for this study were collected only in the (more urban) centre of the same name.

The third place surveyed is Vaasa (Swed. *Vasa*; VAA), situated at the west coast in the Ostrobothnia region (Finn. *Pohjanmaa*, Swed. *Österbötten*). The city is officially bilingual with a Finnish-speaking majority and a proportion of Swedish-speaking population of 22.6 % (stat.fi 1). The surrounding areas are strongly bilingual as well, including municipalities with a vast Swedish-speaking majority and even almost monolingual Swedish-speaking ones.⁶ In VAA, both the Swedish and Finnish language can be heard and seen throughout the town, and good bilingual infrastructure is provided for both language groups. Vaasa is the only relatively large bilingual town in Finland with a comparatively high percentage of Swedish-speaking population and an infrastructure of national and local authorities that is similar to the capital.

While in JNS, the percentage of Swedish-speaking population is negligible and only Finnish-speaking persons took part in the survey, a large number of Ps from both language groups could be recruited for the study in the bilingual towns of HKI and VAA.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the underlying assumption for the data collection was that the Ps' first language, as well as the intensity of their contact to Swedish-speaking people and culture, were two decisive factors of influence on their stance on issues of language policy. Accordingly, for the analysis that is to follow the Ps are grouped by first language(s) and by place of survey. We then have five subgroups of Ps:

- Finnish-speaking Ps in Joensuu (JNS^{fi}),
- Finnish-speaking Ps in Helsinki (HKI^{fi}),
- Swedish-speaking Ps together with both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Ps in HKI (HKI^{sw+}),
- Finnish-speaking Ps in Vaasa (VAA^{fi}), and
- Swedish-speaking Ps together with both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Ps in VAA (VAA^{sw+}).

6 By official status, there are no monolingual Swedish-speaking municipalities any more on Finland's mainland. As of 01/01/2016 (during the time of data collection for this study), the municipality of Närpes (Finn. *Närpiö*), which had been the last monolingual Swedish-speaking municipality, changed its linguistic status to bilingual with a Swedish-speaking majority (GDLSM 53/2013: Amendment 591/2015), although this would not have been necessary according to the conditions of the Language Act (423/2003 § 5 clauses 1 and 2). A year before, the municipalities Larsmo (Finn. *Luoto*) and Korsnäs (Finn. *Korsnäs*) had already voluntarily changed their status from monolingual Swedish-speaking to bilingual with a Swedish-speaking majority (GDLSM 53/2013: Amendment 1383/2014).

In order to be comparable, the subgroups need to be similar with regard to other factors that potentially determine their stance on issues of language policy. To achieve this, similar subpopulations were chosen for data collection in each town and within the two language groups.⁷ The subpopulations include employees and students in educational institutions ranging from comprehensive school to vocational school and university. The survey was conducted in groups of usually 5–20 people with both employees and students. In order to ensure similarity between the subpopulations, employees working for similar employers were chosen for the study. The employers chosen are local and state authorities that can be found in all surveyed towns. In addition, a number of teachers of the above mentioned educational institutions took part in the survey. The second important reason why local and state authorities were chosen for the study in addition to their presence in all relevant towns is that they have special linguistic obligations towards their clients, which directly or indirectly affect the employees. In the educational institutions, one language is (usually) fixed as the language of instruction (Finn. *opetuskieli*, Swed. *undervisningsspråk*).⁸

Due to the fact that the choice of towns to be surveyed provided an infrastructure for data collection that was both appropriate and comparable among the places, it was possible for the most part to collect data from Ps from similar subpopulations. They were complemented by subpopulations which are typical for each town: students of Finnish-Russian schools in JNS on the one hand, and of language immersion classes (Swedish-Finnish) in the bilingual municipalities on the other hand.⁹ Including these groups allowed for taking into account the special characteristics of the different places present in the study. (Cf. Bindrim 2019: 158, for a detailed account of the sample.)

7 In this study, ‘language group’ refers to the monolingual Finnish-speaking Ps on the one hand and the monolingual Swedish-speaking together with the both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Ps on the other hand.

8 ‘The language of instruction and the language used in extracurricular teaching shall be either Finnish or Swedish. The language of instruction may also be Saami, Roma or sign language’ (BEA 1998/628 Section 10).

9 Language immersion is a method of instruction used especially in Finland’s kindergartens and primary schools with the aim of children learning a foreign language (in Finland, it is often Swedish for Finnish-speaking children) and becoming bilingual. With this method, children are confronted with the language of immersion, e.g. at school for certain parts of the instruction. (Cf. e.g. Bergroth 2015.)

2.4 Participants

A total of 415 people took part in the survey in the three towns presented above. A categorization based on the two assumed determining factors for the stance on issues of language policy (first language and place of the survey) yields five subgroups, as mentioned in the previous chapter. These five subgroups will be presented here in more detail with reference to a number of traditional background variables of the participants (Ps).

It is apparent from Fig. 4 that the five subgroups differ in size, but they are all large enough to allow for reliable results. As is often the case for surveys, more women than men were ready to participate in the study. As a result, female Ps are overrepresented in all subgroups (Fig. 5). In both bilingual places of the survey, HKI and VAA, the overrepresentation of women is of a similar extent in the different language groups (54–9 % female Ps) and only in JNS is the proportion of female Ps (67 %) higher than in the other subgroups.

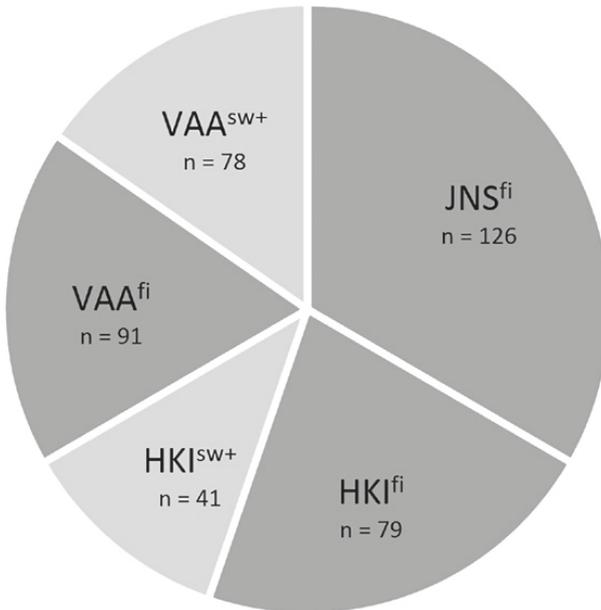


Fig. 4. Participants grouped by place of the survey and first language

Legend: JNS^{fi} – Finnish-speaking Ps in Joensuu. HKI^{fi} – Finnish-speaking Ps in Helsinki. HKI^{sw+} – Swedish-speaking Ps and Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Ps in HKI. VAA^{fi} – Finnish-speaking Ps in Vaasa. VAA^{sw+} – Swedish-speaking Ps together and Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Ps in VAA.

The composition by age is similar across the subgroups, but again JNS^{fi} and also HKI^{sw+} display exceptions (Fig. 6). For most groups, the youngest Ps are aged 14–5, only in HKI^{sw+} are they 17 years old. The Ps' main occupation is tied closely to their age. The main occupation of a majority of Ps (students at school and in vocational training; cf. Appendix 1) is reflected in the narrow age range of 50 % of the Ps in each subgroup. The age of half of the Ps in the subgroups (quantiles Q1 and Q3 in Fig. 6) ranges from 15 to 23 years and from 15 to 29 years in the JNS^{fi} group, while it is 18 in the HKI^{sw+} group. The age range is smaller in HKI^{sw+} than in the other subgroups and wider in JNS^{fi}.

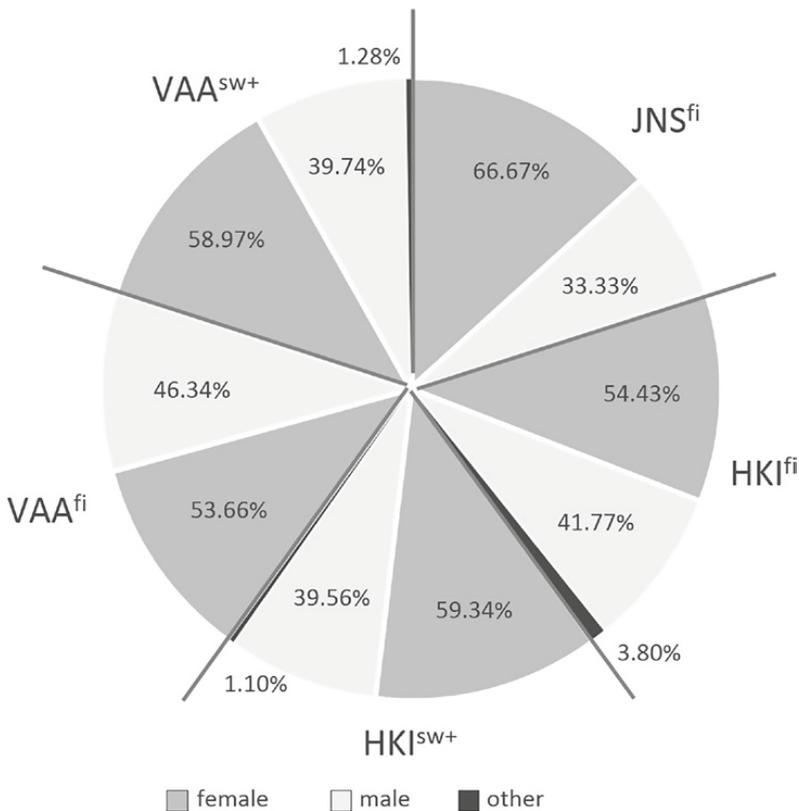


Fig. 5. Participants grouped by gender identity

Legend: JNS^{fi} – Finnish-speaking Ps in Joensuu. HKI^{fi} – Finnish-speaking Ps in Helsinki. HKI^{sw+} – Swedish-speaking Ps and Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Ps in HKI. VAA^{fi} – Finnish-speaking Ps in Vaasa. VAA^{sw+} – Swedish-speaking Ps together and Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Ps in VAA.

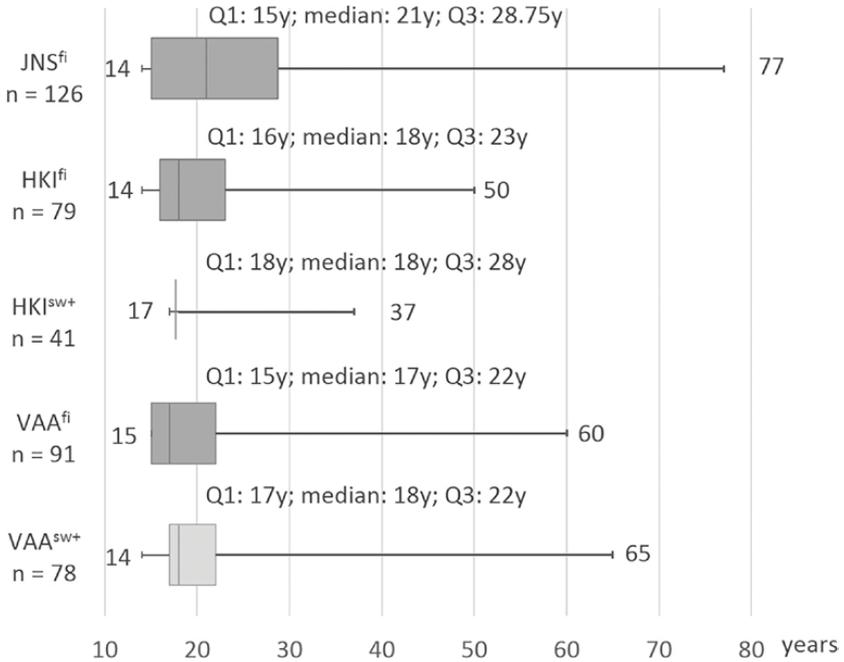


Fig. 6. The age range of the subgroups

2.5 Results

As mentioned above, the Ps' responses from the matched-guise test and the questionnaire will be analysed in separate subchapters. Chapter 2.5.1 will focus on the question of whether the language that a person uses influences the way that other people perceive them. Thanks to the division of the Ps into five subgroups, this question can be answered in a differentiated manner for the assumed influencing factors place of the survey and first language. For each P of a subgroup, the difference is determined between the evaluation of the Swedish guise (Fig. 7: 1.a, c) and the Finnish guise (1.b, d) of the same guise speaker (G) on the same scale. In a following step, the arithmetic mean of all differences within one subgroup is calculated. The resulting mean differences (2.a, b) are tested for significance. For each subgroup, the results show how the evaluations of the guises differ within the group:

- What is the Ps' evaluation on the scales for the two guises of one G?

- If one guise is evaluated with a higher rank than its counterpart:¹⁰ For which traits are the mean differences between the evaluations of one G's two guises significant?
- Is the influence of the language used strong enough to be interpreted as relevant?¹¹

The question that follows here is whether the differences in evaluation of the guises that have been identified before, differ by place and/or first language of the Ps (chapter 2.5.1.8). To find this out, the mean differences found in the subgroups between the evaluations of the G's two guises (2.a and 2.b) are compared, and the divergence between the mean differences is tested for significance (3).

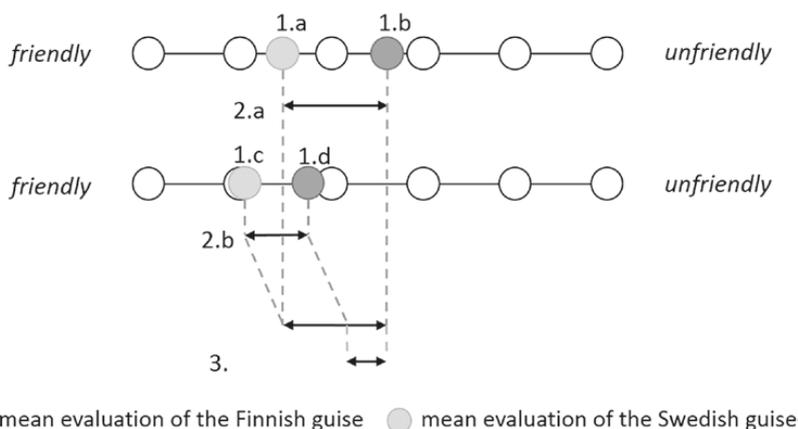


Fig. 7. Analysis procedure for the matched-guise test

Mean evaluation of the two guises by Ps of two subgroups on the same scale (1.a–d), calculation of the mean differences (2.a, b) and their difference (3).

In chapter 2.5.2, I analyse and compare questionnaire responses to a number of questions on language policy for the five subgroups. One of the issues addressed is the P's view on common stereotypes on the Swedish-speaking

10 When an evaluation is referred to as of a 'higher rank,' this wording is based solely on the numbering of the 6-point scale that is used for analysis and quantification (e.g. 6 = educated, and 1 = uneducated, as in Fig. 2)—it does not express any assessment or evaluation of the respective trait.

11 Cf. chapter 2.5.1 for the definition of 'relevance' and 'relevant' differences used in this study.

community. After separately analysing the results from the matched-guise test and the questionnaire, the findings gained by the two methods will be compared in chapter 2.5.3. There are three points of comparison between the matched-guise test and the questionnaire. The Ps' views on three common stereotypes elicited by the questionnaire can be put into relation to the Ps' evaluation of the guises on the three scales labelled 'well-of', 'educated' and 'influential'.

2.5.1 Language attitudes—the influence of language on how a person is perceived

In a first step, I analyse for all five subgroups whether the assessment of a person depends on the language that this person uses. If a subgroup's perception of a person is independent of the language they use (Finnish or Swedish), there is no difference between the perception of the two guises by the subgroup; i.e. the average difference between the perception of the two guises is not significant. For each subgroup, significance of the differences is determined by a two-tailed paired t-test.

Only relevant differences, i.e. differences in perception that can be assumed to be important in everyday situations, are of interest here. Such a minimal value of difference is necessarily arbitrary since social situations are too complex and individual to determine a standard value.¹² Relevance always requires significance (strictly in a mathematical sense).

2.5.1.1 Finnish-speaking participants in Joensuu.

We will first look at the subgroup of Finnish-speaking Ps in JNS (JNS^{fi}) and examine whether they perceive the two guises of one and the same G differently depending on the language used. To find this out, we compare the mean evaluation of the Swedish-speaking guise recording (marked in light grey in the following figures) and the Finnish-speaking guise recording (dark grey) of the male speaker (G^m: Fig. 8) and the female speaker (G^f: Fig. 9), respectively. The distance between

12 There is no information from previous studies on the question what the minimal difference is for a 6-point scale starting from which the influence of language has to be regarded as relevant. It is further impossible to give a reasoned estimate or to find conventionalized values. For these reasons, we here determine a value of 0.4 points. It is based on the frequency of differences in this study in certain scales. With 6-point scales, differences up to 0.3 points are highly frequent, making 0.4 an appropriate minimal value. In the perception of the Gs' guises, differences of 0.4 or more are present with regard to only a small number of features, and differences of 0.5 or higher are rare to find. The divide between frequent and therefore common differences in perception and the relevant ones appears to manifest itself at a value of 0.4.

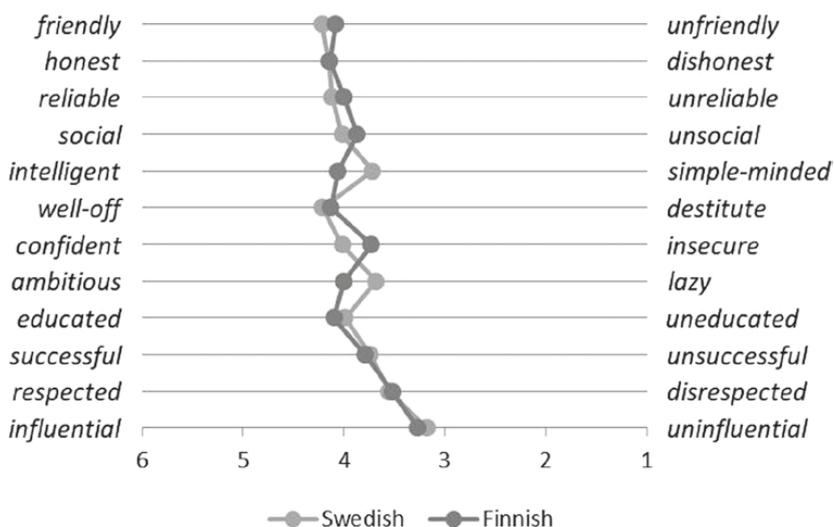


Fig. 8. JNS^h, paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^m

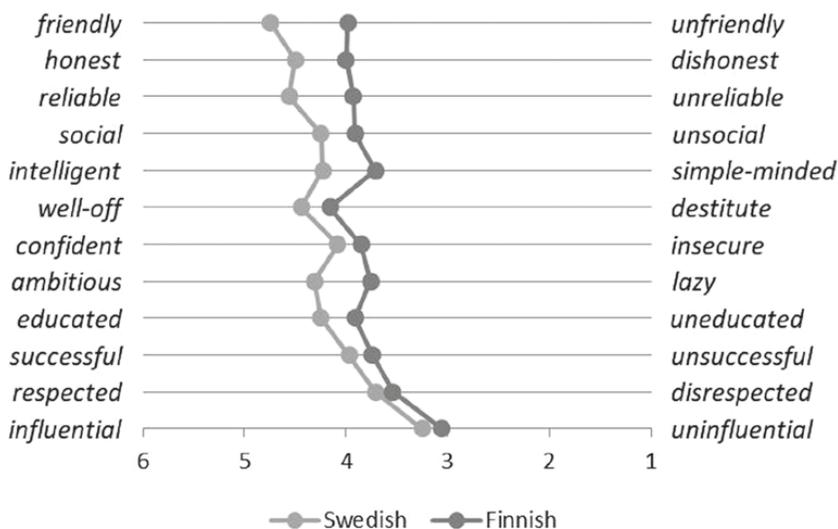


Fig. 9. JNS^h, paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^f

the points on the scale represents the difference between the mean evaluation of the guise speakers regarding the respective trait.

It becomes clear at first glance that the mean evaluations of the Swedish and Finnish G^m differ with regard to only a few traits. For the G^f , in contrast, the mean evaluations are close with regard to only a few traits. The distance between the points on each scale visualises the mean difference as resulting from the paired t-test, between the evaluations of the guise of one G for one trait. The following table shows the absolute values of the mean differences and their statistical significance (significance and relevance in bold).¹³

Table 1. JNS⁶, paired t-test—mean difference between the evaluations of the masks

trait	G^m		G^f	
	\bar{O}_Δ^*	sign.	\bar{O}_Δ^{**}	sign.
<i>friendly</i>	.134	.216	-.756	< .001
<i>honest</i>	.017	.865	-.500	< .001
<i>reliable</i>	.119	.252	-.626	< .001
<i>social</i>	.145	.239	-.339	.006
<i>intelligent</i>	-.342	.003	-.526	< .001
<i>well-off</i>	.085	.390	-.281	.002
<i>confident</i>	.291	.009	-.237	.033
<i>ambitious</i>	-.316	.008	-.544	< .001
<i>educated</i>	-.111	.295	-.336	.001
<i>successful</i>	-.056	.539	-.234	.033
<i>respected</i>	.027	.821	-.179	.093
<i>influential</i>	-.088	.458	-.193	.073
sum score	.949		4.379	
\bar{O}_{sc}	.316		.438	

p < .05

* G^m —positive sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

** G^f —negative sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

13 In the table, the positive or negative sign preceding the mean difference's absolute value marks whether the first or the second guise of the same G (see Fig. 1) was ranked higher. Signs have the opposite meaning for G^m and G^f (see Table 1), since with G^m , the Swedish guise (speaker 2) was played before the Finnish guise (speaker 6), while the order was reversed for the G^f with the Finnish guise (speaker 3) preceding the Swedish one (speaker 7).

As could be seen already from the visualisation above, the mean differences between the two guises of G^f are clearly greater than those between the two guises of G^m and the former are significant in more cases. For the G^m , the difference in perception of the two guises is statistically significant for three traits. The Finnish guise is perceived as more intelligent and more ambitious, and the Swedish guise is perceived as more confident. Because all three differences are below 0.4 points, they are interpreted as non-relevant (see footnote 12 for an explanation of the term ‘relevance’ in this study).

The difference in perception of the G^f ’s two guises is significant for ten out of twelve traits. Half of these differences are above 0.4 points and therefore have to be interpreted as potentially relevant in most everyday situations. The traits in question are ‘friendly,’ ‘honest,’ ‘reliable’ and ‘ambitious.’ For all traits, the Swedish guise is ranked higher.

The influence of the language used by the guise is clearly stronger for G^f than for G^m , as the difference values show, which are higher for the G^f for almost all traits. The divide between the perception of the two guises of G^f by the Ps^f in JNS is striking.

Another interesting result is the finding that the language can influence the perception for one trait in opposite directions for G^m and G^f , as the scales for ‘intelligent’ and ‘ambitious’ show. When it comes to being confident, it is the Swedish guise that receives a higher evaluation for both G s.

2.5.1.2 *Finnish-speaking participants in Helsinki.*

We now turn to the Ps in HKI to see whether they perceive the two G s differently depending on the language the G s use. First, the perception of the guise by the Finnish-speaking Ps is in focus (HKIⁿ).

For the G^m , the differences between the mean evaluations of the guises vary (Fig. 10), while for the G^f , their values are similar on most scales (Fig. 11). Table 2 presents the absolute value and significance of the mean differences.

Statistically significant differences in the perception of the two guises of the G^m can be identified for seven traits. The differences for ‘social’ and ‘confident’ are above 0.4 points and can, therefore, be interpreted as relevant. For both traits, the Swedish guise received a higher-rank evaluation. For ten out of twelve traits, the difference in perception of the two guises of G^f is statistically significant. Out of these, at least those for ‘friendly,’ ‘reliable,’ ‘intelligent’ and ‘ambitious’ have to be interpreted as relevant. Again, the Swedish guise receives higher evaluations for all traits.

The difference in perception is significant and relevant for more traits for the G^f than for the G^m , which means that on the whole, the language spoken influences the perception of the female speaker to a higher degree than that of the male speaker. For the G^m , however, the influence is stronger for the two

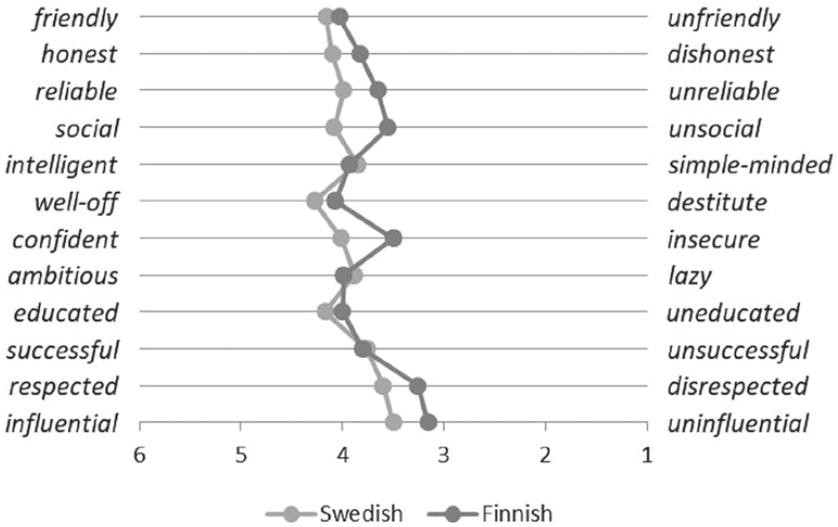


Fig. 10. HKI^{fi}, paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^m

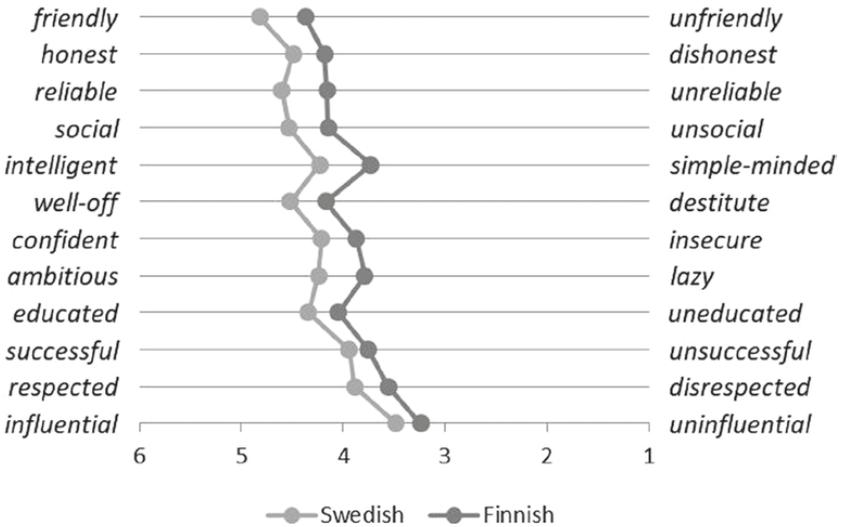


Fig. 11. HKI^{fi}, paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^f

Table 2. HKI^f, paired t-test—mean difference between the evaluations of the masks

trait	G ^m		G ^f	
	\bar{O}_{Δ}^*	sign.	\bar{O}_{Δ}^{**}	sign.
<i>friendly</i>	.135	.311	-.447	.001
<i>honest</i>	.273	.040	-.303	.004
<i>reliable</i>	.338	.014	-.440	.001
<i>social</i>	.526	.002	-.380	.029
<i>intelligent</i>	-.081	.596	-.493	< .001
<i>well-off</i>	.208	.042	-.347	.008
<i>confident</i>	.513	.002	-.342	.027
<i>ambitious</i>	-.105	.411	-.453	.004
<i>educated</i>	.173	.228	-.286	.032
<i>successful</i>	-.042	.778	-.197	.075
<i>respected</i>	.338	.007	-.333	.022
<i>influential</i>	.338	.018	-.239	.188
sum score	2.534		3.824	
\bar{O}_{Sc}	.362		.382	

p < .05

* G^m—positive sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

** G^f—negative sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

relevant traits, as the larger differences show. The direction of influence is the same for all significant differences. Both Gs are evaluated with a higher ranking when they speak Swedish.

2.5.1.3 Swedish-speaking and both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking participants in Helsinki.

The following comparison of the two language groups addresses the question whether the Swedish-speaking Ps perceive the two guises differently than the both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Ps in HKI (P^{sw+}). As the figures below show, most differences between the mean evaluations of the two G^m guises are relatively small (Fig. 12). For the G^f, the mean evaluations are very close for some traits as well, while for others, they are notably further apart (Fig. 13).

Table 3 presents the absolute values of the mean differences between the evaluation of the guises as well as the differences' significance.

For the G^m, the differences are statistically significant and relevant for the two traits 'educated' and 'successful.' For both traits, the Finnish guise received a higher evaluation. The differences in perception of the G^f are statistically

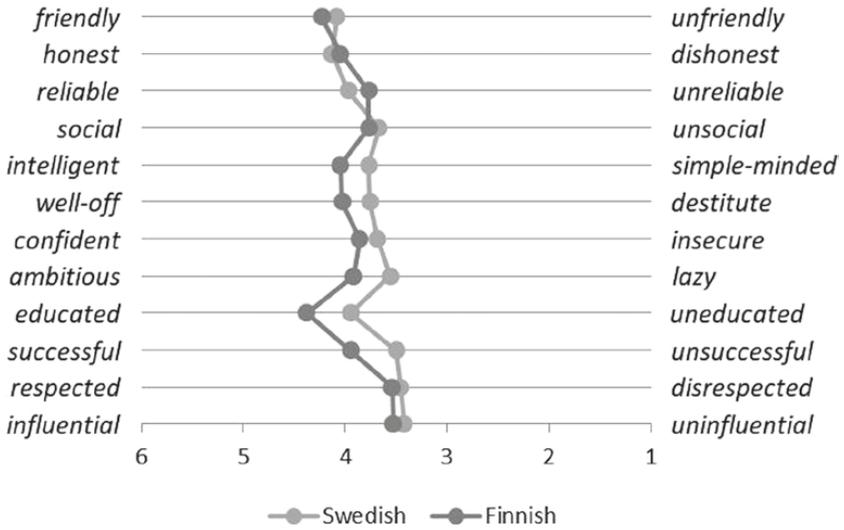


Fig. 12. HKI^{sw+}, paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^m

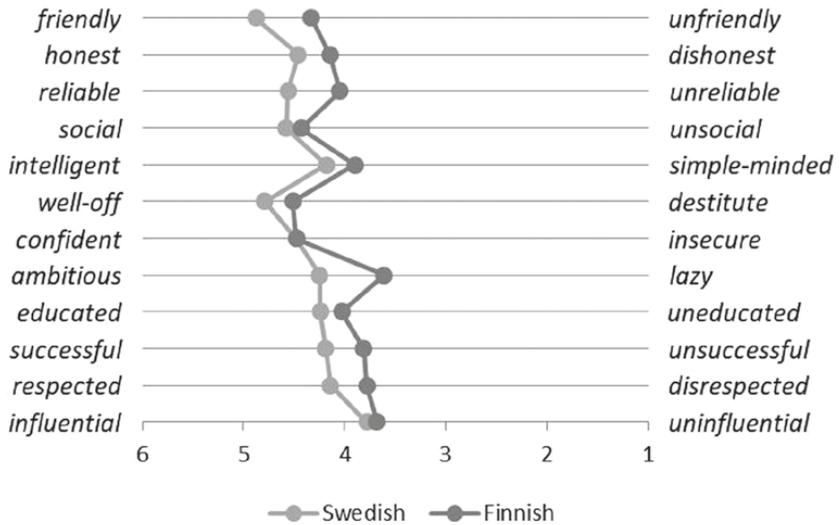


Fig. 13. HKI^{sw+}, paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^f

Table 3. HKI^{sw+}, paired t-test—mean difference between the evaluations of the guises

trait	G ^m		G ^f	
	\bar{O}_{Δ}^*	sign.	\bar{O}_{Δ}^{**}	sign.
<i>friendly</i>	-.150	.421	-.550	.004
<i>honest</i>	.075	.680	-.317	.051
<i>reliable</i>	.205	.263	-.513	.010
<i>social</i>	-.103	.720	-.150	.383
<i>intelligent</i>	-.282	.162	-.275	.162
<i>well-off</i>	-.270	.134	-.282	.054
<i>confident</i>	-.189	.502	.000	1.000
<i>ambitious</i>	-.359	.056	-.639	.010
<i>educated</i>	-.432	.014	-.211	.233
<i>successful</i>	-.447	.009	-.389	.025
<i>respected</i>	-.086	.681	-.351	.051
<i>influential</i>	-.105	.487	-.108	.593
sum score	.872		2.091	
\bar{O}_{Sc}	.440		.523	

p < .05

* G^m—positive sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

** G^f—negative sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

significant for four out of twelve traits. Out of these, the differences for ‘friendly,’ ‘reliable’ and ‘ambitious’ can be interpreted as relevant. For all traits, the Swedish guise was evaluated higher.

The number of significant differences between the perceptions of the two guises by the P^{sw+} in HKI is higher for the G^f than for the G^m. The three significant and relevant differences are also bigger for the G^f. With the trait ‘successful,’ the difference in perception is significant for both guises. It is also relevant only for the G^m. The direction of influence is opposite in comparison with the two Gs. For the G^m, it is the Finnish guise, and for G^f it is the Swedish guise that is perceived as more successful. On the whole, the language spoken has a stronger influence on the perception of the G^f than on the G^m, with relevant differences being more frequent as well as of a larger extent.

2.5.1.4 Finnish-speaking participants in Vaasa.

The next group to be analysed for potential differences in perception of the two Gs depending on the language the Gs use is the Ps in VAA. Starting with the Finnish-speaking Ps (VAA^f), we gain the following picture.

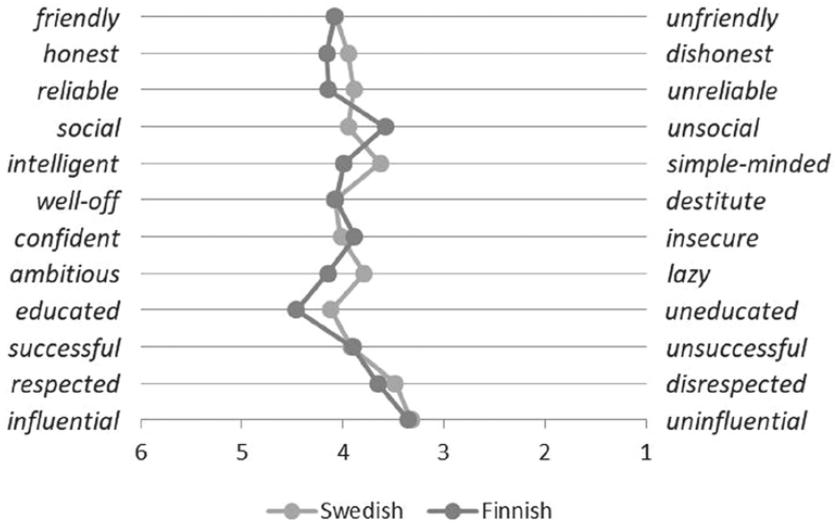


Fig. 14. VAA^{fi} , paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^m

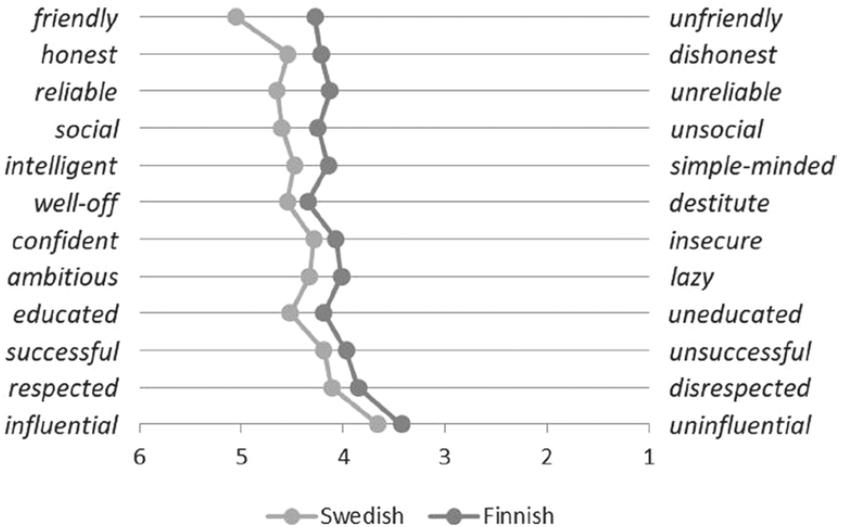


Fig. 15. VAA^{fi} , paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^f

The differences between the mean evaluation of the guises of G^m (Fig. 14) are rather small. For G^f (Fig. 15), the situation is similar, with comparatively big differences for only a small number of traits. As Table 4 shows, only a few of the statistically significant mean differences are big enough to be interpreted as relevant.

Table 4. VAA^{fi}, paired t-test—mean difference between the evaluations of the guises

trait	G^m		G^f	
	\bar{O}_Δ^*	sign.	\bar{O}_Δ^{**}	sign.
<i>friendly</i>	-.012	.940	-.761	< .001
<i>honest</i>	-.209	.066	-.322	.001
<i>reliable</i>	-.253	.038	-.518	< .001
<i>social</i>	.373	.016	-.352	.014
<i>intelligent</i>	-.358	.017	-.321	.004
<i>well-off</i>	.011	.910	-.200	.055
<i>confident</i>	.141	.327	-.224	.100
<i>ambitious</i>	-.354	.021	-.305	.022
<i>educated</i>	-.341	.007	-.337	.002
<i>successful</i>	.025	.827	-.213	.081
<i>respected</i>	-.173	.195	-.259	.025
<i>influential</i>	-.026	.875	-.238	.041
sum score	1.679		3.413	
\bar{O}_{sc}	.336		.379	

p < .05

* G^m —positive sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

** G^f —negative sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

While the differences in perception of the G^m by the Finnish-speaking Ps in VAA are significant for five traits, none of these is relevant. The Swedish guise of G^m was evaluated higher for all traits except for 'social'. For the G^f , the difference in perception of the two guises is statistically significant for nine out of twelve traits. Only for 'friendly' and 'reliable' are they also relevant. It was the Swedish guise that received higher evaluations for all traits.

There are more significant differences in the perception of G^f than for the G^m guises. The difference in the scale for 'social' is of similar size comparing the two Gs. This is also true for the traits 'intelligent,' 'ambitious' and 'educated,' but here the direction of influence is different. For the G^m , the Finnish guise was evaluated as more social, while for the G^f , it was the Swedish guise.

2.5.1.5 *Swedish-speaking and both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking participants in Vaasa.*

The mean evaluations of the two G^m guises (Fig. 16) by the Swedish-speaking Ps in VAA (VAA^{sw+}) display only small differences. The differences are greater for the G^f guises (Fig. 17).

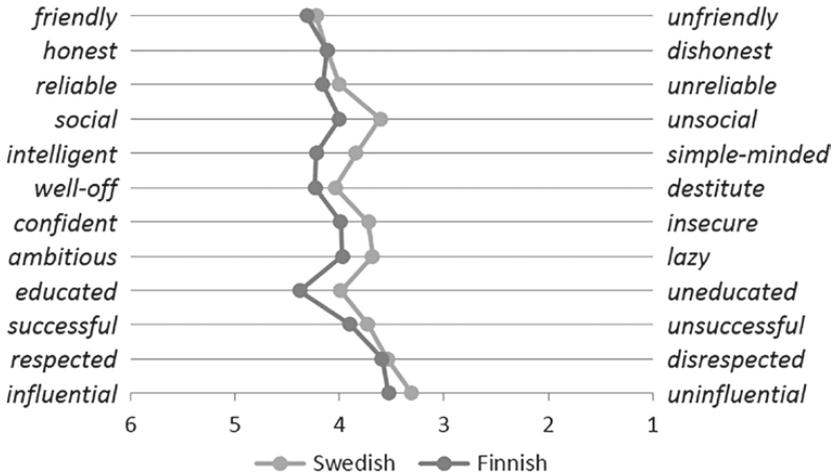


Fig. 16. VAA^{sw+}, paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^m

The absolute mean differences and their statistical significance are compiled in Table 5.

For G^m, three differences are statistically significant, but they all are too small to be interpreted as relevant. For the G^f, the differences for eight traits are statistically significant, of which four are also relevant, namely those for ‘friendly,’ ‘honest,’ ‘reliable’ and ‘well-off.’ The Swedish guise received a higher rating for all these traits.

While for both Gs, the differences in evaluation for ‘intelligent’ and ‘educated’ are significant, the direction of influence is not the same. For G^m, it was the Finnish guise, but for G^f the Swedish guise that was evaluated as more intelligent and educated. The larger difference for G^m shows that for these two traits, the influence of the language on the perception by the Ps is stronger for G^m than for G^f. Overall, however, the influence of the G’s language is stronger for the G^f

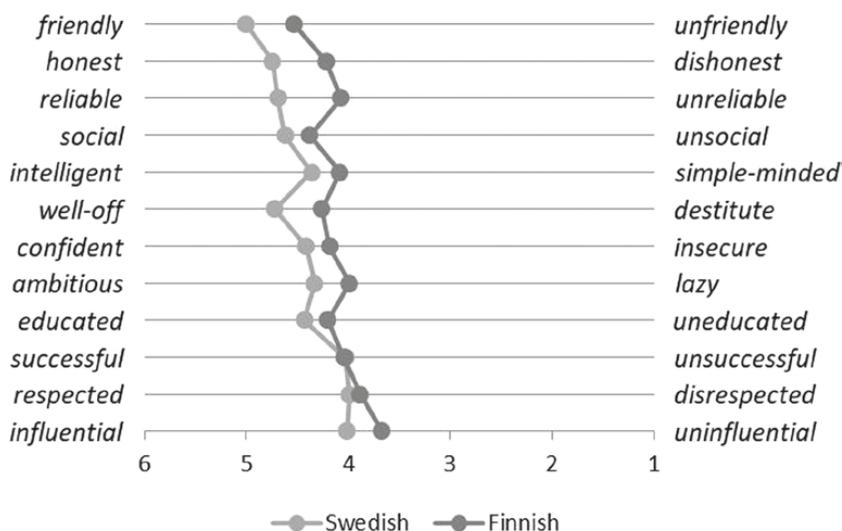


Fig. 17. VAA^{sw+}, paired t-test—mean evaluation of G^f

Table 5. VAA^{sw+}, paired t-test—mean difference between the evaluations of the guises

trait	G ^m		G ^f	
	\bar{O}_{Δ}^*	sign.	\bar{O}_{Δ}^{**}	sign.
<i>friendly</i>	-.095	.429	-.473	.001
<i>honest</i>	.000	1.000	-.513	< .001
<i>reliable</i>	-.162	.208	-.622	< .001
<i>social</i>	-.395	.007	-.237	.135
<i>intelligent</i>	-.384	.021	-.274	.045
<i>well-off</i>	-.186	.145	-.458	.003
<i>confident</i>	-.263	.133	-.224	.165
<i>ambitious</i>	-.293	.078	-.347	.011
<i>educated</i>	-.389	.008	-.230	.043
<i>successful</i>	-.164	.224	.014	.907
<i>respected</i>	-.056	.692	-.101	.396
<i>influential</i>	-.214	.174	-.348	.017
sum score	1.168		3.265	
\bar{O}_{Sc}	.389		.408	

p < .05

* G^m—positive sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

** G^f—negative sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

guises, which can be seen in the higher number of significant as well as relevant differences in mean evaluation.

2.5.1.6 *The influence of language on perception in quantitative terms.*

It became clear in the above analyses that the influence of the G's language on the Ps' perception is notably stronger for G^f than for G^m. This can be concluded, among others, from the number and size of the mean differences between the evaluations of the Finnish and the Swedish guise of the same G. In all subgroups taken together, 20 differences can be found between the Swedish and the Finnish guise of G^m and a total of 41 for the guises of G^f.

Looking only at the relevant differences (≥ 0.4 points), the intensity of the language's influence on the Ps' perception diverges even more. For G^m, the difference in perception was found relevant only for two traits each in the subgroups HKI^{fi} and HKI^{sw+}. In contrast, for G^f, relevant differences are found in the perception by all five subgroups for two to five traits, adding up to 18 relevant differences. Five of these differences are greater than 0.6 points, while the greatest difference between the G^m guises is 0.526 points. The findings on the different extent to which the language spoken influences the perception of the G^f in comparison to the G^m suggest that the influence of language and gender combines. By implication, conclusions can be drawn only by taking into account the gender of the Gs.

It is impossible to compile one simple ranking of the subgroups in terms of the intensity of influence that the G's language had on the Ps' perception. This is because firstly, we would need separate rankings for the G^m and the G^f and secondly, prioritising different parameters would lead to different orders within such a ranking. The values of all parameters mentioned in the following can be found in Table 1 to Table 5. An overview of the values of all subgroups is given in Appendix 2.1.

One of the parameters that can be used for a ranking is the sum score. It represents the sum of the mean differences between the evaluations of the two guises of the Gs, with only significant differences being taken into account in the calculation. The sum score (abbreviated 'sc' in the following) expresses the intensity of influence of the respective language used by the Gs on their perception by the Ps—in other words, it indicates how great the difference in evaluation is that the Ps assigned to the guises.¹⁴ The lower the sc, the lower the number

14 The sum score captures only the quantitative influence on the perception of the Swedish and the Finnish guise. We cannot tell from the sum score whether it was the Swedish or the Finnish guise that was ranked higher in the evaluation.

of significant (but not necessarily also relevant) differences. Putting the *sc* and the number of significant differences in relation creates a second parameter: the average mean difference ($\bar{\Delta}_{sc}$). The number of significant and relevant differences are used as further parameters (number of Δ_{sign} , number of Δ_{relev} —see Appendix 2.1). Keeping in mind that different parameters would produce different rankings for the intensity of influence, the following analysis also addresses the question of how the influence of language on the Ps' perception may differ across the subgroups. Firstly, the focus lies on the issue how differently the Gs' language influences the Ps' perception of the G^m and the G^f in comparison.

For the G^m , the strongest influence of the language was registered for the subgroup HKI^{fi}. This manifests in the sum score, which at 2.534 points is far higher than for the other subgroups. Additionally, differences in the Ps' perception of the Swedish and the Finnish guise are found significant for a total of seven traits. In two cases, the differences are also relevant. The Ps' perception is thus influenced by the G's language with respect to a variety of traits, but the differences are of only intermediate size, with 0.362 points on average. For the subgroup VAA^{fi}, the results are similar. Their *sc* is the second highest at 1.679 points, but the differences are significant for only five traits and are all below the relevance minimum. The mean difference is rather small at 0.336 points.

The results are considerably different for the HKI^{sw+} subgroup. While the *sc* is the lowest of all subgroups and based on only two differences, both of these are great enough to be relevant. It becomes clear that the language spoken by the G^m has an influence on the Ps' perception only for a small number of traits, but the influence is strong. The differences amount to 0.440 points on average, the highest value across the subgroups.

Comparing the subgroups JNS^{fi} and VAA^{sw+} yields very similar results: The Ps of both subgroups perceive the G^m significantly differently for three traits, with none of these differences being relevant at the same time. Due to the relatively small mean differences, the *sc* is rather low for both subgroups, with slightly higher values for VAA^{sw+}.

The G^f 's language has the strongest influence on the perception by the Ps in JNS^{fi} and HKI^{fi} subgroups, with a sum score of 4.379 points, which is the highest for all subgroups, and 3.824 points, respectively. In the former subgroup, five out of ten significant differences are relevant—in the latter group, it is four. The mean differences are higher in JNS^{fi} at 0.438 points than in HKI^{fi} with 0.382 points. The influence on the perception of the guises happens not only with a high number of traits, but it is also remarkably strong for half of the traits.

For both VAA language groups, a high number of significant differences leads to relatively high sum scores with similar values for both groups (3.413 for VAA^{fi}

and 3.265 for VAA^{sw+}). While for VAA^{sw+} four out of eight significant differences are relevant, it is only two out of nine for VAA^{fi}. In the first subgroup, the mean difference is 0.408 points and in the second 0.379 points.

HKI^{sw+} has the lowest sc, at 2.091, but at the same time the mean difference is highest in this subgroup, at 0.523, and three out of four significant differences are relevant. The results indicate that the perception of the guises within this subgroup is influenced for only a few traits, but very strongly so.

Based on the results presented, the following general statements can be made on the influence of the G's language on the perception by the Ps in quantitative terms. Ranking the subgroups by decreasing sum score (which simultaneously means a decreasing number of significant differences), the order is the same for both Gs for all subgroups but one: HKI^{fi} – VAA^{fi} – VAA^{sw+} – HKI^{sw+}. From left to right, the influence of the G's language on the Ps' perception decreases. The exception is the JNS^{fi} subgroup, where the influence is remarkably different for the two Gs.¹⁵ For G^m, the sum score is among the lowest, while for G^f, it is by far the highest value. (An explanation is given later in this chapter.)

Moreover, in all bilingual places of the survey, the G's language has a stronger influence on the Ps^{fi} than on the Ps^{sw+}. For the latter group, it is a more common experience to (be obliged to) switch to the other language, which is the language of the linguistic majority—this observation is confirmed by questionnaire responses (Bindrim 2019: 455–7). It is also not unusual for them to find a person to be Swedish-speaking or both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking, whom at first they had perceived to be Finnish-speaking. Switching between Swedish and Finnish is thus not unusual for Swedish-speaking as well as both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking people. Based on this, it is plausible to assume that to Ps^{sw+}, language is not as much a determinant of individual behaviour and character traits and therefore used to a lesser extent to categorise people. For Finnish-speaking people, the experience is different. They switch between Finnish and Swedish less frequently. There are several reasons for this, which may indeed even reinforce each other: For the majority of Finnish-speaking

15 As mentioned above, the sum score is not the only possible criterion for creating a ranking and should therefore not be overestimated in its importance (this will be treated later in the chapter). Moreover, the sum score is calculated on the basis of significant differences, the number of which is affected by group size. The higher the number of cases (i.e. of Ps of a subgroup whose results are analysed), the lower the minimal value at which a difference is statistically significant. However, from the fact that the position of the largest subgroup (JNS^{fi}) differs dramatically in the rankings for the two Gs, it can be assumed that findings involving the sum score are sound.

people, occasions to communicate in Swedish are rare, e.g. because they live in a monolingual Finnish-speaking environment. Other reasons may be lack of confidence in speaking Swedish as well as the social status ascribed to Finland Swedish. It may be difficult for Finnish-speaking people to switch to Swedish because they lack skills of active language use or else they do not want to switch to Swedish because they regard the Swedish language or Swedish-speaking people in Finland as stigmatised. Both reasons can lead to Finnish-speaking people consciously or unconsciously avoiding situations potentially involving Swedish or both languages. In essence, the use of Swedish and switching to Swedish is more strongly marked for Finnish-speaking people, because it represents a deviation from the majority's norm.¹⁶

Another interesting result is that the difference between the intensity of influence for the two language groups is higher in the HKI subgroup than in the VAA subgroup. The difference between the P^{fi} and $P^{\text{sw+}}$ for the Swedish and the Finnish guise of the G^{m} is at 1.662 points for HKI. For VAA, the difference is considerably smaller, at 0.502 points. This indicates that the language spoken by the G has an influence of similar intensity on the perception of the guises by the P s in the two language groups in VAA, but an influence of different intensity comparing the language groups in HKI. The results for the perception of the G^{f} are similar for the two places of the survey. With this second finding, we can elaborate on the reasoning presented above concerning the markedness of switching languages. The town of VAA is characterised by living bilingualism that can be heard and seen on the streets. That is why the experiences of Finnish- and Swedish-speaking people are more alike here than in HKI, a city where bilingualism cannot be experienced to the same extent. And also in VAA, the P^{fi} are influenced more strongly in their perception of the guises than the $P^{\text{sw+}}$. This is in line with the previous findings. The former are speakers of the majority language and also in VAA, there are more monolingual Finnish-speaking people than monolingual Swedish-speaking people.

16 In this study, the proportion of Swedish-speaking P s who were raised in an environment that was monolingual Swedish-speaking to the same extent that it was monolingual Finnish-speaking for the Finnish-speaking P s, is insignificant. No P indicated Åland as their home municipality and only two indicated home municipalities that are monolingual Swedish-speaking. We can therefore assume that the similarity of experiences as language users is higher comparing Swedish-speaking P s and both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking P s than it is for Finnish-speaking P s compared to the both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking P s. Based on this assumption, the first two groups were taken together to form one language group for this study.

For the latter, the P_s^{sw+} , switching language to speak the majority language is therefore less marked. As a Swedish-speaking person in Finland, one is highly likely to have this experience of switching to the majority language almost throughout the country. This interpretation raises the question why the HKI^{sw+} subgroup is apparently influenced less strongly by the guise's language in comparison to the P_s of both language groups in VAA—even though the former is supposed to be more familiar with switching the language in everyday life. This question can be answered with a careful analysis of the statistical results on the influence on the P^{sw+} 's perception in HKI. Only in terms of the sum score does the intensity of influence appear to be the lowest of all groups. Using other parameters to create the ranking, however, the picture is likely to change, as pointed out above. A closer look at the influence registered for HKI^{sw+} shows that only in this subgroup, the perception is influenced for only very few traits (with the number of significant differences for both G_s being the lowest of all subgroups) without strongly affecting the overall impression of the G . But for these few traits, the influence is considerably stronger than in the other subgroups (the mean differences for both G_s being highest of all subgroups). In fact, HKI^{sw+} is one of the only two subgroups for which the difference in perception of the G^m is relevant, and even both significant differences are great enough (above 0.4 points) to be relevant. Two significant differences of 0.440 points on average can be considered to have a stronger impact than the three and five differences in the VAA subgroups that are significant, but not relevant. For G^f , the differences in perception by HKI^{sw+} are significant for four traits and relevant for three of them. The mean differences for G^f are even by far the highest, on average. These results can be interpreted in a very similar way to those of the G^m . Admittedly, one question has to be left open—would the sum score of HKI^{sw+} have been higher than in one or both VAA subgroups if the groups had been of equal size? Still, it became clear that the sc alone does not necessarily fully reflect the intensity of influence that the G 's language has on the perception of the guises among HKI^{sw+} P_s . This interpretation is backed up by the results, even though direct comparison of the groups is not possible with the present data.

The central question addressed here is whether the influence of the G 's language is of a different intensity across the five subgroups. After presenting some probable reasons for the differences in perception, the focus now shifts back to the statistical results. In the following, the sum scores of all subgroups will be looked at together and in comparison (see sc values in Appendix 2.1 for the data that the calculations are based on and see Fig. 18 for a visualisation). For the comparison, the first step is to establish the mean sum score for each G ,

which serve as reference points for the sc of the five subgroups. The mean sum score (\emptyset_{sc-m}) is 1.440 points for G^m and 3.394 points for G^f (\emptyset_{sc-f}). In Fig. 18, the mean sum scores are represented by horizontal lines and the subgroups' sum scores for the two Gs are represented by data points.

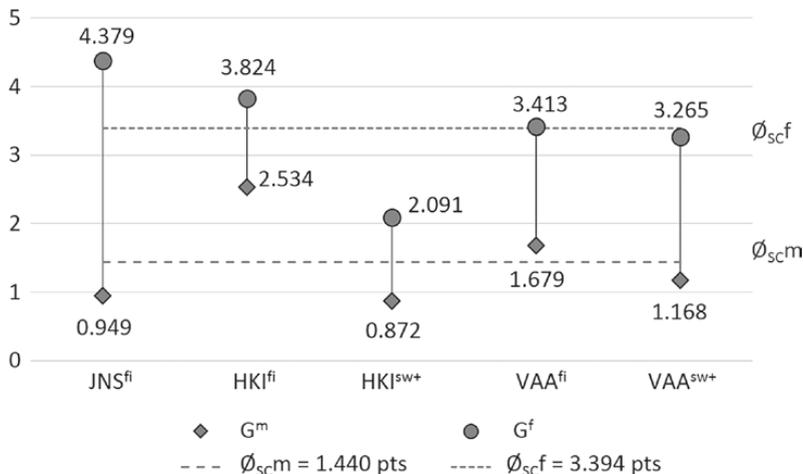


Fig. 18. Sum scores and mean sum scores for the two guise speakers

One finding is obvious right at first glance, and it has been described for the individual subgroups in chapters 2.5.1.1 to 2.5.1.5 already. Across all subgroups, the Ps' perception of the Finnish in comparison to the Swedish guise differs more strongly for the G^f than for G^m . This is indicated by the fact that in each subgroup, the sum score is considerably higher for G^f than for G^m . The mean sum scores for the two Gs differ accordingly. We will first look at the sc deviation from the mean sc across subgroups for the two Gs, starting with G^m .

In three subgroups, the sc for G^m is below the mean sum score (\emptyset_{sc-m}). This means that for Ps in JNS^{fi}, HKI^{sw+} and VAA^{sw+} subgroups, the difference in perception between the Swedish and the Finnish guises of G^m is smaller than for the Ps of the two other subgroups. In contrast, the difference is far above average with the HKI^{fi} Ps. The language spoken thus has a stronger influence on the perception of the G^m by HKI^{fi} Ps than on the perception by Ps in the other subgroups. For VAA^{fi}, the intensity of influence is also above average, even if only slightly. For the G^f , the only subgroup with a difference in perception far below average is HKI^{sw+}. Ps of this subgroup are influenced only to a small extent by the language

that the G^f uses. The opposite is true for the JNS^{fi} and the HKI^{fi} Ps: the *sc* and the influence of the G^f 's language on their perception, accordingly, are above average. In-between are the results for VAA^{fi} and HKI^{fi} , whose Ps perceive the Swedish and the Finnish guise at a roughly average difference.

To shed light on the question of to what extent the intensity of influence differs between G^f and G^m within one subgroup, the *sc* values for the two Gs are compared per subgroup. The comparison is made for each subgroup between the *sc* for the G^m (the value that represents the sum of significant mean differences between the Finnish and the Swedish guise of the G^m), and the *sc* for the G^f from the same subgroup. The result is visualised in Fig. 18 by the vertical lines between the data points. The longer the vertical line, the greater is the difference in intensity of the language's influence on the perception of the two G's guises. Of the two *sc* values, the higher one shows for which G the difference in perception of the guises is higher. It is the G^f for all subgroups. In sum, the length of the vertical lines can be said to express the extent of the influence of gender, or rather of the combination of language and gender, on the difference in the Ps' perception of the guises.

The largest difference between the *sc* values for G^m and G^f can be identified for the JNS^{fi} participants: For G^m , the influence of his language on the Ps' perception is the second lowest, while for G^f , it is the highest of all subgroups. This remarkable difference results from the contrast between a high number of significant as well as relevant differences in the perception of the G^f guises on the one hand and a low number of relevant differences and the lowest mean *sc* for the G^m on the other hand. This can be interpreted as extreme reactions to the G's language by the Ps of the JNS^{fi} subgroup. Their perception of the G^f 's Swedish guise differs most drastically from that of the Finnish guise, while it differs least for the guises of the G^m (at the same level as the HKI^{sw+} and VAA^{sw+} Ps). This relation can be expressed by the influencing factor, which is 4.61 for the JNS^{fi} subgroup. The perception by these Ps thus differs 4.61 times more strongly between the Finnish and the Swedish guise of the G^f as compared to the two guises of the G^m . However, the JNS^{fi} subgroup's perception does not display higher differences between the G^m guises than the perception in HKI^{sw+} and VAA^{sw+} subgroups. In effect, the high difference between the G^f 's and the G^m 's perception among JNS^{fi} Ps results exclusively from the strong difference in their perception of the G^f guises (further comments below).

The two language groups in HKI display a smaller difference between their perception of the two Gs than the VAA subgroups, as can be seen in Fig. 18 from the vertical lines connecting the *sc* values for the G^m and G^f that are shorter for the HKI language groups. The difference in perception between the guises of the two Gs are comparatively strong in the HKI^{fi} subgroup. The *sc* values are

relatively high for both G, but they are quite similar. The difference between the sc for G^m and G^f is comparatively small, at $\Delta = 1.290$. The G's gender thus influences the perception of the two guises only to a small extent.

The HKI^{sw+} subgroup's result is very different from those of HKI^f in one respect, and very similar in another. Unlike in HKI^f, the sc values for G^{sw} and G^f of both Gs are comparatively low, meaning that the difference in perception is small with regard to the G's language. With regard to the difference between the two sc values per G, the results are similar to the other language group, with a low result of $\Delta = 1.219$. Even though the sc values for G^m and G^f differ considerably comparing the two HKI language groups, the influence of gender on the Ps' perception of the Gs is equally small in both groups.

In both bilingual places of the survey, the difference between the sc values for the two Gs' guises is smaller in the Finnish-speaking group than among P^{sw+}. The HKI^f Ps react 1.5 times more strongly to the G^f 's language compared to the G^m 's language, while the factor is 2.8 for the VAA^{sw+} subgroup. Gender or the combination of gender and language thus has a much stronger influence on the perception among VAA^{sw+} Ps than on HKI^f Ps. The factors for the other subgroups of bilingual places of survey range in-between the two mentioned above. Why is it, though, that the JNS^f Ps are influenced 1.5–3.0 times more strongly in their perception of the guises by the combination of language (Swedish) and gender (female) than the Ps of other subgroups?

As pointed out above, it is only the guises of the G^f that the JNS^f Ps differentiate markedly between; and they evaluate the Swedish guise higher than the G^f (see Table 1 and Fig. 18). It is thus the G combining the features female and uses Swedish that stands out for the JNS^f subgroup. What I assume to be the reason for this has to do with the fundamental frequency that differs for the two languages. Just like all other Ps, the Ps in the JNS^f subgroups hear Finnish spoken by women in everyday life. Finnish is one of the languages that are known to be spoken with a comparatively low fundamental frequency—by both men and women. The fundamental frequency of Finland Swedish is relatively low, too, but higher than for Finnish, on average. I analysed the fundamental frequency for one sentence each of the Finnish and the Swedish guise recording of the G^f with the help of the software Praat (see praat.org) and found the following. For the G^f , the fundamental frequency is 189 Hz on average when the speaker uses Swedish and 175 Hz when she uses Finnish. A person, and a woman in particular, with a higher fundamental frequency in their normal speaking voice is more commonly associated with stereotypically female traits, and it is thus not surprising to find that the G^f 's Swedish guise is evaluated higher by all subgroups for the corresponding traits (on the scales friendly and reliable).

For the Ps in JNS, it is least common to hear women speaking at a comparatively high voice. They, therefore, show the strongest reaction to the phenomenon. The Ps of all other places of the survey are more used to hearing Swedish spoken at a higher fundamental frequency. To them, the fundamental frequency of the G^f's Swedish guise does not differ to a noteworthy extent from the fundamental frequency that they would expect of a female speaker. Consequently, their reaction to the voice is least strong. However, the tonal aspect can only be part of the explanation for the fact that the Ps of all subgroups evaluated only the G^f's Swedish guise higher; it has to be combined with the other explanations presented above.

This chapter addressed the question of whether the influence of the G's language on the perception of the guises differs across the five subgroups. The analysis showed that the influence can come in different shapes: for some subgroups, it may be comparatively weak, but present for a high number of traits, or it may be strong for only a few traits. Despite the variation in ranking resulting from the variety of parameters that can be taken into account, we can identify the order in which the influence on the perception of the Gs decreases for four subgroups.

In the bilingual places of the survey, the influence of the G's language is less strong on the Ps^{sw+} than on the Ps^{fi}. Taking into account the ratio of significant to relevant differences in addition to the sum score, the Ps in towns with living bilingualism appear to be less strongly influenced by the G's language. These two findings from the quantitative analysis both indicate the following. The higher the proportion of the Swedish-speaking population at the place of the survey, the weaker is the influence of language on the Ps' perception. These findings probably owe to the fact that people who experience individual bilingualism in everyday life consider language less as a determinant of character traits.

The fifth subgroup, monolingual Finnish-speaking participants in JNS, provides the exactly opposite picture. They differentiate least between the Swedish and the Finnish guise of the G^m, but most strongly for the guises of the G^f. The high contrast between the languages can be explained by the noticeable divergence in the pitch of the Swedish guise from the Finnish one, as perceived by the Ps of this subgroup.

Across all subgroups, the influence of the G's language on the perception of the guises is higher with the G^f than with the G^m. It is for the JNS^{fi} subgroup that the combination of gender and language, and pitch, in addition, is of particular importance.

2.5.1.7 *The influence of language on perception in qualitative terms.*

After looking at the number and size of the differences in perception and employing various quantitative parameters, this chapter now focuses on the qualitative influence of language on the perception of the guises. The following questions will be addressed:

- For which traits do we find significant differences in the perception of the guises?
- What is the direction of influence for the two Gs—i.e. is it the G^{sw} or the G^{fi} that receives a higher evaluation?
- Comparing the subgroups, what is similar and what different with regard to these two questions?
- How can the differences in perception be explained?

The previous chapter showed that the influence of the G's language differs by gender, with the Ps' perception of the guises being influenced to a different extent for the G^m and the G^f. Accordingly, the qualitative analysis of the influence on the P's perception of the guises is done separately for the two Gs.

At first glance, there appears to be no common pattern in the perception of the guises of the G^m, looking at the subgroups' results presented in the previous chapters (see 2.5.1.1–2.5.1.5). Across the subgroups, Ps differentiate between the G^m 's Swedish and Finnish guise for a variety of traits and give higher evaluations to different guises. Despite this variation, with a closer examination of the results, a number of details can be identified that all or at least several subgroups have in common or that constitute explainable differences. To start with, in none of the subgroups do the Ps differentiate the guises of the G^m with regard to perceived friendliness. The G^m 's language thus does not trigger a significantly different perception of how friendly the guises are.

For the other eleven traits, 20 significant differences in perception can be identified for the G^m among the Ps of all five subgroups. Four of these differences can be regarded as relevant, namely those for the traits 'social', 'confident', 'educated' and 'successful.' For all four, it is the Ps in one of the HKI subgroups for whom the difference in perception is relevant. The quantitative analysis already brought to light that the HKI^{sw+} Ps are influenced in their perception for only a small number of traits ('educated', 'successful'), but most strongly so, compared to the other subgroups. We now see that also the HKI^{fi} Ps are influenced more strongly in their perception than other subgroups, at least for the traits 'social' and 'confident' of the G^m. This can be explained in the same way as for the Ps^{sw+}. In Helsinki, language is more likely considered to be a determinant of personality

as in Vaasa, for example, due to the capital's linguistic situation that provides less inter-language contact. Here, Swedish is regarded as a deviation from the norm, and it is thus the marked variety, even though the city is officially bilingual, but with a comparatively small Swedish-speaking minority.

The next issue addressed here is whether either the G^f or the G^{sw} is evaluated higher unanimously across the subgroups for any trait. It will be followed by an examination of the traits for which the G 's language has an opposite effect on the Ps ' perception, comparing the subgroups. For most traits, the same G^m guise was evaluated significantly higher by the subgroups. The Swedish guise was ranked higher in the evaluation for the traits 'honest' (1),¹⁷ 'well-off' (1), 'confident' (2), 'respected' (1) and 'influential' (1). In contrast, for the traits 'intelligent' (3), 'ambitious' (2), 'educated' (3) and 'successful' (1) it was only the Finnish guise that received the higher evaluation.

Some of the traits for which the Swedish guise exclusively received higher evaluations can be regarded as part of a disposition of features commonly associated with privileged people in society. These traits are either 'hereditary' in a social capital reading, i.e. they can be passed on or can be developed on the foundation of inherited social capital ('confident,' 'well-off'), or they are typically ascribed to a person by others ('respected,' 'influential'). Attributing respect and influence, for example, is based on a high standing that already exists and at the same time, it entails confirming and further improving the standing. In this way, privileges can be self-sustaining rather than arising from an individual's achievements.¹⁸ In contrast, the G^f is more often evaluated higher for traits that can be achieved through one's own work, namely 'ambitious,' 'educated' and 'successful.' The contrastive pair 'successful' and 'influential' exemplifies particularly well the difference between privilege and achievement—while someone can be successful without having any professional or political influence, it is impossible to be influential without being successful. In order to be influential, it is necessary to be in the relevant high position that makes it possible to exert influence.

The results for the G^m from the subconscious evaluation elicited by the matched-guise test are, to a certain extent, in line with the stereotype of Finland

17 The numbers given in brackets indicate how many subgroups ranked the respective guise higher for the traits mentioned.

18 In his article on economic capital, cultural capital and social capital, the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1983) describes different types of capital and their forms of existence. He proposes relevant determinants on the societal and individual level which favour the accumulation of capital and points out how such advantageous configurations can be self-sustaining.

Swedes being privileged. The interpretation of the findings as a contrast of privilege and achievement appears less reliable if considering that for five of the traits mentioned ('honest,' 'well-off,' 'respected,' 'influential,' 'successful'), significant differences in the perception of the G^m 's guises were registered in only one subgroup each. These subgroups are all Finnish-speaking Ps, except for the trait 'successful'. In contrast, the traits 'intelligent,' 'ambitious' and 'educated' are important for several subgroups, and they all evaluate the Finnish guise higher on these scales. This shows that it is a widespread unconscious judgement that the G^m 's Finnish guise was more likely to have had to achieve something by his own work ('ambitious' and 'educated'). It is clear from the results that it is not exclusively a matter of linguistic in- or out-group, which backs up the interpretation involving the stereotypes of privilege and achievement.

For the traits 'reliable' and 'social,' the influence of the G^m 's language works in opposite directions. On the social scale, evaluations are significantly different for the G^m 's two guises in three subgroups. The Ps^f in HKI and VAA give a higher evaluation to the Swedish guise. This matches with the stereotype of Finland Swedes having a closer social network. It contrasts with the stereotype that Finnish-speaking Finns, especially men, tend to be quiet and less sociable. Despite the stereotypes, VAA^{sw+} participants perceive the G^m Finnish guise as more social. This cannot be explained by the data alone. In a cautious attempt at explaining this, I suggest that it is the cultural differences between the Finnish- and the Swedish-speaking population as well as between urban and rural regions that play a role. In the Swedish-speaking tradition, social get-togethers are strongly characterised by fixed routines, e.g. by the singing of drinking songs (Swed. *snapsvisor*) at Crayfish parties (Swed. *kräftskiva*) and other special occasions or by the procession and singing of traditional songs for St. Lucy's Day. In VAA, traditional events like these are commonly celebrated and are part of a lively culture. Traditional celebrations often take place at home with the family, and the Swedish-speaking population of VAA tends to have family ties within the municipality or the surroundings that are characterised by a strong Swedish-speaking culture (vaasa.fi 1: 7). HKI attracts people from all over Finland, making it the city with the highest influx of residents (hel.fi 1: 34), and also VAA loses the vast majority of people moving away to the capital (vaasa.fi 1: 8). With traditional celebrations being held rather in the home municipality than in the new place of residence, in everyday life, Swedish-speaking people in HKI socialise in the same urban, modern forms as Finnish-speaking people do. Considering this situation, we can assume that participants in the VAA^{sw+} subgroup regard the Finnish-speaking, non-ritualised forms of being together as more authentic social situations than those that are marked by fixed routines.

A more straightforward explanation can be given for the fact that for the trait 'reliable', VAA^{fi} Ps give a higher evaluation to the G^m 's Finnish mask, while it is the Swedish guise for the HKI^{fi} Ps. The explanation lies in the different ways in which Finnish-speaking Ps are confronted with Swedish in the two towns, despite the commonalities of the towns' bilingual status and Finnish as the majority language. In VAA, Swedish is present everywhere, it can be seen not just on local and national public signs, but also on private signs, and it can be heard in the streets. The language thus does not represent a deviation from the norm and is not a marked variety. In HKI, in contrast, the Finnish-speaking population has less contact with the Swedish language than with Finnish, and it is, therefore, a marked choice. Swedish can be seen almost exclusively in official settings, most commonly on written signs by local and national authorities. In consequence, Swedish becomes associated with public institutions, bestowing a certain sense of reliability on the language. The HKI^{fi} Ps apparently—subconsciously—transfer this reliability onto people speaking in Swedish, which is expressed in their perception of the higher reliability of the Swedish guise.

While the differences in perception for the G^m 's guises vary greatly across the five subgroups, their perceptions are often unanimous for the G^f 's guises: In all subgroups, differences between the guises can be identified for a large number of traits and additionally, Ps evaluate the G^{sw} higher for all of these. The language's influence on the perception of the guises is strongest for the three traits 'friendly', 'reliable' and 'ambitious', with the G^{sw} being ranked higher by Ps of all subgroups. For the former two traits, all differences registered are not only significant but also relevant, i.e. above the minimal value of 0.4 points on the 6-point scales used in the matched-guise test. In four groups, the two guises are evaluated differently for the traits 'honest', 'intelligent' and 'educated' and the Ps of three subgroups make a difference on the scales 'educated' and 'well-off'. None of the traits is of importance for only a single subgroup; all differences in perception are found in at least two subgroups.

Dividing the Ps into language groups, we see that the Ps^{fi} perceive the G^f 's guises differently for all traits, while for the Ps^{sw+}, the traits 'social', 'confident' and 'respected' have no effect. (The same is true, except for 'social', for the evaluation of the G^m.) The perceptions of the G^f 's guises are more alike among the Ps^{fi} than among the Ps^{sw+}. This manifests in the fact that all three Finnish-speaking subgroups show significant differences for the same seven traits, while the evaluations by Ps^{sw+} agree for only three traits. This result indicates that the

Swedish language evokes very similar associations among the Finnish-speaking participants.¹⁹

The perception of the guises by the language groups for the trait 'social' is congruent with the stereotypes. The Ps' evaluations in the matched-guise test always build on their frame of reference, their social environment or themselves. Among the Ps^{fi}, the Swedish language unconsciously activates the stereotype of Finland Swedes being regarded as particularly social, leading to their perception of the G^{sw} as more social than the G^{fi}, which rather represents their own social environment. When the Ps^{sw+} evaluate the guises with their own social environment as a point of reference, the Swedish language does not activate the stereotype, and their perception is not different for the G^f's two guises.

It is not surprising to see that the perception of the guises is influenced in a similar way for the three traits 'social,' 'confident' and 'respected,' considering that confidence and respect are relevant in the social context. For each of the three traits, the G^{sw} receives higher evaluations by at least two of the three subgroups JNS^{fi}, HKI^{fi} and VAA^{fi}.

The two VAA subgroups are the only ones that are influenced in their perception of the G^f for the trait 'influential'. The results from the matched-guise test reflect the linguistic composition of the towns in which the survey was conducted. In VAA, the only relatively large town in Finland with a comparatively high proportion of Swedish-speaking population, career perspectives are considerably better for bilingual people than for monolinguals. In such a bilingual municipality with a Finnish-speaking majority, only people speaking Swedish in addition to Finnish enjoy the prospect of working in a high position in a local or national institution or in a position involving customer contact or management in the private sector. The situation is different in JNS, a monolingual municipality, in which the Ps^{fi} are very unlikely to meet local Swedish-speaking people in general, let alone in high positions. In HKI, Ps of both language groups have the same common experience that Swedish-speaking people or bilinguals are not visible in official contexts since Finnish is the more usual language of communication and languages are not switched within a communicative situation. This interpretation is based on the understanding of Swedish-speaking people as at least functionally bilingual. This notion is very common, particularly in Helsinki and in fact in the whole Helsinki-Uusimaa region. Especially for the Ps^{sw+} in HKI, language is unconsciously less considered a determinant of

19 The G's gender must have an effect as well, considering that the influence of the G's language on the Ps' perception is different comparing the G^m and the G^f.

personal characteristics. This stems from the fact that an important part of the Swedish-speaking population is bilingual to a certain extent and that as part of the linguistic minority, they often find themselves in situations that demand to switch into Finnish.

To sum up, we find that the G^f's Swedish guise was evaluated higher for each trait by at least two subgroups. Together with the finding that it was only the Swedish guise that was evaluated higher, this result reflects a high agreement among the Ps of all subgroups with regard to their perception of the G^f. Comparing the language groups, the Finnish-speaking subgroups stand out with an even higher agreement in their perception than can be identified across the groups of Swedish- and both Swedish- and Finnish-speaking Ps. As explained in chapter 2.5.1.6, the reason for this lies in the fundamental frequency of the female speaker's voice that is perceived as unusually high by the Finnish-speaking participants.

2.5.1.8 Differences in influence.

The previous chapter first focused on the question of whether Ps of one subgroup perceive each G's Swedish and Finnish guise differently for the various traits. Indeed, differences in perception were registered in all subgroups for both Gs. Based on this result, the question can be asked whether the differences in perception are the same across subgroups or if they are greater for some subgroups than for others. If the latter were the case, it would mean that the Ps' perception was influenced to a varying extent by the G's language according to their first language or the place of survey.

To find an answer to this question, this chapter is no longer about the comparison of the perceptions of the two guises of one G per trait and about checking the mean differences for statistical significance. Instead, I will now compare the mean differences per trait for each G across subgroups and calculate if they differ significantly from one another—see Fig. 7 for a visualisation of the calculation, and see Tables 1–5 for the differences included in this comparison.

In the previous chapter, differences in perception of the guises were identified for several traits, for both Gs and in all subgroups. This shows that the G's perception is indeed influenced by the language the G uses. The manifestation of the influence can vary, however, with the Ps of one subgroup being influenced with regard to only certain traits and in a specific direction (i.e. either the Swedish or the Finnish guise is evaluated higher), while in another subgroup, the influence affects other traits. The influence may also be present for the same trait across subgroups, but of different intensity or working in the opposite direction. In these cases, it is possible to compare the influence for individual subgroups and to find out whether the difference in influence is statistically significant.

We can expect the language's influence on the subgroups to be significantly different primarily for those traits that display opposite directions of influence. This is the case if, for one trait, the two subgroups compared give their respective higher evaluation to different guises of one G. Chapter 2.5.1.7 already showed that such an opposite direction of influence is noticeable for some of the traits, with subgroups being influenced in opposite directions by the G's language. In addition, significant differences may be found in such cases where two groups give higher evaluations to the same guise, but where the mean differences in the two subgroups' perceptions diverge considerably. Furthermore, significant differences are possible whenever the Ps of one subgroup perceive the guises markedly different, while there is no significant difference in the perception by another subgroup.

The comparison of the differences found for the five subgroups was carried out in SPSS with a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA), comparing more than two independent groups by performing a series of comparison of pairs. The ANOVA produced five significant differences between the differences of perception for four traits. They are assembled in Table 6.

Table 6. Differences in the influence on perception, ANOVA results

Guise trait	Subgroup 1 difference sign.	n	Subgroup 2 difference sign.	n	Comparison difference	sign.
G^m						
<i>reliable</i>	HKI ^{fi}	77	VAA ^{fi}	83	① ,591	.010
	.338 .014		-.253 .038			
<i>social</i>	HKI ^{fi}	76	VAA ^{sw+}	76	① ,921	.001
	.526 .002		-.395 .007			
	VAA ^{fi}	83		76		
	.373 .016					
<i>confident</i>	HKI ^{fi}	76	VAA ^{sw+}	76	② ,776	.006
	.513 .002		-.263 .113			
<i>educated</i>	HKI ^{fi}	75	VAA ^{sw+}	72	② ,562	.034
	.173 .228		-.389 .008			

p < .05

G^m—positive sign: higher mean evaluation for the Swedish reading

As can be read from the table, differences are significant for cases in which the G's language has a significant influence on the perception by two subgroups that works in opposite directions for the groups (①). In two other cases, significant differences are found in the comparison of pairs of which only one subgroup shows a significant difference in perception of the G^m 's guises (②). In the respective other subgroup, the difference is not significant, i.e. the G^m 's language does not have a significant influence on the Ps' perception of the guises.

For the G^f, all subgroups agree in giving a higher evaluation to the Swedish guise—the direction of influence is thus the same, and the mean differences are too similar to be significant. As a result, significant differences can be identified exclusively for the G^m.

On the scale of 'reliability,' the higher rating goes to the G^m 's Swedish guise for the HKI^f Ps and to the Finnish guise for the VAA^f Ps. The differences diverge by 0.591 points. For the social trait, the G^m 's Swedish guise is evaluated higher by the VAA^f Ps, while it is the Finnish one for the VAA^{sw+} Ps. The differences diverge by 0.768 points. The differences between the mean evaluations compared here are all significant, but at less than 0.4 points, they are not relevant. Nonetheless, the subgroups are influenced to a significantly different degree by the G^m 's language because the influence works in opposite directions for the subgroups compared.

For 'social,' the G^m 's Swedish guise is evaluated higher also by the Ps^f in HKI, contrasting with the VAA^{sw+} Ps. The differences diverge by 0.921 points. Both differences compared here are significant and for the HKI^f subgroup, the difference is also relevant. Taken together with the opposite directionality of the language's influence on the Ps in the two subgroups, the differential between the differences represents the largest difference in this comparison.

Regarding 'confidence,' the Swedish guise receives a significantly higher evaluation by the HKI^f Ps that is also relevant. The perception by VAA^{sw+} participants, in contrast, is not marked by significant differences. Nevertheless, the differences of these subgroups diverge to the extent of 0.776 points, which is large enough to be a significant difference in the influence on the perception of the two subgroups.

VAA^{sw+} Ps perceive the Finnish guise as significantly more educated, while for the HKI^f subgroup, their perception is not significantly different for the G^m 's two guises. Even though the difference between the mean evaluations by the HKI^f Ps is not relevant, the differential between the differences compared is high enough, at 0.562 points, to qualify as a significantly diverging influence on the perception of the G^m 's guises by the respective subgroups.

Looking at the results, it becomes clear that differences in perception exist not only along the lines of a single background variable that was used to divide the Ps into groups (Ps' first language and place of the survey). For the reliability trait, the influence of the G^m 's language is indeed significantly different for the same language group (Ps^{fi}) compared for two places of survey (HKI and VAA). The first language variable then is important for the perception of the social trait by the VAA participants, with VAA^{fi} and VAA^{sw+} being influenced significantly differently by the G^m 's language in their perception of the guises. In three other cases, however (for the traits 'social,' 'confident' and 'educated'), the subgroups whose perception of the G^m 's guises is influenced with a significant difference are dissimilar both in their first languages and in the place of survey (HKI, VAA).

Moreover, differences in perception are visible not only in cases where two significant or even relevant differences between the mean evaluations are compared. Instead, we can see that the differences compared can diverge to a significant extent even if only one of the differences itself is significant.

Another remarkable finding is the fact that only the two subgroups HKI^{fi} and VAA^{sw+} show significant differences in the influence on their perception; for three traits the difference is between these two subgroups and in one case each it is in comparison to another subgroup. In other words, it is primarily the perceptions by the participants in HKI^{fi} and VAA^{sw+} that diverge strongly from one another. This can be explained, as mentioned several times above, by the very dissimilar experiences that Finnish-speaking participants have with Swedish-speaking population in HKI and VAA. It is also between these two subgroups that the largest significant differences can be identified for two traits ('social:' 0.921 points, and 'confident:' 0.776 points).

Comparing the VAA^{sw+} Ps with the two subgroups mentioned above, HKI^{fi} and VAA^{fi}, we find a difference in influence on their perception for one trait each ('reliable' / 'social'). The participants in the subgroups HKI^{fi} and VAA^{fi} appear to be strongly influenced by the G^m 's language, resulting in high differences between the mean evaluations of the guises for the trait 'social' (see Table 2 and 5). A comparison of the differences shows that they do not diverge significantly, meaning that the influence on the two subgroups is similar in type and intensity. Looking at the VAA^{sw+} Ps, we see that they are influenced by the G^m 's language as well, but their perception is affected in the opposite direction. The difference of the VAA^{fi} subgroup on the one hand and that of HKI^{fi} and VAA^{sw+}, on the other hand, diverge strongly enough to be statistically significant. Out of the three subgroups, it clearly is the perception by VAA^{fi} participants that is influenced differently.

Furthermore, it is obvious that in most cases, it is the same subgroups whose perception is influenced significantly differently by the G^m 's language in comparison to the other Ps. The Ps of the JNS^f subgroup (which is the only subgroup in a monolingual Finnish-speaking town) and the HKI^{sw+} subgroup are not influenced significantly differently from any other subgroup. Accordingly, these Ps are not significantly more or less strongly biased towards the G^m than the Ps of the other subgroups. The absence of significant differences in the influence on perception can be explained by the relations between the evaluations on each scale. The effect becomes clear by looking at the statistical results: in total, the JNS^f Ps were influenced less strongly in their perception of the G^m 's guises, as reflected in the mean sum score that is among the lowest of all five subgroups (see Appendix 2.1). Moreover, the influence on their perception works in the same direction and for the same traits as in other subgroups, where Ps perceive the guises with significant differences (see Appendix 2.2). As a result, for this subgroup, no important differences can be found in any of the comparisons of pairs.

For the HKI^{sw+} subgroup, the similarity to other subgroups lies in the fact that it is the same G^m guise that receives a higher evaluation in most subgroups—the Finnish guise. In addition, the mean difference of the evaluation of the guises is too small to be significant for HKI^{sw+} , but at the same time large enough to be on a level close to the other subgroups. This is why we find no major divergence between the differences in this subgroup and those of the other subgroups when compared in pairs. Another factor to be considered is group size. The HKI^{sw+} subgroup is comparatively small (see Fig. 4), and so differences would need to be greater than in other subgroups to be significant (see footnote 15 above).

In contrast to the two subgroups just focused on, there are at least two subgroups for which the influence on the Ps' perception of the G^m 's guises was significantly different in more cases than for the other subgroups. It is the subgroups HKI^f , VAA^{sw+} and, in fewer cases, VAA^f .

For the two subgroups HKI^f and VAA^{sw+} , the high number of significant differences can be explained by the fact that they both perceive the two guises differently for the same three traits ('social,' 'confident' and 'educated'), but do not give their higher evaluations to the same guises. The direction of influence on their perception is thus opposite from the other groups in the comparisons of pairs. The influence on VAA^f Ps differs from that on the other two subgroups for only two traits ('reliable' and 'social'), for which they give the higher evaluation to the G^m 's respective other guise.

The results presented in the previous chapter allowed the conclusion that within each subgroup, it was mostly or exclusively one of the G^m 's guises that

received the higher evaluation, but that it differed across subgroups. The aim of the present chapter was to compare the subgroups with regard to the influence on the perception of the guises for each trait. It was statistically tested whether the five subgroups were (un-)biased towards the G^m 's guises to a significantly different degree.

The language that the G^m uses influences the P_s ' perception for a variety of traits and to differing extents across the subgroups. The P_s ' bias is linked to the subgroup they belong to, but it does not depend exclusively on either their first language(s) or the place of survey.

For the G^f , in contrast, all subgroups are influenced in a very similar way in their perception of the guises. The subgroups who perceive the G^f 's guises with a significant difference do so for mostly the same trait, and they all give a higher evaluation to the Swedish guise. In other words, the G^f 's language influences the P_s of all subgroups in the same direction. The divergences of the differences between the mean evaluations of the G^f 's Finnish and Swedish guise are too small to be significant. The conclusion that can be drawn from these results is that the G^f 's language not only has a stronger influence on the P_s of all subgroups than the G^m 's language has but that all subgroups are also biased against the G^f in the same way and to a similar extent.

It needs to be pointed out, however, that this result (i.e. that the influence on the perception of the G^f 's guises does not vary across subgroups) is taken only from the comparison of pairs of subgroups per trait. Regarding the sum scores (see Appendix 2.1), the extent of influence, measured purely in quantitative terms, does indeed differ, and quite considerably so in some cases.

2.5.2 Opinions on language policy

This chapter presents the participants' (P_s) responses to specific questions and subquestions in the questionnaire. The choice of questions is centred around the P_s ' opinions on the Swedish language and speakers of Swedish in Finland. The first two questions concern the legal status of Swedish in Finland and ask the Finnish-speaking P_s (P_s^f), which rights they personally would grant the Swedish-speaking population in Finland. The subsequent three subquestions are part of a larger question, which confronts the P_s with various statements on the relation between the language groups. The P_s are asked to put a cross beside those statements that they consider to be true. We will here look at the P_s ' agreement with three stereotypical statements that are connected to three traits from the semantic differential used in the matched-guise test. It is via these three statements and the three traits that a comparison of the direct and the indirect method is possible (chapter 2.5.3).

Apart from constituting the points of comparison, these subquestions presented here also provide the context in which the Ps' responses in the matched-guise test have to be considered. In the last question presented here, the Ps were asked to assess the relationship between the language groups.

2.5.2.1 *The legal status of Swedish in Finland—no more than a label?*

The first question in the questionnaire's part on language policy was directed to all Ps and concerns the official status of Swedish in Finland. Already in Finland's constitution of 1919 (FFG 94/1919 § 14), its first constitution as an independent country, Finnish and Swedish are recognized as the national languages. However, Finland's bilingualism and the status of Swedish have never been uncontested. Currently, it is the Finns Party (formerly known as True Finns, Finn. *Perussuomalaiset*, Swed. *Sannfinnlandärna*) in particular, who question the country's bilingualism or the role of the Swedish language in Finland. In part, they oppose the status of Swedish as a mandatory school subject and lately the Finns Party youth wing even objected to the understanding that Finland Swedes belong to the Finnish people (HS 12.1.2019). As the critical voices that oppose Swedish are very loud, it is intriguing to find out how to assess their importance against the background of a more comprehensive survey.

The responses to the question what the official status of Swedish should be in today's Finland reveals a deep divide between the two language groups: in JNS (Fig. 19), the majority of Ps does not support the status of Swedish as a national language. Only 37 % are supporters of Finland's bilingualism in its current form. A similar proportion of the Ps^{fi} is in favour of granting Swedish the status of a minority language. A fifth of JNS Ps would rather grant Swedish no legal status at all. In the bilingual towns that were surveyed, the Ps^{fi} have a more positive stance towards the status as a national language, but only in HKI is it a majority that supports this status (Fig. 20–1). Considerable percentages of Ps^{fi} in all three places of the survey are against any legal recognition of the Swedish language in Finland. To them, Swedish would have the same status as any other language in the world that has no connection at all to Finland.

Among the Ps^{sw+}, the highest agreement to the status quo is registered in VAA, where at 92 % it is even higher than in HKI (85 %), which can be explained by the notably higher proportion of Swedish-speaking population in VAA. In Vaasa, speakers of the minority language can use their first language almost anywhere in their everyday life, despite the clear minority position (22.6 % Swedish-speaking population). Finnish and Swedish appear to be indeed equal in many

aspects of everyday life, which is why the P_s^{sw+} do not find it plausible to grant Swedish only the status of a minority language. It is different in HKI, where Swedish can be used in only very few everyday situations and is considerably less present overall. Among the linguistic out-group, however, the percentage of P_s agreeing with the status of Swedish as a national language is higher in the capital than in VAA. This can be related to the common trend of out-groups in urban centres of culture or education having a generally more accepted stance towards linguistic and other minorities compared to out-groups in smaller towns and rural areas (see, for example, e2 2018: 31, for a self-assessment of the P_s ' liberalness of values on a scale).

A small percentage of JNS P_s^{fi} chose the response option that Swedish should be given a status different from that of a national or minority language, but should still have official status. The P_s ' comments provide no idea for such a different status, however. A positive correlation can be identified for the subgroups between the proportion of the linguistic majority population and the support for the status of Swedish as a national language among the P_s of the linguistic majority. If, however, the results of the P_s^{fi} in JNS were representative of the total Finnish-speaking population in monolingual Finnish-speaking municipalities, Swedish would not be supported by the majority of the population. Of the 311 municipalities in Finland, 262 are monolingual Finnish-speaking (kuntaliitto.fi 1).

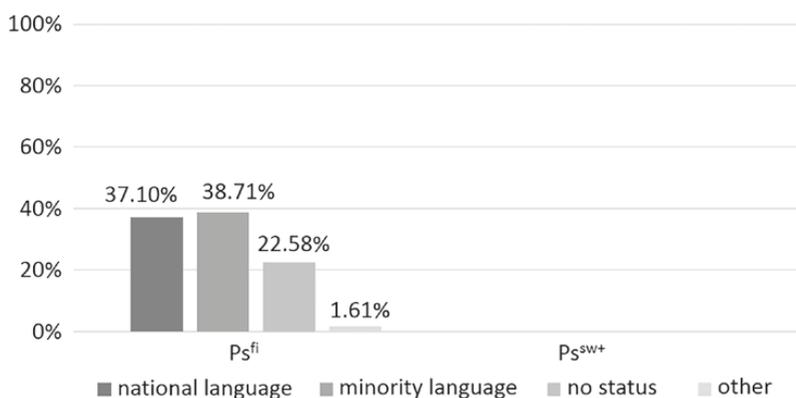


Fig. 19. JNS—the status of the Swedish language in Finland

'In your opinion, which legal status should Swedish hold in today's Finland?'

$n^{fi} = 124$. y-axis per cent of n answers.

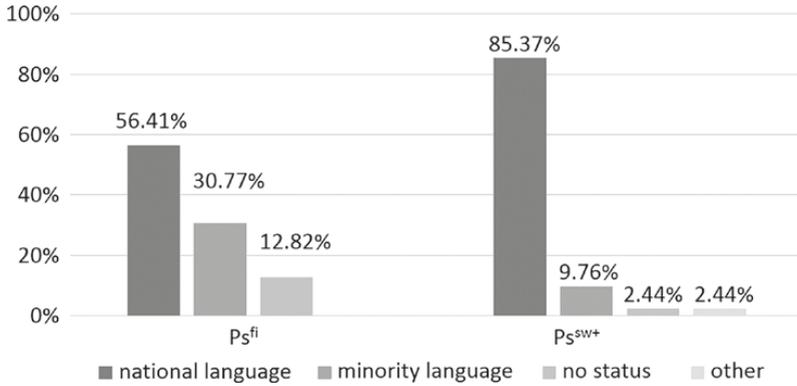


Fig. 20. HKI—the status of the Swedish language in Finland
‘In your opinion, which legal status should Swedish hold in today’s Finland?’
n^{fi} = 78; n^{sw+} = 41. y-axis per cent of n answers.

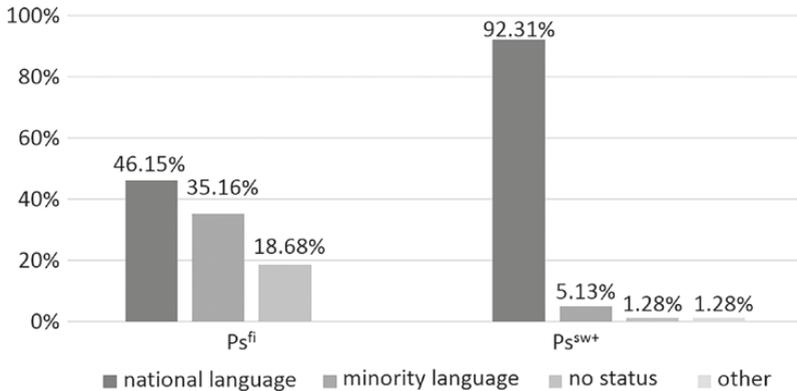


Fig. 21. VAA—the status of the Swedish language in Finland
‘In your opinion, which legal status should Swedish hold in today’s Finland?’
n^{fi} = 91; n^{sw+} = 78. y-axis per cent of n answers.

Most of the Finnish-speaking Ps responded critically of the status of Swedish as a national language. But would they actually deny the Swedish-speaking population the linguistic rights that they currently enjoy thanks to the status of Swedish as a national language equal to Finnish (Language Act

423/2003)?²⁰ The Ps^{fi} were asked which rights they would grant the Swedish-speaking population depending on the linguistic status of the municipality. Should they be entitled to use Swedish, their first language, when communicating with state or local authorities as well as with private businesses? The Ps^{fi} also had the possibility to tick the response option that none of these should apply, i.e. that the Swedish-speaking population in a municipality with a certain linguistic status should not be entitled to use Swedish in their communication with any of the entities mentioned above (see Figures 22–4 for all response options and the municipality's linguistic status). In those areas where the Language Act grants the Swedish-speaking population linguistic rights (inner box in Figures 22–4) a majority of 57–92 % of the Ps^{fi} in all three places of the survey would grant the Swedish-speaking people those same rights. We can identify commonalities between the responses by the Ps^{fi} depending on the linguistic status of a municipality and between the places of the survey.

In monolingual Swedish-speaking municipalities as well as in bilingual municipalities with a Swedish-speaking majority, 82–92 % of the Ps^{fi} in all three subgroups agree to allow the Swedish-speaking population to use their first language in the communication with state authorities. Contrary to what one would expect, the lowest percentage is found in VAA. In almost all subgroups, the percentages of agreement go down by about 12 % as soon as Swedish is the language of the minority of the municipality's population. Only in VAA is the agreement roughly as high as for municipalities with a Swedish-speaking majority. For monolingual Finnish-speaking municipalities, different percentages of Ps^{fi} in the bilingual places of the survey would grant the Swedish-speaking population the right to communicate in Swedish with state authorities. It is highest in VAA at 76 % and considerably lower among the Ps^{fi} in HKI (62 %) and JNS (57 %).

Asking the Ps^{fi} about the communication with local authorities, the responses are similar to those to the previous question on state authorities. As long as Swedish is the language of the majority in a municipality, 80–91 % of the respondents in

20 Private individuals have the right to use Finnish or Swedish in their communication with state authorities in general as well as with local authorities in bilingual municipalities. In monolingual municipalities they have the right to use the language of the municipality (Language Act 423/2003 § 10; the boxes in Figures 22–4 visualise the domains that this article of the Language Act refers to). The authorities can always grant their clients better treatment than the law prescribes (§ 2). The Language Act does not regulate the communication between private individuals and private businesses.

all three towns agree to allow the Swedish-speaking population to use their first language. For bilingual municipalities with Finnish as the majority language, the percentage drops by 10 % in VAA and, more markedly, by 20 % in HKI and 25 % in JNS. For situations for which the Language Act does not grant the Swedish-speaking population any linguistic rights in the communication with local authorities (in monolingual Finnish-speaking municipalities), 27 % of the Ps^{fi} in JNS and about 45 % of those in HKI and VAA would still allow them to communicate in Swedish.

The Language Act does not regulate communication between private individuals and private businesses. Nonetheless, high percentages of Ps^{fi} would grant the Swedish-speaking people the right to service in their first language in municipalities with Swedish as the majority language (of Ps^{fi}: 60–73 % in JNS and HKI, 67–76 % in VAA would grant the respective right). For municipalities with Finnish as the majority language, the percentages are considerably lower in all three subgroups (16–32 % in JNS and HKI, 22–40 % in VAA).

In all three places of the survey, only a small proportion of Ps would not grant the Swedish-speaking population in bilingual or monolingual Swedish-speaking municipalities any of the rights discussed here. The highest percentage can be identified, as one would expect, among the Ps^{fi} in the monolingual Finnish-speaking town of JNS (3–14 %) and the lowest among the Ps^{fi} in VAA (2–4 %), being the place of the survey with the highest proportion of Swedish-speaking population. For monolingual Finnish-speaking municipalities, the highest agreement to the response option of not entitling the Swedish-speaking population to communicate in Swedish in any of the contexts mentioned is registered again in JNS at 35 %. In HKI, the percentage is only slightly lower, at 29 %, but among the Ps^{fi} in VAA it is considerably smaller, at 15 %.

There is a close connection between the issue of the status of the Swedish language in Finland and that of the linguistic rights which speakers of Swedish should enjoy, depending on the linguistic status of the municipality. Despite these being intertwined, the Ps' respondents to the respective questions differ considerably. While the majority of Ps^{fi} would not give the Swedish language the current status of a national language, large shares would still grant the Swedish-speaking population linguistic rights even for domains where the Language Act does not. This is true in particular for the private sector in municipalities with Swedish as the majority language. How can these contrary impressions of the Finnish-speaking population's relation to the Swedish-speaking, as expressed in the Ps^{fi} 's responses, be explained?

The most striking difference between the two questions is their prominence in the discussion about aspects of Finland's bilingualism. As mentioned in the introduction, the legal status of the Swedish language in Finland as an equal national

language has been repeatedly contested in the course of history, although with different motivations at different times. The controversy over the legal status of Swedish becomes prominent in the media and political discourse every now and again, sparked by various events or issues (e.g. the discussion on the status of Finnish in Sweden) and as a result, most of the Ps already have an opinion on the issue. The opinion is ready to be stated, without the need to rethink the issue and considering various options. Thus, the responses to this first question presumably reflect how the majority of Ps position themselves in the debate based on the arguments presented in public discourse in favour of and against Finland's bilingualism with both Finnish and Swedish as national languages. (See Bindrim 2019: 221–2, for more on these arguments and an assessment of their validity). The public discourse appears to have an encouraging effect on many Finnish-speaking people to question the status of Swedish as a national language in Finland. The fact that there is no collective memory of a debate that had led the population to the consensus of setting down Finnish and Swedish as equal national languages in the constitution may be another encouraging factor. Even in the latest important revision of the Language Act (in 2004), the public and the media were portrayed as a potential problem and tried to be excluded from the debate (Ihalainen/Saarinen 2014: 47). As a result, for most of the Finnish-speaking population, the mantra of Finland's bilingualism remains an abstract ideology—partly due to the lack of personal experience with the bilingualism.

The legal status of a language has immediate consequences for the linguistic rights of the speakers of that language. However, the latter are not commonly part of the debate on bilingualism on the Finnish-speaking side. We can assume that the Ps^{fi} first had to reflect on the response option when answering the question on the linguistic rights depending on the linguistic status of a municipality. The fact that the responses were often more positive in comparison with those to the first question can be explained by considering that in a society striving for consensus and that for a long time has been understood as homogeneous and characterised by equality, the psychological hurdle of denying someone fundamental rights (as far as the Ps^{fi} are familiar with the linguistic rights) or plausible rights is higher.

It becomes apparent particularly with the high percentage of Ps^{fi} in VAA, who would grant the Swedish-speaking population linguistic rights in the private sector, that the Ps do not or only to a small extent, take the current legal situation as a reference for their response. Instead, they appear to base their responses on their personal experience in everyday life in VAA—service by private businesses, such as supermarkets, bars, cafés and restaurants, shoe and clothing shops *etc.* is given in both languages without problems. Despite the smaller proportion of Swedish-speaking population, Finnish is not considered to be the default language; instead, the staff uses Finnish and Swedish in their initial contact with customers, who then

can answer in their respective first language. Swedish is not a marked linguistic option in VAA. In this respect, the two bilingual places of the survey, VAA and HKI, differ notably from one another, with the different linguistic situation being reflected in the responses by Ps^{fi}. The visual and auditive prominence of minorities contributes to reducing the markedness of the feature that connects the members as a minority community. With stronger prominence, the feature is no longer dominant and stops pushing a person's other personal characteristics in the background.

In JNS in particular, there is virtually no contact between the language groups, because it is almost impossible there, considering the town's homogeneous linguistic composition. It is, therefore, easier for the Ps^{fi} from JNS to deny the unknown other certain rights in their response to the survey question. Likewise, with the question on the language's legal status it is easier not to think primarily of the language users, but to conceptualise the Swedish-speaking population in terms of their percentage of the total population. In addition, a large proportion of the Ps probably understands the concept of minority above all in terms of quantity. If, on top of that, respondents lack the awareness that the legal status of a language and the linguistic rights of the language users are immediately connected, it is highly likely that they consider the legal status of a language as a mere label. They might reject the legal equality of about 5 % of the population and the majority population for the reason that this 'label' does not reflect reality, in their view.

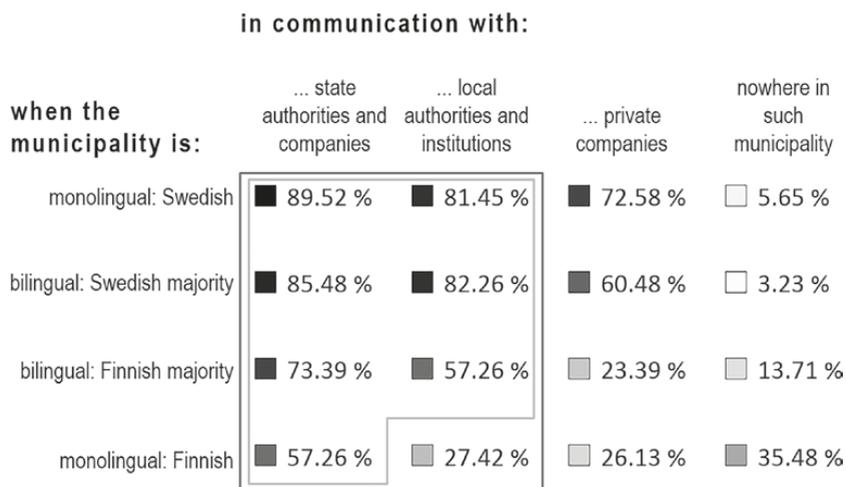


Fig. 22. JNS^{fi}—granting linguistic rights

$n^{\text{fi}} = 124$. Values: per cent of n answers. Legend: Outer box—domains included in the Language Act. Inner box—domains in which the Swedish-speaking population enjoys linguistic rights.

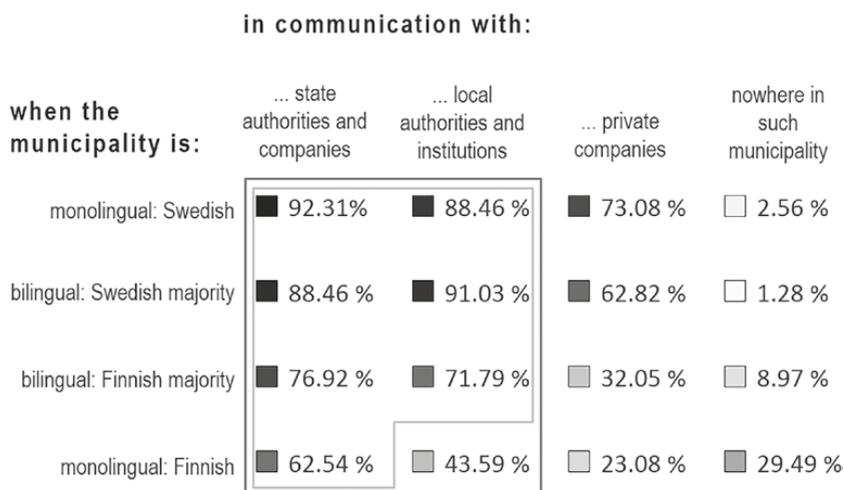


Fig. 23. HKI^{fi}—granting linguistic rights

$n^{\text{fi}} = 78$. Values: per cent of n answers. Legend: Outer box—domains included in the Language Act. Inner box—domains in which the Swedish-speaking population enjoys linguistic rights.

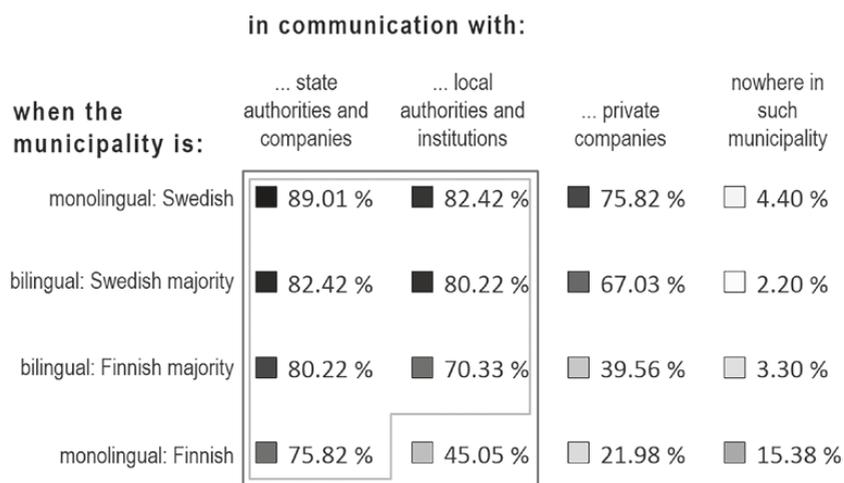


Fig. 24. VAA^{fi}—granting linguistic rights

$n^{\text{fi}} = 91$. Values: per cent of n answers. Legend: Outer box—domains included in the Language Act. Inner box—domains in which the Swedish-speaking population enjoys linguistic rights.

2.5.2.2 *Stereotypes of the Swedish-speaking population.*

Many of the stereotypes of the Swedish-speaking population in Finland can be traced back to the historical fact that for several centuries, the upper class of society in Finland was Swedish-speaking. During the time when Finland belonged to the Swedish Empire, many relevant institutions were established—the first bishopric was founded in the 12th century (arkkihiippakunta.fi 1), the first Dominican monastery was established in 1249 and with it the first schools (Ikonen 2015: 12). In the 17th century, the first Court of Appeals was set up (oikeus.fi 1) and the first university (Royal Academy of Turku, Swed. *Kungliga Akademi*en i Åbo, Finn. *Turun Akatemia*; helsinki.fi 1) on Finnish territory was founded. Since the bishopric was moved to Turku in 1300, all of the institutions mentioned above have been located in Turku. They were all run by the Swedish Empire and were Swedish-speaking. When Finland became an autonomous grand duchy within the Russian Empire in 1809, Turku gradually lost its importance, with the capital being moved to Helsinki in 1812. After the Great Fire of Turku in 1827, the university, which was still the only university in Finland at the time, was moved to Helsinki as well (oikeus.fi 1). It becomes clear from this very short historical account alone that it were Swedish-speaking people (Swedes) who established the basic administrative structures of all important domains of society in Finland. What is often neglected, however, is that the converse interpretation of the whole Swedish-speaking population belonging to the upper class does not hold. On the contrary, the majority of them were fishers or farmers; later a working class developed (Saarela 2004: 84). The historical, socio-economic stratification with Swedish-speaking members of the educated class being on the top of the Finnish society is often projected onto all Finland Swedes up until today, even though this part of the population has always been very heterogeneous as well.

In a meta-study, the Canadian professor of Political Science Kenneth McRae analysed to what extent the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking population of Finland have actually differed in the course of time. In his study, he compares, among others, the standard of living and the socio-economic status of the two language groups in Finland. For practical reasons, he focuses on the 20th century, for which he could use already existing statistical data. McRae's comparison shows how deep the divide between the language groups was at the beginning of the 20th century, but it also becomes clear how quickly the circumstances and standard of living have improved and markedly converged for the two language groups, especially since the 1970s. (McRae 1997: 141–2.)

Via the questionnaire in my study, the Ps were confronted with a number of well-established stereotypical statements about the Swedish-speaking population

that have to do with the historical, socio-economic status of the latter. The Ps' task was to choose those statements, out of eight statements in total, that are generally true in their opinion. In the following, the percentage of the Ps' agreement to three of the subquestions is discussed:²¹

- (6) Finland Swedes generally get a better education (schools, university *etc.*).
- (7) Finland Swedes generally have a higher income.
- (8) Finland Swedes disproportionately often hold senior positions.

The aim in asking for the agreement to certain stereotypical statements²² was not primarily to find out how high a proportion of the population considers them to be true (for this perspective see Folktinget 1997, Magma 2008, Samforsok 2014, e2 2017). Instead, the subquestions were intended to facilitate the comparison between external image and self-image: While the Ps^{fi} assessed the validity of the stereotype from the out-group perspective, the Ps^{sw+} responded from the in-group perspective.

Comparing the agreement expressed in the questionnaire with the results elicited by the matched-guise test produces interesting findings (see chapter 2.5.3). First, however, the stereotypes are presented and against this background, the Ps' way of responding, which varies considerably across the five subgroups, will be explained.

The percentage of Ps agreeing with all three stereotypical statements (Fig. 25–7) is small in all five subgroups: at 16.67 % the share is highest among the Ps^{fi} in the monolingual Finnish-speaking town of JNS. In both VAA subgroups, at 13.19 % (VAA^{fi}) and 12.82 % (VAA^{sw+}), respectively, the percentages are only slightly lower than in JNS. The high similarity between the percentages in the two language groups in VAA can be explained by the fact that Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking people are likely to have similar experiences living in this bilingual town. In HKI, 7.69 % of Ps^{fi} and only 4.88 % of Ps^{sw+} consider all

21 Since the three stereotypical statements that are in focus here are part of a larger question, the numbering here conforms to the numbering used in the dissertation (Bindrim 2019: 253).

22 Responding to these subquestions was not mandatory in the survey. Only a crossed response was interpreted as agreement with the respective stereotype. The absence of a response cross can reflect that the Ps consciously do not agree with the stereotype or that they did not read the subquestions. In the context of this survey, however, it is plausible to assume that also the absence of a cross is to be taken as an answer, meaning disagreement with the stereotype, because for almost all questions in the questionnaire a response was obligatory.

three stereotypical statements to be true. In this comparison, the place of survey emerges as the most important factor for the agreement, with the first language being less decisive.

The stereotype of Finland Swedes being better educated (No. 6) is considered true by 23 % (HKI) to 29 % (VAA) of Ps⁶ in the three places of the survey. Among the Ps^{sw+}, the percentage is notably lower in HKI, at 17 %, while it is almost twice as high in VAA, at 35 % (see Figures 25–7).

In fact, Swedish-speaking secondary schools rank disproportionately high in the list of Finland's best secondary schools.²³ In spring 2015, for example, seven out of the 37 Swedish-speaking secondary schools ranked among the country's 50 best secondary schools.²⁴ Four of these are located in the capital region comprising Helsinki, Espoo, Kauniainen and Vantaa; and one is in Ostrobothnia, in VAA. The best Swedish-speaking secondary school of the capital region is on rank 9 in the 2015 list and the best in Ostrobothnia on rank 19. The top of the ranking has been occupied by the same Finnish-speaking secondary schools from Helsinki or the capital region in varying order for the past years. One may criticise the rankings for various reasons, but they are unquestionably prominent in the media twice a year and are firmly established in the Finns' consciousness.

In the Finnish-speaking media news, the focus is on the finding which secondary schools made it to the first 3–5 ranks (again). The disproportionately high representation of Swedish-speaking secondary schools among the upper 25 % of the ranking is not a news topic, however. The second focus in the media is on the potential weaknesses of such rankings and the danger that they may be overrated (e.g. HS 25/05/2015, HS 30/05/2016).

The Swedish-speaking media, in contrast, for instance *Hufvudstadsbladet* for the exemplary year 2015 and the year after, reports on the performance of the secondary schools in general and in the Swedish-speaking regions of Finland in addition to presenting the highest-ranking schools (HBL 25/05/2015, HBL

23 The ranking used here is based on the average score of all exam candidates in one year in the mandatory subjects in the matriculation examination as they are published biannually by the Matriculation Examination Board (Finn. *ylioppilastutkintolautakunta*, Swed. *studentexamensnämnden*).

24 With even distribution of Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking secondary schools one would expect nine Swedish-speaking ones to be among the upper 25 % of all secondary schools, i.e. to be among the best 109 out of 435 in total; instead there are 15. The exemplary data used here is taken from the results of spring 2015, as this was the last matriculation examination before starting the survey. (YTL 1 and YTL 2; easier to grasp is yle.fi 25.5.2015a).

30/05/2016, yle.fi 25/05/2015 a; cf. yle.fi 25/05/2015 b). It is thus only in the Swedish-speaking media that schools are compared more or less explicitly by the language of instruction.²⁵

Against this background, the Ps' responses to the subquestions on Finland Swedes being better educated can be interpreted from two distinct perspectives. One possible interpretation is that it is primarily the Swedish-speaking media that give the Ps the impression that Swedish-speaking secondary schools (being seen as representative of education in other schooling types) were better. Secondly, the image of the historical Swedish-speaking educated class might have left traces until today.

25 Very small secondary schools with only one or two matriculation examination candidates per exam period are often not included in such rankings, because their rank would change too dramatically.—The stereotype of Finland Swedes enjoying better education does not refer to a specific school type. Moreover, various rankings of one and the same school type (here: secondary schools) produce results different from those presented above. The Finnish press agency *Suomen Tietotoimisto* (STT) uses a different criterion for the assessment of secondary schools in Finland, namely comparing the average score in the mandatory examination subjects with the scores of the exam candidates three years before. With this method they aim to trace the students' development during the (usually) three years of secondary school education. In this ranking, Swedish-speaking secondary schools appear to be overrepresented as well (four out of 21 schools included in the ranking in 2016). Of these four secondary schools, three are located in the capital region and none in Ostrobothnia. The best secondary school of the capital region ranks 6th. This ranking is only of limited informative value primarily because the entry score is known of only a tiny fraction of all secondary schools in Finland, which are 368–435 depending on the counting method (Wikiwand 1). There is no accessible data for 2015, although STT conducts this ranking since autumn 2012 (stt.fi 1).—In a meta-ranking conducted by STT for the period 2012–14, three Swedish-speaking secondary schools are on the top ranks. In an unpublished ranking by the VATT Institute for Economic Research (Swed. *Statens ekonomiska forskningscentral*, Finn. *Valtion taloudellinen tutkimuskeskus*, VATT) for 2002–13, again other schools occupy the upper ranks. (IS 26.11.2014, and VATT 1).—Rankings of educational institutions of different stages of education do not point to the conclusion that Swedish-speaking educational institutions are generally better. In the PISA study of 15-year-old pupils, students at Swedish-speaking schools scored lower than those at Finnish-speaking schools before 2015. In 2015, the differences were no longer statistically significant. In total, Finland is one of the countries on the third rank of PISA and, together with Estonia, on top of the European ranking. (Valtioneuvosto 1.) This reflects that the level of education for 15-year-old students is very high in Finland on the whole.

The percentages of Ps^{fi} that consider the stereotype of the Finland Swedes being better educated to be true are very similar across the three places of the survey. From a question on the use of Swedish-speaking media, we know that it is very low across all age groups.²⁶ It can be therefore ruled out almost completely that this could have influenced 23–9 % of the Ps. Consequently, the interpretation that the Ps^{fi} are influenced by the traditional stereotype is more likely.

The question arises, however, how it can be explained that in VAA compared to HKI, twice as high a proportion of Ps^{sw+} consider the stereotype to be true? Neither has the centre of Swedish-speaking education ever been located in VAA (see the historical outline at the beginning of this chapter) nor are the local or regional Swedish-speaking schools at the top of the rankings mentioned. It is therefore unlikely that the Ps thought of the Swedish-speaking educational institutions in the municipality of VAA or the surrounding region when they ticked the questionnaire response, expressing agreement to the stereotype. It is moreover safe to assume that the Ps^{sw+} both in HKI and VAA are influenced in their opinion by Swedish-speaking media. According to the survey, they use Swedish-speaking media considerably more frequently than the Ps in Finnish-speaking subgroups, as can be expected.²⁷ This can be interpreted to indicate that a higher percentage of Ps^{sw+} in VAA is informed about the good results of Swedish-speaking secondary schools by the publication of rankings in the Swedish-speaking media. This may at best help to explain the higher percentage of agreement among VAA^{sw+} Ps, but it cannot fully explain the large difference to the Ps^{sw+} in HKI and their conspicuously lower percentage of an agreement to the stereotype. Instead, we need to take the hypothesis into account that the traditional stereotype of the Swedish-speaking educated class had an influence. As mentioned earlier, the centre of the Swedish-speaking education in Finland moved from Turku to HKI in the early 19th century. Part of the explanation for the Ps^{sw+} in VAA may be the fact that those who consider the stereotype to be true do not think of the educational institutions in their region, but that instead the image of the Swedish-speaking educated class in HKI is so firmly established in their minds that they locate the best schools in the capital region. In addition, the best secondary schools—both the Finnish- and the Swedish-speaking

26 In all three places of survey the percentages of PS^{fi} who stated to never use Swedish-speaking television, radio or newspapers/magazines or to use it less than once a month are quite high: JNS 75–93 %; HKI 58–73 %; VAA 60–74 % (Bindrim 2019: 431–4).

27 In HKI, 44–61 % of Ps^{sw+} use Swedish-speaking television, radio or newspapers/magazines on a daily or weekly basis. In VAA, the proportion is even higher at 60–77 % (Bindrim 2019: 432–4).

ones—have rather been schools in the capital region than in VAA or Ostrobothnia for quite some time. The contrast between the rural region of Ostrobothnia and the urban capital Helsinki, which is the most important educational centre in Finland, may additionally reinforce this image. The Ps in HKI, on the contrary, make the assessment from their own perspective, with their own schools as the frame of reference and so they know, being more familiar with the schools in their region and their performance in the rankings, that the best secondary schools traditionally are Finnish-speaking ones.

The stereotype of Finland Swedes having a higher income (No. 7) is considered to be true by 24 % of Ps^{fi} in HKI, which is the lowest share, and by somewhat higher proportions in VAA and JNS at 32 % each. The percentage of agreement among the Ps^{sw+} is considerably lower at 21 % in VAA and 21 % in HKI. In both language groups in HKI thus about 7 % to 9 % fewer Ps than in the other surveyed towns agree with the stereotype (see Figures 25–7).

In the questionnaire, the stereotype is worded as generalising as it is often expressed. But how does the Ps' subjective evaluation relate to reality? In a study on this topic for the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health (Finn. *Työterveyslaitos*, Swed. *Arbetshälsoinstitutet*), Moilanen analyses data from 2007 of more than 1,500 Finnish persons, 4.3 % of whom are Swedish-speaking. In her study, no differences in income can be identified comparing Finnish- and Swedish-speaking people. However, the study shows differences in income by gender that are equally large in both language groups. (Moilanen 2010: 108.)

Moilanen's results do not confirm the findings by the authors Saarela and Finnäs on differences in income between the language groups in Helsinki for the period 1987 to 1999.²⁸ Their study found that in Helsinki, Swedish-speaking men have an income 17 % higher than that of Finnish-speaking men. For women's income, the difference is only 2 %, with the Swedish-speaking women having a lower income on average. (Saarela/Finnäs 2004: 43–4.)

Saarela takes on a different approach to the data, widening the scope from Helsinki to all Swedish-speaking regions in Finland. The corresponding data analysis produces more differentiated findings. As a first general result, Saarela finds that the percentage of persons with a very high annual income (more than 150,000 FIM, corresponding to € 25,230 at the currency value of 1999) is higher among the Finnish-speaking than among the Swedish-speaking population. This

28 The data used by Saarela/Finnäs (2004) are taken from the employment statistics (Finn. *työssäkäyntitilasto*, Swed. *sysselsättningsstatistik*) by the national centre of statistics.

is true both for men and women, albeit with a difference in income by gender between 15 % and 20 % for both language groups. (Saarela 2004: 83.)

In the next step, Saarela differentiates the incomes by region and looks at the data for the male inhabitants of HKI only. This shows that the distribution of high incomes varies strongly by region. In the capital region, the percentage of persons with high income is considerably greater among the Swedish-speaking men, while in Ostrobothnia it is higher among the Finnish-speaking men (Saarela 2004: 92). It becomes clear from the results of these studies that the stereotype of Finland Swedes having higher incomes can be disproved by a simple calculation of average, but that by closer examination it can be partly confirmed.²⁹

Despite the fact that Moilanen's data are considerably more recent than the data used by Saarela/Finnäs and Saarela, and although they could be a plausible consequence of the convergence of the socio-economic status of the two language groups in Finland as pointed out by McRae in his meta-study—despite all this, Saarela/Finnäs' and Saarela's findings are more meaningful for several reasons. Firstly, their studies are based on comprehensive statistical data (stat. fi 3), and secondly, the more in-depth analysis can shed light on the effects that neutralise each other. In addition, the studies by Saarela/Finnäs and by Saarela provide several potential reasons why it can actually be expected that the Swedish-speaking people have a higher income on average than the Finnish-speaking population (for the investigation period 1987–99). The reasons include the averagely higher education, older age, a higher degree of bilingualism as

29 However, Saarela does not only study the distribution of income, but also of assets and residential property. For the investigation period, the percentage of people having positive net assets or high assets (defined by Saarela, 2004: 82, as equal to or higher than 200,000 FIM [\approx 33.638 €] before tax) or possessing residential property is higher among the Swedish-speaking population than among the Finnish-speaking (Saarela 2004: 82–4). Figure 1 in his article shows that the distribution of high assets is relatively equal among Finnish-speaking men, Finnish-speaking women and Swedish-speaking women (with differences below 5 %), while the percentage of Swedish-speaking men is higher by 10 % or more for most years (Saarela 2004: 82). It becomes evident that using the arithmetic mean for comparing the language groups (as in Moilanen 2010) only tells half the story. Saarela's study also points out that the fact of being deeply rooted in the current place of living has, among other background factors, a positive effect on the acquisition of residential property (Saarela 2004: 94). Swedish-speaking people tend to be notably stronger rooted in their place of residence than Finnish-speaking people, since the latter have better opportunities—in purely linguistic terms—to move within the country and indeed move more readily (Saarela 2004: 84). For high income, other reasons are at work additionally (see Saarela 2004: 94).

well as the strong regional family rootedness (Saarela/Finnäs 2004: 44; Saarela 2004: 88). Some of the reasons that Saarela/Finnäs present for higher average incomes among the Swedish-speaking population are as valid today as they were at that time, such as the higher degree of bilingualism and being very firmly rooted in a specific region. According to the data by the centre for statistics for 2010 (stat.fi 4) and 2013 (stat.fi 5), the Swedish-speaking population was educated on a higher level, on average, than the Finnish-speaking population (stat.fi 6; stat.fi 7).³⁰ Saarela's and Saarela/Finnäs's findings are thus to be considered more reliable than Moilanen's results, despite being based on older data, and in part confirm the stereotype of the richer Finland Swedes.³¹

According to Saarela's study, the stereotype of the Finland Swedes having higher incomes is true at least regionally speaking. Why, however, is the percentage of Ps considering the stereotype to be true smaller among the Ps^{sw+} in the bilingual places of the survey than among the three Finnish-speaking subgroups? And why is it even smaller in HKI than in VAA? What is likely to be a reason for the low agreement among the Ps^{sw+} subgroups is that the statement of Finland Swedes having higher incomes is one of the strongest stereotypes. For this reason alone, the Ps of the linguistic in-group would not want to confirm it when directly asked for their agreement. It would bring them into a situation in which they could feel obliged to justify themselves. At the same time, the stereotype may cause a feeling of injustice among the Ps of the linguistic out-group, who are therefore more inclined to agree with the statement.

The stereotype that Finland Swedes are overrepresented in senior positions (No. 8) is considered true by 30 % of Ps^{fi} in JNS and by 36 % in VAA. In HKI, the proportion is considerably lower among the Ps^{fi}, at 22 %, and slightly lower than among the Ps^{sw+}, at 20 %. In VAA, 23 % of the Ps^{sw+} consider the stereotype to be true (see Figures 25–27).

30 The data for 2010 are the oldest and those for 2013 are the most recent data from the centre for statistics. Since 2014, the data on the level of education among the population is no longer presented separately by language (stat.fi 8).

31 Moreover, Moilanen finds in her survey that Finnish-speaking people are overrepresented exclusively in the socio-economic group of workers (Moilanen 2010: 107). This appears to be in contrast, however, with her finding that on average, there are no differences in income by language group across all socio-economic groups. Moilanen also interprets the fact of belonging to a certain socio-economic group as an indicator of education and income—correctly so, following Saarela's and Saarela/Finnäs's finding—; i.e. the Swedish-speaking population would, on average, necessarily have a higher level of education and higher incomes.

In her study, Moilanen finds that the language groups are distributed unevenly across socio-economic groups. Of the Swedish-speaking Ps in her survey, higher proportions are farmers and other entrepreneurs or employees, while more of the Finnish-speaking Ps are represented in the working class. Moilanen (2010: 107) did not explain these differences by language, however, but by differences in the average level of education, among others. Saarela (2004: 93) and Saarela/Finnäs (2004: 44) identify a higher socio-economic status of the Swedish-speaking population for HKI as well.

An analysis conducted by the Finnish newspapers *Helsingin Sanomat* (HS 29/08/2011) in 2011 showed that at the time of the investigation, more than 23 % of Finnish board members of the 50 largest companies listed at the Helsinki stock exchange were Swedish-speaking.³² The Swedish-speaking board members who were interviewed for the analysis see one of the reasons for the disproportionate representation of Finland Swedes in the executive boards of major companies in the historical situation that it was the Swedish-speaking bourgeoisie in Finland that owned large trading companies and dominated trade. Moreover, the German- and Russian-speaking people doing business or immigrating into Finland at the turn of the 20th century, assimilated to the Swedish-speaking upper class. An additional factor brought forward is that still today, the share of people deciding to pursue a career in the economic, legal or political domain was disproportionately high among the Swedish-speaking population. The fact that property is disproportionately owned by Swedish-speaking people is explained by the historically high social status—accompanied by what is called old money—the impacts of which are relevant still today and by the close social network of Finland Swedes.

The percentages of agreement with the stereotype of Finland Swedes' overrepresentation in senior positions vary considerably across the five subgroups. They make up a consistent picture, however, as soon as the correlations with the prominence of Swedish in the surveyed towns are taken into account. For bilingual towns, it is safe to assume that the Ps tend to get a more complete impression of how often it is Swedish-speaking persons that are in senior positions. State authorities and also local authorities in bilingual communities have certain linguistic obligations towards the two language groups. In consequence, language skills in the respective minority language are required for many

32 The article does not give information on their definition of 'Finnish' board members, neither on how the feature 'Swedish-speaking' was determined nor which other options of first language (like bilingualism) were provided.

positions, and for senior positions in particular.³³ Whether and to what extent these language skills can actually be used depends greatly on the municipality's linguistic composition. Individual bilingualism is more common in VAA than in HKI, with the linguistic environment more frequently demanding to switch between Finnish and Swedish. Individuals that are indeed bilingual, whether they are in senior or other positions, can be perceived as bilinguals more easily in VAA than in HKI. In the Helsinki-Uusimaa region (Uusimaa/Nyland), (functional) bilingualism is probably common mostly among people with Swedish as their (main) first language.³⁴ Originally Finnish-speaking persons are probably found more frequently in senior positions due to the region's demographic composition alone, and they are more likely to reach the respective qualification by learning Swedish institutionally, e.g. as part of the vocational training or university studies. If Ps identify people speaking Swedish as Finland Swedes, they meet them more frequently in VAA than in HKI, regardless of their professional position. This is an explanation for the agreement with the stereotype in VAA. In the monolingual Finnish-speaking town of JNS, the situation differs dramatically. The Ps have no contact with Swedish-speaking people neither on the local level nor in the private domain. It is, therefore, more probable that the stereotype is activated, which is then projected onto all Swedish-speaking people, based on the few cases of Swedish-speaking persons in high positions.

Summarising the results, we find that in no subgroup a majority of Ps considers one of the stereotypes to be true. Only in one case do more than a third agree with one of the statements. In both bilingual places of the survey, the percentage of agreement is higher among the Ps^{fi} than among the Ps^{sw+}, and likewise, the percentage among the Ps^{fi} in JNS is above that among Ps^{sw+}. The only exception to these two observations is the VAA^{sw+} Ps' agreement with the stereotype that Finland Swedes generally get a better education.

Ps^{sw+} agree less with the stereotypical statements. This can probably be explained by considering that all three statements imply that the linguistic

33 These language skills are referred to as 'officials' Swedish' (Finn. *virkamiesruotsi*, Swed. *tjänstemansvenska*), the proof of which is governed by the Act on the Knowledge of Languages Required of Personnel in Public Bodies (AKLRPPB 2003/424).

34 Even though the present study is not representative in that respect, the Ps' personal data stated in the survey support this assumption—48 Ps stated both Finnish and Swedish as their first languages. Of those, 50 % stated to be registered as Swedish-speaking and 35 % to be registered as Finnish-speaking in the citizen registration registry (Finn. *väestötietojärjestelmä*, Swed. *befolkningsdatasystemet*). The remaining Ps were not sure for this question.

in-group was privileged in comparison with the majority population. Privileges per se represent injustice—something that members of the in-group would like to avoid to take on them because it would put them under pressure to justify themselves. This becomes especially clear with the statement on the higher income, which receives the smallest percentage of agreement of Ps^{sw+} in one town.

For all three statements, the agreement is lowest among the Ps in HKI. In both language groups, a smaller proportion of Ps agrees with the stereotypes than in the respective language group in JNS and VAA. In VAA we find the highest agreement with the three statements. The most probable explanation for this response pattern is the varying visibility of Swedish-speaking people in the two bilingual towns, being considerably higher in VAA than in HKI. It is likely that in HKI, bilinguals are frequently not identified as such, because in the public sphere Finnish is the more obvious choice in contexts potentially involving both languages, due to the demographic composition of the population.

In JNS, it is probably a different factor that can explain the moderate percentages of agreement. Since it is almost impossible to find Swedish-speaking people in senior positions, it must almost exclusively be the historical image of the Swedish-speaking upper class that has an impact here, an image that is evoked and that is transferred from the few well-known Swedish-speaking persons in high positions (in politics *etc.*) to refer to all Finland Swedes.

On balance, we can say that all stereotypes are based on the historical status of the Swedish-speaking population, but that they all also proved to be true in present times, at least in part. As McRaes meta-analysis points out, the socio-economic and societal divide between the language groups has increasingly narrowed. Nevertheless, there are still differences between language groups. For instance, the Swedish-speaking population maintains a strong network that has ongoing positive effects for the Swedish-speaking community and that is thereby self-sustaining, in a way. The same is true for wealth, which is disproportionately high among parts of the Swedish-speaking population for historical reasons.

2.5.2.3 *The relationship between the language groups.*

The last question from the survey's questionnaire part that is presented here sheds light on the subjectively perceived relationship between the Finnish-speaking and the (additionally) Swedish-speaking population in Finland. The relationship is considered on three levels: the personal, the local and the national level. It is plausible to assume that the Ps give different assessments for the three levels since the relationship is influenced by different factors on these levels. The personal relationship is characterised primarily by individual experience, whereas on the local level it centres around local or regional practical issues and

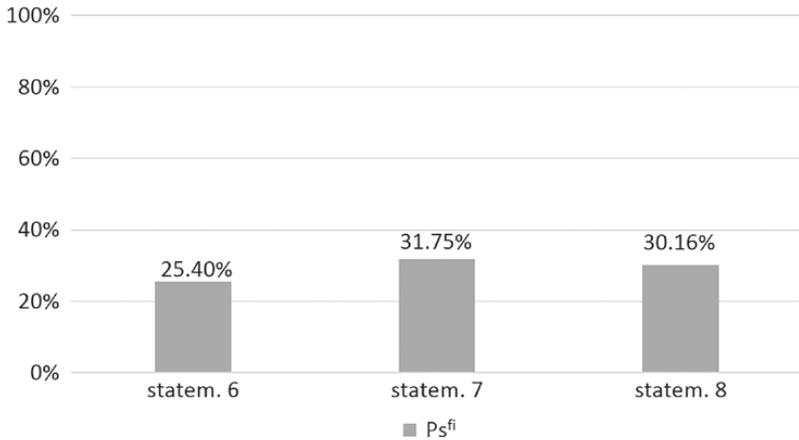


Fig. 25. JNS—agreement with the stereotypical statements Nos. 6–8

$n^i = 126$. *y*-axis per cent of *n* answers. Legend: **statem. 6** – Finland Swedes generally get better education (schools, university etc.). **statem. 7** – Finland Swedes generally have a higher income. **statem. 8** – Finland Swedes disproportionately often hold senior positions.

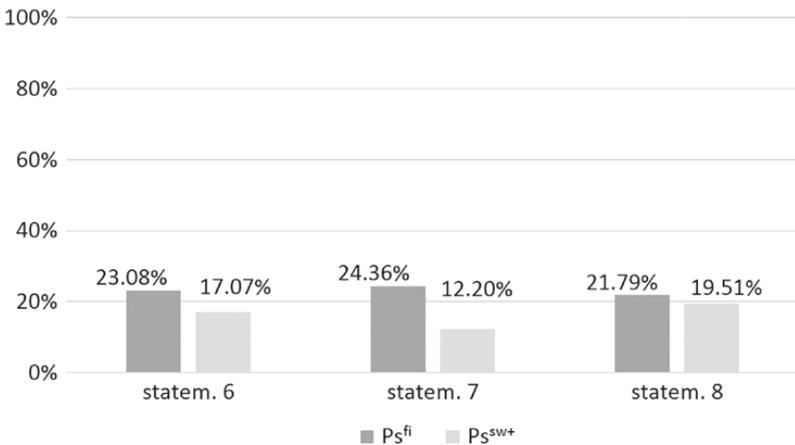


Fig. 26. HKI—agreement with the stereotypical statements Nos. 6–8

$n^i = 78$; $n^{sw+} = 41$. *y*-axis per cent of *n* answers. Legend: **statem. 6** – Finland Swedes generally get better education (schools, university etc.). **statem. 7** – Finland Swedes generally have a higher income. **statem. 8** – Finland Swedes disproportionately often hold senior positions.

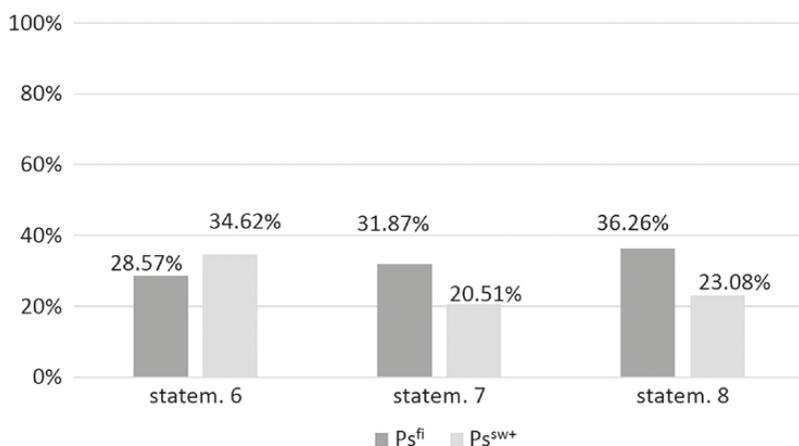


Fig. 27. VAA—agreement with the stereotypical statements Nos. 6–8

$n^{fi} = 91$; $n^{sw+} = 78$. *y-axis per cent of n answers. Legend: **statem. 6** – Finland Swedes generally get better education (schools, university etc.). **statem. 7** – Finland Swedes generally have a higher income. **statem. 8** – Finland Swedes disproportionately often hold senior positions.*

problems and on the national level it is shaped by the political and media discourse. We can further assume that it is the perception of the relationships on the personal and the local level that differs most between Ps along the division of the two language groups and the places of the survey. The reasons for this are that on these two levels, personal experience plays a more important role and that the everyday experiences diverge for the most part between the linguistic minority and majority.

A global view on the Ps' assessment of the relationship between the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking population shows that in all three places of the survey, the Ps evaluate the personal relationship to the respective other language group as considerably better than the relationship on the local or national level (Fig. 28–30). It is on the national level that the Ps perceive the relationship to be most tense. In almost all cases, the Ps^{sw+} assess the relationship as more strained than the Ps^{fi} . This indicates that they are personally involved more frequently in language-related situations of conflict (being bullied or confronted with stereotypes), that they cannot always make use of their linguistic rights and that this language group is overproportionally affected by demands for political measures that would compromise the equality of the two languages (even more) (e.g. cuts on funding for Swedish-speaking media, moving the emergency department from a bilingual hospital to a monolingual one, do away with mandatory

Swedish lessons at school.) The responses by the JNS^{fi} subgroup reflect that the Ps usually have no contact to Swedish-speaking people. On all three levels, these Ps are more frequently unable to assess the relationship between the language groups than in other subgroups.

The Ps^{sw+} in the bilingual places of survey perceive the relation as the more strained (very tense or fairly tense), the further the distance to themselves. According to their evaluation, the relationship between the language groups is even considerably more tense on the national level than on the personal or local level. The Ps^{sw+} in VAA perceive the relationship on the local level as tenser than the Ps^{sw+} in HKI. This result can be attributed firstly to the time of data collection when a sometimes heated debate was going on about the disregard of linguistic realities in imposing austerity measures.³⁵ Secondly, this perception may be caused by the public debate on Swedish as a mandatory school subject, for instance. This debate in politics and the media, which has been going on for years and is very heated at times, is possibly felt more strongly as a provocation against the country's bilingualism by the VAA Ps than by the HKI Ps, for example, because in VAA the bilingualism works comparatively smoothly and well.

The JNS^{fi} Ps are the only subgroup who perceive the relation to be most tense on the local level. It is surprising to find such a high share in this town which, as a monolingual municipality, has no linguistic obligations towards the Swedish-speaking population. Nonetheless, there appear to be difficulties on this level, at least in the subjective perception. The most probable reason for the perceived tension is the issue of Swedish as a mandatory school subject. In Eastern Finland, the benefit of Swedish skills is considered very limited, in contrast to skills in Russian which are considered more useful. This is why the debate on ending mandatory Swedish lessons raged more heatedly in Eastern Finland in particular, as compared to regions with a closer connection to the Swedish-speaking population. The issue is aggravated by the fact that a municipality with a proportion of 0.1 % Swedish-speaking population lacks positive experiences that could be used as counter-arguments in the heated debate.

35 In March 2015, the decision was made to move the only emergency department of a bilingual hospital in Finland: by 01/01/2019, it moved to Seinäjoki, albeit no equivalent service in Swedish can be guaranteed in this monolingual municipality (yle.fi 04/03/2015). This sparked a debate across the country, which became more important in autumn 2015 and had not yet stopped by the end of the data collection time or even at the time of writing.

In HKI, in contrast, the Ps^f perception of the relationship is most positive for the local level—none of the Ps assesses it as very tense and only few individuals as fairly tense. Even though HKI is a bilingual municipality with a Finnish-speaking majority, it has linguistic obligations towards the Swedish-speaking population. Finnish-speaking people can make use of their linguistic rights without problems.³⁶

In HKI, the Ps^{sw+} do not perceive the personal relationship as tenser than the Ps^f do, on the local level; however, they assess it as more tense than the Ps^f in HKI and the Ps^{sw+} in VAA. This indicates that they do not have any relevant negative experiences on the personal level, but still perceive problems on the local level. This may be due to the situation that in HKI, the Ps^{sw+} more frequently do not exert the right to use their first language in their communication with local authorities, as compared to the Ps^{sw+} in VAA (in the HKI^{sw+} subgroup larger shares of the Ps are at least functionally bilingual,³⁷ with 44 % stating to frequently switch to Finnish in order to get better or quicker service (compare with VAA^{sw+} : 28 %).

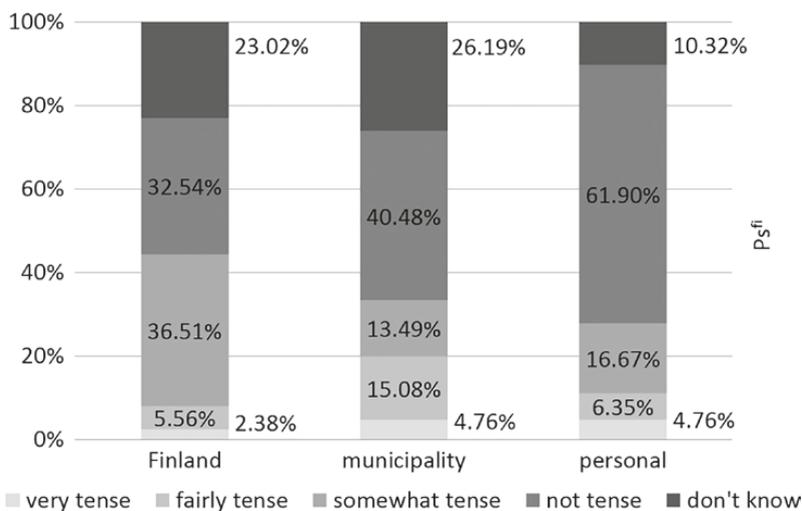


Fig. 28. JNS—the perception of the relationship between the language groups
 $n^f = 126$. *y-axis per cent of n answers.*

36 Of the Ps^f in HKI, 3 % state that they frequently switch to Swedish in order to get better or quicker service (Bindrim 2019: 455).

37 In HKI, 55 % of the Ps^{sw+} and in VAA, 43 % state to have ‘very good’ oral Finnish skills (see Bindrim: 2019: 190–2 for the elicitation of this assessment).

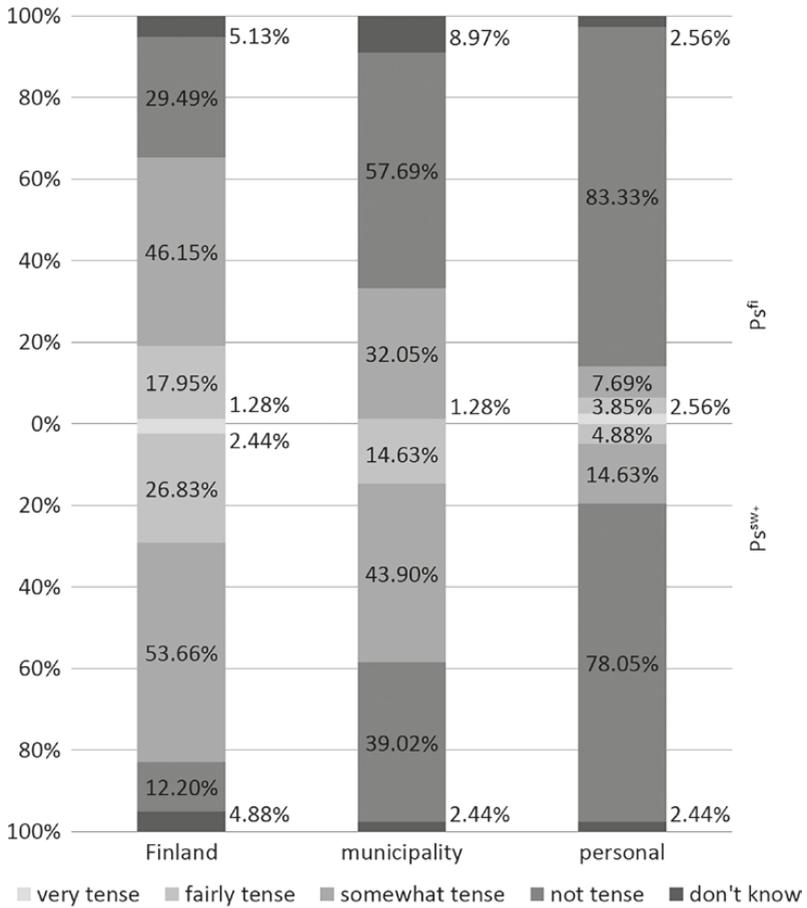


Fig. 29. HKI—the perception of the relationship between the language groups
 $n^{fi} = 78$; $n^{sw+} = 41$. *y-axis per cent of n answers.*

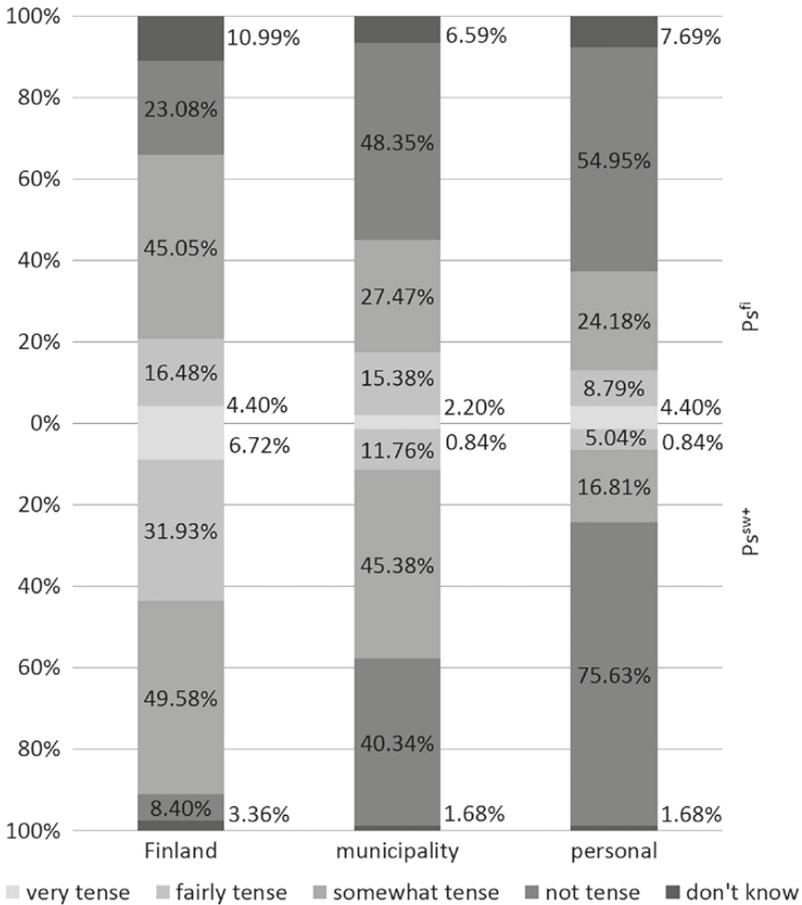


Fig. 30. VAA—the perception of the relationship between the language groups $n^fi = 91$; $n^{sw+} = 78$. *y-axis per cent of n answers.*

2.5.3 Attitudes and opinions—comparing manifestations of the stereotypes

It was pointed out already in the opening of this article that direct surveys have long not been able to reveal the existing conflicts between the Finnish- and the Swedish-speaking population in Finland. Methodological issues were identified as potential reasons for this: both the method of elicitation (interview,

questionnaire) and the direct approach (salience of the object of study) may cause unconscious and conscious manipulation of the responses by the interviewers, the question as well as the participants (Ps) themselves.

This was the starting point to consider whether the combination of an indirect with a direct approach could be better suited to elicit a person's stance on the object of study. In order to test this, my study included a matched-guise test (MGT), representing indirect methods, as well as a classic questionnaire, a direct method. While in the previous chapters, the results from the matched-guise test and from the questionnaire were analysed separately, we will now turn to the comparison of the two methods. The focus is on the view of the two language groups on the Swedish language and its speakers.

In order to relate the results produced by the different methods, three points of comparison between the two parts of the survey were established—three frequently mentioned stereotypes were selected to form these points of comparison, namely those that the Swedish-speaking population enjoyed higher levels of education, had higher incomes and were more influential. The Ps' stance on these stereotypes was elicited by the two different methods: In the matched-guise test, the Ps evaluated the Finnish guise (G^f) and the Swedish guise (G^{sw}) of the two guise speakers (Gs) on scales for three traits that are related to the three stereotypes. In the questionnaire, the Ps were confronted with three stereotypical statements, for which they were asked to tick the statements that they consider true. The subquestions used in the two parts of the study that are compared here for their method are:

- a. Scale 'educated – uneducated' in the matched-guise test, and statement No. 6 'Finland Swedes generally get a better education (schools, university *etc.*)' in the questionnaire.
- b. Scale 'well-off – destitute' in the matched-guise test, and statement No. 7 'Finland Swedes generally have a higher income' in the questionnaire.
- c. Scale 'influential – uninfluential' in the matched-guise test, and statement No. 8 'Finland Swedes disproportionately often hold senior positions' in the questionnaire.

Comparing the stance elicited by the two distinct methods is expected to yield insights on the question whether the stereotypes' unconscious manifestation (attitude) and the conscious manifestation (opinion) are equally widespread among the Ps across subgroups and within a subgroup or whether they are common to very different degrees. In addition, the relation between the Ps' opinion and their attitudes is examined on the individual level. This serves to highlight the different types of influence on their opinions. A special focus is laid on those Ps whose attitude and opinion are congruent and together in agreement with the stereotype.

In order to soundly establish a relation between the responses from the two parts of the survey, the analysis includes responses only from Ps for which responses are available for all three subquestions per point of comparison, i.e. those who provided an evaluation of the Swedish and the Finnish guises on the scales in the matched-guise test and responded to the relevant stereotypical statement in the questionnaire.

In a first step, I identified the percentages of Ps who in the MGT ranked the G^{sw} higher than the G^f , considering the G^m and the G^f separately. This percentage is contrasted with the proportion of Ps agreeing with the relevant stereotypical statement in the questionnaire. The percentages are identified for all Ps as well as for each subgroup. Secondly, the individual Ps are grouped according to which of the guises, the Swedish or the Finnish one or none, they gave a higher evaluation in the MGT. In a third step, a Ps' response from the MGT is contrasted with their response in the questionnaire. This arrangement of results allows for conclusions on the relation between the Ps' attitude and their opinion and the relation of these to the stereotype. If the stereotype's manifestations are congruent on the individual level, we can assume that they are influenced by the same external factors in the same way. Where the subconscious and the conscious manifestations of the stereotype diverge on the individual level; however, this difference is indicative of how the opinion is influenced by social norms and the method of elicitation.

The extent of congruence of the stereotypes based on attitudes versus opinions has important implications for future studies. If divergence between the attitudes and opinions for one stereotype can be identified for only small percentages of the Ps, one survey method can be sufficient in a study on the relationship of part of the population to the Swedish language in Finland, for instance. If divergences are found for larger shares of Ps, a methodologically pluralistic approach needs to be taken on because only on the basis of the relation between the two distinct manifestations of the stereotypes for an individual can the Ps' actual stance be determined.

The methods are compared separately for each of the three points of comparison for more clarity. We cannot rule out the possibility beforehand that across subgroups, different relationships may be revealed for different stereotypes, because the questionnaire's subquestions may provoke varying reactions among the linguistic in-group in particular.

2.5.3.1 *Education.*

The first stereotype for which the relation between the Ps' attitudes and opinions is analysed is that of the Finland Swedes being better educated. For the sake of illustration, the table below summarises the results across all Ps from the indirect

MGT and the direct questionnaire for the male guise speaker (G^m). In Table 7, the cells A.IV and C.I contain the row and column sums indicating that in total, 25 % of all Ps perceive the G^m 's Swedish guise as more educated (row I) and 27 % of all Ps agree with the stereotypical statement in the questionnaire (column A). This shows that the attitude and opinion congruent with the stereotype is roughly equally common among all Ps.

The picture is different, however, when looking at individual subgroups. It is only in the subgroups JNS^f and HKI^{sw+} that the attitude and opinion congruent with the stereotype are similarly widespread among the Ps. In contrast, in the HKI^f subgroup, the attitude-based stereotype is more common, and in both language groups in VAA, it is the opinion-based stereotype.

For the female guise speaker (G^f ; no illustration), the Swedish guise evokes the attitude that is congruent with the stereotype for 36 % of all Ps. This percentage differs by a notable 9 % from the prevalence of the opinion-based stereotype (27 %). Likewise, the stereotypical attitude is more common than the opinion-based stereotype in all other subgroups as well, except for VAA^{sw+} . In this subgroup, attitude and opinion are roughly equally widespread.

The difference in how common the attitude-based versus the opinion-based stereotype is across subgroups already hints at the conclusion that the two forms of manifestations are not congruent for all individuals. Neither can it be ruled out that they are congruent nonetheless for a large part of the Ps. These individuals can only be Ps who confirm the stereotype in both parts of the survey. To test this assumption, we will now turn away from the relationship between the responses for each part of the survey per subgroup and focus on the relationship of the individual Ps.

Table 7. G^m , 'educated'—manifestation of the stereotype (all participants)

questionnaire matched- guise test	(A) agreement to statement No. 6	(B) no agreement to statement No. 6	(C) Σ
(I) $\Delta > 0$ (sw > fi)	n = 25 6.54 %	n = 69 18.06 %	n = 94 24.61 %
(II) $\Delta = 0$ (sw = fi)	n = 48 12.57 %	n = 104 27.23 %	n = 152 39.79 %
(III) $\Delta < 0$ (fi > sw)	n = 29 7.59 %	n = 107 28.01 %	n = 136 35.60 %
(IV) Σ	n = 102 26.70 %	n = 280 73.30 %	n = 382 100.00 %

Table 7 shows groups of Ps classified by the relationship between their attitude and opinion. For a quarter of the Ps, the stereotype manifests either unconsciously as an attitude or consciously in the form of an opinion; it is evident in both attitude and opinion for 7 % of the Ps—see cell A.I. For the G^f, both attitude and opinion are congruent with the stereotype for 11 % of the Ps.

A considerably larger part of Ps for both Gs shows attitudes and opinions that are congruent with each other but that do not correspond to the stereotype. More than 25 % of all Ps perceive neither the Swedish nor the Finnish guise as more educated for the G^m nor do they agree with the stereotypical statement in the questionnaire—see cell B.II. A similarly high proportion of Ps perceives the G^{fi} as more educated, contrary to the stereotype, and does not agree with the stereotypical statement—see cell B.III.

In almost all subgroups, the largest shares of Ps are those who perceive the Swedish guise neither of the G^m nor of the G^f as more educated and who do not agree with the stereotypical statement. With some smaller divergences, the remaining findings for the individual subgroups largely correspond to the overall picture for all Ps.

2.5.3.2 *Wealth.*

The second point of comparison of the methods relates to the stereotype of Swedish-speaking people in Finland generally having higher incomes. For the G^m, the attitude-based stereotype and the opinion-based stereotype are similarly common across all Ps (27 % and 28 %—see cells A.IV and C.I in Table 8). This is the case for all individual subgroups as well, except for HKI^{sw+}, where the attitude-based stereotype is more widespread than the corresponding opinion.

The G^f's Swedish guise evoked the stereotypical attitude for a higher percentage of Ps (38 %), representing a difference in the prevalence of 11 percentage points between the attitude and the opinion. Except for the subgroups JNS^{fi} and VAA^{fi}, the attitude-based stereotype is more common than the opinion-based one in all subgroups.

The Ps' attitudes and opinions appear to be connected, in particular for the G^m. Across all Ps as well as in four out of five subgroups, attitude and opinion corresponding to the stereotype are equally common. Looking at the relation between the two types of the stereotype's manifestation on the individual level, we see that among 9 % of all Ps both the attitude-based and the opinion-based stereotype is evident. In the subgroups, this percentage ranges between 3 % and 14 %.

The G^f's Swedish guise activated the unconscious attitude that Swedish-speaking people were better off with Ps in several subgroups (38 %). For 11 % of the Ps, their attitude and opinion correspond to the stereotype. In the subgroups,

Table 8. G^m, 'well-off'—manifestation of the stereotype (all participants)

questionnaire matched- guise test	(A) agreement to statement No. 7	(B) no agreement to statement No. 7	(C) Σ
(I) $\Delta > 0$ (sw > fi)	n = 36 9.38 %	n = 71 18.49 %	n = 107 27.86 %
(II) $\Delta = 0$ (sw = fi)	n = 44 11.46 %	n = 133 34.64 %	n = 177 46.09 %
(III) $\Delta < 0$ (fi > sw)	n = 24 6.25 %	n = 76 19.79 %	n = 100 26.04 %
(IV) Σ	n = 104 27.08 %	n = 280 72.92 %	n = 384 100.00 %

the percentage again ranges between 3 % and 14 %. In the majority of subgroups, the largest shares of Ps do not perceive the Swedish guise either of the G^m or the G^f as better off, and neither do they agree with the stereotypical statement.

2.5.3.3 *Influence.*

The third comparison focuses on the stereotype claiming that Finland Swedes are overrepresented in senior positions. For the G^m, both the stereotypical attitude as well as the corresponding opinion are similarly common among the Ps (28 % and 31 %—see cells A.IV and C.I in Table 9). The two forms of manifestation are also similarly widespread within four of the five subgroups. Only in the HKI^{fi} subgroup does a large part of the Ps (39 %) perceive the Swedish guise as more influential in the MGT than the G^{fi}. At 23 %, the percentage of agreement with the stereotypical statement in the questionnaire is considerably lower.

For the G^f, the stereotypical attitude and opinion appear to be equally common among the Ps in general (29 %); however, on the level of subgroups, this is only true for HKI^{sw+}. In the subgroups JNS^{fi} and VAA^{fi}, it is the opinion-based stereotype that is more common, and for HKI^{fi} and VAA^{sw+}, it is the attitude-based stereotype.

Looking at all Ps together and considering the very similar percentages of how common the stereotypical attitudes and opinions are, we can get the impression that the matched-guise test and the questionnaire produce the same results. For the G^m this even appears to be true for four of the five subgroups, but for the G^f this is the case for only one subgroup. For both Gs, attitude and opinion are congruent for only a small percentage of Ps who confirm the stereotype in one of the two parts of the survey. It is 11 % of all Ps for the G^m and only 5 % of

all Ps for the G^f for whom the attitude-based and the opinion-based stereotype correspond to each other. In the individual subgroups, these percentages range between 3 % and 15 % for the G^m and between 3 % and 9 % for the G^f .

In the majority of subgroups, the largest shares of Ps do not perceive the Swedish guise of either the G^m or of the G^f as more influential and neither do they agree with the stereotypical statement —see cells B.II and B.III.

Table 9. G^m , ‘influential’—manifestation of the stereotype (all participants)

questionnaire matched- guise test	(A) agreement to statement No. 8	(B) no agreement to statement No. 8	(C) Σ
(I) $\Delta > 0$ ($sw > fi$)	n = 40 10.70 %	n = 75 20.05 %	n = 115 30.75 %
(II) $\Delta = 0$ ($sw = fi$)	n = 32 8.56 %	n = 109 29.14 %	n = 141 37.70 %
(III) $\Delta < 0$ ($fi > sw$)	n = 34 9.09 %	n = 84 22.46 %	n = 118 31.55 %
(IV) Σ	n = 106 28.34 %	n = 268 71.66 %	n = 374 100.00 %

2.5.3.4 *The relationship between language attitudes and linguistic opinions.*

For the G^m , the attitudes and opinions corresponding to the respective stereotype are distributed quite evenly across all Ps for all three stereotypes included in the present comparison. Approximately 25 % (‘educated’), 27 % (‘well-off’) and 29 % (‘influential’) of all Ps unconsciously or consciously confirm the stereotype. However, we cannot predict the attitude from the opinion, as a closer look at the individual subgroups (and at the G^f) reveals. The manifestations of the unconscious and conscious stereotype are common to very different degrees across subgroups, with differences of up to 20 % for the G^m and up to 23 % for the G^f .

From the finding that the two types of the stereotype manifestation are distributed roughly evenly across the Ps we could conclude that for the most part, it is the same individual Ps who confirm the stereotypes in the matched-guise test as well as in the questionnaire. This assumption was examined and tested in another step of the analysis. It showed that both types of stereotype manifestation occur for only a small fraction of the Ps, considered in total as well as on subgroup level. As a result, we find that in the group under consideration the stereotype is considerably more common than one method alone can reflect, with percentages between 45 % and 48 % of the Ps instead of 25–9 %. This is an important explanation for why pure questionnaire surveys have not been able to

capture and interpret the real potential of conflict between the language groups in Finland, even though the tensions can be perceived clearly in everyday life.

The proportion of Ps for which neither an attitude-based nor an opinion-based stereotypical stance is evident is considerably greater than the percentage of Ps for whom both types of stereotype manifestation occur. In the subgroups, 9–50 % of the Ps rank the two guises equally or evaluate the G^{fi} higher than the G^{sw} , without at the same time agreeing with the stereotypical statement. If large shares of Ps gave a higher evaluation to the G^{fi} than to the G^{sw} , this is not considered problematic here because there is no commonly known stereotype of Finnish-speaking people as being more educated, wealthy, or influential than the Swedish-speaking population. Such a stereotype is a prerequisite, however, for such a finding to represent a problem.

The remaining shares of Ps in each subgroup consist of those Ps whose responses in the two parts of the study are not congruent. These Ps can be classified into the ones giving language-politically correct responses on the one hand (cell B.I in Tables 7–9) and provocative Ps on the other hand (cell A.II–III). The first group may be affected by the salience of the object of study, by social norms or even by the halo-effect, causing them to not consciously agree with the stereotype in the questionnaire, even though they unconsciously confirm it in the MGT.

The provocative groups of Ps consciously agree with the stereotype in the questionnaire, despite their neutral unconscious reaction to the guise with respect to the relevant trait and even, in some cases, despite ranking the Finnish guise higher—in contrast to the stereotype. A possible reason for this pattern may be that the widespread populism with respect to Swedish in Finland has a manipulating effect on the Ps' opinion. However, this manipulation (or any other cause or combination of causes, such as the degradation of discourse tone in the debates in politics and on the internet) has not yet influenced the Ps' more stable attitudes.

In any case, the discourse is reflected in the two groups identified above, the language-politically correct and the provocative Ps. The first group is influenced by the ideology of bilingual Finland as a model country, whereas for the latter group it is populism and the ideology of Finland as a country with one national language only, namely Finnish, that exert an influence on their opinion.

As other scientific studies have shown before, it became clear in this survey that attitude and opinion are two distinct manifestations of personal stance, as reflected in the different degree of prevalence across the Ps, which accordingly have to be distinguished from one another. Opinions are more appropriate to identify changes over a short period of time, but they can only reflect a momentary state. They are likely to change suddenly or in a short period of time (see e.g. e2 2017: 40) and are thus susceptible to manipulation by external factors.

In contrast, attitudes are more stable, being not immediately susceptible to manipulations during the course of the survey or by individual experiences.

Only if used in combination, direct and indirect methods are capable of revealing how common stances on sensitive issues really are. In the present study, proving that stereotypes on the Swedish-speaking population are actually more common provides the explanation for the tensions between the language groups as they can be experienced in real everyday life. Moreover, via the comparison of results produced by the two methods representing drastically different approaches, the effects of manipulation and influence on opinions could be brought to light.

It is crucial to have exact knowledge of the relationships between the language groups, in particular as a basis for fundamental decisions concerning language as well as educational policy. If the current political debate drifts strongly into one direction only, this will likely affect opinions within a short time. Nonetheless, quickly changing opinions should not be overestimated and the corresponding calls for changes in language policy or educational policy need to be treated cautiously and should not be put into practice too hastily, remembering that suddenly changing opinions do not reflect an actual deterioration of the relationship between the language groups. Of course, sudden changes in opinion still have to be taken seriously and interpreted as signs of a larger development; since in the long run, an individual's opinion can impact their attitude. Being learned and comparatively stable, attitudes are subject to change under the influence of the opinion only over a longer period of time. Attitudes are closely connected to behaviour and are therefore decisive for the relationship between the language groups. In essence, knowing the attitudes is thus an important element for the verification and prognostic assessment of the relationships between the language groups.

3 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to survey the relationship between the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking population in Finland using an indirect and a direct method in combination. The mixed method approach is based on the assumption that the indirectly elicited stance (attitude) and the directly identified stance (opinion) need to be distinguished from one another because they reflect two different kinds of stance: While the former is present unconsciously, the latter is formed via conscious cognitive processes. Moreover, the two types of stance are influenced by different external factors to different extents.

Finland is perceived as a model country of bilingualism based on the fact that Swedish, which is spoken by merely 5 % of the total population, has the legal

status of a national language equal to Finnish. In spite of this, tensions between the language groups surface again and again. In the past years, the most heated debates have been taking place on the political level, and voices repeatedly emerge from among the Finnish-speaking population questioning the country's bilingualism. Earlier studies have for a long time not drawn any conclusions from their own results showing strong tensions between the language groups. Against this background, the question arose whether the relationship between the language groups are indeed as strained as suggested by the public discourse. In order to address this question, the stance on language policy of 415 Finnish- and Swedish-speaking people in Finland were surveyed for this study, using a combination of an indirect and a direct method, the matched-guise test and the questionnaire.

The first, experimental, part of the study consisting of the matched-guise test, revealed that the language a speaker uses (here: Finnish or Swedish) influences how the speaker is perceived by others. The factors that were identified to determine the influence of the speaker's language are the hearer's first language as well as the intensity of their contact to the Swedish-speaking population and culture. In the bilingual places of the survey, the influence of the guise speaker's (G's) language is less intense on the Swedish-speaking (or both Finnish- and Swedish-speaking) participants (Ps) as compared to the Finnish-speaking Ps. The higher the proportion of the Swedish-speaking population at the place of the survey, the weaker the influence of language on the Ps' perception. Overall it became clear that using Swedish and switching to Swedish is more strongly marked for Finnish-speaking people because it represents a deviation from the 'majority's norm.'

The study was able to show that historical stereotypes still had an—admittedly small—influence on how Swedish-speaking persons are perceived. Some of the traits for which the Swedish guise exclusively received higher evaluations can be regarded as part of a disposition of features commonly associated with privileged people in society. The strength of the stereotype's influence cannot be generalized across respondents: for each combination of the Ps' first language and the place of the survey, a distinct pattern of influence on perception could be observed, several aspects of which could successfully be explained by the impact of external factors.

Moreover, it was found that the speaker's language has a stronger influence on the Ps' perception of the female guise speaker compared to the male guise speaker. This indicates that language and perceived gender combine in their influence on the perception of the guise speakers by the Ps.

In the second part of the study, a classic questionnaire was used to collect the Ps' opinions on basic issues of language policy as well as on stereotypes on the

Swedish-speaking population in Finland. There is a close connection between the issue which status the Swedish language should have in Finland and that which linguistic rights speakers of Swedish should enjoy, depending on the linguistic status of the municipality. Despite these being intertwined, the Ps' respondents to the respective questions differ considerably: Although among the Finnish-speaking Ps only a minority supports the current status of Swedish as a national language, a majority would grant the Swedish-speaking population rights far beyond the status quo. The discrepancy between the responses to the two questions can be explained by their different prominence in the debate on bilingualism in Finland: While most of the Ps have a fixed answer to the much-discussed question on the legal status of Swedish, they had to think about the questions on the linguistic rights when answering the questionnaire. They did not have the chance to check the social acceptability of their opinion with opinion leaders. This shows that questions which are supposed to elicit one and the same aspect do in fact lead to very different conclusions depending on whether or not the Ps dispose of a fixed opinion. Another conclusion to be drawn from the discrepancy between the responses is that fundamental knowledge of language policy is less widespread among the population in Finland than is commonly assumed. Particularly, the Ps appear to conceive the legal status of a language as a mere label. Apparently, most Ps are not aware of the fact and the way how the legal status of a language has direct impacts on the linguistic rights of the language users. The linguistic rights are not commonly part of the discussion on bilingualism on the Finnish-speaking side of the debate. With such a disparity of basic knowledge, politicians and the general population cannot be equal participants in debates on language policy and the population is easily susceptible to manipulation by populist opinion.

In the questionnaire, the stereotypes were not confirmed by a majority of Ps in any of the subgroups. It became evident that the Ps in the capital are particularly more accepting in their stance than the Ps in peripheral areas. For this issue, it is not the Ps' first language that is the most influential determinant, but the contrast between the urban environment and peripheral areas.

In almost all cases, the Ps^{SW+} assess the relationship as more strained than the Finnish-speaking Ps do. This indicates that they are personally involved more frequently in language-related situations of conflict (being bullied or confronted with stereotypes), that they cannot always make use of their linguistic rights and that this language group is overproportionally affected by demands for political measures that would compromise the equality of the two languages (even more) (e.g. cuts on funding for Swedish-speaking media, moving the emergency

department from a bilingual hospital to a monolingual one, do away with mandatory Swedish lessons at school).

The Ps perceive the relationship between the language groups to be most tense on the national level and as least tense on their individual level. This indicates that the discourse on language policy, which is co-motivated to a large extent by populist tendencies, affects the subjective perception of the relationship between the language groups, but that it has not yet had a significant impact on the personal relations between the speakers of the two languages. The limits of what can and what cannot be said in this debate have been pushed further, and the increasing degradation of the tone in the discourse between the language groups is a source of concern.

The immediate comparison of the results elicited by either an indirect method (the matched-guise test) or a direct method (the questionnaire) confirmed the assumption that attitudes and opinions need to be distinguished from one another when studying the stance on an object of study. Attitudes and opinions are different in how stable they are and how susceptible to influence. Only the combination of the indirect and the direct method of elicitation was powerful enough to reveal the actual prevalence of stereotypes on the Swedish-speaking population in Finland: These stereotypes are considerably more common than previously assumed, which serves to explain the tensions between the language groups as they can be perceived in everyday life in Finland. It is crucial to know the exact relationship between the language groups and assess it correctly, in particular as a basis for fundamental decisions concerning language as well as educational policy.

Appendix

1 Current occupation

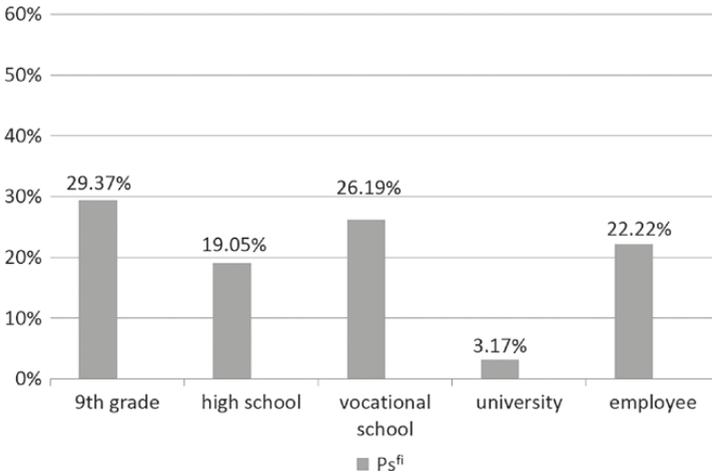


Fig. 31. JNS—participants by current occupation

$n^{fi} = 126$. *y-axis per cent of n answers.*

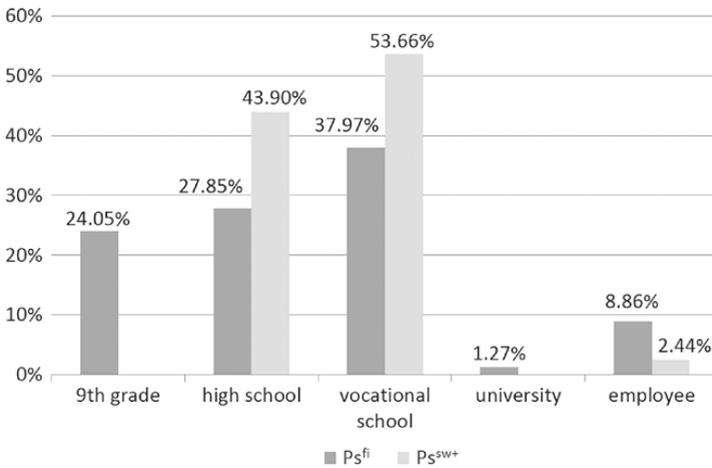


Fig. 32. HKI—participants by current occupation

$n^{fi} = 79$; $n^{sw+} = 41$. *y-axis per cent of n answers.*

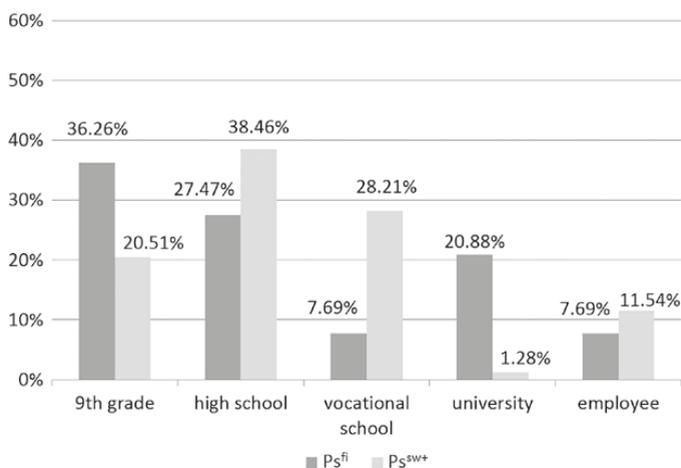


Fig. 33. VAA—participants by current occupation

$n^{\text{fi}} = 91$; $n^{\text{sw}+} = 78$. *y-axis per cent of n answers.*

2 Intensity and type of influence

2.1 Quantitative analysis

Table 10. Several parameters of the intensity of influence that the language of the two guise speakers has on the Participants' perception of the guises

subgroup		sum score (sc), in points	\bar{O}_{sc} in points	number of $\Delta_{\text{sign.}}$	number of $\Delta_{\text{relev.}}$
G^m	JNS ^{fi}	0.949	0.316	3	0
	HKI ^{fi}	2.534	0.362	7	2
	HKI ^{sw+}	0.872	0.440	2	2
	VAA ^{fi}	1.679	0.336	5	0
	VAA ^{sw+}	1.168	0.389	3	0
mean sum score for the G^m (\bar{O}_{sc}^m)		1.440			
G^f	JNS ^{fi}	4.379	0.438	10	5
	HKI ^{fi}	3.824	0.382	10	4
	HKI ^{sw+}	2.091	0.523	4	3
	VAA ^{fi}	3.413	0.379	9	2
	VAA ^{sw+}	3.265	0.408	8	4
mean sum score for the G^f (\bar{O}_{sc}^f)		3.394			

2.2 Qualitative analysis

Table 11. Significant (X) and relevant (XX) differences in perception.

Light grey background: evaluation $G^{sw} > G^f$

Dark grey background: evaluation $G^f > G^{sw}$

JNS ^f	HKI ^f	HKI ^{sw+}	VAA ^f	VAA ^{sw+}			JNS ^f	HKI ^f	HKI ^{sw+}	VAA ^f	VAA ^{sw+}		
G^m						Σ	G^f						Σ
					0	<i>friendly</i>	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	5	
	X				1	<i>honest</i>	XX	X		X	XX	4	
	X		X		2	<i>reliable</i>	XX	XX	XX	XX	XX	5	
	XX		X	X	3	<i>social</i>	X	X		X		3	
X			X	X	3	<i>intelligent</i>	XX	XX		X	X	4	
	X				1	<i>well-off</i>	X	X			XX	3	
X	X				2	<i>confident</i>	X	X				2	
X			X		2	<i>ambitious</i>	XX	XX	XX	X	X	5	
		XX	X	X	3	<i>educated</i>	X	X		X	X	4	
		XX			1	<i>successful</i>	X		X			2	
	X				1	<i>respected</i>		X		X		2	
	X				1	<i>influential</i>				X	X	2	

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Anastasija Kostiučenko

The Language Situation in Lithuania—Is There Anything to Worry About?

Abstract. A specific language situation is correlated with a specific language policy. This fact is also true for Lithuania and its sociolinguistic constellation. The question of whether there is a reason to worry in the case of Lithuania can only be answered by knowing and analysing the relevant premises and prevailing language attitudes. The article presents a detailed documentation of an experimental study on language attitudes conducted in Lithuania between 2014 and 2016. Based on selected results, it provides a description of sociolinguistic profiles of Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šalčininkai and Visaginas.

Overview

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1 Introduction

Language is not only our most important communication tool. From the stand-point of sociolinguistics, language can also be a political issue. This becomes

particularly obvious when it comes to the relationship between at least two languages regarding functional, political and territorial respects (Schreiner 2006: 26). The more languages or dialects are concerned, the more complex the language situation becomes.¹

The sociolinguistic research has determined that there are usually no balanced language situations, whether it is in a monolingual or a multilingual society (Mečkovskaja 2000: 103). Neither exemplary Finland nor multilingual Lithuania presents an exception here, even though the opposite has been often claimed. In other words, a specific hierarchy between single languages or dialects of a specific language is *de facto* existing in most cases. Nevertheless, a clear line within this hierarchy can barely be drawn, if no reliable empirical data basis is given. This is aggravated by the fact that the linguistic situations are not static entities, and are therefore changeable. Moreover, their change and a possibly concomitant strong imbalance often lead to language conflicts, which can entail serious social and political consequences. In this respect, it is important to examine and observe the language situations at regular intervals.

In the present article, the features of the current linguistic and the language policy situation in Lithuania based on the results of a nationwide survey² are presented and described. Taking the examples of five cities (Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šalčininkai und Visaginas), the relationships of status between Lithuanian, Polish and Russian and their speakers were investigated. The

1 A specific language situation is always correlated with a specific language policy. However, there is no consensus about whether a specific language situation results in a specific language policy, or it is rather the opposite, in which a specific language policy shapes a specific language situation (e.g., see Löffler 1997: 17). It is rather a question of perspectives, whereby new, unknown aspects can possibly occur depending on viewing directions. In this respect, it is recommendable to demonstrate both aspects in a sociolinguistic analysis.

2 This refers to the documentation of a study, which I have conducted under the framework of the DFG funded project 'The social status of languages in Finland and Lithuania: A comparative case study on the role of different survey methods.' My article presents the first publication of the data from this subproject, which was conducted in Lithuania from October 2014 to November 2016. Here I want to thank the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Lithuania, the Department of German Philology at Vilnius University, and the Goethe-Institut in Lithuania for the support of the search for subject groups. I also want to thank the staff of the city administration of Klaipėda, Visaginas and Šalčininkai. Big thanks also to the numerous participants and participated schools, colleagues and associations, organizations, culture centers and private corporations. Without them, my study would never come about.

following questions were thereby taken up: Which social status are the individual social groups of the relevant common language in Lithuania, including Lithuanian, Polish, Russian, attributes to, depending on their residence, age, gender and foreknowledge? Is there a reason—in (language) policy terms—to worry after all?

The present project documentation consists of four chapters. Before going into the sociolinguistic profiles of the locations of surveys and their residents, a brief overview of the theoretical and methodological 'equipment' of the sub-project should ensue. In chapter 4, the questions mentioned above will be answered based on selected results. In the final chapter 5, which is also the conclusion of this article, the most important results will be reported in a nutshell and discussed regarding their language policy relevance.

2 The survey of language attitudes: the *matched-guise* technique

The linguistic and language policy reality is reflected in the attitudes of speakers (it goes without saying that the attitudes, as well as the reality, are extremely abstract and imprecise concepts). In so far, the attitudes are indispensable for the understanding and description of a language policy situation.

In the frame of the present article, a specific mental stance toward single languages and their speakers are understood under the concept of language attitude. Thereby the languages and speakers are regarded as inseparable entities in this context due to methodology (see below). This attitude can be measured on a scale (such as e.g. the semantic differential) as well: It expresses the negative, neutral or positive assessment. In the attitude research connected to the current subject, one-, two- and multidimensional attitude concepts are distinguished. Due to lack of space, I cannot go into the discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of individual concepts at this point. An overview can be found, for example, in Casper 2002. One of the most common models is the so-called three-component-model, which traces back to Rosenberg and Hovland (1960), whereby an attitude consists of a cognitive, an affective and a conative component. This model also underlies the present study.

Since the study of Kloss (1969: 57–62), five basic types of conceptions or attitudes were distinguished regarding language policy: Language fanatics, language devotees, language friends, language brokers and language trivializers. It is thereby about subtle attitudes toward language diversity and language policy as such, which the language users usually possess. Like every theory, Kloss' theory is also marked by a certain degree of abstractness. Nonetheless, his

differentiation can be operationalised, that a notional question and five associated answer categories can be formulated and be presented to the study subjects.³ By these answer categories, the major indicators or the characteristics can be read, which in the sense of Kloss are allowed to distinguish between individual attitude types. The present study presents the first attempt to examine the theoretical thoughts of Kloss empirically.

Language attitudes can be surveyed both in direct and indirect ways. Each methodological approach has its advantages and disadvantages. Therefore, it is sensible to combine both approaches. This fact was also accounted for in the present article by conducting the inquiry with the help of two distinct questionnaires.⁴ The first questionnaire is underlain with an indirect method, which is briefly introduced below.

This method is about the so-called *matched-guise* technique, an experimental method, which was developed by the social psychologist Lambert and his colleagues in the sixties (Lambert *et al.* 1960, 1975). Thereby the subjects were presented with a sequence of audio recording, in which short, identical text passages could be heard, which were read by different persons (usually in two languages) in random order. The subjects were asked to evaluate the personal characteristics of the speakers, of whom the voice they heard, using given scales. The special thing about this method is that it was withheld from the subjects that a part of the played audio recording came from the same bilingual person; instead, they believed that there were exclusively different persons hidden behind the different voices and languages (the so-called guises).

2.1 Short documentation of the pre-investigations

The method developed by Lambert and his colleagues were designed originally for a bilingual speaker, in order to be able to indirectly survey the attitudes and stereotype reactions toward two languages (and their speakers). Since the present study is more complexly designed in this respect (it deals with speakers of both genders, which are multilingual and insofar master Lithuanian, Polish and Russian at the level of native speakers without any accent), the audio recording sequence,⁵ which builds the foundation of this experiment, also had to be

3 This resulted in question 13.1 of the questionnaire.—I shall publish various data of the survey, among them the questionnaire, on our university's repository at <https://rz.uni-greifswald.de/dienste/studium-lehre/forschungsdatenmanagement>.

4 Regarding the publication of the questionnaire, please note the previous footnote.

5 In order to guarantee a professional quality of the material, all the audio recordings were prepared in a recording studio. In conformity with Lambert *et al.* 1975, a descriptive

expanded, adapted and restructured accordingly. Thereby the recommendations and results of the pre-investigations of Kostiučenko (2016) could be resorted to, which had formulated the basic prerequisites for a successful design of the *matched-guise* experiment for a trilingual female speaker. However, due to the adding of a second, male speaker, a new text passage to read,⁶ and a project-specific semantic differential, new pre-investigations regarding the audio recording were necessary. This will be addressed briefly below.

2.1.1 Pre-investigations for examining the audio material

The purpose of this sequence of pre-investigations is to examine the recording in all three languages about their linguistic quality, in order to ensure that especially the recording of the disguised male/female speakers of the MGT-experiment would suffice. In order to allow as many native speakers from as different corners of Lithuania as possible to assess the quality and authenticity of each recording, the audio recording pre-investigations were conducted on the internet with the aid of 'soscisurvey.de'. Each pre-investigation was envisaged for each applied language, but the pre-investigation for the Lithuanian language had to be conducted twice since it happened that the recording of the first 'covered' male speaker had to be exchanged, and consequently a new male speaker had to be searched and tested. Eventually, multilingual female, as well as male speakers, could be determined, which most of the listeners accepted clearly as native speakers in all three languages, and hence their recording could be applied for the experiment.

2.1.2 Pre-investigations for generating the semantic differential and the questionnaire

The semantic differential, as the measuring instrument, is a central element or a building block of the experiment. In the frame of the subproject for Lithuania, a separate, project's semantic differential was developed. In order to determine the adequate adjective contrastive pairs or the characteristics, the already familiar techniques on the generation of the semantic differentials were resorted to. Note that the adjective contrastive pairs or dimensions of a semantic differential

passage from 'The Little Prince' by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry was determined as the reading text. The extract had a length of about 1 minute. The work has been translated into many European languages, as well as Lithuanian, Polish and Russian. These translations were applied.

6 In the previous study of Kostiučenko (2016), an extract from 'Harry Potter' was applied.

represent 'a standardised representative sample of those characteristics, which the respondents would commonly apply in describing the examined concepts' (Woll 1997: 126). Consequently, the required representative speaker characters would be collected through an internet-based inquiry in Lithuania, in which in two rounds 46 subjects at the age from 21 to 65 have participated. The subjects were requested to answer four questions:

1. Which personal characteristics or character traits of a person do you find positive? Please name as many suitable adjectives or participles as possible, e.g., nice, educated, *etc.*
2. Which personal characteristics or character traits of a person do you find negative? Please name as many suitable adjectives or participles as possible, e.g., arrogant, uneducated, *etc.*
3. Which positive personal characteristics or character traits of a person are important for you in your working life, professional life or career? Please name as many suitable adjectives or participles as possible, e.g., diligent, well-ordered, *etc.*
4. Which personal characteristics or character traits of a person are negatively valued in the working life, professional life, or would hinder one's career? Please name as many suitable adjectives or participles as possible, e.g., lazy, negligent, *etc.*

In this way, the subjects should have named general as well as work- or status-related characteristics. Thereby they should have named positive (questions No. 1 and No. 3) as well as negative characteristics (questions No. 2 and No. 4), through which the step of searching for antonyms was unnecessary. After the analysis of all the naming (n), the following dimension assignment could be made (for questions 2 and 4, the other side of the respective dimension was meant).

Tab. 1. Assignment of dimensions through the pre-investigation

Question No. 1	n	Question No. 2	n	Question No. 3	n	Question No. 4	n
Intelligence	32	Honesty	33	Diligence	28	Diligence	26
Sympathy/ Friendliness	29	Modesty	31	Intelligence	19		
Candour	25	Intelligence	18				
Courtesy	23	Reliability	12				
Honesty	14						
Reliability	11						

In this way, it seemed to be sensible to establish the following eight dimensions of a concept-specific semantic differential in the next step (in the last parenthesis of each line is the sum of the naming in question).

1. Intelligence (*protingas – kvailas*) (69)
2. Diligence (*darbštus – tingus*) (54)
3. Honesty (*sąžiningas – nesąžiningas*) (47)
4. Modesty (*kuklus – arogantiškas*) (31)
5. Sympathy (*malonus – nemalonus*) (29)
6. Candour (*nuoširdus – nenuoširdus*) (25)
7. Courtesy (*mandagus – nemandagus*) (23)
8. Reliability (*patikimas – nepatikimas*) (23)

Furthermore, it was appropriate to take those items into account, which were responsible for the largest variation among the results of the factor analysis in an extra-pre-investigation,⁷ namely the dimension ‘appearance,’ ‘courtesy’ and ‘diligence.’ Because the last two already occurred in the first list above, only one more adjective contrastive pair had to be added, namely *gražus – negražus* (beautiful – ugly), so that eventually one nine-dimensional data collecting instrument could be generated (see Ch. 2.2.2).

2.2 The building block of the *matched-guise* experiment

After conducted the pre-investigation, the following equipment was at our disposal.

2.2.1 *Audio recording sequence*

For the experiment, one test series consisting of twelve recordings was generated—ostensibly six female and six male voices (in reality, there were only eight different male/female speakers, because the recording Nos. 2, 6 and 10 as well as 3, 7 and 11 are recordings from the two multilingual speakers):

7 The leading questions of this preinvestigation were: Are the adjective contrastive pairs clearly understandable? Would the guises not be recognised? How decisive is the gender of the disguised voices for the assessment? In this preinvestigation, a semantic differential was applied, which was constructed in the first analysis phase and thus consisted of 14 adjective contrastive pairs. In the further course of the study, the semantic differential was reduced to nine assessment dimensions.

position	№ 1	№ 2	№ 3	№ 4	№ 5	№ 6	№ 7	№ 8	№ 9	№ 10	№ 11	№ 12
speaker	F	G	G	F	F	G	G	F	F	G	G	F
	f: LT	f: PL	m: RU	f: PL	m: LT	f: RU	m: LT	m: PL	f: RU	f: LT	m: PL	m: RU

Fig. 1. Audio recording sequence

Legend: **G** – matched-guises' voices; **F** – filler voices; **m** – male; **f** – female; **LT** – speaking Lithuanian; **PL** – speaking Polish; **RU** – speaking Russian

As it was determined as necessary in the previous study of Kostiučenko (2016: 109–10), each 'distance' between the positions of the disguised voices in the current test series consists of three recordings; additionally, both the first and the last recording of the test series were generated by filler voice. Under the given prerequisites, the recordings were randomised with the aid of Excel, so that both the language of each following recording and the gender of each following speaker were not predictable. In this way, an assessment as independent as possible was guaranteed.

2.2.2 *Semantic differential*

After conducting the analyses and pre-investigations, a concept-specific speaker-related semantic differential was generated. This consisted of the following nine adjective contrastive pairs or assessment dimensions:

- 1 Intelligence
- 2 Diligence
- 3 Honesty
- 4 Modesty
- 5 Sympathy
- 6 Candour
- 7 Courtesy
- 8 Reliability
- 9 Beauty

A subsequent pre-test and a group discussion have confirmed the suitability of the generated differential by having proven it to be objective, valid and reliable, and thus it could be adopted for further tests. Thereby the pre-tests were repeated multiple times in order to simulate the conditions of the main study.

2.2.3 *The construction of the questionnaire for the inquiry in Lithuania*

After conducting the preliminary work, which was briefly sketched above, and finishing the pre-tests, the final version of the questionnaire for the inquiry in Lithuania was generated.⁸ The following table illustrates the structure of the two-part data collecting form:

Tab. 2. The structure of the questionnaire

Indirect part (by the <i>matched-guise</i> technique)	
Semantic differentials including nine pairs of opposing adjectives	
Occupation scales (based on Kostiučenko 2016)	
Open questions of the hypothetical appearance of each multilingual speaker	
Space for optional feedback on the indirect part of the questionnaire	
Direct part	
The subject's attitudes regarding language policy, the interest in questions about language policy	2 closed questions
The self-assessment of language competence	4 closed questions
The subject's language application in median usage and other various domains	8 closed questions
The direct assessment of the prestige and the relevance of the languages by the subjects	2 closed questions
The frequency of the subject's contacts with other language groups	1 closed question
The ethnical affiliation of the subjects	1 closed question
To name differences between Poles and Russians living in Lithuania and them living in Poland or Russia	2 open questions
To name the typical traits of Lithuanians, Poles and Russians	3 open questions
a) Questions for Lithuanians (projected auto- and hetero-stereotypes)	4 open questions and 2 closed questions
b) Questions for Poles (projected auto- and hetero-stereotypes)	questions
c) Questions for Russians (projected auto- and hetero-stereotypes)	respectively
The assessment of the ethnic relations between language groups as a reflection of the previous state language policy	3 closed questions
The socio-biographic background of the subject	7 closed questions
Space for comments or optional feedback on the direct part of the questionnaire	

8 Regarding the publication of the Lithuanian and Russian versions of the questionnaire, please note footnote 3.—The Polish version of the form will be omitted from the repository since all the Polish-speaking subjects decided for the Lithuanian version; in Šalčininkai, the Polish-speaking subjects had given priority to the Russian-speaking form.

3 Sociolinguistic profiles of the data collecting sites and their residents

After finishing the necessary preliminary works and pre-investigations in the period until March 2016, 58 main tests were conducted until September in the same year. In the main study, 630 persons in Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Visaginas and Šalčininkai were interviewed, whose social geographic distribution was determined along with a quota sample.⁹ The distribution of the samples in regards to city and age, which was reached in the result, is shown as follows.

Tab. 3. The distribution of the samples in regards to city and age

City	Age group 1 (16–29)	Age group 2 (30– 59)	Age group 3 (60+)	‘Method test’ (age 16–29)	n/s
Vilnius	49	75	25	—	28
Kaunas	75	4	1	20	
Klaipėda	30	66	12	15	
Šalčininkai	24	27	5	23	
Visaginas	48	56	17	30	
Total	226	228	60	88	28

Nevertheless, only 539 questionnaires or test persons entered the final main samples, because a part of the test persons (namely 91, predominantly students)¹⁰ was exclusively interviewed as a control group for the so-called ‘method test.’ Consequently, the representativeness of the data exists only for the

9 In order to guarantee the representativeness of the sample and the comparability among the five cities, a statistically evaluated quota sample from the entire population of the cities was generated (primarily according to age; also according to education level for checking purpose). As a result, approximately 900 subjects in the five cities should have been interviewed. However, during the conduct of the interviews, only 630 persons could be reached, due to reasons that were beyond the sphere of influence and the responsibility of the researchers. The practical conduct of the interview in Kaunas was particularly difficult. Consequently, from the planned quota, only individual student groups could be reached – both colleagues from Kaunas and other privately inquired population groups have refused to participate in the experiment, or ignored the inquiry; the exceptions were the gymnasias and secondary schools. As a rule, the subjects were visited at their places of education or employment, with appointments made in advance, or invited to the rooms of Goethe-Institut Vilnius. Only a few interviews took place in private premises (and this rather pertains to the interview of age group 3).

10 The control group consisted de facto of 91 subjects; however, only 88 subjects were listed in the table, because three of them did not state their ages.

city populations in Visaginas, Klaipėda and Vilnius. However, the values within and among individual age groups are comparable.

In the main sample (N = 539), women are slightly overrepresented (62.5 %).¹¹ Nonetheless, it corresponds to the true distribution of women and men in the Lithuanian population in general, as well as their real distribution in the five studies cities in particular (for comparison of the values see the report of the Lithuanian government for statistics from 25. January 2013). For the control group, these rate of women and men could also be reached (58.2 % of the respondents were women).¹²

As far as the education factor is concerned, the highest education level in each case was queried, but in simplified form: as low, middle or high education level, since these notions are based on the Lithuanian education system. The subjects had to assign themselves to one of the three education levels. The distribution of the main sample according to education and age is shown as follows:

Tab. 4. The distribution of the main sample according to education and age

Age group	Education level			Total	n/s
	low	middle	high		
1	108	79	25	212	45
2	2	36	190	228	
3	1	17	36	54	
Total	111	132	251	494	45

The five cities, in which the main survey took place, are distinguished by their specific language and ethnic ratio. Their different sociolinguistic profiles are:

- The capital **Vilnius** is multilingual and multiethnic (officially 128 different ethnic groups in total were recorded in the city in 2011),
- **Kaunas** is predominantly monolingual for Lithuanian (93.6 % of the residents are ethnically Lithuanians),
- **Klaipėda** is rather Lithuanian- and Russian-speaking (73.8 % of the residents are ethnically Lithuanians and 19.6 % are ethnically Russians),
- **Visaginas** is bilingual, nevertheless predominantly Russian-speaking (51.9 %), and
- **Šalčininkai** is predominantly Polish-speaking (77.8 %).¹³

11 36 subjects have not stated their genders.

12 Five subjects of this subsample have not stated their genders.

13 Lithuanian Statistics Institute, census in 2011.

Some places in the three most populated cities Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda also have special scientific meaning, because there are already comparable data existing (see Ramonienė 2010, Kostiučenko 2016). They are of special (language) political importance since their language sociological state is relevant to entire Lithuania because they are the centres in their regions. In contrast, Visaginas and Šalčininkai possess a peripheral character and rather represent exceptions due to the high proportion of minorities in the language landscape in Lithuania, but are nonetheless important for the complete picture.

Hereinafter, we should look at the results of the descriptive analyses of the socio-biographic background of the subjects, the self-assessment of language competence, and the language application in their median usage and other various domains. Subsequently, the general interest of the subjects in language policy and their attitude toward language policy *sensu* Kloss should be addressed. After that, it should be discussed how the Lithuanians, Poles and Russians living in Lithuania are normally judged in the environment of the subjects (in their family and friend circle). In the last step, I should analyse how the subjects evaluate the interethnic relationships in the state and general public, as well as in their family and friend circle.

Since the sample is required to be representative (at least for the three investigated cities), the results are described according to the cities.

3.1 Vilnius (157 subjects)

39 % of the respondents of this subsample stated that they had lived their entire life in Vilnius; 41 % lived longer than 3 years in Vilnius, and only 13 % of the respondents have their centre of life in Vilnius for less than three years (the last part deals with representatives of the age group 1, which have come to the capital primarily for studying or working). The absolute majority of the interviewed citizens of Vilnius is born and grown up in Lithuania (91 %). Concerning the nationality or the ethnical affiliation, the distribution in the subsample is as follows: 90 % reported themselves as Lithuanians, 6 % saw themselves as Poles, and 3 % viewed themselves as Russian.

On the questionnaire, the subjects are granted with the possibility to name more than one native language. However, only a small amount of Vilnius citizens made use of it. Only two subjects stated that three languages—Lithuanian, Polish and Russian—are their native languages; 6 subjects reported that Lithuanian and Russian are their native languages. Only one subject stated that his native languages are Lithuanian and Polish, and only one subject stated that his native languages are Polish and Russian. Five subjects have described themselves as

monolingual Polish-speakers, and six subjects monolingual Russian-speaking. The rest of the respondents only stated Lithuanian as their native language. As far as the self-assessment of their competence in these three languages is concerned, the Vilnius residents have evaluated their knowledge of Lithuanian, Polish and Russian on a scale from 1 ('I cannot speak it at all') to 10 ('I can speak it very well'):

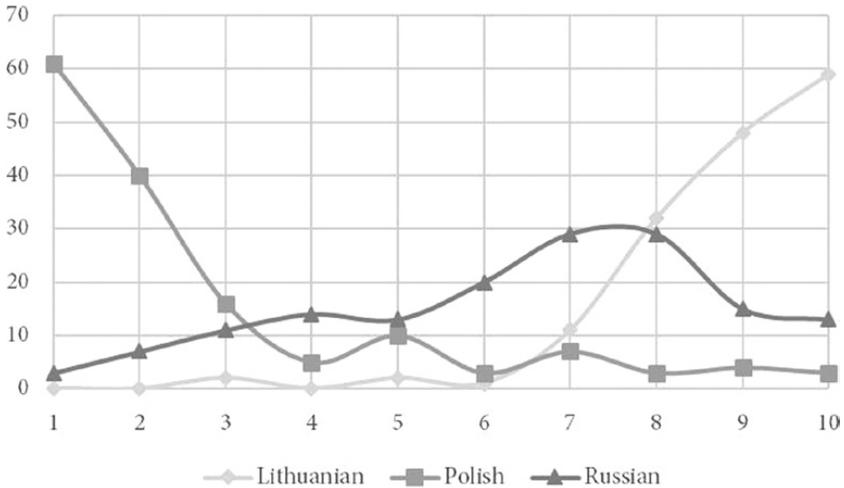


Diagram 1. Self-assessment of the language competence in Vilnius (n = 157)

It can be seen that the knowledge of Lithuanian, as expected, is highest at the 10-point-scale; it is a little surprising here that the competence of Polish is relatively low, which seems not to be mastered by the majority of the respondents (64 %). In contrast, the Russian language seems to be relatively well mastered. The characteristic values of the abovementioned distribution are shown in Tab. 5.

Tab. 5. Language competence in Vilnius (n = 157): mean, median and standard deviation

	Lithuanian n = 155	Polish n = 152	Russian n = 154
Mean (<i>M</i>)	8.9	2.7	6.4
Median (<i>Md</i>)	9	2	7
Standard deviation (<i>SD</i>)	1.3	2.3	2.3

With a mean of 8.9 ($SD = 1.3$), the Lithuanian language has the highest competence; the competence in Russian language, which has a mean of 6.4 ($SD = 2.3$), is relatively high in the Vilnius group; with a mean of 2.7 ($SD = 2.3$), the Polish language can barely keep up.

Inspired by the experiences, which were documented in the study by Ramonienė *et al.* 2010, the so-called home language (Lithuanian *namų kalba*) was also asked in the course of the present study. This pertains to the application of the three languages in private domains.¹⁴ It was the case for the Vilnius group ($n = 156$) that Lithuanian is spoken by most of the subjects at home (Lithuanian was reported 148 times, that is, in 95 % of all cases). However, upon a closer look, it becomes obvious that the Lithuanian language was also mentioned in combination with other languages: 11 subjects stated that they speak Lithuanian and Russian at home; 9 subjects speak Lithuanian and English at home, and 2 subjects Lithuanian and Polish; 3 subjects reported that they speak all three languages (Lithuanian, Polish and Russian) at home. 5 subjects speak exclusively Russian at home; 2 subjects speak only Polish at home. The combination of Polish and Russian occurred only once in the subsample.

The degree of language competence of the subjects is strongly correlated with their application of specific languages in median usage in semi-public or public domains. For Vilnius, the results of median usage are as follows. Books, newspapers and magazines are most frequently read in Lithuanian (149 times, that is, 59 % of all cases); English was stated the second most frequently (92 times or 59 % of all cases). Stated 49 times (32 % of all cases), Russian got the third place. Polish is very infrequently used in reading (7 times stated, or 5 % of all cases). Other languages constitute 10 % of all answers. It can be anticipated that as a matter of fact, the reception of English media is only so high in Vilnius, particularly by the subjects from the age groups 1 and 2, which read

14 When one is searching for an objective criterion, which allows an ethnical and linguistic assignment of the subjects, it is relatively advisable to use the home language as an indicator. This indicator is, for example, much safer than e.g. the criterion 'language in kindergarten' or 'teaching language at school,' since both of these functionalities are frequently correlated with a bunch of other factors of ethnicity, namely related to e.g. the wish for long-term economical success, for integration (especially in the cases of minorities), etc. It is also important that there can exist multiple affiliations, especially when it deals with individuals from 'mixed' families. With this in mind, the subjects were granted the possibility to state multiple languages as 'home language,' if necessary.

in English; subjects from the age group 2 read predominantly in Russian and Polish; Subjects, which read in Lithuanian, are evenly distributed among all three age groups. The majority of the respondents from Vilnius watch television in Lithuanian (136 times stated or 87 % of all cases). English is the second most frequently used language after Lithuanian (82 times stated or 53 % of all cases); Russian, stated 79 times (51 % of all cases), is in the third place, though not far behind English. Following Russian is again the answer 'in other languages' (16 times selected, that is, 10 % of all cases). For watching television, Polish got the last place among languages: only 8 answers (that is, 5 % of all cases). All three age groups watch TV in Lithuanian; age groups 2 and 3 watch TV in Polish and Russian; TV is watched in English equally among younger people in age groups 1 and 2.

The subjects had predominantly listened to the radio in Lithuanian (134 answers or 86 % of all cases) and English (52 answers, 33 % of all cases); they did it in Russian in 23 % of all cases (35 answers). As for Polish and 'other languages,' each was answered only four times. Language usage for radio listening is similar among younger people from age groups 1 and 2, mainly Lithuanian and English, whereas Russian is popular in age groups 2 and 3.

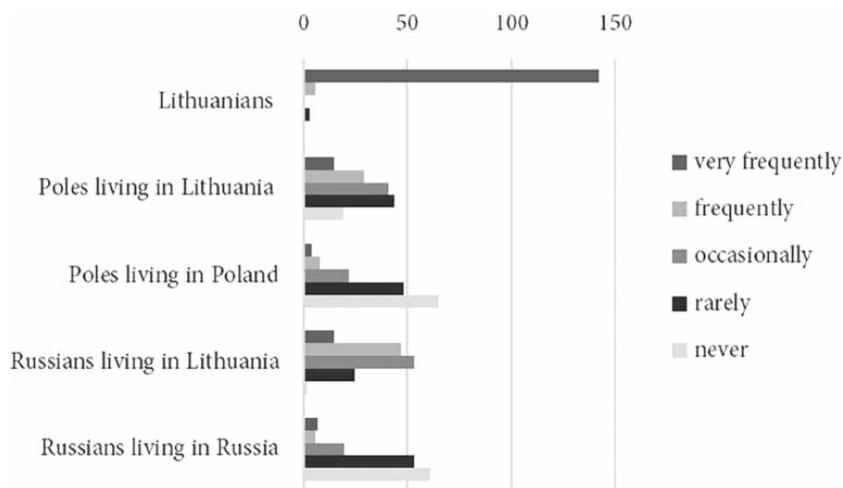
Internet surfing is mostly in Lithuanian (145 answers or 93 % of all cases) and English (108 answers or 69 % of all cases); 33 subjects (21 % of all cases) reported internet surfing primarily on Russian websites. 11 % of all cases reported internet surfing in other languages. The usage of Lithuanian is relatively evenly distributed in all three age groups, whereas it is predominantly the people of age group 2 which use Russian, English and other languages for internet surfing.

About the language application in semi-public and public domains, a clear tendency can be noticed here: Both in Cafés, pharmacies and shops as well as in clinics and public institutions or government authorities, Lithuanian is used with a frequency of 99 % in all cases in all three age groups. The occasional mentions from Russian and Polish here occur only in combination with Lithuanian.

More than half of the subjects from Vilnius are interested in questions about language policy in general. 57 % of the respondents stated that when they use the media, they will give attention to language policy issues. In contrast, only 20 % of the respondents would not do it; the rest of the subjects have no opinion on that (answer variant 'difficult to say'). Concerning the specific questions, which were formulated based on the thoughts of Kloss, the result is as follows. The answer which is chosen most frequently (37 %) was the one which discusses more cultural autonomy in language questions, and was

consequently attributed to the attitude type ‘language friends.’ In the second place (29 %) was the attitude type ‘language trivializers,’ 21 % of the respondents in Vilnius are attributed to the type ‘language devotees.’ Only a small portion of the subjects (6 %) has to be attributed to the so-called ‘language fanatics’ according to their answers.

About interethnic contacts, the subjects were quite generally asked about how often would they make contact with Lithuanians, Poles or Russians. Sensitised through the results of the previous study of Kostiučenko 2016, the frequencies of contact were queried differentiated by—contact with Poles living in Lithuania, with Poles living in Poland, with Russians living in Lithuania or with Russians living in Russia. For Vilnius, the analysis of the answers gave the following result.

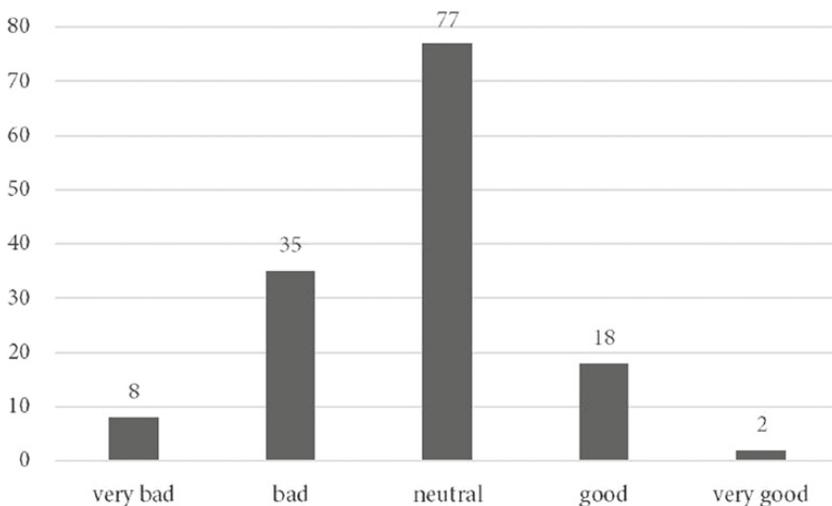


x-axis: number of responses (within each category)

Diagram 2. Frequency of contact with ... (Vilnius, n = 157)

The frequent contact of the subjects with Lithuanians is trivial in the context of the investigation, and thus requires no further explanation. However, it can be further noticed from the diagram that there is an active contact with Polish- and Russian-speaking population in Lithuania, whereas the contact with Lithuanian Russians is more frequent than with Lithuanian Poles.

Furthermore, the subjects were asked the following question: In your immediate vicinity, how well are the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania normally spoken of? For this question, five gradual answer options were offered: from ‘very bad’ to ‘very good.’ For Vilnius, the resulted values from the view of ethnic Lithuanians are as follows:



y-axis: number of responses

Diagram 3. Judgments about the Poles living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Vilnius, n = 140; Lithuanians)

‘In your immediate vicinity, how well are the Poles living in Lithuania normally spoken of?’n

It is evident from the answers that the judgments of the Poles living in Lithuania by the Lithuanians living in Vilnius are mostly neutral (77 answers); nonetheless, the sum of the two negative bars (43 answers) is higher than the sum of the two positive bars (20 answers).

The following diagram shows the values of the judgment of the Russians living in Lithuania:

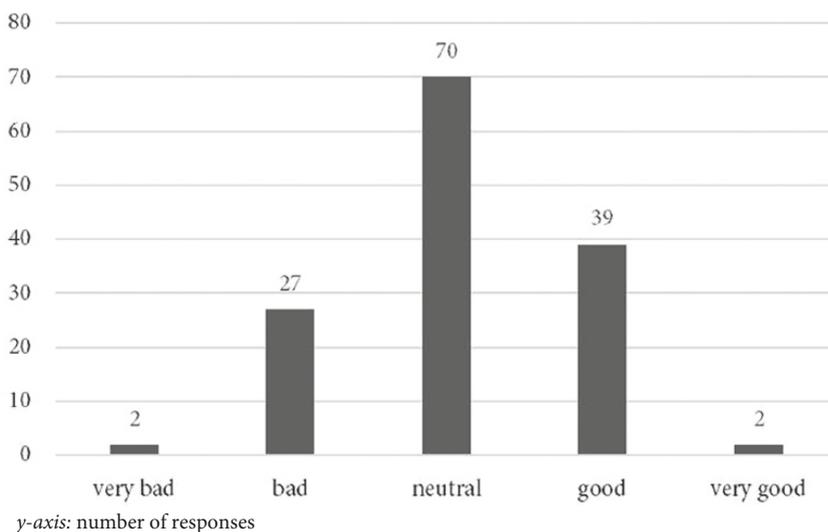


Diagram 4. Judgments about the Russians living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Vilnius, $n = 140$; Lithuanians)

'In your immediate vicinity, how well are the Russians living in Lithuania normally spoken of?'

Here again the neutral judgment is dominant (70 answers); however, the sum of the positive bars is a little higher than the sum of the negative bars (29 answers). In the overall view, the judgment by the subjects is rather positive.

About their ethnical affiliation, the remaining 17 subjects from Vilnius constitute a heterogeneous subgroup. They are Poles, Russians, a combination of these two ethnicities, or subjects without clear ethnical affiliation. Since it is too little a portion of all cases anyhow, the judgments by this subgroup are not further dealt with.

In the last step, we should look at how the subjects have evaluated the current relationship between the language groups. The results for Vilnius are shown in Diagrams 5 to 7 in their different assessment horizons:

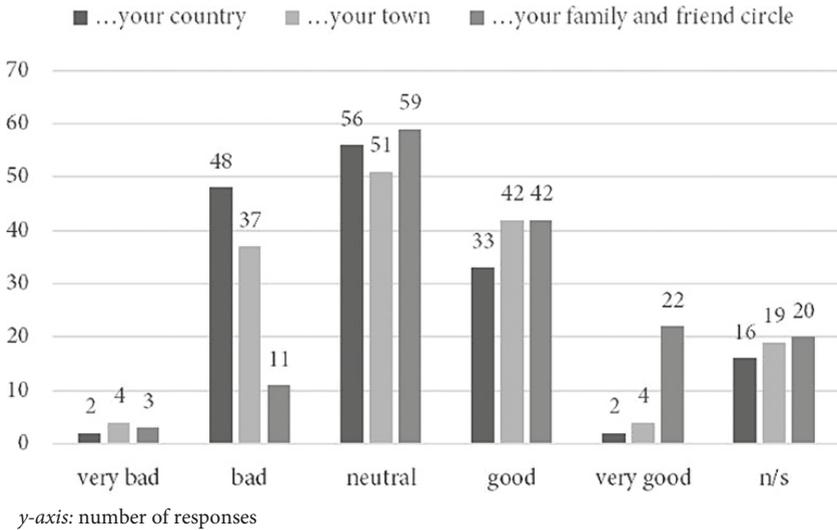


Diagram 5. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania (Vilnius, n = 157)

‘How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania in ...?’

It becomes obvious that the relationship between Lithuanians and Poles living in Lithuania is neutrally or rather positively judged from the view of Vilnius residents when it comes to their family and friend circle. However, as soon as the state as a whole is involved, the evaluation turns out to be exactly the opposite; that is, rather negative. In the capital Vilnius, the atmosphere in this regard seems to be rather ambivalent.

The evaluation of the relationship between Lithuanians and Russians living in Lithuania (see next page) shows that the values in all three horizons turn out to be neutral to rather positive.

The evaluation of the relationship between Russians and Poles in the view of subjects from Vilnius seems to be rather neutral to positive in all horizons.

3.2 Kaunas (80 subjects)

The subsample from Kaunas was not representative since many subjects refused to participate in the investigation. As a consequence, the absolute majority of

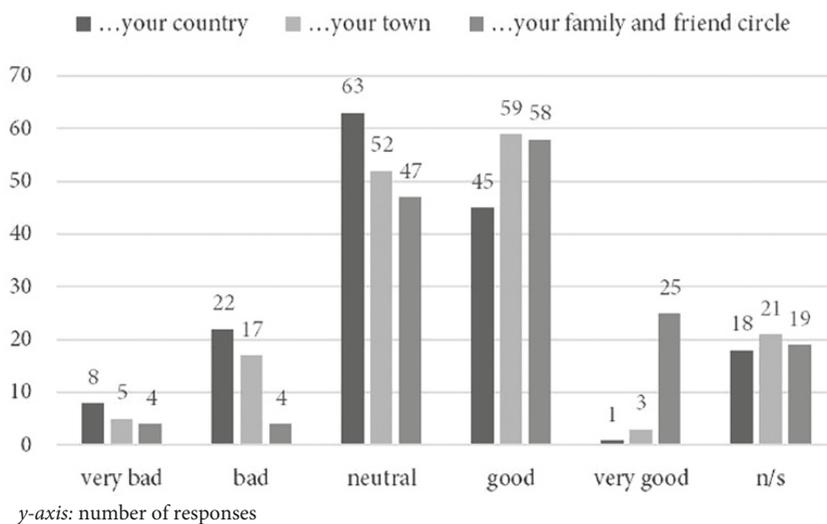


Diagram 6. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania (Vilnius, n = 157)

'How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania in ...?'

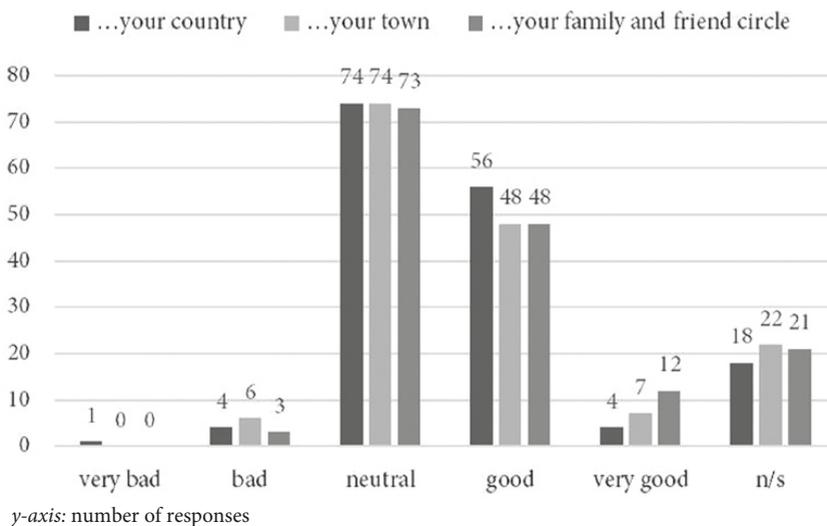


Diagram 7. Assessment of the relationship between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania (Vilnius, n = 157)

'How do you assess the relationship between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania in ...?'

the respondents from Kaunas are students between 17 and 18 years old, which are born and grown up in Lithuania, and have lived in Kaunas for at least three years. 81 % of the respondents identify themselves as Lithuanians; 9 % felt that they are ethnic Russians, and 6 % have chosen the answer category ‘difficult to say.’ Regarding their native language, most of the respondents stated that their native language should be Lithuanian; two and one subjects have chosen the answers ‘Lithuanian and Russian’ and ‘Lithuanian and Polish,’ respectively. Thirteen subjects have only stated Russian as their native language, and two subjects reported that their native languages should be Russian and an additional language.

The group from Kaunas also had to report their language competence on a 10-point-scale:

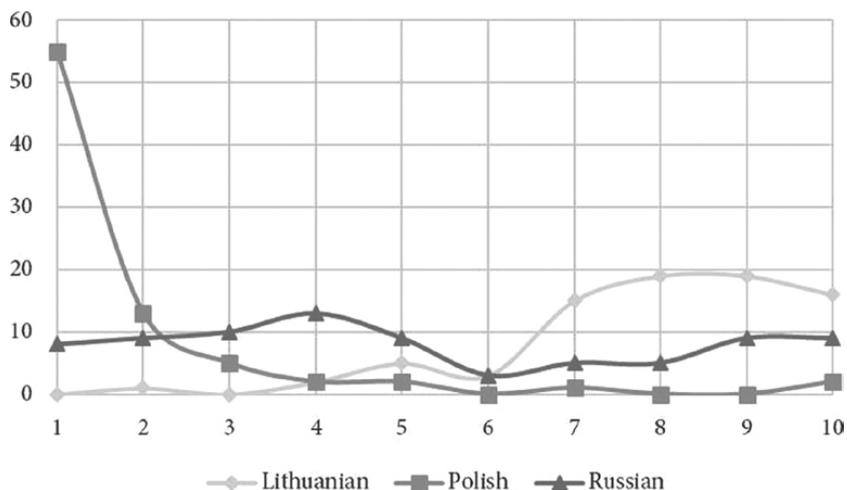


Diagram 8. Self-assessment of the language competence in Kaunas (n = 80)
x-axis: level of self-reported competence (for each language); from 1 ('I cannot speak it at all') to 10 ('I can speak it very well'). y-axis: number of responses

Like in Vilnius, Lithuanian is also predominant in Kaunas; Polish is the least mastered language by students in Kaunas. Russian is well mastered by them. However, the statements of the students spread throughout the entire spectrum of the potentials of competence. The precise values are shown in Tab. 6. As mentioned above, the subsample for Kaunas does not constitute a representative subsample for the city population. Nevertheless, it seems to be

conspicuous and surprising that the average for Lithuanian language reaches only 8 points.

Tab. 6. Language competence in Kaunas (n = 80): mean, median and standard deviation

	Lithuanian n = 80	Polish n = 80	Russian n = 80
Mean (<i>M</i>)	8	1.8	5.2
Median (<i>Md</i>)	8	1	5
Standard deviation (<i>SD</i>)	1.7	1.7	3

The statistic regarding the home language for Kaunas (currently with n = 79) is as follows. Lithuanian was mentioned 67 times in total, that is, 85 % of all cases, and therefore can be considered as the most spoken home language. Nine subjects also stated, however, that they speak Lithuanian and Russian at home; five subjects speak Lithuanian and English at home. A subject even reported speaking Lithuanian, Russian and English at home. No subject from Kaunas reported speaking Polish at home. For ten subjects in Kaunas, Russian is the only home language.

Like what was found for Vilnius, the application of languages for media usage and in other individual domains should be described as well.¹⁵ Reading is mostly in Lithuanian in Kaunas (65 times mentioned, that is, 86 % of all cases), followed by English (41 times mentioned, 54 % of all cases); Russian was recorded 16 times (21 % of all cases). The young people from Kaunas do not read in Polish.

The subjects from Kaunas watch television primarily in Lithuanian (62 answers or 79 % of all cases), English (47 answers or 60 % of all cases) or Russian (23 answers or 29 % of all cases). The radio is used by the subjects from Kaunas mostly in Lithuanian (53 answers or 67 % of all cases), subsequently also in English (24 answers or 30 % of all cases). Polish and Russian were each reported no more than five times in this context. The internet is used by this group primarily in English (64 answers or 81 % of all cases); Lithuanian gets the second place here, with 50 answers (63 % of all cases). For internet usage, Russian was only mentioned 18 times (23 % of all cases). No Polish websites were visited at all.

¹⁵ The differentiation according to age, however, is not possible in this subsample, which is why it is not given here.

As far as the application of Lithuanian, Polish and Russian in the semi-public or public domains is concerned, Kaunas shows the same tendency as in Vilnius. In public, priority is clearly given to Lithuanian (76 answers, 96 % of all cases); mentions of Russian and English occur almost only in combination with Lithuanian.

In general, the examined subsample in Kaunas showed little interest in questions about language policy. Only 26 % of the respondents reported that they are interested in language policy issues in the media. A major portion of the respondents (41 %) had no opinion on that (answer option 'difficult to say'). The rest of the subjects are not interested in questions about language policy at all. About the attitude types, 39 % of the respondents from Kaunas identified themselves with the type 'language friends' (30 %). A further amount of the respondents (15 %) chose the answer category which stands for the attitude type 'language devotees.' Only 8 % of the subjects attributed themselves to the radical 'language fanatics.'

The values, which indicate the contact frequency of subjects from Kaunas, reflect the linguistic conditions in this monolingual Lithuanian city.

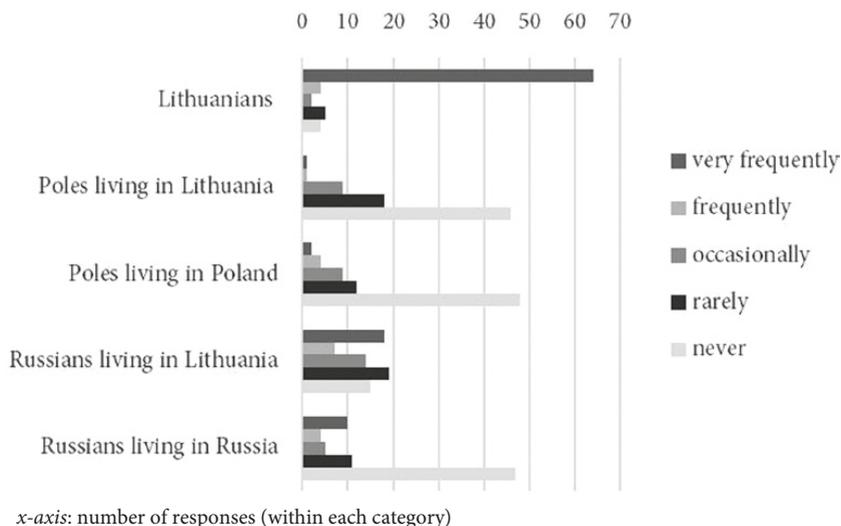


Diagram 9. Frequency of contact with ... (Kaunas, n = 80)

The bar 'never' points out that the subjects from Kaunas are rarely in contact with Poles and their language, nor do they have contact with Russians in Russia. Eighteen subjects or 23 % of all respondents reported, however, that they frequently contact the Russians living in Lithuania.

It should also be mentioned briefly about the judgments of the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania, which the Kaunas residents know from their immediate vicinity. In this group, the ethnic Lithuanians also constitute the majority of the respondents (65 subjects), and thus only their judgments are analysed.

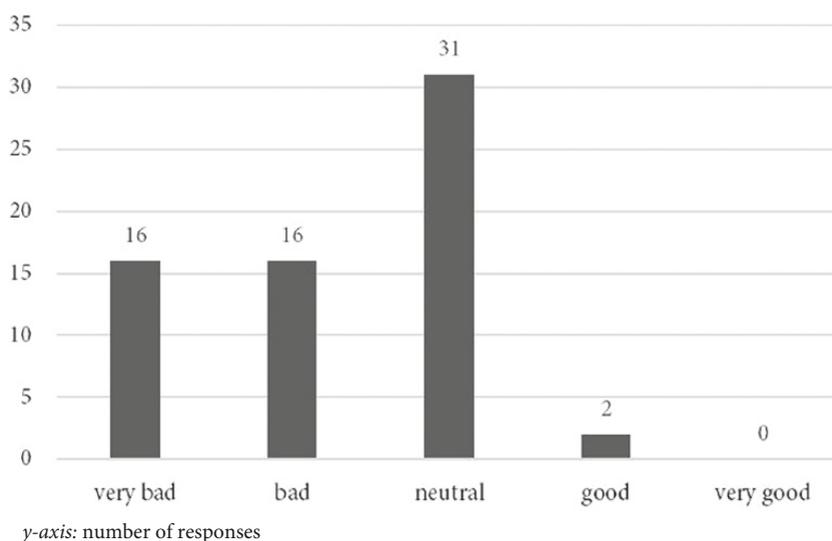


Diagram 10. Judgments about the Poles living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Kaunas, n = 65; Lithuanians)

'How are the Poles living in Lithuania normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

According to the distribution of the answers, it is evident that the Poles living in Lithuania are spoken of either quite negatively or rather neutrally in the immediate vicinity of the Lithuanians from Kaunas. The corresponding Judgments of the Russians living in Lithuania by this subgroup look as follows:

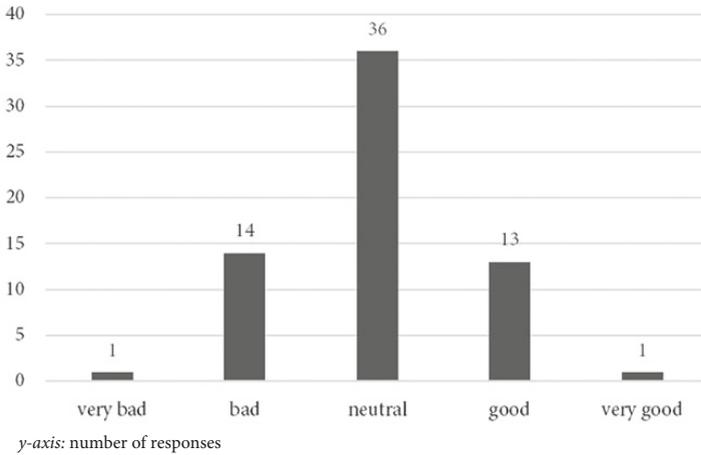


Diagram 11. Judgments about the Russians living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Kaunas, n = 65; Lithuanians)
'How are the Russians living in Lithuania normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

The Kaunas subgroup has answered this question heterogeneously. Neutral judgment is dominant (36 answers). However, Russians are spoken of positively and negatively in equal proportions, namely 14 and 15 answers, respectively.

The Kaunas residents assessed the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania as follows.

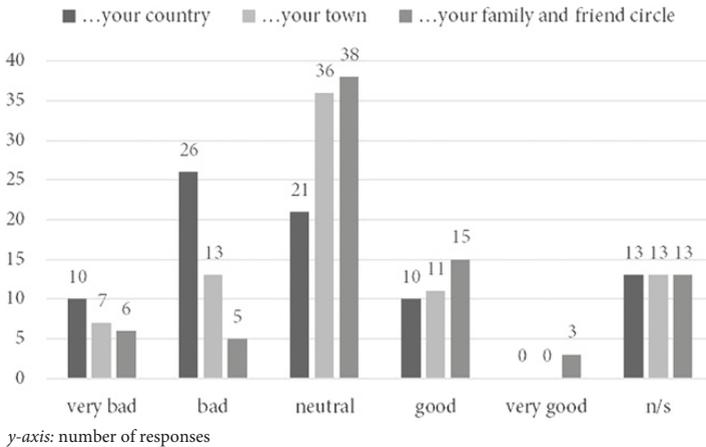


Diagram 12. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and Poles living in Lithuania (Kaunas, n = 80)
'How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania in ...?'

Regarding Lithuanians as a whole, the assessment of the relationship between both ethnic groups seems rather bad; when only Kaunas is considered, the assessment is predominantly neutral. In the family and friend circle, the assessments are from neutral to positive.

The distribution of the subjects' answers regarding the relationship between Lithuanians and Russians living in Lithuania is as follows:

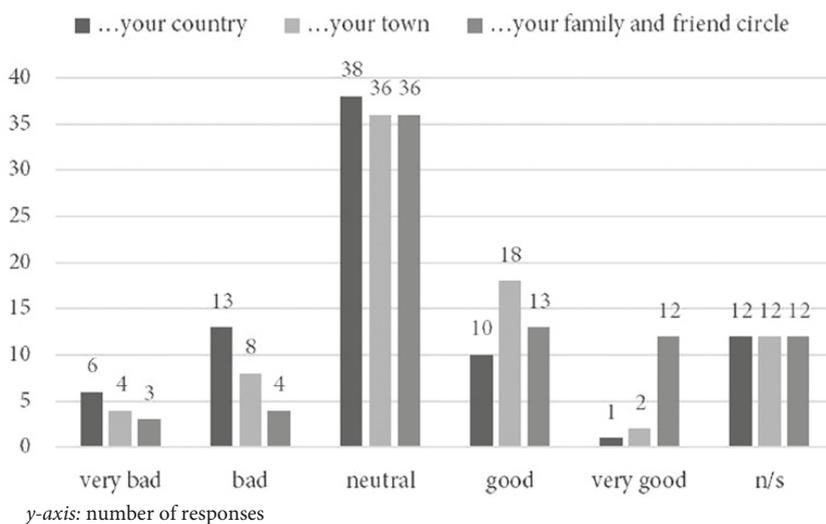


Diagram 13. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and Russians living in Lithuania (Kaunas, n = 80)

'How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and Russians living in Lithuania in ...?'

The neutral answer is dominant in all horizons; that is, the relationship is neither good nor bad in the view of the subjects.

The relationship between the Poles living in Lithuania and the local Russians in Kaunas is assessed as follows:

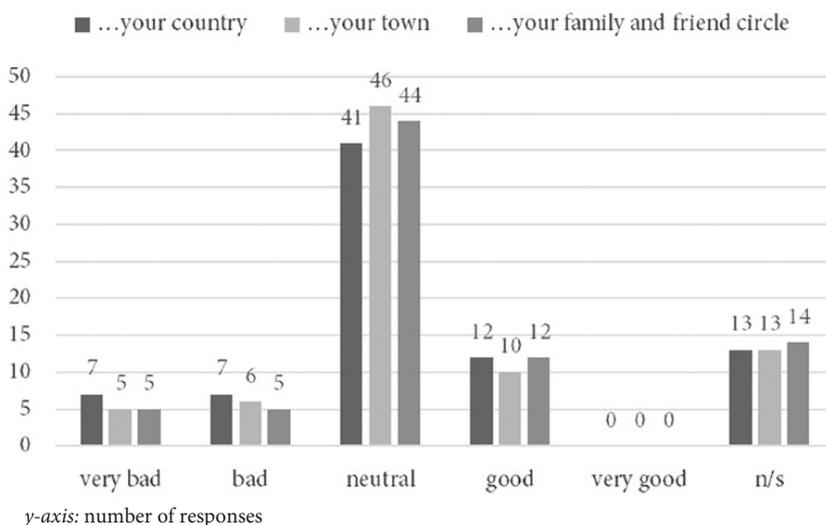


Diagram 14. Assessment of the relationship between Poles and Russians living in Lithuania (Kaunas, n = 80)

'How do you assess the relationship between Poles and Russians living in Lithuania in ...?'

It can also be recognized here that the relationship between the two minorities is neutral in the view of the subjects from Kaunas.

3.3 Klaipėda (115 subjects)

A good majority of the subjects in this subsample (namely 57 % of the respondents) spent their entire life in Klaipėda; 36 % of the respondents lived there longer than three years. However, the respondents distinguished themselves through a wide spectrum of countries of origin, whereby most of the subjects (75 %) are born and grown up in Lithuania, as would be expected. 10 % of the respondents are born and grown up in Russia. Other countries are also mentioned, including Ukraine, Belarus, Latvia, Kazakhstan, Germany and Turkmenistan. Some subjects only simply stated 'USSR.'

In regard to the ethnic affiliation of the subjects of the subsample from Klaipėda, the distribution is more homogeneous than their countries of origin: 69 % of the subjects regarded themselves as Lithuanians, 15 % as Russians; 4 % have stated 'other nationality,' and 3 % could not specify their countries of origin. Regarding their native language(s), most of the subjects stated either Lithuanian (67 % of

the respondents) or Russian (33 %); 4 subjects reported that both Lithuanian and Russian are their native languages.

The distribution of the language competence of the residents of Klaipėda is as follows:

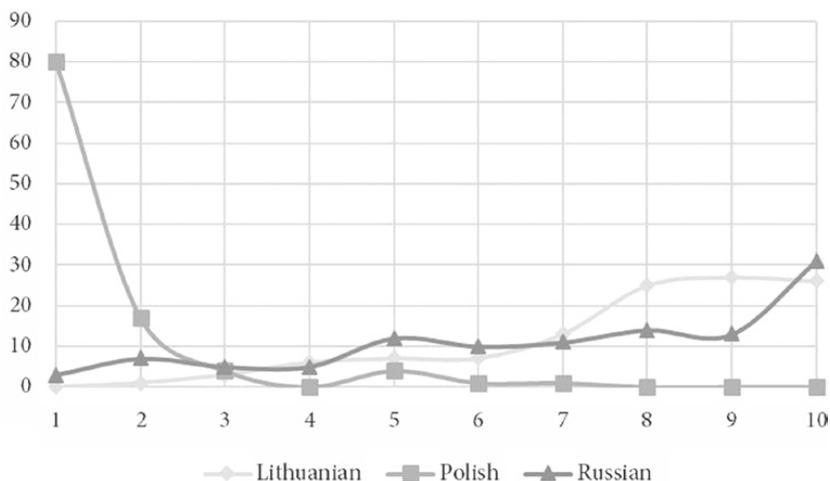


Diagram 15. Self-assessment of the language competence in Klaipėda (n = 115)

x-axis: level of self-reported competence (for each language); from 1 ('I cannot speak it at all') to 10 ('I can speak it very well'). y-axis: number of responses

We can see once again that the competence in Polish is much lower than in the other two languages; it is characteristic for Klaipėda, however, that the competencies in Lithuanian and Russian have even distribution. The values of this distribution are given in Table 7. It is not surprising here that Polish has a low mean.

Tab. 7. Language competence in Klaipėda (n = 115): mean, median and standard deviation

	Lithuanian n = 115	Polish n = 107	Russian n = 111
Mean (<i>M</i>)	7.9	1.5	7.1
Median (<i>Md</i>)	8	1	8
Standard deviation (<i>SD</i>)	2	1.1	2.7

About the home language in Klaipėda, Lithuanian was reported 83 times (74 % of all cases), and Russian 48 times (43 % of all cases). Since it was possible

to state multiple answers for the question of the home language, the statements also include the following combinations: Lithuanian and Russian (stated by 16 subjects), Russian and English (again 2 subjects), as well as Lithuanian and another language (stated by one subject). Just as for Kaunas, for Klaipėda also is valid: none of the interviewees speaks Polish at home.

In terms of the application of Lithuanian, Polish and Russian in media usage and in individual domains, the following is recorded: Reading is most often in Lithuanian (93 mentions or 81 % of all cases); in Russian in 60 % of all cases (69 mentions) and English in 31 % of all cases (36 mentions). No one read in Polish. Television watching in Klaipėda is either in Lithuanian (94 mentions, 82 % of all cases) or Russian (82 times mentioned, 71 % of all cases). English got third place, with 47 mentions (41 % of all cases). Comparable ratios can also be observed with radio listening: the subjects listen either to Lithuanian or Russian broadcasting; English is in the third place. When the age of the subjects is considered, the following tendency can be recognised: all three age groups read, watch TV or listen to the radio in Lithuanian; the age group 2 reads, watches and listens predominantly in Russian, and the age group 1 in English.

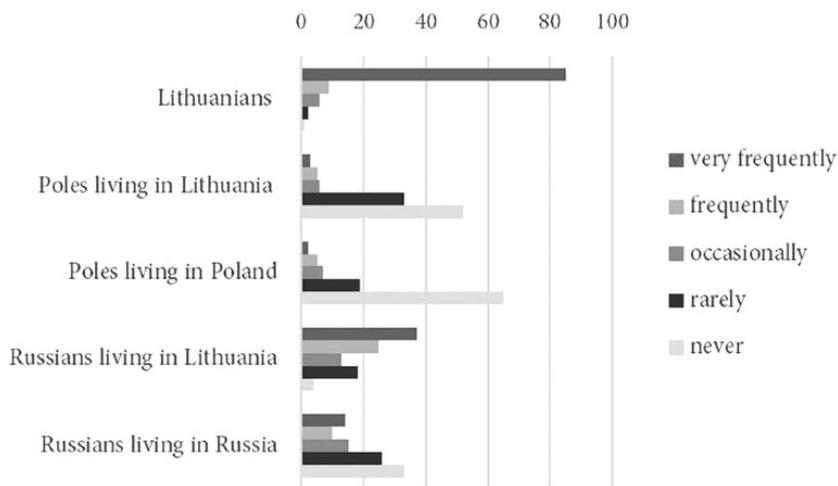
The internet is used predominantly in Lithuanian (89 mentions or 77 % of all cases), and also to a considerable extent in English (64 mentions, 56 % of all cases). Russian plays a less important role in Internet usage in Klaipėda (52 mentions, 45 % of all cases); Polish was not mentioned for internet usage at all. The result according to age groups is as follows: websites in Lithuanian and Russian are visited predominantly by the age group 2; the English websites are visited evenly by the age group 1 and 2.

In the semi-public and public domains in Klaipėda, Lithuanian is clearly and almost exclusively preferred (namely in 98 % of all cases), as in the cases of Vilnius and Kaunas; the combination of English and Russian only appeared with the mention of Lithuanian. However, because of the relative big Russian-speaking diaspora there, Russian is mentioned more frequently in Klaipėda than in Vilnius and Kaunas, when it concerns the publicly applied languages. It was stated 44 times that Russian is used in cafés, pharmacies, shops (38 % of all cases), 26 times (23 % of all cases) that it is applied in the clinics and 24 times (21 % of all cases) when it comes to institutes.

A general interest in language policy exist in Klaipėda in 54 % of the respondents; 18 % of the respondents have no interest; the rest of the respondents found it difficult to decide between 'yes' and 'no', which is why the answer variant 'difficult to say' was chosen. With respect to the attitude types in the sense of Kloss, the attitude type 'language friends' has been shown

to be most prevalent in Klaipėda (39 % of all answers); the type 'language trivializers' was also chosen relatively frequently (24 %). 13 % of the subjects gave a radical answer and had to be attributed to 'language fanatics.' Overall, a more heterogeneous, more differentiated distribution is observed in Klaipėda than in the other cities.

Once again the ethnic contacts of the subjects were scrutinised, in which both the contact frequency with their ethnic group as well as with other ethnic groups were inquired. The result is as follows:



x-axis: number of responses (within each category)

Diagram 16. Frequency of contact with ... (Klaipėda, n = 115)

Subjects from Klaipėda have very little contact with Poles, whereas they have much contact with the Russians living in Lithuania and Russia.

In respect to the judgments in the immediate vicinity reported by the Lithuanians in Klaipėda, it can be noticed that the Poles living in Lithuania are mainly neutrally spoken of:

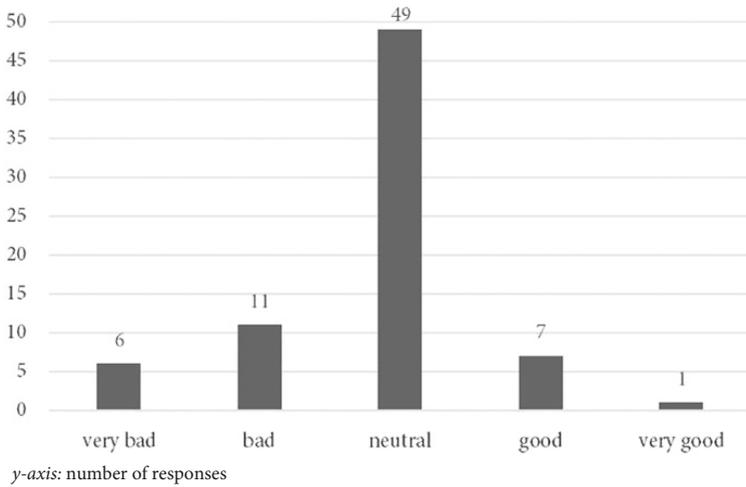


Diagram 17. Judgments about the Poles living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Klaipėda, n = 74; Lithuanians)
'How are the Poles living in Lithuania normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

About the Russians living in Lithuania, the judgments from the immediate vicinity of the Lithuanians from Klaipėda are neutral to positive:

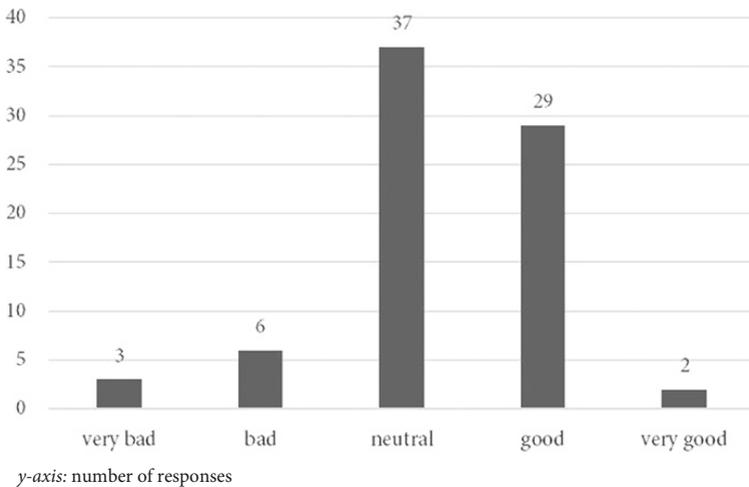


Diagram 18. Judgments about the Russians living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Klaipėda, n = 77; Lithuanians)
'How are the Russians living in Lithuania normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

As already mentioned, there is a relative large Russian population in Klaipėda. Therefore, it should be more exactly illustrated at this point how Lithuanians and Poles are spoken of in the immediate vicinity of the Russians living in Klaipėda. The following diagram illustrates the stated judgments:

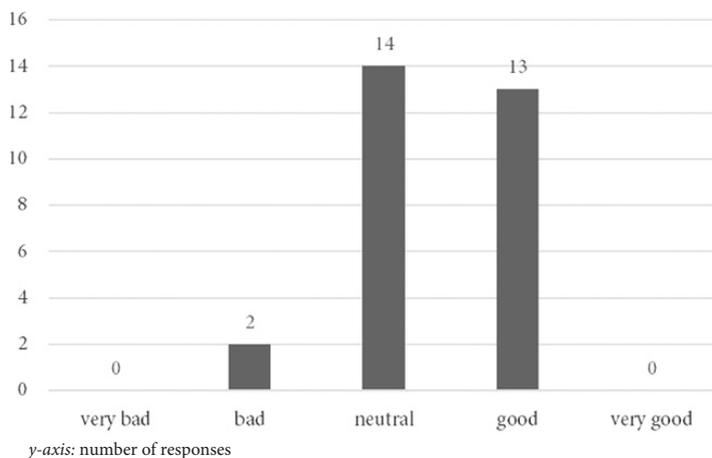


Diagram 19. Judgments about the Lithuanians in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Klaipėda, n = 29; Russians)

'How are the Lithuanians normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

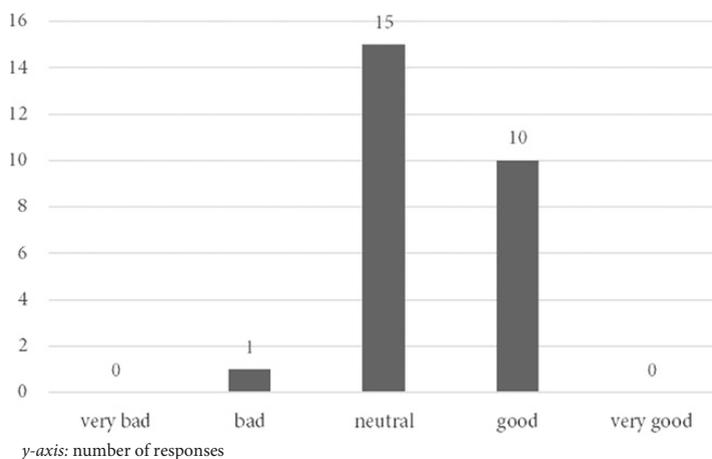


Diagram 20. Judgments about the Poles living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Klaipėda, n = 26; Russians)

'How are the Poles living in Lithuania normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

In conclusion, it can be said that the judgments of Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania by the Russians in Klaipėda are primarily from neutral to good.

Now we should look at the assessment of the relationship between the language groups, how it is viewed by the subjects in different areas (generally in the countryside, in the city Klaipėda, and in their immediate vicinity).

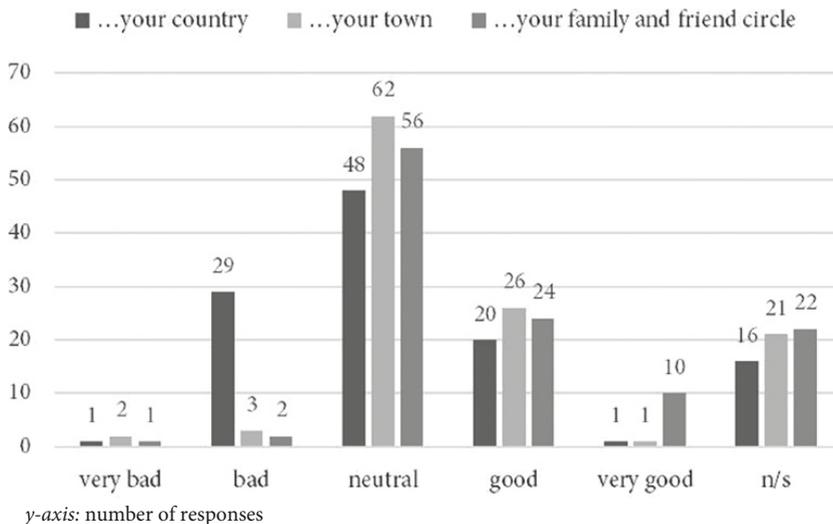


Diagram 21. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania (Klaipėda, n = 115)

‘How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania in...?’

It is probably due to the lack of contact with the Poles living in Lithuania (see diagram 16) that the answers of the subjects at all three levels are predominantly neutral. Nonetheless, there seems to be a concrete assessment of the queried relationship when Lithuania in general or the specific city of origin (Klaipėda) is considered. That is to say, the subjects assess the relationship at the state level primarily negatively, whereas they view the same relationship in their city rather positively.

The relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania is graphically illustrated as follows:

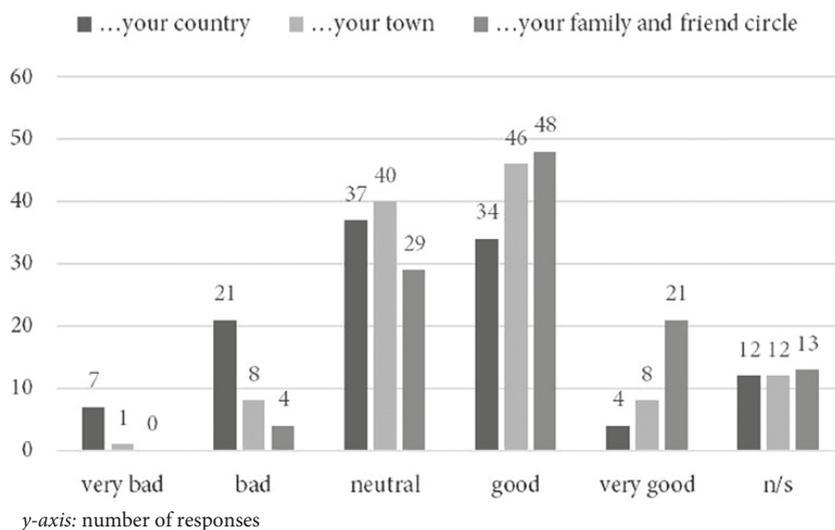
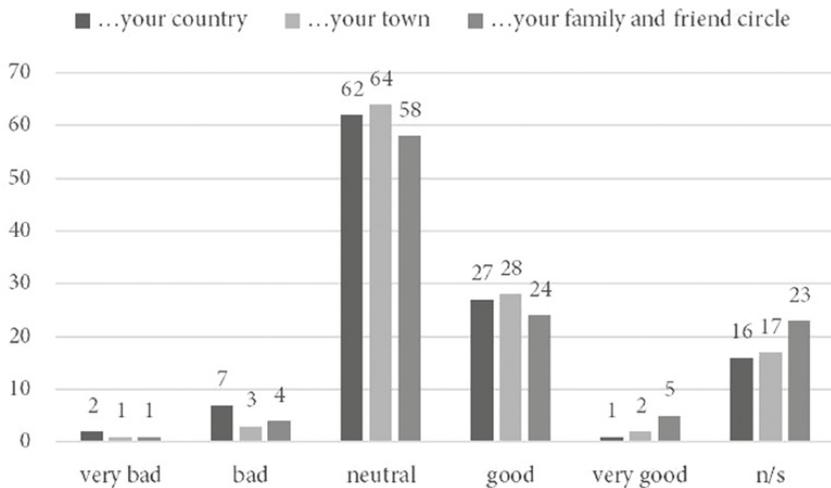


Diagram 22. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania (Klaipėda, n = 115)

'How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania in ...?'

It can be explicitly recognised that the queried relationship in all areas is neutral to positive. In particular, the relationship with the Russians living in Lithuania is assessed as positive by the Lithuanians in the immediate vicinity of the subjects.

As for the question about the relationship between Lithuanian Poles and Lithuanian Russians, the answers of the subjects have almost the same distribution:



y-axis: number of responses

Diagram 23. Assessment of the relationship between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania (Klaipėda, n = 115)

‘How do you assess the relationship between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania in ...?’

3.4 Šalčininkai (61 subjects)

It was the same for Šalčininkai that the quota sample could not be formed as originally planned because the potential subjects of the age group 3 refused to participate in the study due to unknown reasons. As for the reached subjects, they have always been (53 %) or over three years (18 %) living in Šalčininkai. However, relatively many subjects in Šalčininkai have left out the question about their periods of residence (30 %). Almost all participants of this subsample are born and grown up in Lithuania; only one subject stated that he is born and grown up in Belarus. Most of the respondents identified themselves as Poles (61 %); 16 % view themselves as Lithuanians and 13 % as Russians; 7 % have chosen the answer category ‘difficult to say.’

Concerning the native language of the residents of Šalčininkai, the percentages are a little different than in case of their ethnical self-assignment: Lithuanian is the native language of 23 %, Polish 48 % and Russian 29 % of the respondents. Two subjects stated that they speak two native languages, namely Polish and Russian. One subject reported that he even speak all three languages natively.

The relative degree of mastery of all three languages in this city is illustrated in diagram 24.

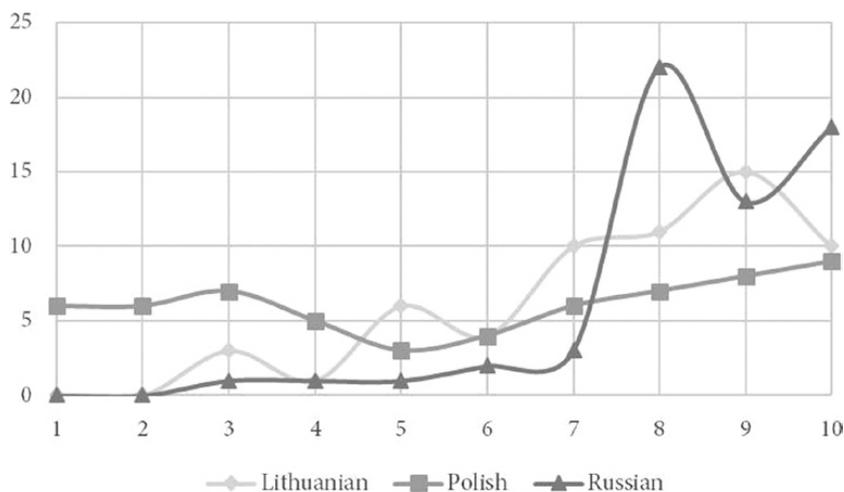


Diagram 24. Self-assessment of the language competence in Šalčininkai (n = 61)

It is surprising at this point that the majority of the Polish subjects stated that they have the highest competence in Russian. The means of this distribution is shown in Table 8. It is also evident that Russian obtains both the highest mean and median. Astonishingly, the mean for Polish is relatively low.

Tab. 8. Language competence in Šalčininkai (n = 61): mean, median and standard deviation

	Lithuanian n = 60	Polish n = 61	Russian n = 61
Mean (<i>M</i>)	7.7	5.9	8.5
Median (<i>Md</i>)	8	6	9
Standard deviation (<i>SD</i>)	1.9	3.1	1.5

For the question about their home language (multiple answers were allowed), two languages were mentioned the most: Polish (31 times or 63 % of all cases) and Russian (33 times or 67 % of all cases). The following combination occurred: Polish and Russian (mentioned by ten subjects), Lithuanian and Russian (stated by seven subjects), all three languages (mentioned by five

subjects) as well as Lithuanian and Polish (chosen by two subjects). However, data like these are less surprising for the region of Šalčininkai.

In regard to the choice of languages in different domains, the result for Šalčininkai is as follows: Reading is primarily in Lithuanian (53 mentions or 88 % of all cases) and Russian (45 mentions or 75 % of all cases); Polish performed worse than expected (24 mentions, 40 % of all cases). The TV is watched evenly in Lithuanian and Russian in Šalčininkai (in 87 % of all cases); Polish was mentioned 19 times (32 % of all cases). Radio is listened to primarily in Russian (46 mentions or 77 % of all cases); following Russian comes Lithuanian with 36 mentions (60 % of all cases). Polish was mentioned only 20 times (in 33 % of all cases). The Internet is predominantly accessed in Lithuanian (with 53 mentions, that is, in 88 % of all cases), followed by Russian (39 mentions, 65 % of all cases) and English (20 mentions, 33 % of all cases); only 21 % of the respondents surf the internet in Polish.

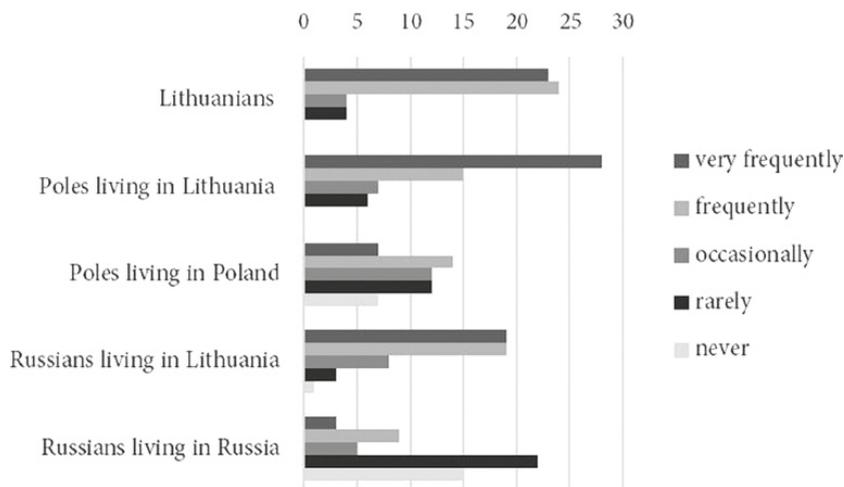
About the age of the subjects, media usage has the following distribution: the age group 1 and 2 read in Lithuanian in equal proportion; the age group read predominantly in Polish and/or Russian. The distribution is similar to TV watching. The age group 2 listens to radio predominantly in Lithuanian; the age group 1 does it predominantly in Russian. Regarding internet usage, it is mostly the age group 1 which besides Lithuanian also use the internet in Russian or English. Considering the application of Lithuanian, Polish and Russian in the semi-public and public domains, it looks different in Šalčininkai than in the other three cities described above, namely much more heterogeneous, because all three languages are frequently used there in parallel. In cafés, pharmacies and shops, Russian is most frequently applied (with 40 mentions or in 82 % of all cases); with a statistical distance follow Lithuanian (34 mentions, 69 % of all cases) and Polish (29 mentions, 59 % of all cases). The choice of languages is equally heterogeneous for communication in the clinic.

It is slightly different in the public sector (the predetermined contexts were institutions and public authorities). The dominant language here is Lithuanian (44 mentions, 90 % of all cases); Polish or Russian is less but equally used (each with 25 mentions, 51 % of all cases). Representatives of the age groups 1 and 2 use predominantly Lithuanian and Russian in public, whereas Polish is mainly used by the age group 2.

In Šalčininkai, the general interest in questions of language policy is similar to Vilnius in percentages: 57 % of the subjects stated that they would be interested in language policy issues that are taken up by the media. 30 % of the subjects here have chosen the answer category 'difficult to say', and the rest of the respondents showed no pronounced interest. Concerning the attitude types *sensu* Kloss, the

subjects from the city Šalčininkai can be attributed to two attitude types, namely the ‘language devotees’ and the ‘language friends’ (each constitutes 30 % of all answers). Stated by 23 % of the subjects, the ‘language trivializers’ got second place in the analysis of attitude type. A marginal number of respondents only has chosen the remaining two answers.

The result of contact frequency in Šalčininkai is illustrated in the following figure:



x-axis: number of responses (within each category)

Diagram 25. Frequency of contact with ... (Šalčininkai, n = 61)

An active contact takes place between all three ethnic groups in Šalčininkai. However, the contact with the Lithuanian Poles was most frequently mentioned.

Also for ethnically and linguistically mixed families in Šalčininkai, their judgments of the Lithuanians and the representatives of the two largest minorities are inquired. First, we take a look at the answers of those subjects which have attributed themselves to the ethnic group ‘Poles.’

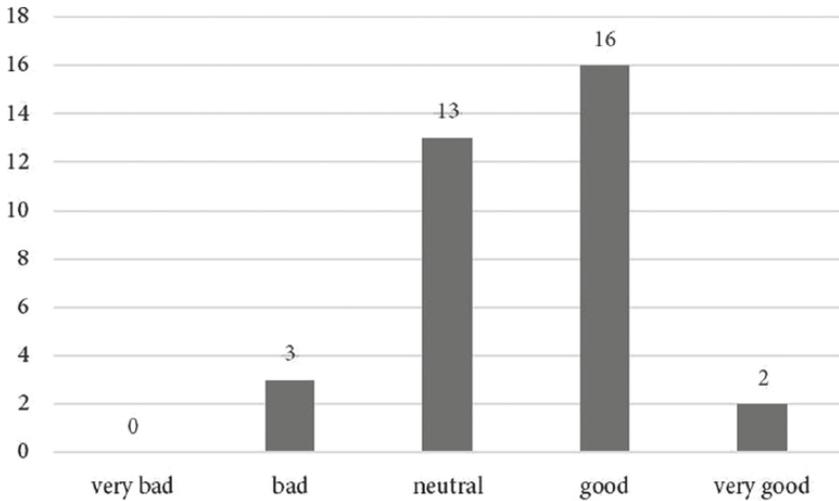
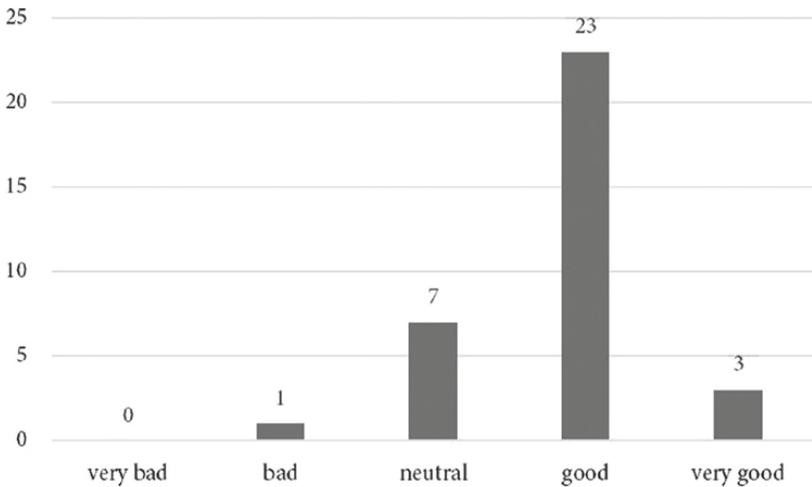


Diagram 26. Judgments about the Lithuanians in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Šalčininkai, n = 34; Poles)

'How are the Lithuanians usually spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'



y-axis: number of responses

Diagram 27. Judgments about the Russians living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Šalčininkai, n = 34; Poles)

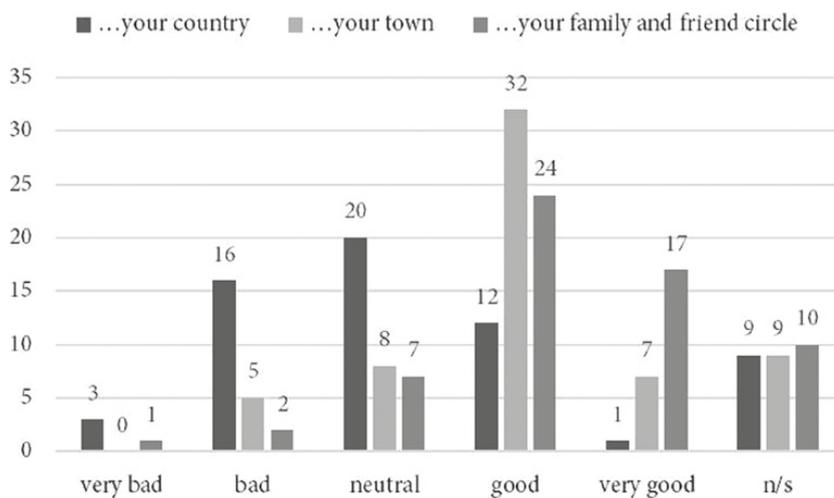
'How are the Russians living in Lithuania usually spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

We can notice a positive tendency from both diagrams: the Lithuanians and Lithuanian Russians are normally positively spoken of in the Polish families in Šalčininkai.

The judgments by the subjects, which have attributed themselves to the ethnic group 'Lithuanians,' show the following feature: Their judgments of the Poles living in Lithuania are ambivalent, whereas their judgments of the Russians living in Lithuania are predominantly positive.

The Russians living in Šalčininkai constitute an even smaller subgroup ($n = 10$) than the Poles living there. Consequently, it is not meaningful to conduct a statistical description. Nevertheless, it can still be noticed that their judgments are primarily positive considering both the Lithuanians and the Poles.

The subjects from Šalčininkai were also asked to assess the relationship between the language groups on three horizons. The result is as follows:



y-axis: number of responses

Diagram 28. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania ($n = 61$)

'How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania in ...?'

It is noticeable that there exists a large discrepancy between the assessments regarding the national horizon and the ones within Šalčininkai and in family and friend circle. While the Lithuanians and Lithuanian Poles get along with

each other from good to very good in the immediate vicinity, the assessment by the same subjects at the national level is rather negative from both sides. This discrepancy turns out to be even more significant regarding the relationship between Lithuanians and Lithuanian Russians; see diagram 29.

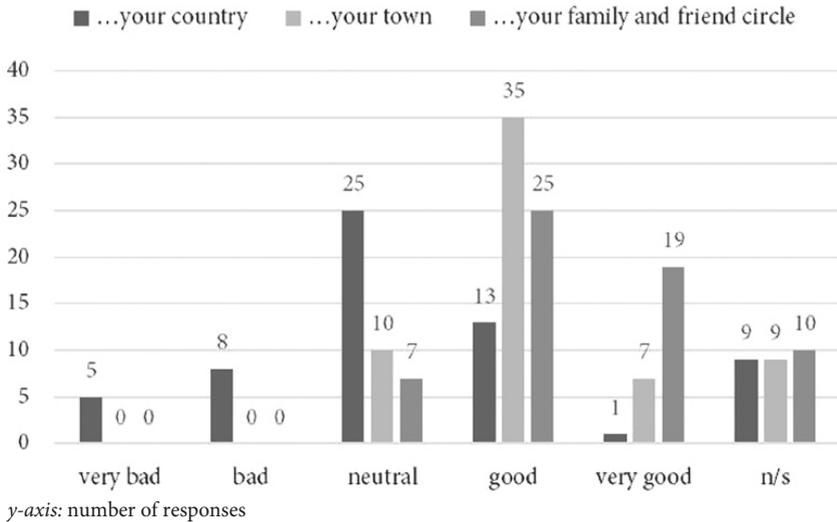


Diagram 29. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania (n = 61)

‘How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania in ...?’

While the relationship at the national level is evaluated from neutral to negative, it is viewed as good at the city level, and even very good in the family and friend circle.

The relationship between the Lithuanian Poles and the Lithuanian Russians is assessed by the subjects as follows:

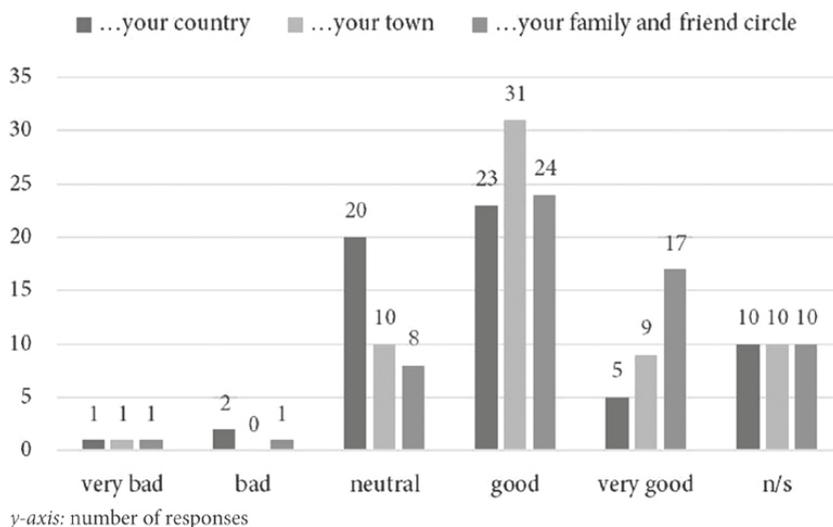


Diagram 30. Assessment of the relationship between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania (n = 61)

'How do you assess the relationship between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania in ...?'

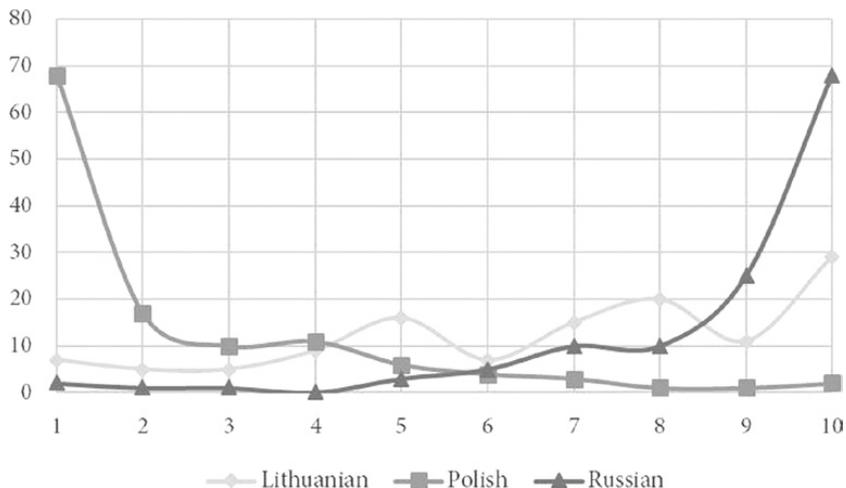
As it is illustrated in the diagram, the inquired relationship at all levels or on all horizons is evaluated as very good.

3.5 Visaginas (126 subjects)

Thanks to the openness of all the age groups, the planned quota subsample could be achieved in Visaginas without a problem.

The data of the descriptive statistics are as follows: 63 % of the respondents are born and grown up in Lithuania, 14 % in Russia and 10 % in Belarus; Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Latvia were also mentioned occasionally. Nevertheless, the aimed subjects here are people who have either lived longer than three years in Visaginas (48 %) or have spent their entire life in Visaginas (44 %). Regarding their nationality, 41 % attributed themselves to Lithuanians, 37 % Russians and 6 % Poles. In addition, 6 % have chosen the answer option 'difficult to say,' 10 % have chosen the category 'other nationalities.' Only one subject has stated that he identifies himself as Lithuanian as well as Russian. Five subjects have stated that they have two native languages, Lithuanian and Russian. Russian

is the only native language for 64 % of the respondents and Lithuanian for 35 %. The self-assessed language competence in Visaginas is as follows:



x-axis: level of self-reported competence (for each language); from 1 ('I cannot speak it at all') to 10 ('I can speak it very well'). *y-axis:* number of responses

Diagram 31. Self-assessment of the language competence in Visaginas (n = 126)

Russian is the best-mastered language in Visaginas, and Polish the worst. The values are shown in Table 9.

Tab. 9. Language competence in Visaginas (n = 126): mean, median and standard deviation

	Lithuanian n = 124	Polish n = 123	Russian n = 125
Mean (M)	6.8	2.3	8.9
Median (Md)	7	1	10
Standard deviation (SD)	2.8	2	1.8

Not only the mean of 8.9 (*SD* = 1.8) gives evidence to an especially high degree of language competence in Russian, but also the median of 10, which only occurs in this subsample.

In Visaginas, Russian is also most frequently mentioned as home language (90 times in total, that is, 73 % of all cases), followed by Lithuanian with a distance

(57 times, 46 % of all cases). Lithuanian and Russian form the most common language combination, namely spoken by 21 subjects at home. Polish as home language was only mentioned in combination with the other two languages in Visaginas.

In regard to the media usage and the application of Lithuanian, Polish and Russian in specific domains in Visaginas, the result is shown as follows: Reading is predominantly in Russian (104 mentions or 83 % of all case), followed statistically by Lithuanian (73 mentions, 58 % of all cases); English got the third place (23 mentions, 18 % of all cases). A corresponding result was also found for the rest of the media like TV, radio or the internet: Russian is most preferred, Lithuanian is in the second place, and subsequently followed by English.

In Visaginas, Lithuanian is applied by the age group 1 and 2 for reading, whereas all three age groups read in Russian. A similar result was found for watching TV: while the Lithuanian-speaking television channels are only relevant to the two younger age groups, the Russian-speaking channels are watched by all age groups. The same was found for the usage of the internet. Both age group 1 and age group 2 listen in equal proportions to broadcasts in Lithuanian and Russian. As expected, it was the age group 1 which also uses English for various media (in addition to Lithuanian and Russian). Polish plays no role in any age group in this context.

The language choice in cafés, pharmacies and shops is most frequently Russian (with 123 mentions or 98 % of all cases); Lithuanian is also applied very often (88 mentions, 70 % of all cases). The situation in polyclinics or hospitals is very similar, whereby Russian is even more frequently used than Lithuanian (namely in 96 % of all answers, in contrast to 53 % for Lithuanian). Concerning the communication in the public authorities, Lithuanian and Russian are more or less evenly applied: there were 95 mentions for Lithuanian (76 % of all cases) and 112 mentions for Russian (90 % of all cases). Considering the age groups, it can be seen that it is predominantly the age group 3 which uses Russian in the semi-public and public domains, namely much more often than younger persons. The age groups 1 and 2 use both languages with the same frequency. Polish is not used at all in the inquired context in Visaginas.

The interest in language policy issues is a little higher in Visaginas than in other four examined cities: 60 of the respondents stated that they would be interested in language policy in media; 24 % have chosen the answer category 'difficult to say'. The rest of the subjects of this subsample are not interested in the question about language policy. In regard to the question about the attitude types *sensu* Kloss, the answers of the subjects from Visaginas are polarised, since the proportions of 'language devotees', 'language friends' and 'language trivializers'

are equal (each with 25 % of all answers); in comparison to other cities, the attitude type ‘language fanatics’ was also notably frequently chosen.

With regard to the contacts between the language groups, the result for Visaginas is as follows:

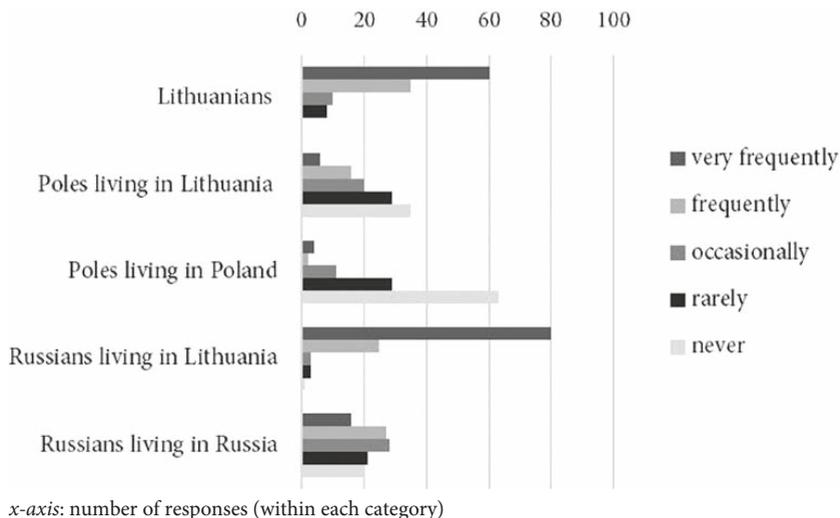


Diagram 32. Frequency of contact with ... (Visaginas, n = 113)

The most frequent contacts of the residents in Visaginas are with Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania, whereas a constant contact with the Russians living in Russia also exists. It is not surprising for Visaginas that the contact with the Polish-speaking population is almost non-existing.

Since the residents have attributed themselves to Lithuanians and Russians according to their self-assigned ethnicity, the assessment of the two subgroups concerning their ethnic relationships should be more closely examined. Here we start with the judgments by the ‘Lithuanians.’

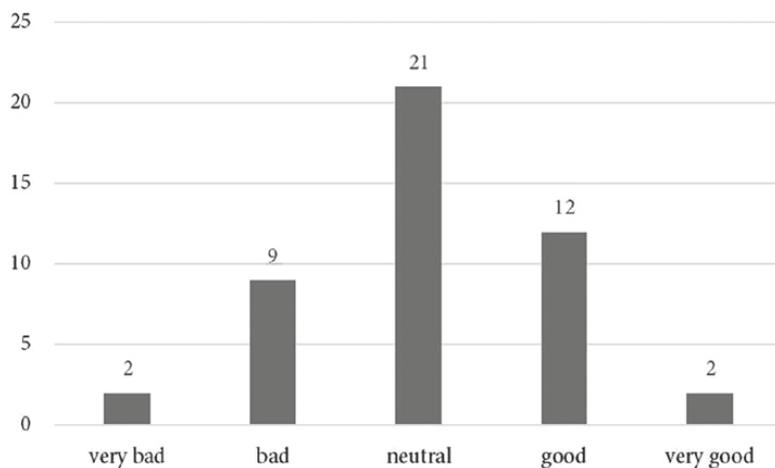
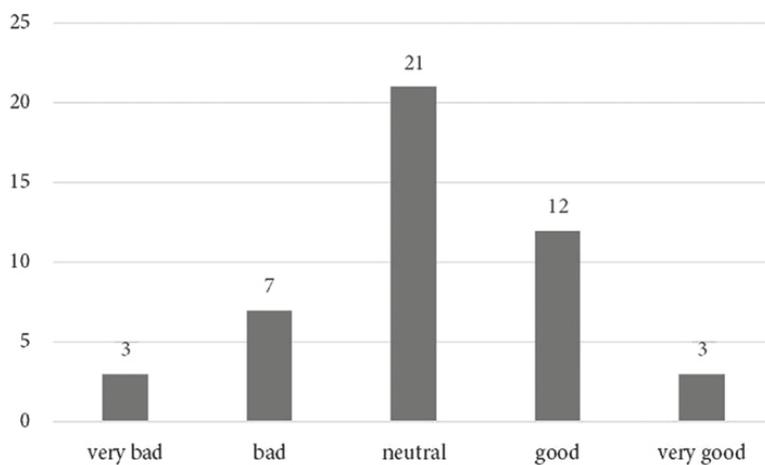


Diagram 33. Judgments about the Poles living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Visaginas, n = 46; Lithuanians)

'How are the Poles living in Lithuania normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'



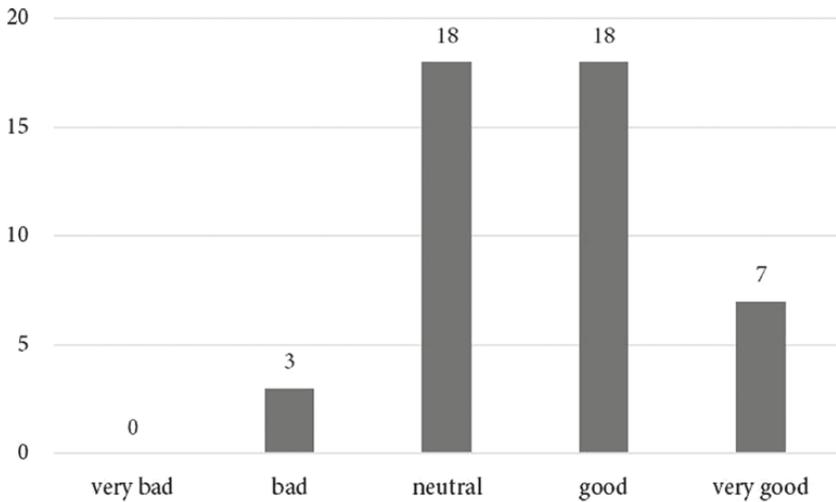
y-axis: number of responses

Diagram 34. Judgments about the Russians living in Lithuania in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Visaginas, n = 46; Lithuanians)

'How are the Russians living in Lithuania normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

The values of these two diagrams are only minimally different so that one can justifiably claim that the Lithuanians living in Visaginas express neutral to positive opinions toward both the Poles living in Lithuania and the Russians living in Lithuania, whereas occasional negative cases can also be observed.

Following is the statistic for the Russians in Visaginas.



y-axis: number of responses

Diagram 35. Judgments about the Lithuanians in the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Visaginas, $n = 46$; Russians)

'How are the Lithuanians normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

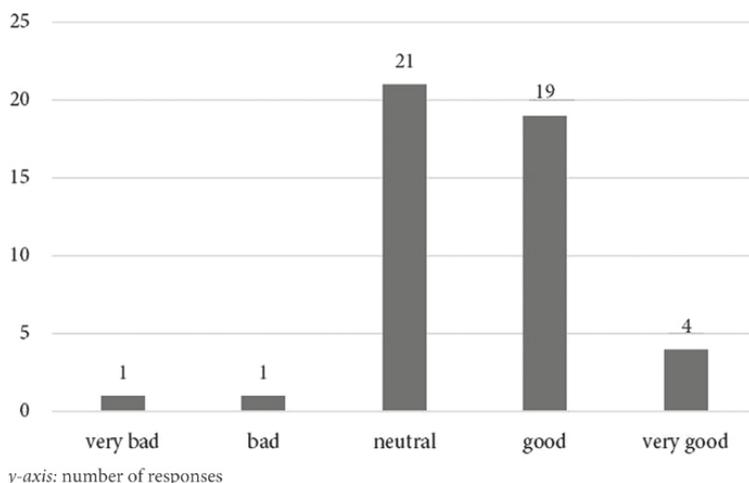


Diagram 36. Judgments about the Poles living in Lithuania from the immediate vicinity of the subjects (Visaginas, n = 46; Russians)

'How are the Poles living in Lithuania normally spoken of in your immediate vicinity?'

In the immediate vicinity of the subjects, both the Lithuanians as well as the Poles living in Lithuania are either neutrally or positively spoken of by the Russian-speaking people.

The relationship between the Lithuanians and the Lithuanian Poles are assessed by the subjects in Visaginas as follows:

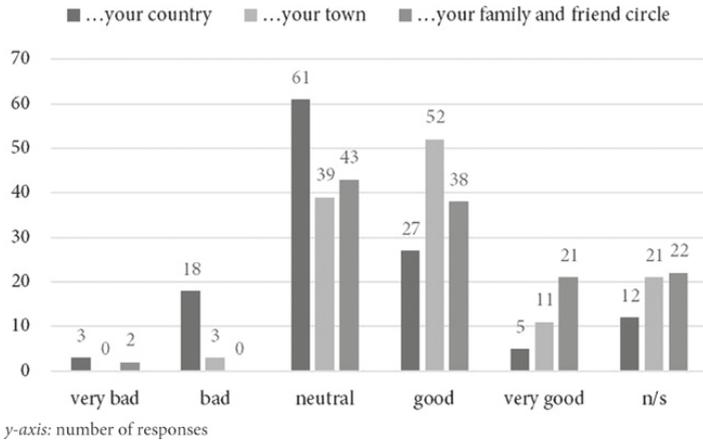


Diagram 37. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania (Visaginas, n = 126)
'How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania in ...?'

It can be seen that the subjects assess the relationship as neutral to positive on all horizons.

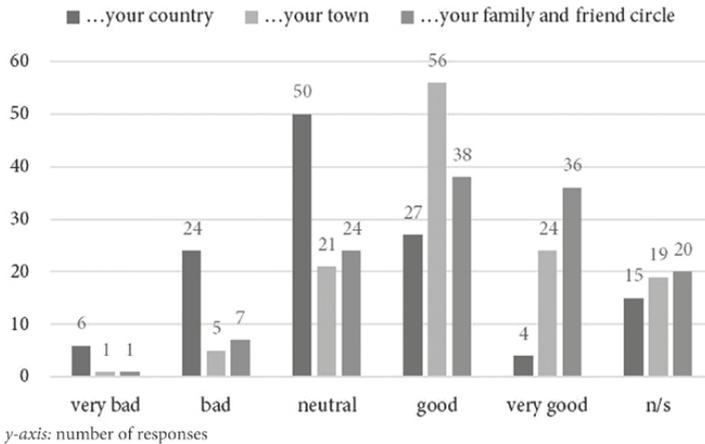


Diagram 38. Assessment of the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania (Visaginas, n = 126)
'How do you assess the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania in ...?'

The relationship between Lithuanians and Russians is viewed as more negative at the national level than at the city level. The assessment in the family and friend circle is the most positive.

Finally, the results of the relationships between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania should be mentioned:

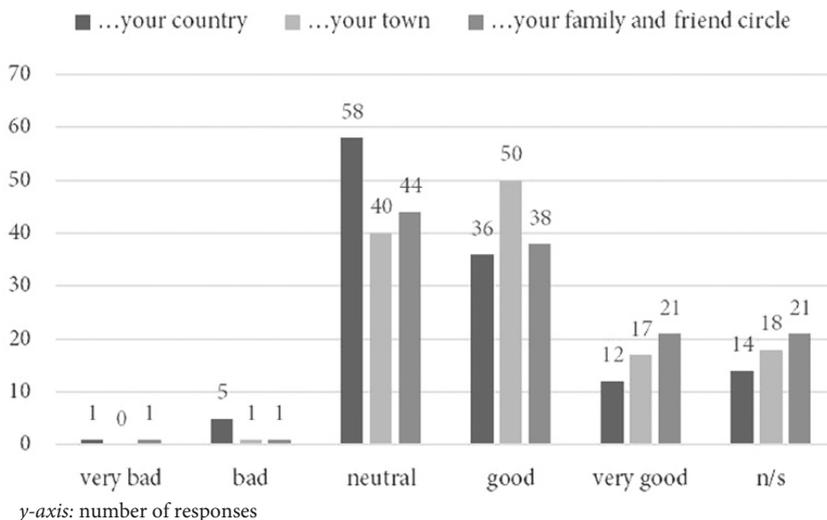


Diagram 39. Assessment of the relationship between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania (Visaginas, n = 126)

'How do you assess the relationship between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania in ...?'

The residents of Visaginas view the relationship between Lithuanian Poles and Russians as neutral to very good.

3.6 Interim conclusion

The subjects in Vilnius assessed their English competence as particularly high in comparison to the statements of all the other subjects, which can also be noticed from their media usage (see below). Concerning the self-assessment of the three examined languages (Lithuanian, Polish and Russian) by all the subjects, the Polish competence is astonishingly low in all the cities; the highest mean could only be observed in Šalčininkai (mean = 5.9), though it is not particularly high in absolute terms, since it was assessed on a scale of ten. Even in the multiethnic and multilingual capital Vilnius, the self-assessment of the Polish competence is very low (mean = 2.7) in contrast to what was expected.

As for the media usage in Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda, it has been determined that the mass media are mostly received in Lithuanian. English got second place in Vilnius and Kaunas; Russian is granted the second place in Klaipėda. In Šalčininkai, various media are relatively evenly used in Lithuanian, Polish and Russian, whereas Lithuanian and Russian share the first two places statistically. Only Visaginas presents an exception of the ratios in the other cities, in the sense that all the media are received primarily in Russian there, followed by Lithuanian.

Regarding the language choice in various contexts or domains, Lithuanian turned out to be dominant in private areas of the residents of Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda, followed by Russian. In Vilnius, Polish is usually not applied alone as the home language, but always in combination with Lithuanian and/or Russian. In the private sphere, Polish is spoken neither in Kaunas nor in Klaipėda, but in Šalčininkai it is used in this domain. In Visaginas, Lithuanian and Russian are more or less equally often used in the private sphere. In the semi-public domain (for instance, in cafés, pharmacies, shops, or polyclinics), Lithuanian dominates in Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda. In Visaginas and Šalčininkai, on the contrary, is Russian preferred. In the public domain (for example, in the communication in or with Institutions and public authorities), Lithuanian is spoken in all the examined cities. Nevertheless, Visaginas presents again an exception hereof, because there Russian is used more often than or the same often as Lithuanian. In Šalčininkai, although Russian and Polish are also relatively often applied in the public authorities and institutions, statistically speaking they are not as often as Lithuanian.

In summary, only half of the respondents have an interest in language policy issues in the Lithuanian media; about a quarter of the respondents have shown no interest in such issues. The rest of the subjects could not give a clear answer, and thus have chosen the option 'difficult to say.' It is particularly worth mentioning that the answers to the fictional questions of the data collecting form, which based on Kloss' distinction aimed at concluding the affiliation of the subjects to the so-called attitude types. It can be determined cross-municipally that all five types are found in the analysed sample. However, three types are predominant among the subjects, namely the 'language trivializers,' the 'language friends' and the 'language devotees.' The most seldom chosen answer is the one which corresponds to 'language brokers.' As we know, the language trivializers and the language fanatics represent the extreme positions (Kloss 1969: 58). A high frequency of both types inside the same language community can lead to a language political chaos since neither fanaticism nor ignorance helps solve problems. Therefore, it can be interpreted positively from the analysed sample, that there are only relatively few 'language fanatics.' Unfortunately, a quite high

proportion of trivializers can be noticed, which is an indication that the language questions are not highly relevant to the respondents in the present study.

In regard to the contacts between the language groups, the result is as follows: In Vilnius, the multiethnic and multi-language capital of Lithuania, there exists a latent and even contact among all groups. In Klaipėda and Visaginas, the contacts of the subjects are most often with Lithuanians, with Lithuanian Russians and Russian Russians. For the query of the contact frequency, the differentiation between Russians from Lithuania and from Russia, as well as between Poles from Lithuania and from Poland, turned out to be especially important, since only in this way one can get a more exact idea about the real linguistic relationships.

Subsequently, it was analysed which polarity of the judgments do the Lithuanians, the Poles living in Lithuania and the Russians living in Lithuanian usually have in the closest vicinity of the subjects (family and friend circle). The decisive factor for this analysis was that to which ethnic groups the subjects have attributed themselves. Therefore, multiple corresponding subsamples were examined for each city. It was shown that in the social environment of those subjects, which have identified themselves as Lithuanians, the Poles living in Lithuania are particularly often spoken of neutrally or negatively (this is the case in Vilnius and Kaunas). Neutral judgments are particularly prevalent in those cities, in which the Poles are only marginally represented (for instance, in Visaginas or Klaipėda). In contrast, the judgments of the Russians living in Lithuania are either neutral or positive (except for Kaunas, where the statements were ambivalent). About how the Lithuanians are spoken of in the social environment of the two minorities, the Poles and the Russians, representative results could only be found out in Klaipėda, Šalčininkai and Visaginas. In Klaipėda and Visaginas, the answers ranged from 'neutral' to 'good;' in Šalčininkai, the dominant answer was 'good.'

As a third and final step, the assessments were analysed, which the subjects have submitted regarding the relationships of the language groups in Lithuania. The current relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania is characterised by a discrepancy, namely the relationship between Lithuanians and Poles is assessed as neutral or even good, when it comes to the family and friend circle (the closest horizon). However, as soon as Lithuania as a whole is concerned (the widest horizon), the relationship is conversely assessed, namely as rather bad. An exception to this is only represented by Visaginas, where the relationship is viewed as neutral to positive on all three queried horizons, namely also for the middle circle. Regarding the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania, it was assessed in all five examined cities on

all horizons as neutral to positive. Nevertheless, it can also be found from their occasional negative assessments, which occurred predominantly on the widest horizon: particularly in Šalčininkai and Visaginas, the assessments of the nationwide conditions turned out to be more negative than in the other cities. The relationship between the Poles and Russians living in Lithuania was assessed as neutral to positive in all the five cities and on all horizons.

In conclusion, it can be said that the relationships between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania are viewed as problematic when it deals with the widest horizon, namely the Lithuanian language and domestic politics. The relationships between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania seem to be on the whole less of a concern of the subjects. With regard to the relationship between the two minorities themselves, no potential of conflict has been seen on any horizon there.

Furthermore, it can be said that the assessments, which the subjects reported from the relationships in their family and friend circles, are correlated with the judgments they stated when they were asked how the other ethnic groups are spoken of in their social environment. For example, in the immediate vicinity of the Lithuanians, if they are spoken of negatively by the Poles living in Lithuania, then this will also be reflected in the answers for the questions about the corresponding interethnic relationship (independent of the horizon). Also, particularly the 'local' language situation or the sociolinguistic profile of each of the cities seem to play a role for the conscious assessment of the interethnic relationship, as well as for the contact frequency. For example, most of the neutral assessments of the Poles appeared particularly in the data of those cities, in which almost no Poles are living.

4 Assessment of the matched-guise speakers

In this chapter, the attitudes of the subjects toward the Lithuanian, Polish and Russian language, as well as their speakers, will be described, of which the data were collected in the course of the abovementioned MGT-experiment, which was tailored specifically for Lithuania. As presented by Kostiučenko 2016, conclusions about the social status of the three languages (in the sense of prestige) can be drawn from the results of an experiment of this kind, namely in addition to the data which are obtained from descriptive statistics.

This chapter is arranged as follows. Firstly, I address the assessment of the matched-guise speakers in each city. Secondly, the roles of the factor of gender will be discussed, which is at the centre of the present study. Thereby attention will be paid both to the gender of the subjects and to the gender of the disguised

speakers. In a further step, it will be described which possible effects of the age of the subject can have on the assessments of the speakers.

4.1 Assessment of the matched-guise speakers in each of the cities

The result of the descriptive statistics indicated that individual city profiles are distinguished by unique sociolinguistic characters. Therefore, it was verified with the aid of the analysis of variance, whether the attitudes of the subjects toward the guises reflect the ethnic-linguistic relationships of the five cities, and whether they reflect the frequency of their contacts with the other language groups in any way. It would be expected that, for instance, the residents of Vilnius should assess all matched-guise recordings relatively moderately, whereas the residents of Kaunas should rather prefer the Lithuanian recordings. Residents of Klaipėdas should not have a clear preference for Polish recordings; and in the cities of minorities, the subjects should assess their 'own' language as better than the 'foreign' languages in each case. However, it has been shown that contrary to all expectations, there were no major differences in the five examined cities in the assessment of the two disguised speakers.¹⁶ In cases where these differences occasionally occurred (they occurred primarily in the assessment of the male guises), they were nevertheless not significant, since the deviations between the values were minimal. Also, when the subjects from Kaunas were compared with another city, clear assessment differences were observed. This effect could arise, however, from the fact that the subsample turned out not to be representative for Kaunas, and consist primarily of younger subjects (see chapter 3). A statistic leaned toward the younger people in a subsample can lead to an actual distortion of the analysis. All in all, based on the result of the analysis, it cannot be claimed that the social demographic relationships or the sociolinguistic profiles of the five cities described at the beginning could be reflected by the attitudes of their residents since the two matched-guise speakers in the five cities were relatively similarly assessed. Consequently, it seemed necessary to focus the study on the 'classic' variables like gender and age and to test their effect on the assessments of the speakers.

4.2 The role of gender

In order to find out how the two matched-guise speakers were assessed in each of the dimensions of the semantic differentials, and which role has the factor

16 Owing to space constraints, the corresponding statistics and graphics are omitted at this point. Regarding their publication, please note footnote 3.

'gender' played in it, a Two-way Repeated Measures ANOVA was conducted with the aid of IBM SPSS Statistics 24. The variance analysis was conducted for a subsample consisting of 503 subjects: from which 337 are women, and 166 are men.¹⁷

For transparency, the results are presented in the order of the nine dimensions of the semantic differentials, with the assessment of the multilingual female speaker (by the abbreviation G(f), with 'G' for 'guise/s') and subsequently the multilingual male speaker (by the abbreviation G(m)) described. The statistical results are described according to a uniform model: First, the assessments, which the subjects have generally stated with regard to the two multilingual speakers in the individual dimensions (nine in total), are analysed depending on the language, which has applied a guise; i.e. it deals with the assessment of each language (and thus, of its speakers) within the subsample. In addition, it has been addressed which role does the gender of the subjects plays. If it deals with the level of within-subject effects, then the assessment of each language within the respective gender group is looked at. When it deals with the level of the between-subject effects, then the values for each of every individual language stated by each of every group are compared with each other. Both levels are illustrated each in one graphic.

The role played by the gender of the speaker is not examined until later in a subsequent step, since not only the language but also the gender of the speaker can be relevant for the different assessments by the subjects.

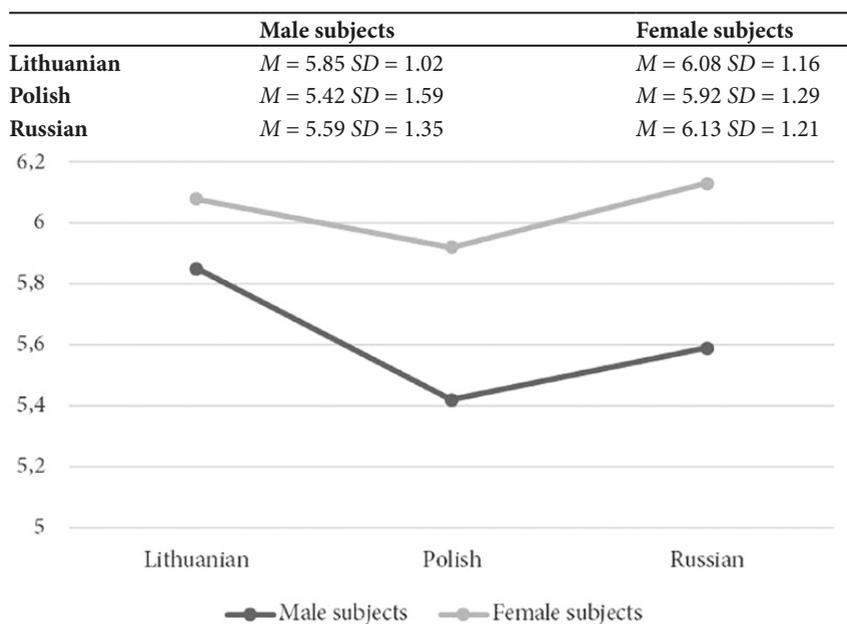
4.2.1 Sympathy

G(f). The repeated measures analysis of variance with Huynh-Feldt-correction¹⁸ showed that the assessment of the multilingual female speaker, regarding her sympathy, showed statistically significant differences depending on the language she used: $F(1.93, 924.01) = 7.53, p = .001, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .015, n = 482$. Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons showed that the guise was rated significantly lower ($p = .001$) when speaking Polish ($M = 5.75, SD = 1.41$) than speaking Lithuanian ($M = 6.00, SD = 1.12$). The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.12,

17 As originally planned, the following analysis for the final, cross-municipal sample should have 539 subjects. However, since 36 respondents in this sample have not stated their gender, their statements could not be considered in this case.

18 The sphericity cannot be accepted for Mauchly- $W(2) = .955, p = .000$. Therefore, the correction formula was adapted according to Huynh-Feldt, since the epsilon amounted to 0.957, which is larger than 0.75, according to Greenhouse-Geisser.

which corresponds to a weak effect. However, the result of the comparison between $G_{(f)RU}: G_{(f)LT}$ or $G_{(f)PL}: G_{(f)RU}$ is not significant (value for $G_{(f)RU}$: $M = 5.95$, $SD = 1.28$). The test of within-subject effects also showed no significant result. In contrast, at the level of between-subject effects, that is, when comparing the values stated by each group for each language of the speaker, the principal effect of the gender was significant ($p < .001$). It can be recognised that on average, the female subjects ($n = 320$) constantly rated all the three recordings of the speaker $G(f)$ as 'friendlier' than their male test colleagues ($n = 162$), whereas strictly speaking, the differences were not particularly prominent (see Fig. 2):



y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 2. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(f)}$ regarding her 'sympathy'

G(m). A variance analysis with repeated measurements (assumed sphericity: Mauchly- $W(2) = .988$, $p = .053$) showed a significant difference in the assessment of the male speaker in the dimension of sympathy: $F(2, 952) = 7.23$, $p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .015$, $n = 478$. A Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc test showed significant differences between language pair $G_{(m)PL}: G_{(m)RU}$ ($p = .001$): the guise received a better assessment when he spoke Russian ($M = 5.33$ $SD = 1.47$) than

when he spoke Polish ($M = 5.00$ $SD = 1.59$). The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.12 and corresponds to a weak effect. A significant result ($p = .016$) could also be determined for the within-subject effects, namely within each of the gender groups: The women have clearly differentiated between Lithuanian of the speaker and his Polish, whereas the men assessed these languages very similarly regarding sympathy. The principal effect of gender is also significant here ($p < .001$). Just like in the case of the female speaker, the female subjects ($n = 319$) have overall rated the male speaker higher than their male test colleagues did ($n = 159$). The assessments of the Lithuanian-speaking recording of the speaker diverged the most:

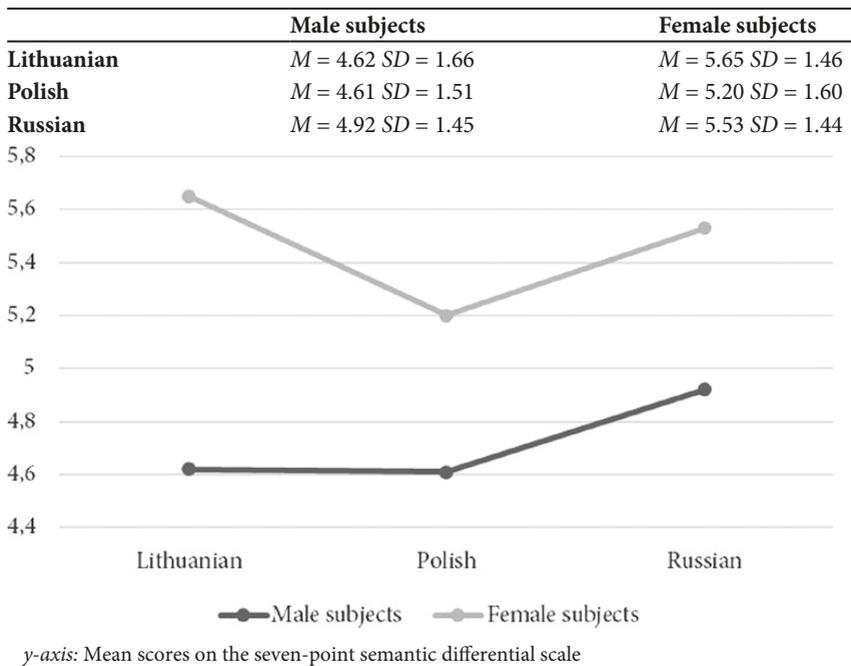


Fig. 3. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(m)}$ regarding his ‘sympathy’

4.2.2 Beauty

G(f). Since the Mauchly-test also has shown significant sphericity here, the corresponding correction according to Huynh-Feldt had to be applied again. The analysis indicated that in the dimension of the beauty, the assessment of the female speaker depending on her language turned out to be significantly different: $F(1.95, 926.76) = 20.27$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = .041$, $n = 478$.

A Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc test showed that the female speaker was assessed significantly differently in all three language pairs, whereas she was rated as the most beautiful, when she spoke Lithuanian ($M = 5.94$ $SD = 1.09$), followed by Russian ($M = 5.80$ $SD = 1.20$); her Polish-speaking recording was rated as the least beautiful one in comparison with the other two recordings ($M = 5.56$ $SD = 1.31$). The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.21 and corresponds to a weak effect. Concerning the dimension of beauty, the test of the within-subject effects also showed a significant result ($p = .005$): whereas the women assessed Russian and Lithuanian of the female speaker almost identically, the men have differentiated more strongly between all three languages, namely in favour of Lithuanian. The test of the between-subject effects also turned out to be significant ($p < .001$). Just like in the dimension of the sympathy (chapter 4.2.1), it has also been shown that in regard to the values for ‘beauty’ of each language, the female subjects ($n = 314$) on average always evaluated the female speaker somewhat ‘more beautiful’ than the male subjects did ($n = 164$), regardless of which language she spoke. For the exact values see Fig. 4.

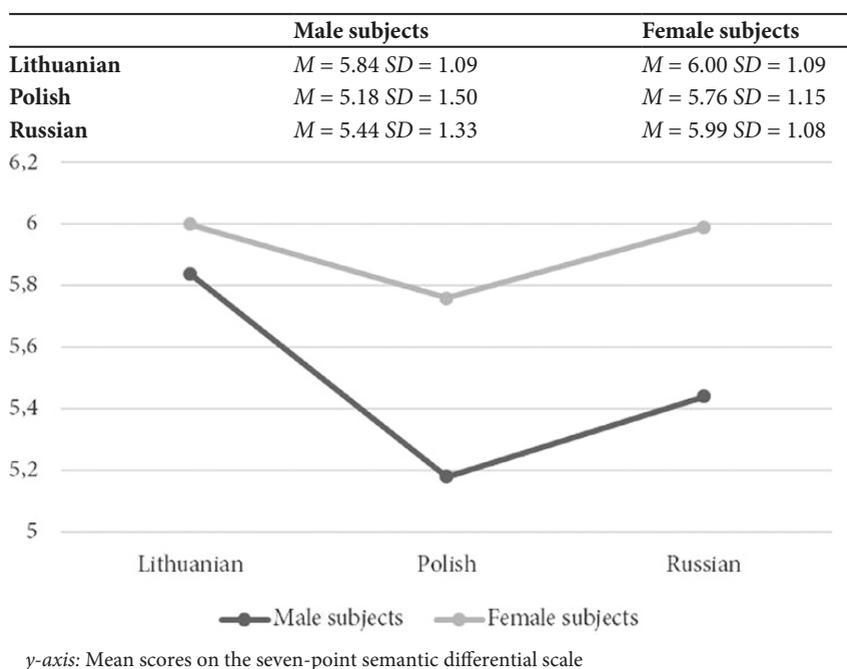
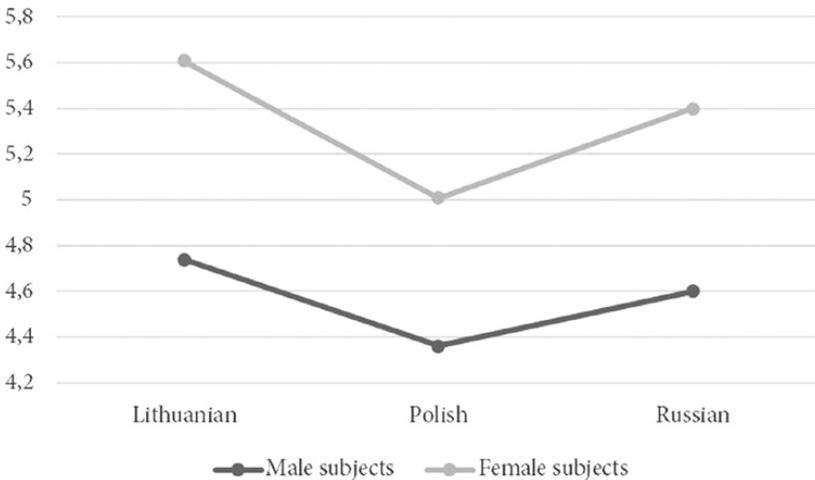


Fig. 4. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(t)}$ regarding her ‘beauty’

G(m). The repeated measures analysis of variance with Huynh-Feldt-correction showed a significant result in the assessment of the male speaker in the dimension of the beauty: $F(1.99, 945.55) = 18.97, p = .000, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .038, n = 478$. Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons showed that he was rated significantly lower when speaking Polish ($M = 4.79 \text{ SD} = 1.52$) than when speaking Lithuanian ($M = 5.31 \text{ SD} = 1.41$) or Russian ($M = 5.13 \text{ SD} = 1.41$). The effect size *fsensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.20 and corresponds to a weak effect. Within the two gender groups, no significant differences could be found. However, the principal effect of gender at the level of the between-subject effects is significant ($p < .001$), i.e. when comparing the values stated by the two gender groups for each language. It could be observed once again that women ($n = 317$) have submitted on average higher ratings than men ($n = 161$).

	Male subjects	Female subjects
Lithuanian	$M = 4.74 \text{ SD} = 1.44$	$M = 5.61 \text{ SD} = 1.32$
Polish	$M = 4.36 \text{ SD} = 1.45$	$M = 5.01 \text{ SD} = 1.51$
Russian	$M = 4.60 \text{ SD} = 1.36$	$M = 5.40 \text{ SD} = 1.37$



y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 5. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(m)}$ regarding his ‘beauty’

4.2.3 Courtesy

G(f). The variance analysis corrected according to Huynh-Feldt showed no significant difference in the dimension of the courtesy: $F(1.90, 892.55) = 1.02,$

$p = .358$, partial $\eta^2 = .002$, $n = 473$. This means that the subjects have assessed all three recordings of the female speaker extremely similarly regarding the courtesy. Also within the two groups, no significant differences in the assessment could be determined, as the level of the within-subject effects revealed. In regard to the between-subject effects, the principal effect of gender has been shown significance ($p < .001$), thus it can be concluded again in view of the mean of the submitted assessments that the female subjects ($n = 310$) always rated the G(f) higher than their male test colleagues did ($n = 163$), see Fig. 6.

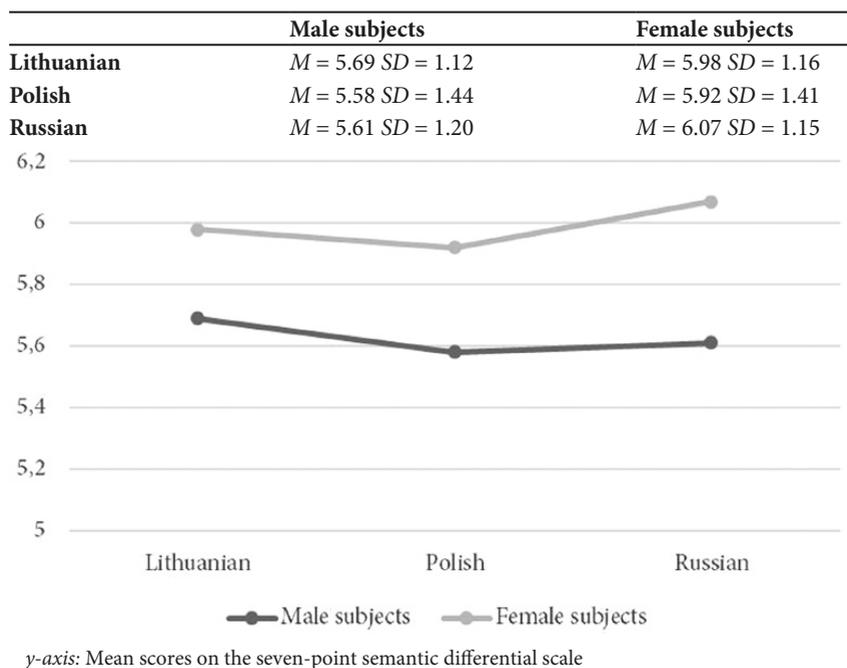


Fig. 6. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the G_(f) regarding her ‘courtesy’

G(m). The repeated measures analysis of variance (assumed sphericity: Mauchly- $W(2) = .991$, $p = .128$) showed a significant difference in the assessments of the male speaker in the dimension of the courtesy: $F(2, 934) = 7.87$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = .017$, $n = 469$. A Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc test showed that there are two significant differences, namely one in the assessment of the language pair G_{(m)LT}: G_{(m)PL} and one in the language pair G_{(m)PL}: G_{(m)RU}: the male guise was rated as politer when speaking Lithuanian ($M = 5.42$ $SD = 1.42$) than

when speaking Polish ($M = 5.21$ $SD = 1.42$); his Polish also performed worse than Russian ($M = 5.51$ $SD = 1.36$). The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.13 and corresponds to a weak effect. The test of the within-subject effects showed no significant result. At the level of the between-subject effects, however, the principal effect of gender is significant ($p < .001$), since the women ($n = 311$) overall submitted higher assessments than the men did:

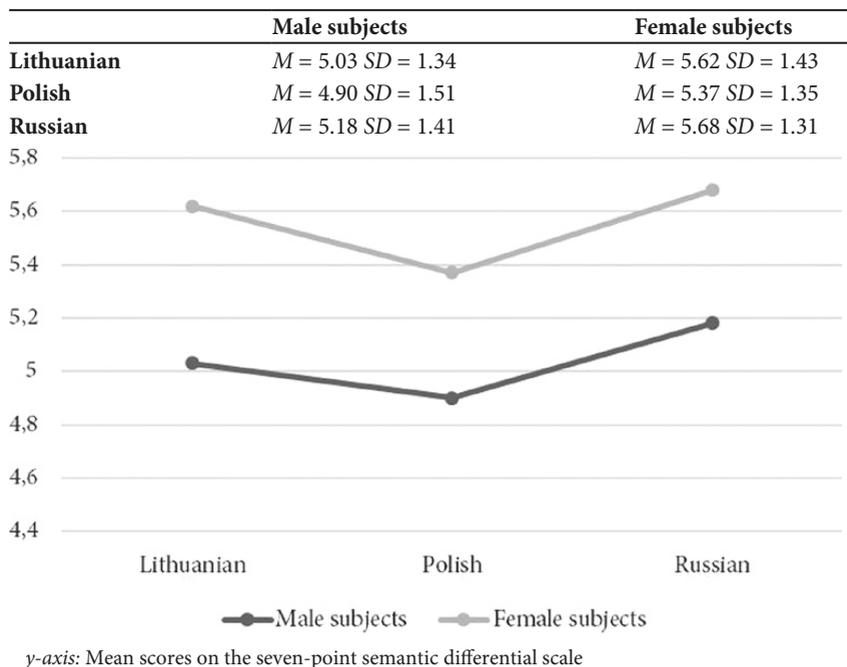


Fig. 7. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(m)}$ regarding his ‘courtesy’

4.2.4 Diligence

G(f). In this analysis, the sphericity could be assumed with Mauchly- $W(2) = .993$, $p = .181$. It could be determined that the assessment of the multilingual female speaker differed significantly in regard to her diligence: $F(2, 940) = 3.97$, $p = .019$, partial $\eta^2 = .008$, $n = 472$. A Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc test showed significant differences ($p < .05$) between the language pairs $G_{(f)LI}$: $G_{(f)RU}$ and $G_{(f)LI}$: $G_{(f)PL}$. When the guise spoke Lithuanian ($M = 5.42$ $SD = 1.26$), she was rated as a ‘more diligent’ person than when she spoke Polish ($M = 5.29$ $SD = 1.36$) or

Russian ($M = 5.28$ $SD = 1.38$). The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.08 and corresponds to a weak effect. Regarding the effect of the gender of the subjects on the assessments, both the test of within-subject effects and the test of between-subject effects showed a significant result ($p < .001$). While the women assessed all three languages of the female speaker identically, the men have differentiated the most between her Lithuanian and the other two languages, whereas they assessed Lithuanian higher. Also in this dimension, the female subjects ($n = 309$) rated the female speaker overall better than their male test colleagues did ($n = 163$), see Fig. 8.

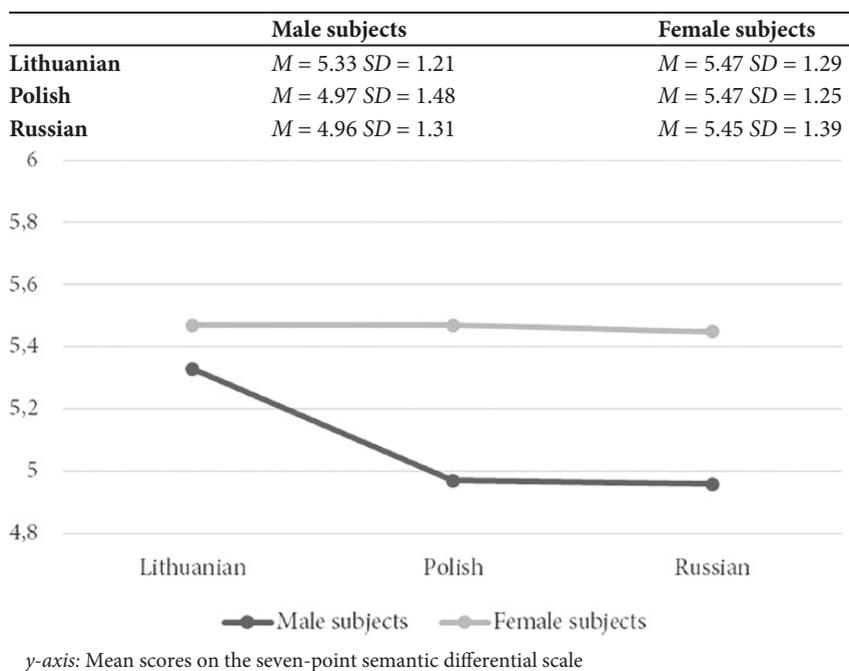
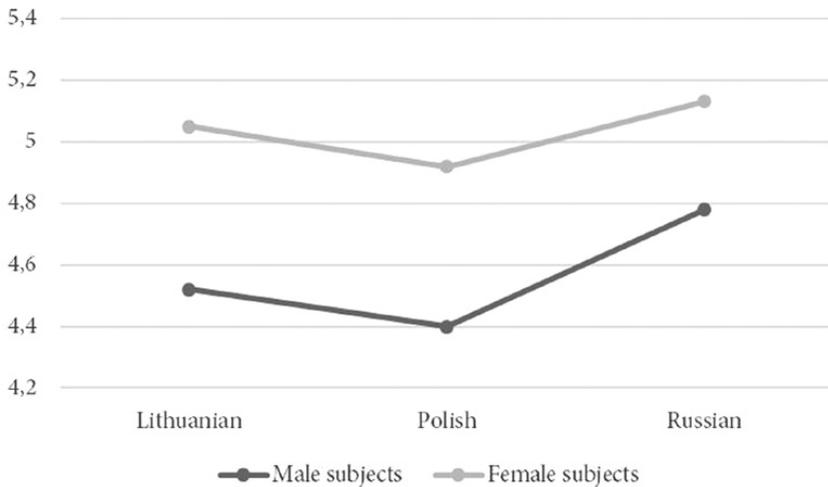


Fig. 8. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(f)}$ regarding her ‘diligence’

G(m). A variance analysis with repeated measurements (assumed sphericity: Mauchly- $W(2) = .996$, $p = .433$) showed a significant difference in the assessments of the multilingual male speaker in the dimension ‘diligence’: $F(2, 944) = 5.74$, $p = .003$, partial $\eta^2 = .012$, $n = 474$. Bonferroni-corrected pairwise comparisons showed that there occurred only one significant difference, namely in the assessment of the language pair $G_{(m)PL}$: $G_{(m)RU}$: the guise was on average

rated significantly lower when he spoke Polish ($M = 4.75$ $SD = 1.47$) than when he spoke Russian ($M = 5.01$ $SD = 1.46$). The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.11 and corresponds to a weak effect. Regarding the dimension of diligence, the test of within-subject effects has shown no significant result. However, the principal effect of gender turned out to be significant at the level of between-subject effects ($p < .001$). This means that the female subjects ($n = 325$) overall submitted higher ratings than the male subjects did ($n = 159$):

	Male subjects	Female subjects
Lithuanian	$M = 4.52$ $SD = 1.71$	$M = 5.05$ $SD = 1.49$
Polish	$M = 4.40$ $SD = 1.41$	$M = 4.92$ $SD = 1.47$
Russian	$M = 4.78$ $SD = 1.48$	$M = 5.13$ $SD = 1.44$



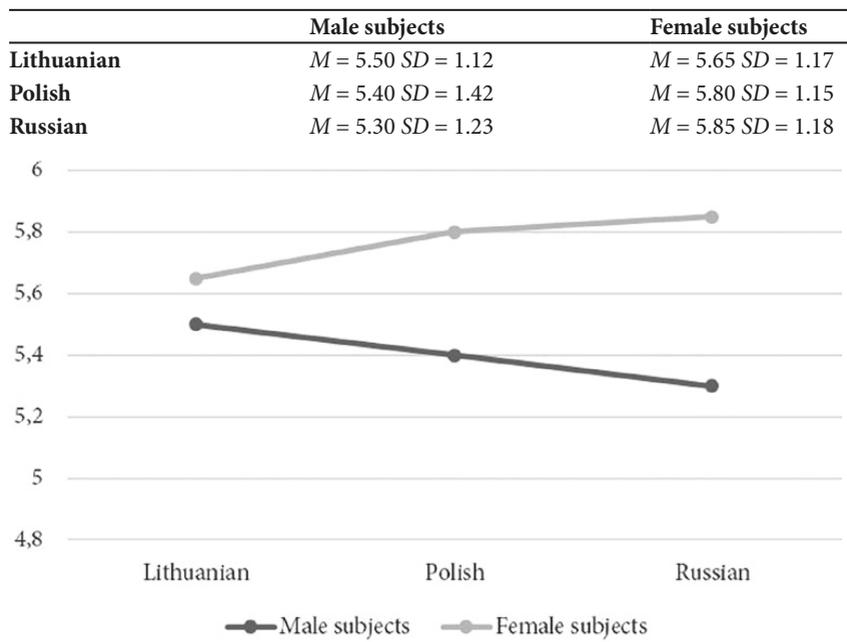
y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 9. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(m)}$ regarding his ‘diligence’

4.2.5 Intelligence

G(f). A variance analysis with repeated measurements (assumed sphericity: Mauchly- $W(2) = .988$, $p = .057$) showed no significant difference in the assessment of the female speaker in the dimension of the intelligence: $F(2, 944) = 0.08$, $p = .925$, partial $\eta^2 = .000$, $n = 474$. Nevertheless, a significant result ($p = .014$) can be determined for the within-subject effects: while the men of the

subsample assessed the Lithuanian of the speaker higher than her Russian, the women have done the opposite. Also in the test of the between-subject effects, a significant result is found ($p < .001$). Just as it was with the previous dimensions, the female subjects ($n = 313$) also rated the female guise a little higher than the male subjects ($n = 161$) in terms of her ‘intelligence,’ regardless of which language she spoke.

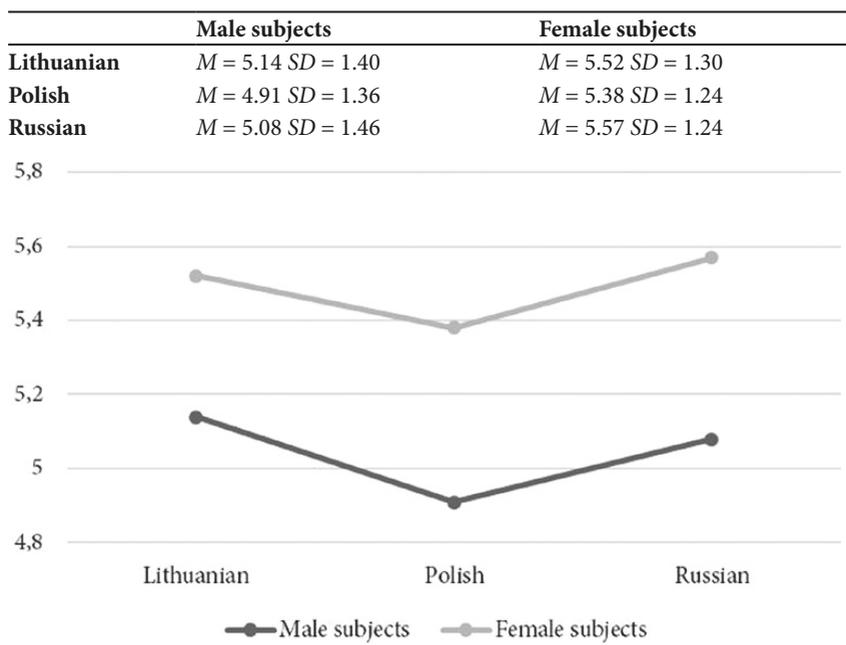


y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 10. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(f)}$ regarding her ‘intelligence’

G(m). In the analysis of this dimension, the sphericity can be assumed with Mauchly- $W(2) = .991$, $p = .124$. It could be determined that the assessment of the male speaker in regard to the intelligence turned out to be statistically significant: $F(2, 942) = 4.21$, $p = .015$, partial $\eta^2 = .009$, $n = 473$. A Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc test showed that there is one significant difference, namely in the assessment of the language pair $G_{(m)LT}$: $G_{(m)PL}$: the guise was regarded as more intelligent when speaking Lithuanian ($M = 5.39$ $SD = 1.34$) than when speaking

Polish ($M = 5.22$ $SD = 1.30$). The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.12 and corresponds to a weak effect. Within the two groups, however, no significant differences in the assessment could be determined, as the tests of the within-subject effects revealed. Nevertheless, while comparing the groups, the principal effect of gender is shown significant ($p < .001$). Therefore, it can be said that the women ($n = 312$) on average regarded the male speaker as more intelligent than the men did ($n = 161$).



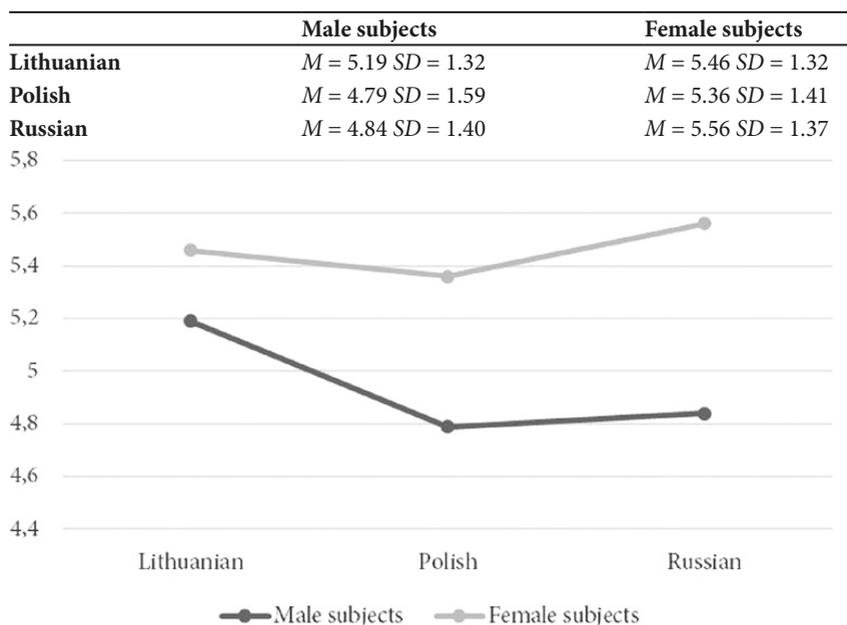
y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 11. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(m)}$ regarding his ‘intelligence’

4.2.6 Honesty

G(f). The variance analyses corrected according to Huynh-Feldt showed a significant difference in the assessment of the female speaker in the dimension of the honesty: $F(1.98, 934.05) = 4.95$, $p = .008$, partial $\eta^2 = .010$, $n = 474$.

A Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc test showed significant differences between the language pair $G_{(f)LT} : G_{(f)PL}$. The guise was assessed by the subjects as more honest when speaking Lithuanian ($M = 5.37$ $SD = 1.32$) than when speaking Polish ($M = 5.16$ $SD = 1.5$). The results for comparing $G_{(f)RU} : G_{(f)LT}$ or $G_{(f)PL} : G_{(f)RU}$ are, on the contrary, insignificant (value for $G_{(f)RU}$: $M = 5.32$, $SD = 1.42$) the effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.10 and therefore corresponds to a weak effect. As for the role of the gender and its effect on the assessment, one significant result could be observed at the level of within-subject effects ($p = .019$): The men of this subsample have differentiated more strongly between Lithuanian and the other two languages spoken by the disguised speaker, namely they have assessed Lithuanian as higher. The test of the between-subject effect also again turned out to be significant ($p < .001$). Once again, the women ($n = 313$) have made overall higher assessments than the men did ($n = 161$).



y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 12. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(f)}$ regarding her 'honesty'

G(m). The variance analysis corrected according to Huynh-Feldt showed no significant difference in the dimension of the honesty: $F(1.98, 926.7) = 0.73$, $p = .485$, partial $\eta^2 = .002$, $n = 469$. In other words, the subjects have not differentiated strongly enough between the languages spoken by the guises, or the differences were only purely random. The test of the within-subject effects also showed no significant result in this dimension. Only the principal effect of gender is significant ($p < .001$), since it can be recognised once again that the women ($n = 311$) have rated the male speaker higher than the men did ($n = 158$).

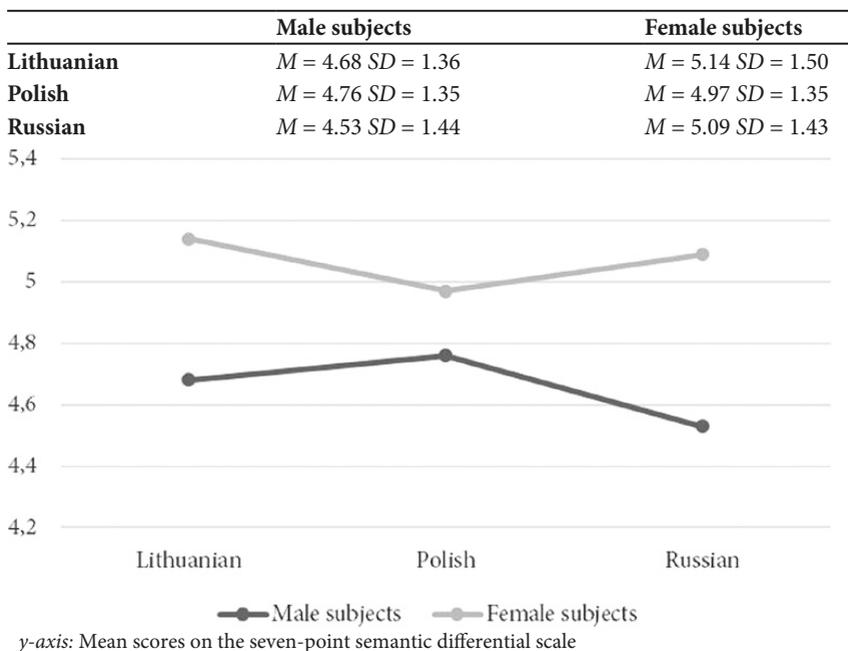
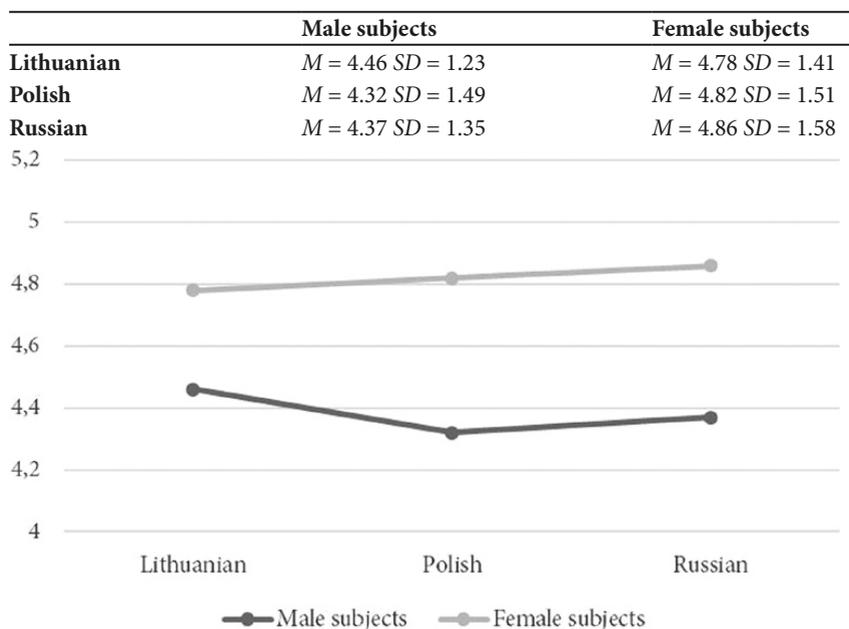


Fig. 13. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(m)}$ regarding his ‘honesty’

4.2.7 Modesty

G(f). The variance analysis with repeated measurements corrected according to Huynh-Feldt showed no significant difference in the assessment of the multi-lingual female speaker in the dimension of the modesty: $F(1.98, 936.27) = 0.20$, $p = .812$, partial $\eta^2 = .000$, $n = 476$. No significant differences in the assessment

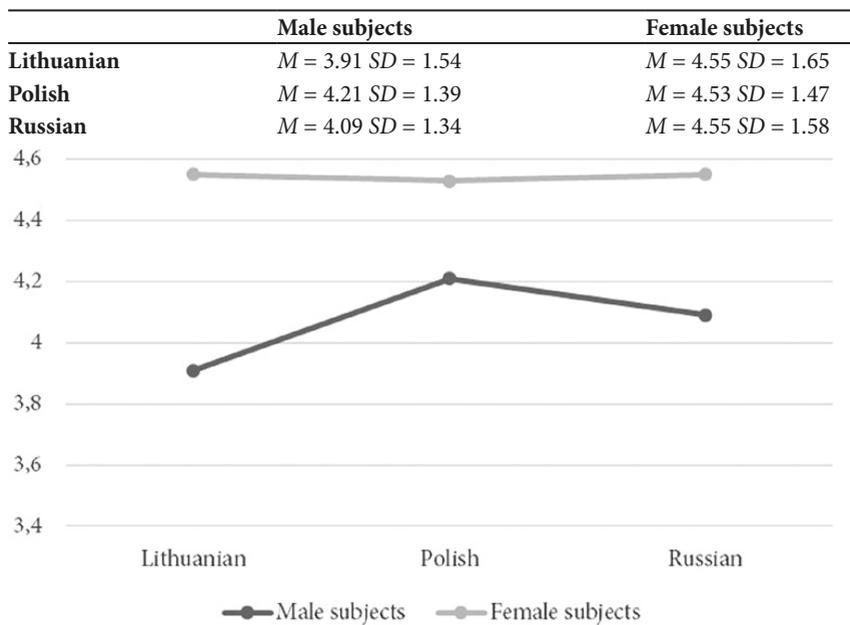
within each of the groups could be detected. As for the between-subject effects, however, the principal effect of gender is significant ($p < .001$), so that regarding 'modesty,' it could be determined once again that the women ($n = 312$) have made higher assessments than the men have ($n = 164$).



y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 14. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(t)}$ regarding her 'modesty'

G(m). Just like in the dimension of the honesty, the variance analysis also showed no significant result in the case of the 'modesty' of the multilingual male speaker: $F(2, 942) = 1.56$, $p = .210$, partial $\eta^2 = .003$, $n = 473$, neither at the level of the within-subject effects. Only the principal effect of gender was significant ($p < .001$), and in this regard, the female subjects ($n = 31$) have rated the male speaker higher than the men have ($n = 161$).



y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 15. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(m)}$ regarding his ‘modesty’

4.2.8 Reliability

G(f). A variance analysis with repeated measurements with Huynh-Feldt-correction showed a significant difference in the assessment of the multilingual female speaker in the dimension of the reliability: $F(1.98, 951.91) = 7.08, p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .014, n = 484$. A Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc test showed significant differences between the language pairs $G_{(f)LT} : G_{(f)RU}$ ($p = .001$) and $G_{(f)LT} : G_{(f)PL}$ ($p = .004$): The female speaker was consequently perceived as the most reliable when she spoke Lithuanian ($M = 5.37$ $SD = 1.36$). The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.40 and therefore corresponds to a strong effect. Concerning the factor of gender, the test of the within-subject effects showed a significant result ($p = .012$). Once again, the men in the subsample have made more conspicuous differentiation between Lithuanian and the other two languages of the female speaker than the women have, namely in favour of Lithuanian (because the women have assessed all three recordings of the speaker relatively similarly). The principal effect of the gender also turned out to be significant ($p < .001$): the women ($n = 320$) have latently rated the female guises higher than the men have ($n = 164$).

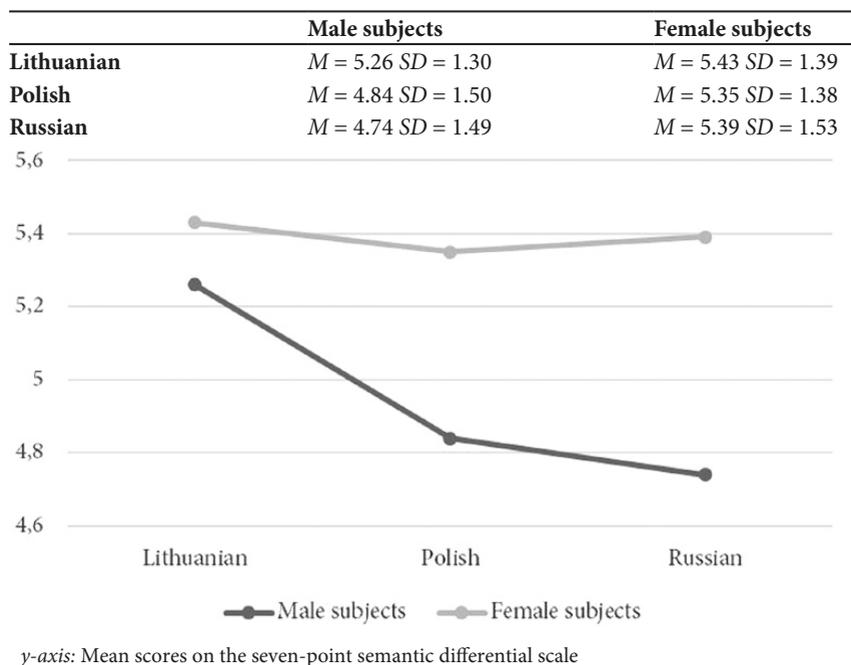
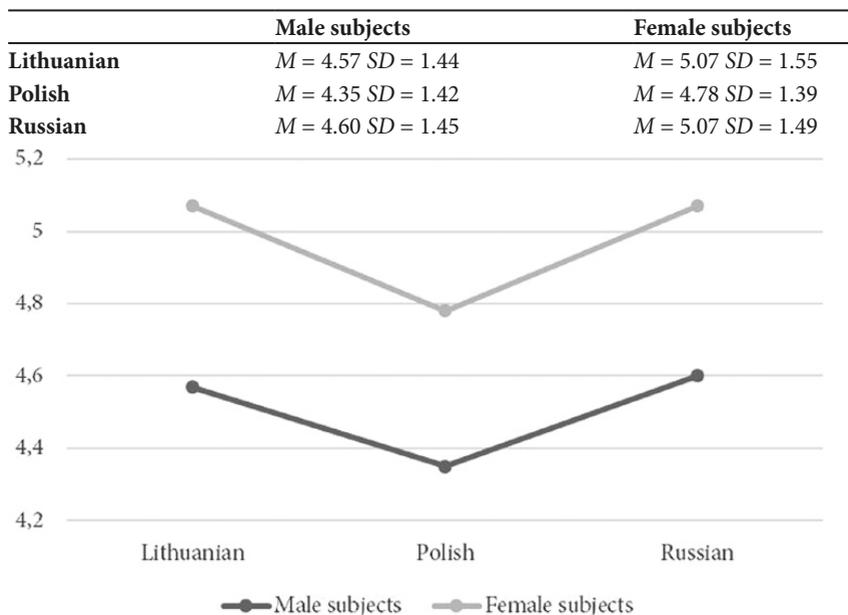


Fig. 16. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(t)}$ regarding her ‘reliability’

G(m): A variance analysis with repeated measurements with Huynh-Feldt-correction showed a significant difference in the assessment of the multilingual male speaker in the dimension of the reliability: $F(1.97, 927.66) = 7.10, p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .015, n = 472$. A Bonferroni-corrected post-hoc test showed that there are two significant differences, namely one in the assessment of the language pair $G_{(m)LT} : G_{(m)PL}$ and one in $G_{(m)PL} : G_{(m)RU}$: The guise was rated lower when speaking Polish ($M = 4.63$ $SD = 1.41$) than applying Lithuanian ($M = 4.90$ $SD = 1.53$) or Russian ($M = 4.91$ $SD = 1.49$). The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) is 0.12 and therefore corresponds to a weak effect. However, the test of the within-subject effects showed no significant result, whereas the principal effect of the gender at the level of between-subject effects was certainly shown significant ($p < .001$). The assessment tendency stayed the same as the previous assessment, namely that the women ($n = 313$) overall rated the male guises better than their male test colleagues did ($n = 161$).

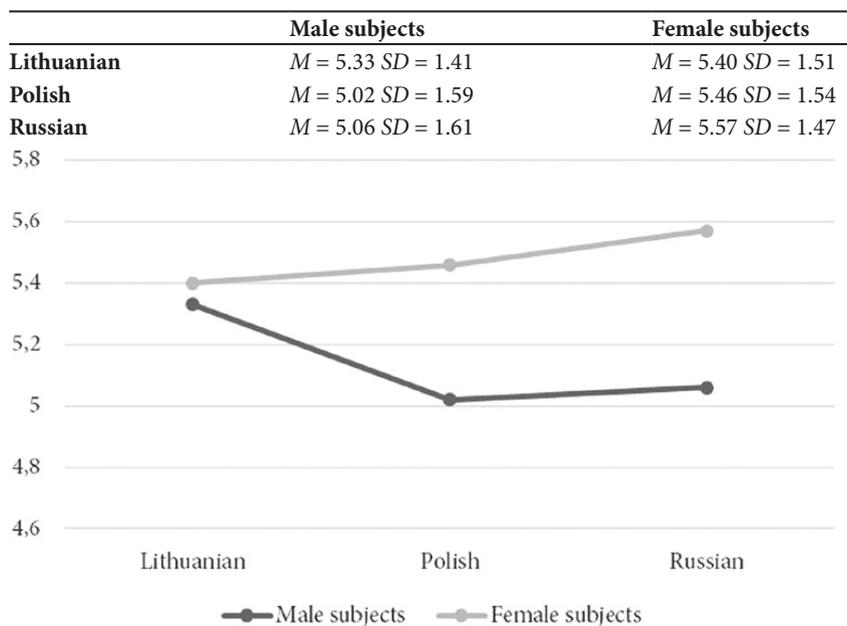


y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 17. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(m)}$ regarding his ‘reliability’

4.2.9 Candour

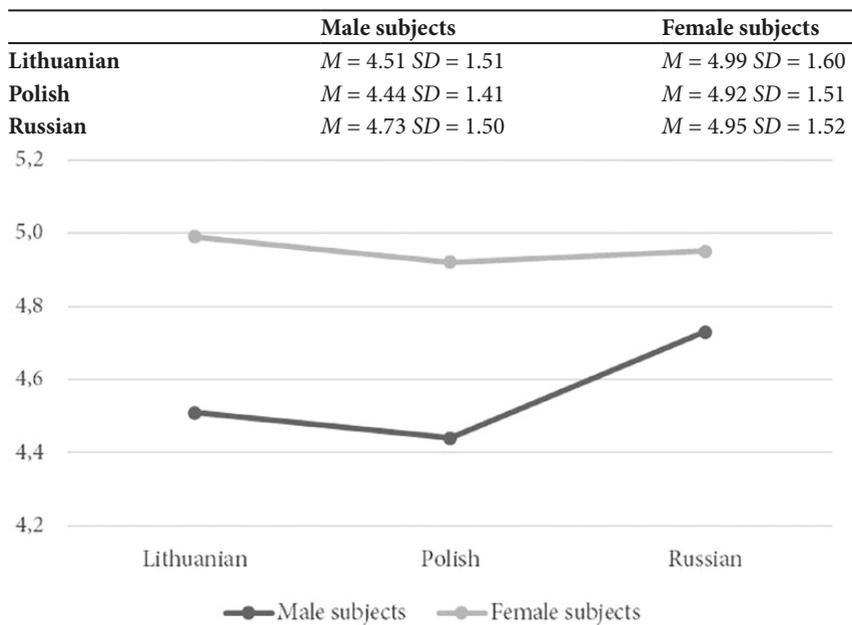
G(f). A variance analysis with repeated measurements with Huynh-Feldt-correction showed no significant difference in the assessment of the female speaker in the dimension of the candor: $F(1.98, 938.22) = 0.95$, $p = .39$, partial $\eta^2 = .002$, $n = 475$. However, concerning ‘candour,’ both the test of the within-subject effects and the test of between-subject effects showed a significant result regarding the gender of the subjects ($p < .001$). It can be recognised that the women ($n = 314$) have made higher assessment than the men have ($n = 161$). Furthermore, it could be observed that the women and the men generally agreed with each other regarding the assessment of the Lithuanian-speaking guise; in the assessment of the Russian-speaking recording of the multilingual speaker, their assessments differ from each other the most.



y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 18. Sample, divided by gender—the assessment of the $G_{(t)}$ regarding her ‘candour’

G(m). In the last examined dimension, which is about the ‘candour,’ the variance analysis showed no significant difference: $F(2, 936) = 1.74$, $p = .176$, partial $\eta^2 = .004$, $n = 470$, neither at the level of the within-subject effects. The principal effect of gender, however, has been shown significant ($p < .001$). Once again, the women from the sample ($n = 312$) have given higher assessments than the men have ($n = 158$).



y-axis: Mean scores on the seven-point semantic differential scale

Fig. 19. Sample, divided by gender— the assessment of the $G_{(m)}$ regarding his ‘candour’

4.2.10 Summary

G(f). Summarising the results from chapters 4.2.1 to 4.2.9, it can be said that in the individual dimensions of the semantic differential, the female speaker actually was assessed significantly differently, namely depending on the language she used. The result is particularly conspicuous in the dimensions ‘sympathy,’ ‘beauty,’ ‘diligence,’ ‘honesty’ and ‘reliability,’ and most of the significant differences have usually occurred in the language pair $G_{(f)LT} : G_{(f)PL}$, and their values always have a specific direction, namely $G_{(f)LT} > G_{(f)PL}$. It means that the Polish-speaking guise was systematically rated as less friendly, less beautiful, less diligent, less honest and less reliable than when she spoke Lithuanian. Considering language pair $G_{(f)LT} : G_{(f)RU}$, the same tendency could be observed, but only regarding three dimensions, namely the beauty, the diligence and the reliability. On the other side, the individual effect sizes and consequently significance of the detected differences were weak (except the effect in the

dimension of reliability). This means that although the observed differences in mean value were significant and thus not purely random, it should nevertheless be questioned whether they are large enough to be held to be meaningful. For example, it can be recognised that the observed differences in mean value between $G_{(f)LT}$ and $G_{(f)PL}$ in principle do not strongly differ from each other. Namely, they are not at the opposite ends of the scale. On the contrary, they are located in the positive range of the scale; that is, the Polish recording of the female speaker was in principle not assessed negatively, but rather only a few points lower, sometimes even only a half point lower than her Lithuanian-speaking recordings.

Individual 'language preferences' or assessment tendency depending on the gender of the subjects were observed in six dimensions (beauty, diligence, intelligence, honesty, reliability, and candour). Here it has been determined that the men of this subgroup rated the Lithuanian recording of the female speaker higher than her other two languages, namely they preferred the Lithuanian-speaking guise, and therefore differentiated stronger between Lithuanian and the two Slavic languages, whereas the women were more 'consistent' in their assessments of the three languages and therefore more similar. The assessments by the men and the women differed from each other the most in the dimension of intelligence. While the men in the subsample rated the Lithuanian of the female speaker higher than her Russian, the women have done the opposite. Also in the dimension of the candour, the assessments of Russian of the $G(f)$ diverged the most. At the level of the between-subject effects, it was observed that the female subjects rated the female speaker usually higher or better than their male test colleagues did.

G(m). In contrast to the assessment of the multilingual female speaker, in which the difference was noticeable predominantly between the Lithuanian–Polish language pair, the assessment of the male speaker was the most differentiated in two language pairs, namely in the Lithuanian–Polish pair as well as in the Polish–Russian. Therefore, it can be determined that the male speaker happened to be less pleasant, less beautiful, less polite, less diligent, less intelligent and less reliable when speaking Polish than when speaking Lithuanian or Russian. Nevertheless, it should also be emphasised that the recorded differences between the languages are located in the positive range of the scale so that it cannot be automatically concluded that Polish *per se* is seen as bad; however, there were gradations in individual cases, which in total have lowered the rating.

Different than for the female speaker, no clear tendency could be determined for the assessment of the male speaker and its three language guises regarding the gender of the subjects. Because no significant differences could be found at the level of the within-subject effects—except the dimension of sympathy, in which the women have clearly differentiated between the Lithuanian and the Polish of the male speaker, whereas the men assessed these language guises very similarly (in comparison to G(f), it is a kind of mirror-inverted result for the dimension of sympathy).

Just like described further up for the matched-guise female speaker, it could also be determined for the male speaker at the level of the between-subject effects that the female subjects constantly rated the male speaker higher than the male subjects did.

4.2.11 The guises and their gender

Now it should be analysed whether the gender of the speakers is decisive for the assessments submitted by the subjects in one way or another and, in case it is, how. In other words, the question arises, for example: is the female speaker therefore differently assessed, for instance, when speaking Lithuanian than her Lithuanian-speaking male counterpart, because she is a woman (voice), or the two guises are so similarly assessed, that the different gender of the voices plays neither a role for the female nor the male subjects?

In order to be able to compare the assessments of the two multilingual speakers with each other statistically, a further test with the aid of SPSS had to be conducted, namely the so-called dependent or paired t-test. The following conditions had to be taken into account. When no significant differences occur between the corresponding paired variables (= the respective language recording of the two speakers), it can be suggested that only the languages of the disguised speakers were responsible for the seen differences in the judgment of their personality. However, when significant differences are seen between the values, it means that the gender of the respective speaker plays a role in the judgment of his/her personality as important as the language he or she speaks. For clarity, the results are presented in the following tables.

Tab. 10. Lithuanian: the assessment of the male and the female guise by the women among the subjects (n = 337)

Dimension	Mean & Standard deviation		t-statistics, significance & effect size
	G(f)	G(m)	
Sympathy	M = 6.08 SD = 1.15	M = 5.66 SD = 1.47	t(320) = 4.505, p = .000, d = 0.25
Beauty	M = 6.01 SD = 1.10	M = 5.60 SD = 1.32	t(320) = 4.944, p = .000, d = 0.28
Courtesy	M = 5.98 SD = 1.15	M = 5.62 SD = 1.44	t(315) = 4.288, p = .000, d = 0.24
Diligence	M = 5.44 SD = 1.32	M = 5.04 SD = 1.49	t(315) = 4.136, p = .000, d = 0.23
Intelligence	M = 5.67 SD = 1.17	M = 5.53 SD = 1.29	t(315) = 1.717, p = .087, d = 0.09
Honesty	M = 5.46 SD = 1.31	M = 5.14 SD = 1.51	t(316) = 3.741, p = .000, d = 0.21
Modesty	M = 4.80 SD = 1.44	M = 4.57 SD = 1.64	t(317) = 2.217, p = .027, d = 0.12
Reliability	M = 5.43 SD = 1.39	M = 5.07 SD = 1.55	t(315) = 3.373, p = .001, d = 0.19
Candour	M = 5.40 SD = 1.50	M = 4.99 SD = 1.59	t(316) = 4.062, p = .000, d = 0.23

Tab. 11. Polish: the assessment of the male and the female guise by the women among the subjects (n = 337)

Dimension	Mean & Standard deviation		t-statistics, significance & effect size
	G(f)	G(m)	
Sympathy	M = 5.91 SD = 1.32	M = 5.21 SD = 1.62	t(323) = 6.669, p = .000, d = 0.37
Beauty	M = 5.75 SD = 1.18	M = 5.00 SD = 1.50	t(319) = 7.544, p = .000, d = 0.42
Courtesy	M = 5.91 SD = 1.41	M = 5.38 SD = 1.37	t(316) = 5.464, p = .000, d = 0.31
Diligence	M = 5.48 SD = 1.26	M = 4.92 SD = 0.08	t(313) = 5.715, p = .000, d = 0.32
Intelligence	M = 5.80 SD = 1.15	M = 5.36 SD = 1.26	t(314) = 5.160, p = .000, d = 0.29
Honesty	M = 5.36 SD = 1.42	M = 4.98 SD = 1.35	t(316) = 3.985, p = .000, d = 0.22
Modesty	M = 4.82 SD = 1.53	M = 4.54 SD = 1.47	t(317) = 2.899, p = .004, d = 0.16
Reliability	M = 5.36 SD = 1.38	M = 4.78 SD = 1.41	t(317) = 5.737, p = .000, d = 0.32
Candour	M = 5.46 SD = 1.54	M = 4.92 SD = 1.54	t(313) = 4.743, p = .000, d = 0.27

Tab. 12. Russian: the assessment of the male and the female guise by the women among the subjects ($n = 337$)

Dimension	Mean & Standard deviation		t-statistics, significance & effect size
	G(f)	G(m)	
Sympathy	$M = 6.14$ $SD = 1.20$	$M = 5.55$ $SD = 1.44$	$t(323) = 6.096, p = .000, d = 0.34$
Beauty	$M = 5.99$ $SD = 1.08$	$M = 5.43$ $SD = 1.35$	$t(317) = 6.392, p = .000, d = 0.36$
Courtesy	$M = 6.06$ $SD = 1.16$	$M = 5.69$ $SD = 1.31$	$t(314) = 4.581, p = .000, d = 0.26$
Diligence	$M = 5.49$ $SD = 1.37$	$M = 5.11$ $SD = 1.45$	$t(314) = 4.114, p = .000, d = 0.23$
Intelligence	$M = 5.83$ $SD = 1.20$	$M = 5.58$ $SD = 1.24$	$t(315) = 3.215, p = .001, d = 0.18$
Honesty	$M = 5.56$ $SD = 1.37$	$M = 5.12$ $SD = 1.42$	$t(310) = 4.668, p = .000, d = 0.26$
Modesty	$M = 4.86$ $SD = 1.58$	$M = 4.55$ $SD = 1.58$	$t(313) = 3.160, p = .002, d = 0.18$
Reliability	$M = 5.41$ $SD = 1.53$	$M = 5.09$ $SD = 1.49$	$t(319) = 3.333, p = .001, d = 0.19$
Candour	$M = 5.56$ $SD = 1.48$	$M = 4.95$ $SD = 1.52$	$t(316) = 6.369, p = .000, d = 0.36$

It can be concluded from the tables that the women in the sample have assessed the two guises significantly differently. This means that the gender of the guises has played a role in their personality assessment, because it can be interpreted from the mean values shown in the tables that the female subjects repeatedly rated the female guises $G_{(f)}$ higher than the male guises $G_{(m)}$, regardless whether Lithuanian, Polish or Russian was spoken. The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) consistently indicated a small effect, which reduced the significance and representativity of the results. Only in a single dimension, namely the intelligence, the female subjects have not differentiated between a Lithuanian-speaking woman and a Lithuanian-speaking man. That is, the gender of the speakers played no role for them in this case, and they have rated both speakers evenly positively.

Now we should look at how the male subjects have assessed the two guises, and whether the gender of the guises has played a role for them, too. The results are presented in the following tables.

Tab. 13. Lithuanian: the assessment of the male and the female guise by the men among the subjects (n = 166)

Dimension	Mean & Standard deviation		t-statistics, significance & effect size
	G(f)	G(m)	
Sympathy	<i>M</i> = 5.84 <i>SD</i> = 1.03	<i>M</i> = 4.61 <i>SD</i> = 1.65	$t(160) = 9.198, p = .000, d = 0.73$
Beauty	<i>M</i> = 5.83 <i>SD</i> = 1.09	<i>M</i> = 4.75 <i>SD</i> = 1.44	$t(162) = 9.587, p = .000, d = 0.75$
Courtesy	<i>M</i> = 5.69 <i>SD</i> = 1.15	<i>M</i> = 5.03 <i>SD</i> = 1.33	$t(159) = 5.699, p = .000, d = 0.45$
Diligence	<i>M</i> = 5.34 <i>SD</i> = 1.22	<i>M</i> = 4.50 <i>SD</i> = 1.72	$t(160) = 5.971, p = .000, d = 0.47$
Intelligence	<i>M</i> = 5.48 <i>SD</i> = 1.16	<i>M</i> = 5.14 <i>SD</i> = 1.40	$t(160) = 3.071, p = .003, d = 0.24$
Honesty	<i>M</i> = 5.19 <i>SD</i> = 1.33	<i>M</i> = 4.68 <i>SD</i> = 1.37	$t(159) = 3.858, p = .000, d = 0.31$
Modesty	<i>M</i> = 4.42 <i>SD</i> = 1.26	<i>M</i> = 3.90 <i>SD</i> = 1.54	$t(161) = 4.565, p = .000, d = 0.36$
Reliability	<i>M</i> = 5.26 <i>SD</i> = 1.31	<i>M</i> = 4.56 <i>SD</i> = 1.44	$t(161) = 5.383, p = .000, d = 0.42$
Candour	<i>M</i> = 5.29 <i>SD</i> = 1.45	<i>M</i> = 4.52 <i>SD</i> = 1.49	$t(160) = 5.837, p = .000, d = 0.46$

Tab. 14. Polish: the assessment of the male and the female guise by the men among the subjects (n = 166)

Dimension	Mean & Standard deviation		t-statistics, significance & effect size
	G(f)	G(m)	
Sympathy	<i>M</i> = 5.45 <i>SD</i> = 1.55	<i>M</i> = 4.61 <i>SD</i> = 1.50	$t(160) = 5.451, p = .000, d = 0.43$
Beauty	<i>M</i> = 5.19 <i>SD</i> = 1.50	<i>M</i> = 4.38 <i>SD</i> = 1.45	$t(164) = 5.504, p = .000, d = 0.43$
Courtesy	<i>M</i> = 5.57 <i>SD</i> = 1.44	<i>M</i> = 4.91 <i>SD</i> = 1.49	$t(161) = 4.956, p = .000, d = 0.39$
Diligence	<i>M</i> = 4.97 <i>SD</i> = 1.48	<i>M</i> = 4.43 <i>SD</i> = 1.42	$t(163) = 4.022, p = .000, d = 0.31$
Intelligence	<i>M</i> = 5.39 <i>SD</i> = 1.43	<i>M</i> = 4.92 <i>SD</i> = 1.37	$t(160) = 3.278, p = .001, d = 0.26$
Honesty	<i>M</i> = 4.77 <i>SD</i> = 1.61	<i>M</i> = 4.77 <i>SD</i> = 1.36	$t(162) = 0.043, p = .966, d = 0.003$
Modesty	<i>M</i> = 4.32 <i>SD</i> = 1.49	<i>M</i> = 4.24 <i>SD</i> = 1.37	$t(163) = 0.656, p = .513, d = 0.05$
Reliability	<i>M</i> = 4.84 <i>SD</i> = 1.51	<i>M</i> = 4.37 <i>SD</i> = 1.42	$t(160) = 3.436, p = .001, d = 0.27$
Candour	<i>M</i> = 5.00 <i>SD</i> = 1.59	<i>M</i> = 4.48 <i>SD</i> = 1.41	$t(158) = 3.437, p = .001, d = 0.27$

Tab. 15. Russian: the assessment of the male and the female guise by the men among the subjects (n = 166)

Dimension	Mean & Standard deviation		t-statistics, significance & effect size
	G(f)	G(m)	
Sympathy	<i>M</i> = 5.60 <i>SD</i> = 1.34	<i>M</i> = 4.96 <i>SD</i> = 1.46	$t(162) = 5.110, p = .000, d = 0.40$
Beauty	<i>M</i> = 5.44 <i>SD</i> = 1.32	<i>M</i> = 4.60 <i>SD</i> = 1.35	$t(161) = 6.412, p = .000, d = 0.50$
Courtesy	<i>M</i> = 5.60 <i>SD</i> = 1.24	<i>M</i> = 5.19 <i>SD</i> = 1.41	$t(162) = 3.260, p = .001, d = 0.26$
Diligence	<i>M</i> = 4.94 <i>SD</i> = 1.30	<i>M</i> = 4.81 <i>SD</i> = 1.48	$t(161) = 0.980, p = .329, d = 0.07$
Intelligence	<i>M</i> = 5.27 <i>SD</i> = 1.27	<i>M</i> = 5.10 <i>SD</i> = 1.46	$t(164) = 1.306, p = .193, d = 0.10$
Honesty	<i>M</i> = 4.84 <i>SD</i> = 1.40	<i>M</i> = 4.58 <i>SD</i> = 1.45	$t(160) = 1.991, p = .048, d = 0.16$
Modesty	<i>M</i> = 4.34 <i>SD</i> = 1.37	<i>M</i> = 4.10 <i>SD</i> = 1.35	$t(163) = 1.820, p = .071, d = 0.14$
Reliability	<i>M</i> = 4.76 <i>SD</i> = 1.50	<i>M</i> = 4.62 <i>SD</i> = 1.44	$t(163) = 0.959, p = .339, d = 0.07$
Candour	<i>M</i> = 5.04 <i>SD</i> = 1.64	<i>M</i> = 4.76 <i>SD</i> = 1.48	$t(163) = 1.828, p = .069, d = 0.14$

Also in this subsample, the female speaker was rated significantly higher than her male counterpart, which is following the result for the women group described above. The effect size *f sensu* Cohen (1988) shows a weak to median effect here.

However, the speaker assessments by the men turned out not to be significantly different in all dimensions, especially not in the case of the Russian-speaking guise (insignificant results are marked with a coloured background in Tab. 15). When presented with Russian, the subjects seemed rather not to have differentiated between the genders of the guises. Nevertheless, it is noted that the men also have rated the female speaker higher than the male speaker.

In summary, it should be emphasised that both the group of women as well as the group of men have assessed the two matched-guise speakers in most of the cases (dimensions) significantly differently. Concerning the assumption set in the beginning, it is suggested that in addition to the language of the guises, their gender also had a relevant effect on the assessment of their personality.

4.3 The role of age

In this chapter, the results of the statistical analysis will be presented in a condensed form, which shows the influence of the age of the subjects on their assessments.¹⁹ The corresponding analysis was conducted in three age groups by the abbreviation: A1 (aged 16–29) with $n = 220$, A2 (aged 30–59) with $n = 215$ and A3 (aged 60+) with $n = 57$. For clarity, the results are summarised for each speaker.

G(f). In each age group, individual language preferences were only observed in two dimensions, namely ‘sympathy’ and ‘beauty.’ While A2 has assessed the female speaker in all three languages in the dimension of sympathy relatively similarly, the subjects from the group A1 and A3 differentiated stronger between the Lithuanian- and Polish-speaking guises, namely in favour of Lithuanian. A difference in the assessments by A1 and A2 can be observed in the dimension of the beauty: the younger subjects (A1) have rated Polish and Russian of the female speaker lower than the older subjects (A2).

G(m). In the assessment of the male speaker, there was a more sophisticated picture regarding individual language preferences. Significant results at the level of the within-subject effects could be observed in four dimensions, namely again in ‘sympathy,’ ‘beauty,’ ‘diligence’ and ‘reliability.’ Thus it could be determined that concerning ‘sympathy,’ the group A1 has rated the male Polish guise the lowest, whereas group A3 has given the Russian guise the highest value. Regarding the dimension of beauty, A1 has differentiated most clearly between the Polish and the Lithuanian guises; namely, this group has rated the Lithuanian guise the highest. In the dimension of diligence, A1 has strongly differentiated between the Russian and the Polish of the male speaker, namely in favour of Russian. The age group A3 has rated the Polish and the Russian guises higher than the Lithuanian. Regarding reliability, the subjects of the age group A3 have differentiated clearly between Russian and Lithuanian of the male speaker, namely in favour of Russian.

At the level of the between-subject effects, namely when comparing the values stated by each age group for each language, it can be determined that the older subjects (group A3) have repeatedly rated the two speakers higher than the younger subjects (group A1) in individual dimensions; this tendency holds true for the ratio of A2 to A1. It is worth noticing that none of the three languages was favoured. The respective age group has rated the male speaker ‘higher’ or ‘lower,’ no matter which language did he speak. An exception here is the case of

19 The corresponding statistics and graphics will be available at the University’s internet repository; please see footnote 3.

the ‘beauty,’ namely, the female guise was assessed by A1 as ‘more beautiful’ than it was by A2 when she spoke Lithuanian instead of Russian or Polish.

It can, therefore, be concluded that the youngest subjects have generally assessed the speakers more critically. In other words, they have more often chosen the middle level on the scale, so that their assessments in total turned out to be significantly lower than the assessments by the other two age groups. On the opposite side are the subjects in the age group A3, which constantly rated the speakers higher (i.e., more lenient), independent of the languages spoken by the disguised speakers.

Although it is axiomatically assumed in the relevant research that differences could exist between different generations in multiple aspects, it was unclear from the results of the present investigation which of the three examined languages should have a higher preference by a specific generation, and thus should have a higher social status. The data have shown in the result that there is no preference with regard to specific languages depending on the age of the subjects. Instead, it is only shown that older people generally tend to rate the speakers higher (i.e., more lenient) than younger people do, independent of their languages. The assessments of the language within each generation showed no significant differences. This does not only indicate a certain degree of homogeneity of these groups but also suggest a favourable societal condition, which is based on a broad consensus.

4.4 (Previous) knowledge of the subjects: the so-called ‘method test’

In this chapter, I address the question of whether and in which and to what extent does the knowledge, which was known to the subject at the time of the examination, influence the survey results. The query of the subjects was conducted with the help of two distinct questionnaires. First, they were presented with one questionnaire which is based on an indirect method (the MGT-experiment), and then a second one based on a direct method (open and closed questions). In order to determine from the survey results the influence of the knowledge of the subject, i.e., how it implicates the inquiries directly, a randomly selected group from the subjects²⁰ was presented with the two parts of the inquiry in reverse order. This control group had to first fill out the direct questionnaire with closed and open questions, and then participate in the MGT-experiment in the subsequent step. It was assumed here that the reverse test order in the control group would lead to other results because the knowledge of the subjects pertaining to the issue of

20 Within the control group, 91 subjects of the age group 1 were interviewed: in Kaunas 21 subjects, in Klaipėda 15, in Šalčininkai 25 and in Visaginas 30.

the survey of their (language) political and sociocultural self-conception should come to the fore. In this way, their conscious language attitudes, that is, their political opinions on the matter, as well as their language-based stereotypes, would be expressed.

After the analysis of the results within the control group, it is evident that the assessments of both speakers are in agreement with each other in their tendency; that is, in their relative status hierarchy, which they indicated by languages. For both disguised speakers, the application of Polish is assessed as worse/lower than that of Lithuanian or Russian in the majority of the dimensions. This lower assessment of Polish is even more evident when looking at the results for the female speaker. Also, the calculated effects of the results of the control group range from medium to strong, and are consequently large enough to be classified as substantial. (The strong effects were recorded in the assessment of the female speaker, and here in the dimensions 'sympathy,' 'beauty' and 'honesty').

Subsequently, for the data from the main- and 'method test,' in order to check whether there is a hypothetical hidden discrepancy between the pairs of results depending on the awareness of the subjects, a corresponding statistical comparison was conducted. For this purpose, a subsample equivalent to the sample of the control group was assembled by selecting 177 subjects of the age group 1 from the main sample:

- from Kaunas 75 subjects,
- from Klaipėda 30,
- from Šalčininkai 24, and
- from Visaginas 48.

This subsample (condition 1, 'usual' test sequence, i.e., indirect inquiry before direct inquiry) should be compared statistically with the control group described above (condition 2, reverse test sequence, i.e., direct inquiry before indirect, experimental inquiry). For this purpose, a t-test for independent samples was conducted with the help of SPSS (24).²¹ The results are summarised in the following six tables 16 to 21 (a table per language and male/female speaker).

21 The variances of the two samples are not significantly different according to Levene-test ($p > 0.05$).

Tab. 16. Condition 1 vs condition 2: The female multilingual speaker speaks Polish

Dimension	Condition	Mean, standard deviation, n	t-statistics, significance & effect size Cohen d^{22}
Sympathy	1	$M = 5.51$ $SD = 1.55$, $n = 174$	$t(263) = 2.324$, $p = .021$, $d = 0.29$
	2	$M = 5.03$ $SD = 1.62$, $n = 91$	
Beauty	1	$M = 5.34$ $SD = 1.37$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = 1.957$, $p = .051$, $d = 0.24$
	2	$M = 4.98$ $SD = 1.54$, $n = 91$	
Courtesy	1	$M = 5.50$ $SD = 1.55$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = 0.560$, $p = .576$, $d = 0.07$
	2	$M = 5.38$ $SD = 1.56$, $n = 91$	
Diligence	1	$M = 5.18$ $SD = 1.44$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = 1.062$, $p = .289$, $d = 0.13$
	2	$M = 4.98$ $SD = 1.47$, $n = 91$	
Intelligence	1	$M = 5.59$ $SD = 1.30$, $n = 174$	$t(263) = 2.398$, $p = .017$, $d = 0.30$
	2	$M = 5.18$ $SD = 1.42$, $n = 91$	
Honesty	1	$M = 4.97$ $SD = 1.51$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = 1.436$, $p = .152$, $d = 0.18$
	2	$M = 4.68$ $SD = 1.57$, $n = 91$	
Modesty	1	$M = 4.35$ $SD = 1.50$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = -1.021$, $p = .308$, $d = -0.13$
	2	$M = 4.55$ $SD = 1.56$, $n = 91$	
Reliability	1	$M = 4.99$ $SD = 1.49$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = 1.160$, $p = .247$, $d = 0.14$
	2	$M = 4.77$ $SD = 1.53$, $n = 91$	
Candour	1	$M = 5.12$ $SD = 1.57$, $n = 173$	$t(262) = 0.844$, $p = .399$, $d = 0.10$
	2	$M = 4.95$ $SD = 1.67$, $n = 91$	

It becomes evident that the results of the assessment of the Polish-speaking female guise are almost identical in both samples, which is indicated by the means and the t-statistics. Significant results were only found in three dimensions (coloured rows): the group with the reverse test sequence (condition 2) has rated the guise less friendly, beautiful and intelligent than the sample of the same age in the main sample (condition 1) has. However, the effects here are of smaller strength. The three more negative assessments of the guise by the second group can only be explained by the altered degree of knowledge about the subject and goal of the examination in this group.²³

An exact opposite situation can be observed in the case of Russian; see Table 17.

22 D from Cohen was chosen because the two groups differ in their size (see recommendation by the University of Zurich—homepage ‘Methodenberatung / t-Test für unabhängige Stichproben’).

23 Only this group knew from the beginning that their language attitudes and stereotypes should be recorded in the course of the inquiry, since they were

Tab. 17. Condition 1 vs condition 2: The female multilingual speaker speaks **Russian**

Dimension	Condition	Mean, standard deviation, n	t-statistics, significance & effect size Cohen <i>d</i>
Sympathy	1	$M = 5.85$ $SD = 1.19$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -1.535$,
	2	$M = 6.08$ $SD = 1.09$, $n = 91$	$p = .126$, $d = -0.19$
Beauty	1	$M = 5.72$ $SD = 1.15$, $n = 176$	$t(265) = -0.951$,
	2	$M = 5.86$ $SD = 1.16$, $n = 91$	$p = .343$, $d = -0.12$
Courtesy	1	$M = 5.83$ $SD = 1.20$, $n = 174$	$t(263) = -1.724$,
	2	$M = 6.09$ $SD = 1.09$, $n = 91$	$p = .086$, $d = -0.21$
Diligence	1	$M = 5.28$ $SD = 1.33$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -1.567$, $p = .118$,
	2	$M = 5.54$ $SD = 1.14$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.19$
Intelligence	1	$M = 5.44$ $SD = 1.31$, $n = 176$	$t(265) = -2.453$,
	2	$M = 5.85$ $SD = 1.25$, $n = 91$	$p = .015$, $d = -0.30$
Honesty	1	$M = 5.07$ $SD = 1.45$, $n = 174$	$t(262) = -1.720$,
	2	$M = 5.40$ $SD = 1.47$, $n = 90$	$p = .087$, $d = -0.21$
Modesty	1	$M = 4.34$ $SD = 1.47$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -2.281$,
	2	$M = 4.77$ $SD = 1.38$, $n = 91$	$p = .023$, $d = -0.28$
Reliability	1	$M = 5.01$ $SD = 1.51$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -1.853$,
	2	$M = 5.36$ $SD = 1.38$, $n = 91$	$p = .065$, $d = -0.23$
Candour	1	$M = 5.17$ $SD = 1.59$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = -2.282$,
	2	$M = 5.62$ $SD = 1.39$, $n = 91$	$p = .023$, $d = -0.28$

The group with the reverse test sequence (condition 2) assessed the Russian-speaking female guise higher than the sample from the main sample (condition 1) in three dimensions, namely in the characteristics intelligence, modesty and candour. However, the effect size was also small for these three significant cases.

Regarding the application of Lithuanian by the female speaker, the results are as follows.

confronted with corresponding closed and open questions in the first part of the inquiry. In this way, they also consciously expressed their stereotype-afflicted attitude(s) toward the Polish-speakers. The detected tendency of assessment (worse assessment of Polish) could also be observed in a previous study under condition 1 (see Kostiučenko 2016).

Tab. 18. Condition 1 vs condition 2: The female multilingual speaker speaks **Lithuanian**

Dimension	Condition	Mean, standard deviation, n	t-statistics, significance & effect size Cohen <i>d</i>
Sympathy	1	$M = 5.98$ $SD = 1.07$, $n = 173$	$t(262) = -1.748$, $p = .082$,
	2	$M = 6.21$ $SD = 0.94$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.21$
Beauty	1	$M = 5.98$ $SD = 0.98$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -1.270$, $p = .205$,
	2	$M = 6.13$ $SD = 0.87$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.16$
Courtesy	1	$M = 5.81$ $SD = 1.22$, $n = 176$	$t(265) = -1.048$, $p = .296$,
	2	$M = 5.98$ $SD = 1.23$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.13$
Diligence	1	$M = 5.42$ $SD = 1.19$, $n = 176$	$t(265) = -2.196$, $p = .029$,
	2	$M = 5.75$ $SD = 1.07$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.27$
Intelligence	1	$M = 5.51$ $SD = 1.19$, $n = 174$	$t(263) = -1.842$, $p = .067$,
	2	$M = 5.79$ $SD = 1.15$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.23$
Honesty	1	$M = 5.29$ $SD = 1.24$, $n = 176$	$t(265) = -2.750$, $p = .006$,
	2	$M = 5.71$ $SD = 1.10$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.34$
Modesty	1	$M = 4.21$ $SD = 1.36$, $n = 174$	$t(263) = -3.327$, $p = .001$,
	2	$M = 4.80$ $SD = 1.42$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.41$
Reliability	1	$M = 5.33$ $SD = 1.25$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -1.410$, $p = .160$,
	2	$M = 5.57$ $SD = 1.42$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.17$
Candour	1	$M = 5.18$ $SD = 1.54$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -1.850$, $p = .065$,
	2	$M = 5.55$ $SD = 1.56$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.23$

The known higher assessment of Lithuanian could again be observed in the control group in three dimensions, namely in ‘diligence,’ ‘honesty’ and ‘modesty.’ Again, the calculated effect size turned out to be small.

The following three tables concern the male speaker. For the speaker’s Russian, the statistic is as follows.

Tab. 19. Condition 1 vs condition 3: The male multilingual speaker speaks **Russian**

Dimension	Condition	Mean, standard deviation, n	t-statistics, significance & effect size Cohen <i>d</i>
Sympathy	1	$M = 5.26$ $SD = 1.48$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = -0.648$, $p = .517$, $d = -0.08$
	2	$M = 5.38$ $SD = 1.41$, $n = 91$	
Beauty	1	$M = 5.02$ $SD = 1.46$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = -1.247$, $p = .213$, $d = -0.15$
	2	$M = 5.25$ $SD = 1.46$, $n = 91$	
Courtesy	1	$M = 5.31$ $SD = 1.47$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = 0.149$, $p = .882$, $d = 0.02$
	2	$M = 5.29$ $SD = 1.51$, $n = 91$	
Diligence	1	$M = 5.10$ $SD = 1.41$, $n = 174$	$t(263) = 0.534$, $p = .594$, $d = 0.07$
	2	$M = 5.00$ $SD = 1.42$, $n = 91$	
Intelligence	1	$M = 5.27$ $SD = 1.48$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -1.564$, $p = .119$, $d = -0.19$
	2	$M = 5.55$ $SD = 1.25$, $n = 91$	
Honesty	1	$M = 4.89$ $SD = 1.41$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = -0.110$, $p = .912$, $d = -0.01$
	2	$M = 4.91$ $SD = 1.52$, $n = 91$	
Modesty	1	$M = 3.99$ $SD = 1.47$, $n = 176$	$t(265) = -1.789$, $p = .075$, $d = -0.22$
	2	$M = 4.32$ $SD = 1.26$, $n = 91$	
Reliability	1	$M = 4.82$ $SD = 1.46$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = -0.462$, $p = .645$, $d = -0.06$
	2	$M = 4.91$ $SD = 1.56$, $n = 91$	
Candour	1	$M = 4.86$ $SD = 1.50$, $n = 176$	$t(265) = 0.323$, $p = .747$, $d = 0.04$
	2	$M = 4.79$ $SD = 1.79$, $n = 91$	

There are no highlighted rows in this table because no significant results could be detected. This means that statistically speaking, the subjects of both groups assessed the application of Russian by the male speaker the same, independent of their degree of knowledge for the research subject. This also holds true for the application of Polish by the male speaker (see table 20).

For the application of Lithuanian by the male speaker (see below table 21), the following is found.

A significant difference in the mean values of the two test groups is only found in one dimension, namely in that of sympathy (pleasant–unpleasant). The control group has rated the speaker significantly more positive than the sample of the main test.

Summarising the results of the comparisons above, it can be stated that there is no significant or surprising discrepancy between the assessments of the two speakers (and the languages applied by them) depending on the awareness of the subjects. Although purely mathematically there were occasional significant differences with small effect size, the mean value differences on the seven-level

Tab. 20. Condition 1 vs condition 2: the male multilingual speaker speaks Polish

Dimension	Condition	Mean, standard deviation, n	t-statistics, significance & effect size Cohen <i>d</i>
Sympathy	1	$M = 4.56$ $SD = 1.66$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -0.340$, $p = .734$,
	2	$M = 4.64$ $SD = 1.64$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.04$
Beauty	1	$M = 4.36$ $SD = 1.56$, $n = 177$	$t(266) = -0.325$, $p = .745$,
	2	$M = 4.43$ $SD = 1.66$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.04$
Courtesy	1	$M = 4.87$ $SD = 1.53$, $n = 175$	$t(262) = -0.404$, $p = .687$,
	2	$M = 4.96$ $SD = 1.54$, $n = 89$	$d = -0.05$
Diligence	1	$M = 4.43$ $SD = 1.50$, $n = 176$	$t(265) = 0.342$, $p = .733$,
	2	$M = 4.36$ $SD = 1.69$, $n = 91$	$d = 0.04$
Intelligence	1	$M = 4.98$ $SD = 1.41$, $n = 175$	$t(264) = 0.360$, $p = .719$,
	2	$M = 4.91$ $SD = 1.38$, $n = 91$	$d = 0.04$
Honesty	1	$M = 4.68$ $SD = 1.31$, $n = 176$	$t(264) = 0.393$, $p = .695$,
	2	$M = 4.61$ $SD = 1.54$, $n = 90$	$d = 0.05$
Modesty	1	$M = 4.01$ $SD = 1.39$, $n = 176$	$t(265) = -1.470$, $p = .143$,
	2	$M = 4.27$ $SD = 1.37$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.18$
Reliability	1	$M = 4.51$ $SD = 1.41$, $n = 175$	$t(263) = 0.152$, $p = .880$,
	2	$M = 4.48$ $SD = 1.46$, $n = 91$	$d = 0.02$
Candour	1	$M = 4.53$ $SD = 1.49$, $n = 174$	$t(263) = -1.165$, $p = .245$,
	2	$M = 4.76$ $SD = 1.48$, $n = 91$	$d = -0.14$

scale are de facto minimal. They are, for instance, not at the opposite ends of the applied scales, but consistently in their positive range (here an example is represented by the assessment of the Lithuanian-speaking female guise in the dimension 'honesty'). It can be concluded that occasional differences are not insignificant.

In the majority of the dimensions, the following results in the two tested groups are in accordance with each other. The speakers and the languages were almost identically assessed by the subjects, whether consciously or unconsciously. The deviations of the values in the control group (condition 2) are negligible. They rather demonstrate the common positive or negative stereotypes of the tested languages.

To summarise, it can be said that the MGT constantly remains an objective method regarding the recording of concrete values, no matter which position is chosen for it in the course of the survey. Neither does the sequence of direct and indirect methodology have any effect on the 'tendency' of the relative status hierarchy, which is determined for each language pair with the aid of MGT.

Tab. 21. Condition 1 vs condition 2: The male multilingual speaker speaks **Lithuanian**

Dimension	Condition	Mean, standard deviation, n	t-statistics, significance & effect size Cohen <i>d</i>
Sympathy	1	<i>M</i> = 4.95 <i>SD</i> = 1.64, n = 174	t(263) = -2.023, <i>p</i> = .044, <i>d</i> = -0.25
	2	<i>M</i> = 5.36 <i>SD</i> = 1.46, n = 91	
Beauty	1	<i>M</i> = 5.02 <i>SD</i> = 1.39, n = 174	t(263) = -1.501, <i>p</i> = .135, <i>d</i> = -0.18
	2	<i>M</i> = 5.30 <i>SD</i> = 1.45, n = 91	
Courtesy	1	<i>M</i> = 5.09 <i>SD</i> = 1.39, n = 172	t(261) = -1.348, <i>p</i> = .179, <i>d</i> = -0.17
	2	<i>M</i> = 5.33 <i>SD</i> = 1.28, n = 91	
Diligence	1	<i>M</i> = 4.71 <i>SD</i> = 1.64, n = 174	t(263) = 1.506, <i>p</i> = .133, <i>d</i> = 0.19
	2	<i>M</i> = 4.38 <i>SD</i> = 1.77, n = 91	
Intelligence	1	<i>M</i> = 5.14 <i>SD</i> = 1.42, n = 175	t(264) = -0.377, <i>p</i> = .706, <i>d</i> = -0.05
	2	<i>M</i> = 5.21 <i>SD</i> = 1.22, n = 91	
Honesty	1	<i>M</i> = 4.75 <i>SD</i> = 1.47, n = 171	t(260) = -1.088, <i>p</i> = .278, <i>d</i> = -0.13
	2	<i>M</i> = 4.96 <i>SD</i> = 1.48, n = 91	
Modesty	1	<i>M</i> = 3.84 <i>SD</i> = 1.59, n = 172	t(260) = -1.915, <i>p</i> = .057, <i>d</i> = -0.24
	2	<i>M</i> = 4.23 <i>SD</i> = 1.59, n = 90	
Reliability	1	<i>M</i> = 4.75 <i>SD</i> = 1.47, n = 173	t(261) = -0.799, <i>p</i> = .425, <i>d</i> = -0.09
	2	<i>M</i> = 4.90 <i>SD</i> = 1.51, n = 90	
Candour	1	<i>M</i> = 4.52 <i>SD</i> = 1.61, n = 173	t(262) = -0.719, <i>p</i> = .473, <i>d</i> = -0.08
	2	<i>M</i> = 4.67 <i>SD</i> = 1.63, n = 91	

5 Is there a reason to worry? A conclusion

Although this question is a polar question, it cannot be answered easily. Is the coexistence of different language groups actually endangered or burdened with language-based conflicts? Is it possible to reach a satisfactory societal compromise, or is it already reached? With a view at the selected results and circumstantial evidence²⁴ from the presented study for Lithuania, we must refer to individual problematic points about the nature of language policy.

In regard to the sociolinguistic profiles of the data collecting sites, it can be said about the domain-related language choice that Lithuanian plays a

24 The detailed summary of the results from individual chapters can be found at the end of each respective chapter. At this point, only the most relevant results are to be scrutinised again.

dominant role among the residents of Vilnius, Kaunas, Klaipėda, Šalčininkai and Visaginas. Particularly in the public domain, namely in the communication in or with institutions and public authorities, Lithuanian is usually spoken in all examined cities (Lithuanian and Russian are equally often applied in these domains only in Visaginas). Lithuanian is also dominant in the semi-public domain (for example, in cafés or pharmacies); Russian is given priority only in Šalčininkai and Visaginas, the two ‘cities of minorities.’ In the private sphere, all three languages are applied to varying degrees and in different constellations, though Polish is most seldom in the combinations. A further result of this study is important in this context. Contrary to the expectations, the degree of Polish competence was determined to be astonishingly low in the five examined cities (the subjects were asked to assess their competence); and this holds true even for the ‘city of minority’ Šalčininkai, which is a predominantly Polish-speaking city of Lithuania,²⁵ according to statements of the statistical office. It should be scrutinised at the official level how far the corresponding image of Šalčininkai is still valid. The observed withdrawal of Polish from the three domains and its lesser role in media usage are marked results of the present study.

These two results are also reflected in the data, which are collected with the aid of the indirect, experimental *matched-guise* technique. Because it can be recognised, on the whole, that different languages determined the degree of sympathy, intelligence or other characteristics of the speakers in the view of the subjects. However, the gender and the age of the subjects also play an important role in their assessments. On the one hand, the detected differences depending on dimensions were not specially marked, i.e., the effects were mostly only weak. On the other hand, a specific language, namely Polish has been repeatedly rated worse to some degree. Consequently, it could be concluded that the Polish-speakers suffer a loss of image in the Lithuanian society and that the status of this language in Lithuania is subordinate to that of Lithuanian, but also Russian.

Now when we assess the current relationships between the language groups in Lithuania using the data of the conducted direct inquiry, it can be said that there is a notable gap between how the people think of their private relationships and what happens at the public, political level in their opinion. This gap becomes particularly evident when looking at the relationship between Lithuanians and the Poles living in Lithuania. This relationship turned out to be from negative to

25 On the contrary, the result of the study suggests that the residents of Šalčininkai have the highest competence in Russian, followed by the relative high competence in Lithuanian.

neutral, whereas the relationship between Lithuanians and the Russians living in Lithuania is rated from neutral to positive, namely at all three examined levels. Therefore, it may be concluded that the relationship between Lithuanians and Poles still has to be considered as impaired, but only very slightly. Whether it automatically means a reason to worry is primarily a question of political perception, which is nevertheless relevant at the national level.

Overall, it could be observed that the language policy questions are not given a particularly high priority by the residents of the examined cities, which entails both advantages as well as disadvantages. On the one hand, certain dissociation from language questions is “healthy” and therefore desirable. On the other hand, certain concomitant ignorance could lead to a language policy problem area in the long run. Long-term studies are required to follow up on questions about future development, and about which direction the current language situation will take.

Translated from German by Shou-Wang Lin

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Vava Lunabba

Language Climate in Finland

Abstract. In the history of Finland's national languages, there has been an era of language disputes. Changes in the population structure have had their effects on the language conditions in Finland. The general language climate appears to have become harsher during recent years in Finland.

Overview

- 1 Linguistic rights in Finland in the past and today
- 2 Current linguistic conditions in Finland
- 3 Bilingualism and linguistic division of municipalities
- 4 Language climates in bilingual municipalities
- 5 General language climate in Finland
- 6 Attitudes encountered by language groups
- 7 Language groups' experiences of using public services
- 8 Harassment and discrimination experienced by language groups
- 9 An example of the experiences of language groups in the realisation of their rights in social and health and social services

1 Linguistic rights in Finland in the past and today

Finland was part of the Swedish kingdom from the 12th and 14th centuries until 1809. During this period, the language of the kingdom and its legislation was Swedish. While Finnish was used for practical needs, it had no official status. When Finland was joined to Russia in 1809, the foundation was laid for strengthening the role of the Finnish language (CoL 2000: 5–6). The 1902 decree on languages accorded an official status to Finnish, making it equal with Swedish (Decree 1902). Section 14 of the 1919 Form of Government (FFG) was the first section on language to state that Finnish and Swedish were the national languages of the republic. The Finnish Form of Government 1919, Section 14:

Finnish and Swedish are the national languages of the republic. [...] Each Finnish citizen has the right to use their own language, Finnish or Swedish, at court or in dealings with administrative officials in their own matter, and their right to receive the documents concerning them must be ensured by the law, while ensuring that the rights of the

Finnish and Swedish speaking population are arranged on equal principles. [...] The cultural and financial needs of the Finnish and Swedish speaking population must be satisfied by the State on the basis of similar principles.

Furthermore, in Section 22 of the Form of Government, it was stated that laws and decrees, as well as proposals by the Government to the Parliament and responses, proposals and other statements to the Government by the Parliament, are to be submitted in Finnish and Swedish. This section was one of the measures intended to strengthen the position of both languages as national languages (CoL 2000: 13). According to the Form of the Government, the State was to satisfy the cultural and financial needs of the Finnish and Swedish speaking population on the basis of similar principles. This stipulation intends to secure the factual equality of both language groups (HE 2002: 8).

Section 14 of the 1919 Form of Government constitutes the basis for Section 17 of Finland's current constitution (CoF 1999), the key section on languages in the constitution. The current section did not mark any change in the status of the national languages; instead, it is founded on ensuring the equality of the Finnish and Swedish languages and on the right to use these languages at court and in dealings with other authorities. The wording of the stipulation was made modern, and the obligation to take care of the cultural and social need of the Finnish and Swedish populations on equal grounds was directed at the public authority instead of the State (HE 1993). The reform of the Basic Rights in 1995 changed the wording of the stipulation to the effect that the section no longer refers to 'the right of a Finnish citizen to use their native language' but to 'everybody's right to use their own language' (HE 2002: 8). In the current constitution, this section has been expanded also to cover the Sámi people, the Roma, those using sign languages and other languages and cultural groups. Language obligations are also more extensive than before; for example, they are extended to cover the arrangement of social services such as health care and social welfare, and the communication on school and other educational conditions in customers' language (HE 2002: 9).

The Constitution of Finland, Section 17—Right to one's language and culture:

The national languages of Finland are Finnish and Swedish. [...] The right of everyone to use his or her own language, either Finnish or Swedish, before courts of law and other authorities, and to receive official documents in that language, shall be guaranteed by an Act. The public authorities shall provide for the cultural and societal needs of the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking populations of the country on an equal basis. The Sámi, as an indigenous people, as well as the Roma and other groups, have the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture. Provisions on the right of the Sámi to use the Sámi language before the authorities are laid down by an Act. The rights

of persons using sign language and of persons in need of interpretation or translation aid owing to disability shall be guaranteed by an Act. (CoF 1999: § 17)

In the past, during the era of language disputes, language was often equated with nationality and race, and racist views were not unheard of in the history of Finland's national languages. After Finland gained its independence, the legislative provisions governing the Finnish and Swedish languages were laid down to be equal for both languages. The status and rights of the actual language minority are the same irrespective of whether the majority language or the only language in the administrative area is Finnish or Swedish (HE 2002: 5). The provisions of the Finnish Constitution on language lay the foundation for other legislation on languages. In 1922, the first Language Act (1481/1922) on languages entered into force. The Language Act addressed the use of Finnish and Swedish in courts, in dealings with state and municipal authorities, in other autonomous regions and joint municipal authorities. The Language Act divided authorities into monolingual and bilingual authorities, and the basic unit in this division was a municipality. The first Language Act primarily secured the linguistic rights of an individual in writing but not in oral contexts when dealing with authorities, something which reflected society in the 1920s.

The Language Act was amended on several occasions, and a completely new Language Act (423/2003) entered into force in 2004. This replaced the previous legislation, which was deemed to be inflexible in part and, therefore, impractical. As a result, the approach of authorities was found to be defective, not unprompted enough and positive to the various language groups. The major flaws in the old legislation were attributable to the conflict between legislation on languages and practice, which resulted in the requirements of the Language Act not being realised. The Language Act is a blanket act covering the entire administration, in addition to which provisions on language are included in the special legislation governing the various branches of administration. The key objective of the current Language Act is that an authority takes unprompted account of the linguistic rights of an individual so that the individual in question does not need to request them. The equal treatment of the language groups is central to the Language Act. Linguistic equality is viewed as strengthening people's identity and, thereby, creating a feeling of safety and equality (HE 2002: 48–9). While division into municipalities continues to be practice under the Language Act, linguistic rights should also be seen as individuals' rights. The application of the Language Act is not tied to the nationality of an individual but to their language. The Language Act seeks to ensure every citizen's right guaranteed in the constitution to use their own language, either Finnish or Swedish, in courts and in

dealings with other authorities. The objective is to ensure every citizen's right to equal treatment in court proceedings and good governance irrespective of language, and the individual's linguistic rights are implemented without the individual in question needing to request them specifically. This approach highlights significance of language in the implementation of basic rights. An authority may also provide better service than the law requires. The Language Act lays down minimum requirements provided for linguistic services provided by authorities (LA 2003a: Section 2; HE 2002: vp, 9 and 65). The Ministry of Justice is tasked with monitoring the implementation and application of the Language Act (Decree 2016: section 24; LA 2003a: section 36).

In addition to the Language Act on national languages, Finland has enacted the Sámi Language Act (1086/2003) and sign Language Act (359/2015). The Sámi are the only indigenous people in Europe, and Northern Finland has been their home. The Sámi Language Act gave the Sámi language official status in 1992. In 1995, constitutional rights were provided for the Sámi people to maintain and develop their language, with such provisions to be provided by the law. The revised Sámi Language Act entered into force in 2004. The Sámi Language Act secures the linguistic rights of the Sámi people in their home area as well as in some situations outside such areas. Under the constitution and international treaties binding on Finland, the Sámi Language Act secures the right of the Sámi people to maintain and develop their language and culture and to use their language in courts and in dealings with other authorities. The legislation also provides the obligation on official authority to implement and promote the linguistic rights of the Sámi people.

Consequently, authorities have obligations under the Language Act. The objective of the Sámi Language Act is to ensure the right of Sámi people to equal treatment in court proceedings and good governance irrespective of their language, and the Sámi's linguistic rights are implemented without the individuals in question needing to request them specifically. In the Sámi Language Act, the Sámi language refers to Inari Sámi, Skolt Sámi, and Northern Sámi. The variety of the Sámi language to be used in a particular situation is determined by the language of the customer or the principal target group. The Sámi Language Act provides for the authorities to which it is to be applied. These include the municipalities in the Sámi home area, courts, and district and local authorities under whose responsibility the municipalities in the Sámi home area fall. The Sámi Language Act obligates authorities both in- and outside the home area of the Sámi people. The Sámi home area includes the municipalities of Enontekiö, Inari and Utsjoki, and part of the municipality of Sodankylä (LA 2003b: sections 1–10; HE 2003: vp, 33–4; HE 2017: vp, 3–4).

Finland's first legislation governing sign language (359/2015) entered into force on 1 May 2015. The Sign Language Act concerns both the sign language of Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns, both of which are national sign languages. The act on sign language is a limited general act, which seeks to promote the implementation of the rights of the people using sign language. The Sign Language Act also seeks to increase the awareness of authorities of the people using sign language, particularly as a language and cultural group. Under the Sign Language Act, authorities, in their activities, must promote the opportunities available to people using sign language to use their language and to obtain information in their language. Consequently, the act provides for the authorities' obligation to promote. In the Sign Language Act, a person using a sign language refers to a person whose own language is a sign language. The core group of those using sign language consists of the deaf and hard-of-hearing whose mother language or first language is sign language. This refers to the deaf, hard-of-hearing people, and deafblind. Under the Sign Language Act, those using sign language also include the hearing children of deaf parents, known as CODA children (SLA 2015: sections 1–4; HE 2014: vp, 45–6).

A key means of monitoring linguistic rights is a report issued by the Government to Parliament once each parliamentary term on the implementation of linguistic legislation (Report on Languages), the preparation of which is the responsibility of the Ministry of Justice. A Language Report has been presented to Parliament in 2006, 2009, 2013, and 2017. Section 37 of the Language Act (423/2003) and sections 9 and 10 of the decree on the implementation of the language legislation provide for the implementation of the Language Report. Under the decree, the Report concerns not only Finnish and Swedish but also the Sámi language, the Roma language, and sign language and, if necessary, the most widely used languages in the country. The report must concern the application of legislation on languages, the realisation of linguistic rights, the linguistic relationships in the country and the development of the Finnish and Swedish languages.

Furthermore, the report must include a summary of the experiences gathered during the monitoring period on the implementation of legislation on languages and the trends in which the language conditions in the country develop. Under the Language Act, the Government may include proposals in the report for the implementation of language legislation, for their linguistic rights or the development of legislation. The report must present both positive and negative trends. In connection with the preparation of the Language Report, broad information, among other things, on the realisation of the linguistic rights gathered with the aid of a language barometer and other clarifications, and the various language

groups will be heard on a comprehensive scale. The linguistic atmosphere is one of the key thematic areas selected for 2017. The background information in this article is largely based on the materials of the Language Report 2017.

2 Current linguistic conditions in Finland

Statistics Finland produces statistics with a wide coverage on topics such as the population based on language groups and nationality. Its population structure statistics describe Finnish and foreign citizens who reside permanently in Finland.¹ Among other things, the statistics note each person's age, marital status, gender, nationality and language. The data produced by Statistics Finland are based on the Population Information System maintained by the Population Register Centre and the mother tongue data recorded in it. The language given as a child's mother tongue when the Population Information System is notified of the child's name is regarded as his or her mother tongue in population statistics.

Changes in the population structure and growing language groups have their effects on the prevailing language conditions in Finland, which have diversified at a fast rate. During recent years, the Finnish population has been constantly growing. The annual increase in the population has been approximately 15,000–25,000. The number of Finnish and Swedish speakers has decreased somewhat, whereas the number of Sámi speakers has increased slightly during the period of scrutiny. This may also reflect higher awareness among Sámi speakers of their possibility of registering Sámi as their mother tongue (Statistics 2017a: section 3.1.2). The number of foreign-language speakers has also continued to increase steadily, which is due to immigration and the emergence of the so-called second generation as children are born to immigrant parents in Finland. The birth rate in Finland has shown a decline for the last five years (Statistics 2015a; Statistics 2017b). The number of Finnish speakers continued to increase until 2013 but has since been declining. As with previous periods, the number of Swedish speakers has decreased slowly. Emigration increased in all language groups during the period.² Emigration among Finnish and Swedish speakers has increased since

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- 1 The permanent resident population of Finland comprises the Finnish citizens and foreign citizens who reside permanently in Finland even if they were temporarily living abroad. A foreign national is included in statistics on the population of Finland if he or she intends to live or has lived in the country for at least 12 months. An asylum seeker is not included in the statistics on the resident population until the Directorate of Immigration has granted him or her a permanent residence permit. (Statistics 2017a.)
 - 2 According to Statistics Finland's definition, a person who moves to live abroad for more than one year is regarded as an emigrant.

2013. The statistics indicate that Swedish speakers have a higher emigration rate than Finnish speakers. The most common country of entry for both Finnish and Swedish speakers is Sweden. In 2015, approximately 0.20 per cent of Finnish speakers went to live abroad permanently, while this figure for Swedish speakers was approximately 0.70 per cent. In all language groups, however, speakers of other languages had the highest relative proportion of those who emigrated (Statistics 2015b; Kepsu 2015: 7–9).

Tab. 1. Finland's population by language 2012–17 (data according Statistics 2018)

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Total population	5 426 674	5 451 270	5 471 753	5 487 308	5 503 297	5 513 130
Finnish speakers	4 866 848 (89,7 %)	4 869 362 (89,3 %)	4 868 751 (89 %)	4 865 628 (88,7 %)	4 857 795 (88,3 %)	4 848 761 (87,9 %)
Swedish speakers	290 977 (5,36 %)	290 910 (5,34 %)	290 747 (5,31 %)	290 161 (5,29 %)	289 540 (5,26 %)	289 052 (5,24 %)
Sámi speakers	1 900 (0,04 %)	1 930 (0,04 %)	1 949 (0,04 %)	1 957 (0,04 %)	1 969 (0,04 %)	1 992 (0,04 %)
Speakers of other languages	266 949 (4,91 %)	289 068 (5,30 %)	310 306 (5,67 %)	329 562 (6,01 %)	353 993 (6,43 %)	373 325 (6,77 %)

The number of foreign-language speakers in Finland has grown steadily over the last four years.³ As Table 1 shows, more than 350,000 foreign-language speakers were living in Finland at the end of 2016, while this figure was about 267,000 in statistics from 2012. Some 160 different languages have been registered as mother tongues in Finland. Russian, Estonian, Arabic, Somali and English speakers continue to be the largest groups of foreign-language speakers. As a percentage, the number of Arabic and Persian speakers has increased the most between 2012 and 2015. Changes in other language groups have been more moderate. As an absolute figure, the greatest increase in this period was recorded in the numbers of Russian, Estonian and Arabic speakers. Compared to previous years, the number of Arabic speakers as an individual language group increased the most in 2016, exceeding the number of Somali speakers in that year. In total, the number of foreign language speakers increased by more than 24,000 between 2015 and 2016.

3 Foreign-language speaking population includes persons whose native language is something other than Finnish, Swedish or Sámi. (Statistics 2016a.)

Tab. 2. Other languages: population by language 2012–16 (data according Statistics 2016b)

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Russian	62,554	66,379	69,614	72,436	75,444
Estonian	38,364	42,936	46,195	48,087	49,241
Somali	14,769	15,789	16,721	17,871	19,059
English	14,666	15,570	16,732	17,784	18,758
Arabic	12,042	13,170	14,825	16,713	21,783
Kurdish	9,280	10,075	10,731	11,271	12,226
Chinese	8,820	9,496	10,110	10,722	11,334
Albanian	7,760	8,214	8,754	9,233	9,791
Persian	6,422	7,281	8,103	8,745	10,882
Thai	6,926	7,513	8,038	8,582	9,047
Vietnamese	6,549	6,991	7,532	8,273	9,248
Turkish	6,097	6,441	6,766	7,082	7,403
Spanish	5,470	6,022	6,583	7,025	7,449
German	5,792	5,902	6,059	6,168	6,256
Polish	3,579	4,060	4,459	4,794	5,081
Others	57,859	63,229	69,084	74,776	80,991
Total	266,949	289,068	310,306	329,562	353,993

3 Bilingualism and linguistic division of municipalities

Many people in Finland are bilingual or multilingual for various reasons. However, only one mother tongue can be recorded in the Population Information System. In addition to this, either Finnish or Swedish can be entered as the preferred contact language. The mother tongue recorded in the Population Information System does not affect a person's linguistic rights. The language data entered in the Population Information System are used for various official purposes, including the compilation of statistics and anticipation of service needs. In the case of bilingual or multilingual persons, in particular, the language entered in the Population Information Register does not give an accurate picture of the person's language proficiency and the languages they use. For example, there are major variations in the statistics on Sámi languages spoken in Finland, as many of the Sámi have not registered Sámi (Inari, Skolt, or Northern Sámi) as their mother tongue.

In its recommendations for Finland in March 2017, the Council of Europe's Advisory Committee drew attention to the fact that it is only possible to register a single language as a person's own language in Finland (Resolution 2017).

The committee points out that in questions related to ethnic and linguistic background, such principles as those formulated by the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE) on censuses should be followed. According to these, the expression of multiple language affiliations in population registers should be facilitated (Resolution 2017).

In Finland, the basic unit of the linguistic division of the country is the municipality, which may be either unilingual or bilingual according to section 5 of the Language Act. The Government determines every ten years by a Government Decree⁴ based on the official statistics regarding which municipalities are bilingual and which is the language of the majority in these municipalities, as well as which municipalities are unilingual Finnish or Swedish-speaking municipalities. A municipality is designated bilingual if the population includes both Finnish and Swedish speakers and the minority comprises at least eight per cent of the population or at least 3,000 persons. A bilingual municipality is designated unilingual if the minority comprises less than 3,000 persons and its proportion has decreased below six per cent. On the recommendation of the municipal council, the Government may determine by a Government Decree that the municipality is bilingual for the following ten-year period, even if the municipality would otherwise be unilingual. The municipalities in the Sámi Homeland are Finnish-speaking under the language legislation.

There were 313 municipalities in Finland at the beginning of 2016, 49 of which are Swedish-speaking or bilingual. All 16 Swedish-language municipalities are located in the Åland Islands. There are 33 bilingual municipalities in total, of which 15 have Swedish and 18 Finnish as their majority language. About 1.75 million Finnish people live in bilingual municipalities. According to statistics from 2015, approximately 140,000 (approx. 49 %) of Swedish speakers live in municipalities whose main language is Finnish, and about 109,000 (38 %) in municipalities whose main language is Swedish. Also, about 25,600 Swedish speakers live in the Åland Islands, which accounts for approximately nine per cent of the Swedish-speaking population. The remaining Swedish speakers live in unilingual Finnish-language municipalities. In absolute figures, the largest Swedish-speaking minorities in unilingual Finnish-speaking municipalities are found in Kaarina and Tampere. Relatively large Swedish-speaking minorities are also found in the Finnish-speaking satellite municipalities of the Helsinki region as well as in larger cities, including Pori, Kotka, Oulu and Salo.⁵ The majority of

4 Provisions on the linguistic status of municipalities are contained in the Government (Decree 2012).

5 www.sotkanet.fi, (19 May 2017).

Finnish speakers live either in Finnish-speaking municipalities or in bilingual municipalities where Finnish is the majority language. Statistics from 2015 indicate that approximately 40,000 (1 %) of Finnish speakers live in a municipality where the main language is Swedish (LB 2016: 3).⁶

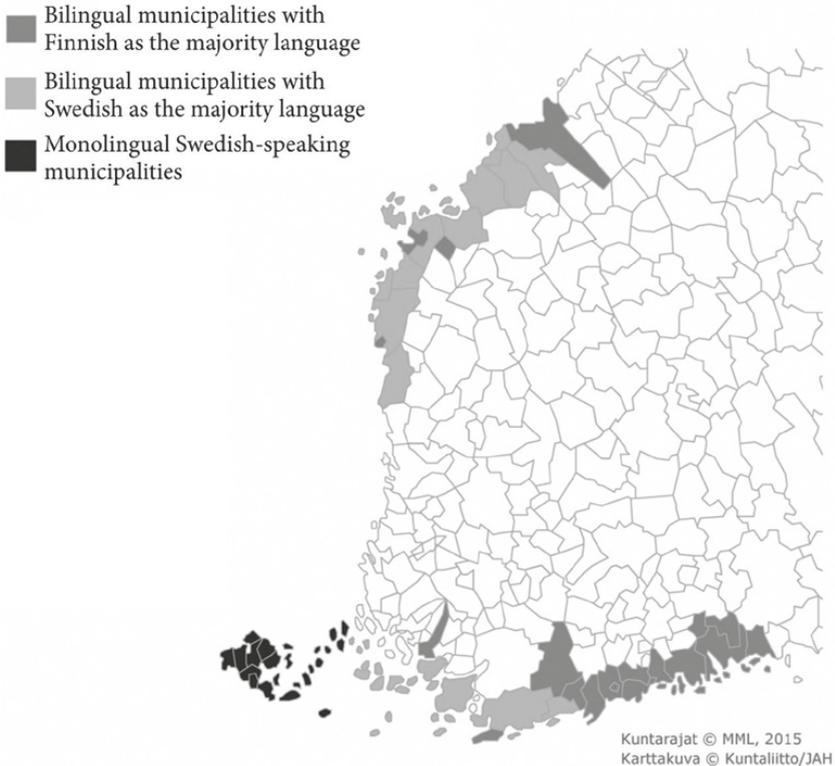


Fig. 1. Map of Swedish-speaking and bilingual municipalities in 2015 (from AFLRA 2016)

4 Language climates in bilingual municipalities

According to the results of the Language Barometer 2016 survey, it appears that the respondents generally find the language climate more negative than

⁶ Also www.sotkanet.fi.

in 2012. Finnish-speaking minorities in municipalities where Swedish is the majority language experience the language climate as somewhat more negative than Swedish-speaking minorities. Of Finnish speakers, 44 per cent find the climate good or excellent, while eight per cent find it negative. Of Swedish speakers, 51 per cent find the climate good or excellent, while five per cent find it negative. In other words, these results seem to indicate that the relations between language groups remain relatively good in bilingual municipalities (LB 2016: 30–1, Fig. 9). However, there was an increase in the proportion of respondents who felt that the relations between the language groups have deteriorated. In bilingual municipalities, especially those belonging to a Swedish-speaking minority find that relations between the language groups have deteriorated. Of Swedish-speaking respondents, 14 per cent find that relations between the language groups have improved, while as many as 47 per cent of Finnish speakers held this view. Of Swedish-speaking respondents, 24 per cent felt that relations between the language groups have deteriorated, whereas this view was only held by eight per cent of Finnish-speaking respondents (LB 2016: 31, Fig. 10).

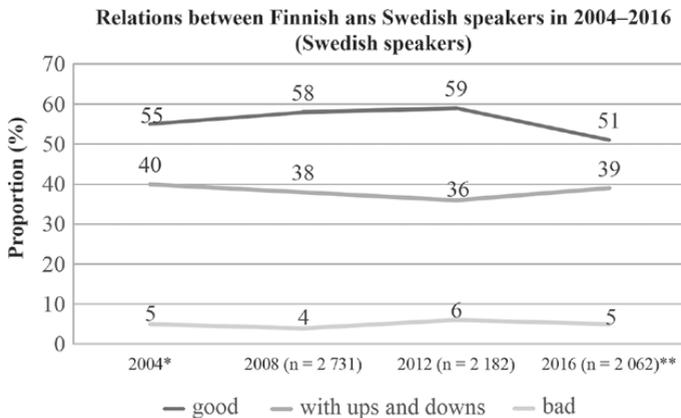


Fig. 2. Relations between Finnish and Swedish speakers from the perspective of Swedish speakers (data according LB 2016)

Legend to Fig. 2:

*) Only Kokkola, Lohja, Espoo, Porvoo, Lapinjärvi. Figures from Language Barometer 2008.

***) 5.1 % selected the option 'cannot say' in 2016.

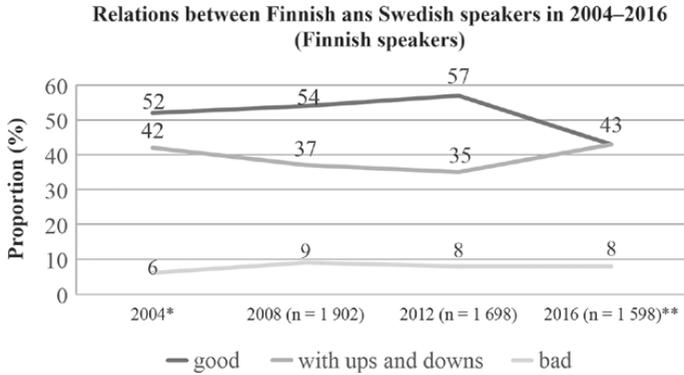


Fig. 3. Relations between Finnish and Swedish speakers from the perspective of Finnish speakers (data according LB 2016)

Legend to Fig. 3:

*) Pietarsaari, Mustasaari, Kemiö, Tammissaari, Pernaja. Figures from Language Barometer 2008.

**) 5.4 % selected the option 'cannot say' in 2016.

5 General language climate in Finland

The general atmosphere in society and attitudes towards minority groups are also reflected in the language climate. Minority groups often are a particular target for hate speech, which is more present in public discourse, especially on social media (ACFC 2016). Through identifying hate speech⁷ and harassment and increasing their visibility, means of intervening in them can also be proposed. The internet and social media, in particular, have promoted the freedom of speech in many ways, but certain problems, including hate speech, have also become more prevalent. The increase in hate speech and negative attitudes towards minority groups have an effect on how meaningful members of different language groups find

7 While Finnish legislation contains no definition of hate speech, the General Policy Recommendation No. 15 of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) contains this definition. According to the ECRI definition, hate speech is to be understood as the advocacy, promotion or incitement, in any form, of the denigration, hatred or vilification of a person or group of persons, as well as any harassment, insult, negative stereotyping, stigmatization or threat in respect of such a person or group of persons and the justification of all the preceding types of expression, on the ground of “race”, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin, age, disability, language, religion or belief, sex, gender, gender identity, sexual orientation and other personal characteristics or status.

using their own language in public areas and situations. The majority population's attitudes towards other language groups also affect the experienced language climate. The language climate is also influenced by people's awareness of the language groups in Finland and linguistic rights. The language climate also affects whether or not a person dares speak their own language when using the authorities' services, or whether the use of their language is restricted to their close circles and environments. If the authorities do not have sufficient knowledge of linguistic rights, the customer may also feel unsure about their rights.

While the Ministry of Justice prepared the Government's Language Report for 2017, several clarifications and surveys were produced as supporting material, one of the monitoring objects of which were people's experiences of the general linguistic atmosphere as well as attitudes targeted at one's language group. The results of the clarifications regarding the language atmosphere reflect the public debate in Finland and enforce the notion that the variety of language conditions in Finland are not well known among the majority population.

In spring 2016, the Ministry of Justice arranged an online survey on the topic 'How are linguistic rights realised in Finland?' The survey was open to respondents at the *otakantaa.fi* database of the Ministry of Justice from 8 February to 15 April 2016, and anybody in the survey could participate in it anonymously. The survey sought to clarify the notion of the various language groups of their linguistic rights and the way they are realised. Furthermore, we wanted to give people the opportunity to tell us how they experience the general linguistic atmosphere in Finland. The survey was not targeted at any particular language group; instead, it was intended to gather opinions in the various Finnish linguistic environments. The open-ended answers in particular highlighted the fact that the lack of command of the languages traditionally spoken in the country was experienced as particularly hurtful among the representatives of the language groups:

Sometimes you feel like a stranger in your own country!

If you speak Sámi or some other language with your children when out and about, these days people are much more inclined to shout at you, 'Immigrants out!' Or when you are having a conversation with people, they say with a straight face, 'In Finland, everybody should speak only Finnish.' For example, the teaching of the Sámi language is not seen at all as part of children's fundamental rights.

It seems that the authorities do not take language legislation and linguistic rights seriously. Many people do not even know that Karelian is a proper language. Our language is belittled.⁸

8 Extract from open-ended responses to the *otakantaa.fi* survey (Enquiry 2016).

The general language climate appears to have become harsher during recent years. Responses received to the general survey conducted by the Ministry of Justice on the *otakantaa.fi* website, as well as the results of the Language Barometer 2016 and Sámi Barometer 2016, indicate that general attitudes towards those who speak a different language have taken a turn for the worse.

The Language Barometer surveys have examined the language climate in bilingual municipalities since 2008. They have studied the experiences of language minorities in bilingual municipalities (Finnish or Swedish speakers) regarding the language climate in their home area, and also changes in general attitudes towards those who speak a different language. According to the Language Barometer 2016 survey, a greater proportion of Finnish speakers (53 %) than Swedish speakers (20 %) find that general attitudes towards those who speak a different language have improved. A higher proportion of Swedish speakers find that general attitudes towards those who speak a different language have become more negative. Of Swedish speakers, 41 per cent find that general attitudes towards those who speak a different language have become more negative, whereas this figure for Finnish speakers is 18 per cent (LB 2016: 8–9).

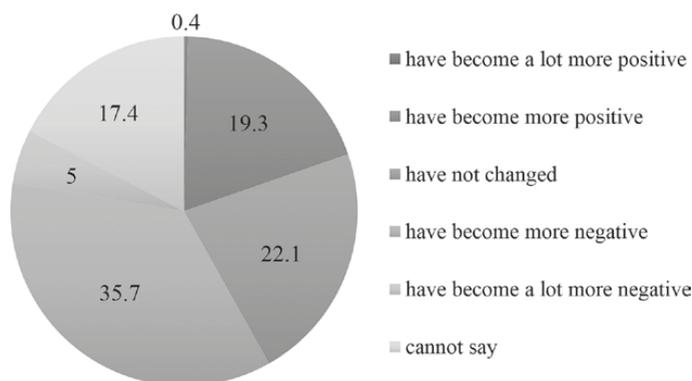


Fig. 4. General attitudes towards speakers of a different language in Finland from the perspective of Swedish speakers (data according to LB 2016)

Values: per cent of $n = 2\,065$ answers.

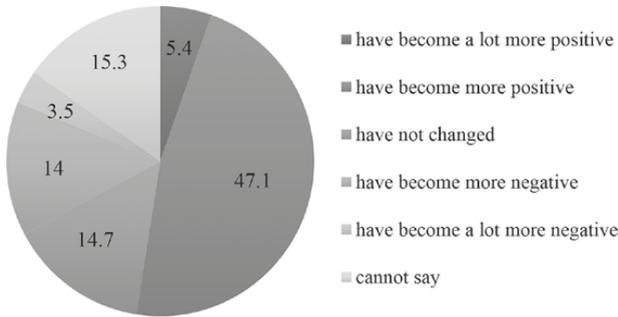


Fig. 5. General attitudes towards speakers of a different language in Finland from the perspective of Finnish speakers (data according LB 2016)

Values: per cent of $n = 1\ 597$ answers.

In the *otakantaa.fi* survey, the responses were categorised by language group. For example, 71 per cent of Swedish-speaking respondents felt that general attitudes towards those who speak another language have become more negative. This view was shared by 41 per cent of Finnish speakers, 45 per cent of Sámi speakers, 30 per cent of Karelian speakers and 38 per cent of speakers of other languages who responded. As an exception to other language groups, only 19 per cent of respondents who used sign language felt that attitudes have become more negative (Enquiry 2016: 10–2, of summary).

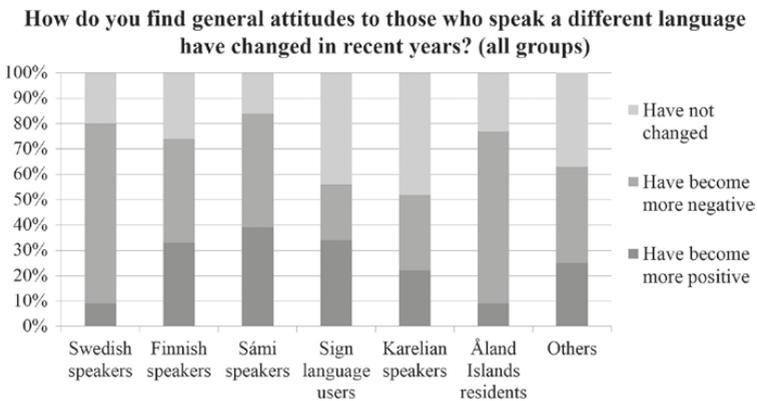


Fig. 6. Change in general attitudes towards those who speak different languages in Finland (data according Enquiry 2016)

The views of the Swedish-speaking respondents in the *otakantaa.fi* survey, both in mainland Finland and the Åland islands, on the linguistic atmosphere was the most negative among all of the groups of people who responded to the survey. What connects Swedish-speaking Finns, Finnish-speaking Finns and the inhabitants of the Åland islands is the fact that all of them have a negative idea of the trends over the past year and an even more negative view of the developments in the near future. By the answers, it appears that smaller language groups have a more stable and even a more positive view of the future. However, the smaller language groups are worried about the fact that the majority population knows little about the various language groups in Finland and does not recognise the domestic languages (Enquiry 2016: 19–20, of summary).

A substantial part of the Swedish-speaking population responding to the survey indicated that the attitude of Finnish-speaking Finns towards the Swedish language has turned increasingly negative. Many respondents expressed the view that the criticism against Swedish as the second national language has significantly increased and, at present, it is increasingly acceptable to express condescending opinions about Swedish-speaking people in public. People expressed increased concern over increased prejudices. Both Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking respondents expressed the view that the situation was strongly influenced by the public debate on the mandatory teaching of the Swedish language at Finnish-speaking schools. By the value responses submitted to the survey, part of the Swedish-speaking population appears to be afraid of the fact that the efforts to discontinue the mandatory teaching of Swedish is part of a process that aims to weaken the rights of Swedish speakers. However, the mandatory teaching of the Swedish language was mostly debated by Finnish-speaking respondents. Many people thought that the debate on the teaching of Swedish in schools had polarised the atmosphere around the languages. Many structural reforms of the public administration underway in Finland, such as the reform of social and health care welfare and the regional government reform, give rise to uncertainty regarding the arrangement of linguistic services in the future. Many Finnish-speaking respondents stated in their open-ended responses that the prejudices against the different language groups had increased and attitude in the debate on languages had become increasingly cool (Enquiry 2016: 14–7, of summary).

In their responses on values, many Finnish-speaking Finns expressed a positive attitude towards the status of the Swedish language and the preservation of Finland's bilingualism. Many open-ended responses also expressed the view that the deteriorating language atmosphere could be attributed to the deteriorating command of the Swedish language of the Finnish-speaking Finns. The minority of Swedish-speaking respondents who felt that the atmosphere has turned more

positive thinks that the attitudes towards other languages have turned more positive following globalisation. In particular, this was the opinion of younger respondents. Both Finnish-speakers and Swedish-speakers state on the values of the refugee crisis of autumn 2015 that, on the one hand, it had a positive impact as the increased number of immigrants also increased understanding for people other than those who spoke Finnish. On the other hand, some respondents thought that the increase in the number of asylum seekers had a negative impact as the social debate was polarised, as were internal social tensions. The views of Finnish-speaking respondents on the language atmosphere were more evenly distributed than that of the Swedish-speaking people. The prevalent negative language atmosphere and ignorance of Finland's multilingual nature worry both Finnish-speaking, Swedish-speaking and Sámi-speaking respondents (Survey 2016: 14–6, 18, of summary).

Many sign language users were concerned about the possibility that the country's economic difficulties would lead to growing criticism of the costs incurred in securing services for this language group. Karelian speakers, on the other hand, expressed their frustration with the low awareness among other Finnish people of the Karelian language or its speakers. As a result of this ignorance, Karelian is sometimes branded as a foreign language, which does nothing to improve the language climate. According to the *otakantaa.fi* survey, Karelian speakers also felt that they had a weaker status than other language groups in Finland (Survey 2016: 19–21, of summary). However, positive development had also been observed. For example, according to information obtained by the Ministry of Justice from the Estonian-speaking community, using this language in public has become more acceptable when the number of people speaking Estonian as their mother tongue has grown.⁹ Situations where people are afraid to use their language put not only their linguistic rights but also their freedom of speech at risk. Organisations representing language minorities have brought up challenges related to maintaining their own languages and their concerns over the harsher language climate. Especially immigrants are not aware of their possibilities of becoming organised as language groups or maintaining their languages, and special support for this is hoped for from the authorities.¹⁰

9 Contribution of Tuglas association at a hearing organised by the Ministry of Justice on 17 May 2016.

10 Workshop on linguistic rights organised by the Ministry of Justice and the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations ETNO on 7 September 2016 (participants: Finnish Islamic Congregation, Daisy Ladies, Familia association, Network of Multicultural Associations Moniheli, Jewish Congregation of Helsinki, Multicultural Women's Association Monika).

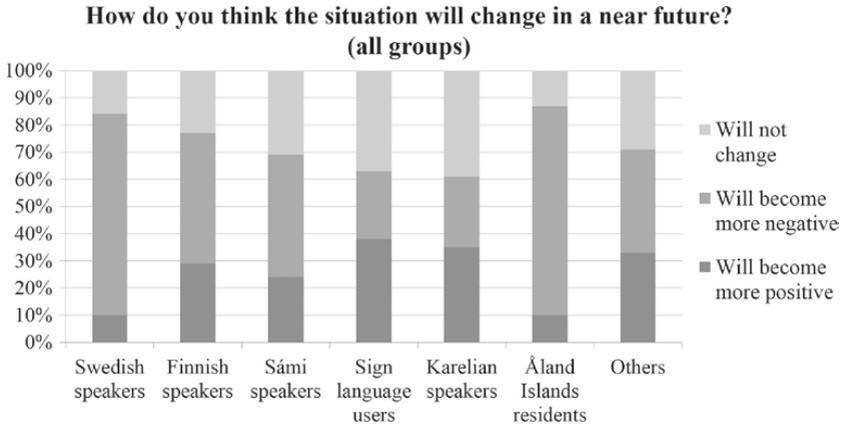


Fig. 7. How do you think general attitudes towards those who speak a different language will change in Finland in the near future? (data according Enquiry 2016)

In the *otakantaa.fi* survey, the respondents were asked what they believe the future development would be. The various language groups’ assessments of the future language climate in Finland are not very positive. Finnish-, Swedish- and Sámi-speaking respondents believed that attitudes towards other language groups would become more negative in the future or remain unchanged. On the other hand, more than one out of three sign language users (38 %), Karelian speakers (35 %) and speakers of other languages (33 %) who responded believed that attitudes towards those who speak different languages will become more positive in the near future (Survey 2016: 12, Fig. 13 of summary).

6 Attitudes encountered by language groups

The parties monitoring the implementation of international treaties that are binding on Finland have also paid attention to the prevailing attitudes towards minority groups in the country. For example, the Council of Europe’s Committee of Ministers, which monitors the implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, paid attention to the growth in hate speech targeting minority groups in its recommendations adopted in March 2017 and urged Finland to take immediate action to combat hate speech (Resolution 2017).

The Finnish Government and Parliament have paid attention to the increased occurrence of hate speech and initiated actions aimed at preventing it. In October 2015, all parliamentary parties signed a declaration renewing their

commitment to the Charter of European Political Parties for a Non-Racist Society (Declaration 2015). By signing the charter, the parties commit themselves to, among other things, refusing to display views which stir up or invite prejudice and hostility and refraining from any activity that incites hate speech.

7 Language groups' experiences of using public services

Public authorities can improve the language climate through their activities and thus promote the realisation of linguistic rights. The preconditions and needs for bilingualism are not always addressed adequately in the processes of public authorities. The highest level of success in this is achieved when an authority is aware of the significance that using their own language has for an individual and how implementing linguistic rights often is a prerequisite for the realisation of other rights. The authorities should thus pay more attention to what a customer service situation looks like to a customer who speaks another language.

In his Annual Report 2013, the Chancellor of Justice raised concerns over the declining use of Swedish in the administration and among authorities. This is seen as a decline of viable bilingualism in administration and work organisations. Except in Ostrobothnia, the administration relies on individual Swedish-speaking or bilingual public officials, or interpreters and translation services. Fewer training materials and guides for authorities or legal literature are available in Swedish. Similarly, the highest courts rarely conduct their proceedings in Swedish, and Finnish case-law is not translated into Swedish. As Swedish is used less in the administration and fewer public officials speak Swedish, this has a direct impact on the type of linguistic services the authorities can provide for Swedish speakers. The Chancellor of Justice notes that Swedish speakers mostly have to give up the right to use their mother tongue on their initiative when using the services of public authorities (Report 2013: 21–2).

It has been brought to the Ministry of Justice's attention that customers have in different contexts encountered negative attitudes shown by authorities in situations where the customer uses a language other than the majority language. The statements of several stakeholders brought up how the authorities' attitudes have affected the availability of services and the customers' willingness to use their mother tongue when dealing with the authorities. The statements called for a positive attitude among the authorities towards different language groups.¹¹

11 Application of the language legislation, Ministry of Justice 1/58/2016, summary of statements; Finnish Association of the Deaf, City-Sámit Association, Resa Forum, Swedish Assembly of Finland, South Coast Regional Council, Regional State

The concluding analysis of the Language Barometer 2016 survey reflects on factors that affect the language climate. One of the challenges identified was the authorities' attitudes towards minority language groups in a municipality and the impacts these attitudes have on the experienced language climate (LB 2016: 93–4).

The results of the Sámi Barometer 2016 indicate that ignorance, on the one hand, and indifference and even negative attitudes towards the linguistic rights of the Sámi on the other, occur among central and local government employees (SB 2016: 44). Additionally, some respondents to the Sámi Barometer survey noted that recent high-profile questions, or the definition of the Sámi people and ratification of ILO Convention No. 169, have turned the attitudes of Finnish speakers towards the Sámi people and language more negative (SB 2016: 51).

Complaints about the authorities' attitudes to speakers of different languages have also been filed with the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman. For example, one complaint claimed that a Russian-speaking child had been forbidden to speak Russian during breaks and at lunch. In another case, Russian-speaking nurses who worked as carers for elderly people had been forbidden to speak to each other in Russian.¹²

8 Harassment and discrimination experienced by language groups

Discrimination on the grounds of language is prohibited under the constitution and the Non-Discrimination Act. Section 8 of the Non-Discrimination Act (1325/2014) defines different forms of discrimination, and section 14 contains a definition of harassment. The deliberate or de facto infringement of the dignity of a person is harassment if the infringing behaviour relates to language among other things, and because of the reason, a degrading or humiliating, intimidating, hostile or offensive environment towards the person is created by the behaviour. According to the Constitution of Finland, section 6, no one shall, without an acceptable reason, be treated differently from other persons on the ground of sex, age, origin, language, religion, conviction, opinion, health, disability or other reason that concerns his or her person (CoF 1999: section 6.2; HE 1998).

A new Non-Discrimination Act entered into force on 1 January 2015. The new legislation established the Ombudsman for Minorities as the Non-Discrimination

Administrative Agency for Western and Inland Finland, Finnish Youth Cooperation – Allianssi, Finnish Association of Russian-Speaking Organisations.

12 Contribution of the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman at a hearing organised by the Ministry of Justice on 17 May 2016.

Ombudsman, who tackles discrimination issues across a broad spectrum and can also process complaints where language has been the grounds of discrimination or relevant to an authority's actions in a discrimination case. A complaint can be filed with the ombudsman using a complaint form or by telephone, e-mail or letter. The tasks of the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman are to oversee compliance with the Non-discrimination Act, promote equality and prevent discrimination (Act 2014: section 3). In 2015, the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman dealt with 42 cases of discrimination on the grounds of language. Of the total number of cases, language was the ground for discrimination in 8.5 per cent (Report 2015: 19). A total of 49 cases of discrimination on the grounds of language were processed in 2016 (approximately 6.5 % of all cases). If we also include cases where language was relevant to a discrimination case as so-called other grounds, the number of cases associated with languages was 59 (about 7.5 % of all cases of discrimination).¹³ The highest number of other cases of discrimination related to languages and cases where language was cited as other grounds in a discrimination matter (so-called multiple discrimination), was recorded in language issues: 18 in total (2.3 %). Rather than being directly related to a certain language, these cases were about such issues as language proficiency requirements or customer service situations. Two of the cases concerned Finnish (0.3 %), ten Swedish (1.3 %), eleven sign languages (1.4 %) and three the Sámi languages (0.4 %). The total number of cases relevant to other languages was 15 (2.0 %).¹⁴

Hate speech, harassment and discrimination on the grounds of language are not currently monitored systematically. The Ministry of Education and Culture launched a broad action plan titled *Meaningful in Finland* for the prevention of hate speech and racism and promotion of inclusion in society in May 2016. The purpose of this action plan is to promote participation and interaction, build up the knowledge base and encourage an ability to put oneself in another person's position. The action plan contains ten actions that concern such areas as teacher education, youth work, sport and dialogue between religions (MiF 2016). The Police University College annually produces basic data on racist and other hate crime and its trends by monitoring hate-related offences reported by the police to the Police Information System. The Policy University College's analysis of hate crime does not include a language perspective. In the report of the Government on the application of language legislation 2017, it was raised as a key observation

13 Office of the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman, e-mail communication, December 2016.

14 Office of the Non-Discrimination Ombudsman, e-mail communication, December 2016.

that information sources¹⁵ that could be used to monitor hate speech, harassment and discrimination experienced by language groups, should be surveyed. The existing monitoring mechanisms should be improved to ensure that hate speech and discrimination on the grounds of language are also included in the statistics.

In the Language Barometer 2016, the respondents were first asked if a person belonging to the Finnish or Swedish-speaking language minority in their municipality had been targeted by harassment or discrimination in daily life because of their language. The results indicate that almost one in two Swedish speakers and one in five Finnish speakers feel they have been harassed or discriminated against in daily life because of their language.

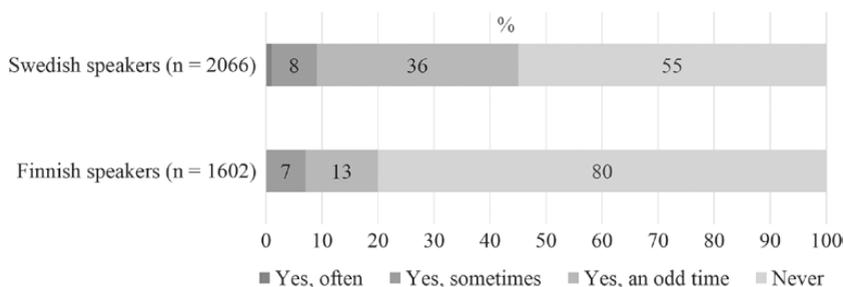


Fig. 8. Have you been harassed and/or discriminated in your daily life (e.g. verbal abuse, abusive e-mails or gestures) because of the language you speak? (data according LB 2016)

There is a clear difference between the language groups in how often the respondents have been harassed or discriminated against on the grounds of their language. Of Swedish speakers, 44 per cent felt that they have been harassed and/or discriminated against because of their language often or sometimes, whereas this figure for Finnish speakers is 20 per cent. According to open-ended responses to the survey, harassment and/or discrimination had taken place in such environments as public transport and other public places (LB 2016: 33).

A report on hate speech commissioned by the Ministry of Justice also found that persons belonging to minority groups are targeted by harassment or hate speech, especially in public places (Report 2016). In particular, public transport, cafés, restaurants and schools were cited as such places in the report. Public

15 For example, the legal practice of oversight authorities, official statistics, and reports and studies.

places were also brought up in a statement received by the Ministry of Justice that detailed young people's concerns over the tougher climate of attitudes and fear of using their mother tongue in a public place.¹⁶

Harassment related to language in public places was also brought up in open-ended responses to the survey conducted by the Ministry of Justice on the *otakantaa.fi* web service. In particular, young respondents aged under 30 say in their open-ended responses that they are afraid to speak Swedish in certain situations, such as on public transport (Survey 2016: 14, of summary).

School health surveys carried out in Finland since 2013 have produced follow-up information on the well-being, health, education and need for support of young people of foreign descent. In 2017, in addition to Finnish and Swedish, the survey was carried out for the first time in English, Russian and Sámi, enabling a larger number of young people to participate in the survey. According to the 2017 school health survey, 26–34 per cent of boys of foreign descent and 26–35 per cent of girls had been bullied at school or leisure on account of their skin colour, language or their foreign background. Furthermore, disabled people experienced discriminatory bullying, physical threats or sexual violence. People were subjected to discriminatory bullying at school or leisure on account of their appearance, gender, skin colour, language, or a foreign background of disability (SHS 2017).

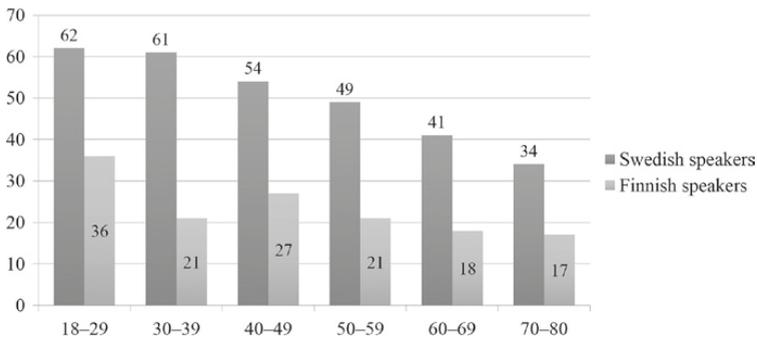


Fig. 9. Harassment and/or discrimination experienced by respondents by age (in percent) (data according LB 2016)

16 Statement of Finnish Youth Co-operation – Allianssi to the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Justice 1/58/2016, 10 June 2016.

The Language Barometer 2016 survey examines experiences of discrimination and harassment by age group. As Figure 9 shows, the highest levels of harassment and discrimination among Swedish speakers are experienced by the age groups 18–29 and 30–39, whose experiences are relatively similar. Among Finnish speakers, the highest levels of harassment and discrimination are experienced by those aged 18–29. It appears that older respondents between the two language groups experience less harassment and discrimination. However, Swedish speakers experience harassment and discrimination approximately twice as often in all age groups as Finnish speakers (LB 2016: 34).

Responses to the Language Barometer 2016 survey support the results of the Ministry of Justice's report on hate speech, which indicate that young people aged 13–24 experience harassment and hate speech more often than other age groups. The report on hate speech also examines harassment and discrimination that targets the Sámi, the Roma and speakers of other languages. It does not analyse Swedish speakers as a separate group, even though the respondents did include speakers of this language (Report 2016).

The report on hate speech notes that it is usually the mainstream population that subjects minority groups to hate speech or harassment. It indicates that the Sámi have experienced hate speech more often than other groups, also coming from their own minority group. The hate speech targeted at the Sámi people by the mainstream population has mostly been associated with denying the rights of the Sámi or belittling the Sámi culture and languages. Harassment or hate speech stemming from within the minority group is often associated with acknowledging one's own Sámi identity in the Sámi community, or it may be manifested between different Sámi groups (Report 2016: 11). The attitudes of the Sámi community and their effects within the community were also brought up in the concluding analysis of the Sámi Barometer survey (SB 2016: 44).

9 An example of the experiences of language groups in the realisation of their rights in social and health and social services

In its resolution on the implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities by Finland adopted on 1 February 2012, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe expressed its concern over the continued shortcomings regarding the implementation of the Language Act and the Sámi Language Act, especially in health services (Resolution 2012). As the main reason for this, the Committee of Ministers cites too few officials with adequate language skills. Four years after the adoption of this resolution, the

Advisory Committee visited Finland in October 2015 on the following round of monitoring the implementation of the Framework Convention and published a report on the implementation of the Framework Convention in Finland on 6 October 2016 (ACFC 2016). In its report, the Advisory Committee draws more forcefully attention to the fact that the authorities should see to the possibilities of Swedish and Sámi speakers using their languages in healthcare services. In its recent resolution adopted in March 2017, the Committee of Ministers issued the following recommendation for immediate action: ‘Intensify efforts to ensure that first language access to social welfare and health services is adequately available, particularly in Swedish and Sámi, and that any administrative reforms guarantee the linguistic rights of persons belonging to minorities’ (Resolution 2017).

Finnish and Swedish speakers who are in a minority position in bilingual municipalities use social welfare and healthcare services in more or less equal amounts, albeit with minor differences. The most frequently used service is the health centre outpatient clinic (LB 2016: 51). In general, we can note that Swedish speakers are less satisfied with linguistic services and that there are major variations in satisfaction levels, especially among Swedish speakers, between different regions and municipalities. In other words, Swedish speakers are exposed to inequality compared to both Finnish speakers and each other. In Finnish-speaking services, the Finnish skills of staff members with an immigrant background have come up as an issue. The supervision of healthcare professionals, for example, has brought to light cases where it was necessary to assess both the language skills and professional competence of a professional.¹⁷ In open-ended responses to the survey conducted by the Ministry of Justice, the majority of Finnish speakers responded that receiving services in their language was something they take for granted. However, the responses indicate that, in some cases, a Finnish speaker had not understood what the person he/she is caring for said to him/her, and felt uncertain about the professional’s ability to understand Finnish.

It was difficult to describe the nuances of my moods to the doctor (Russian?) who did not speak Finnish particularly well. For this reason, I felt that I did not receive appropriate treatment for my anxiety (or depression).¹⁸

The challenges facing Swedish-speaking services are different from problems associated with Finnish-speaking ones. Finnish and Swedish speakers behave

17 Statement of the National Supervisory Authority for Welfare and Health Valvira to the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Justice 1/58/2016, 9 June 2017.

18 Extract from open-ended responses to the *otakantaa.fi* survey (Enquiry 2016).

differently when it comes to using their language. Swedish speakers demand service in their language less often than Finnish speakers.

Swedish speakers are also quicker than Finnish speakers to change languages if they cannot get service in their own language. In areas where Swedish speakers are a minority, this may partly be because many Swedish speakers can also speak Finnish. The survey indicates, however, that they do not necessarily give up on their language or change languages willingly. Changing languages is often associated with the fear of otherwise causing trouble or receiving worse or slower service (Enquiry 2016: 30).

You must forever have the energy to demand, go on, always start in Swedish without annoying the other party, as in that case you do not know how it will go.

You often just change languages quickly and feel you are a burden even if you just begin in Swedish. It is not nice.

It feels extremely good to receive services in your mother tongue.¹⁹

10 What next?

On 14 December 2017, the Government presented to Parliament the Government's Language Report for 2017, in which one of the key themes was the language atmosphere. The conclusion of the Language Report was the fact that the language atmosphere and the awareness of authorities towards the language groups should be improved. The Language Report raises key observations that concern the improvement of the language atmosphere, the attitudes of authorities and the awareness of linguistic rights and language groups. The awareness and attitudes of the majority population of the prevalent language atmosphere in Finland and its attitudes towards the various language groups play a key role if the prevalent atmosphere is to be improved. The internal relationships in and between language groups should also be improved, which, for its part, weakens the relationship towards the various language groups. The shared will, both of the major language groups and other language groups, to improve the language atmosphere plays a key role if any changes are to be achieved. The creation of a positive language atmosphere is dependent on everyone. However, in Finland authorities, for their part, have a special obligation to promote the implementation of linguistic rights and take active measures to implement them.

There is a growing awareness of poor linguistic awareness, with the problem being addressed, among other things, in the Language Report, which the Finnish Parliament handled in the spring 2018. The next step is to take measures at the

19 *Otakantaa.fi* survey (Enquiry 2016), three extracts from open-ended responses.

level of the Government to promote a good language atmosphere. Increasing the awareness of linguistic rights will promote the opportunities available to the various linguistic groups to enjoy their rights as well as to remind authorities of the obligations to which the rights give rise. Finnish authorities should know the linguistic rights of the various language groups and the obligations on authorities that such rights give rise to. By increasing the awareness of linguistic rights and the ensuing obligations of authorities, authorities' attitudes towards the language groups can be affected. The fact alone that an official attempts to speak the customer's language creates a positive atmosphere and, for its part, promotes people's right to use their language. The creation of a tolerant and positive language atmosphere is everybody's responsibility not only that of authorities. Public debate and the general atmosphere and appreciation also affect the way the various language groups are perceived. However, the public authority has a special responsibility to promote a good language atmosphere and equal treatment of the language groups in order to ensure the implementation of linguistic rights.

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Meilutė Ramonienė

New Trends of Multilingualism in the Lithuanian Urban Space: the Private Sphere

Abstract. This article examines the linguistic behaviour of Lithuanian city-dwellers in the private sphere and the new trends of urban multilingualism in Lithuania. The linguistic repertoire is analysed—the use of languages at home, in mental processes (such as thinking or counting), and when using the media. The research is based on the data from three large-scale surveys carried out in 2007–12 in Lithuanian cities.

Overview

- 1 Introduction
- 2 Surveys and data capture
- 3 Data analysis
 - 3.1 Population in urban Lithuania
 - 3.2 Languages used at home
 - 3.3 The ‘inner speech’ of city inhabitants
 - 3.4 Language choice using media
- 4 Conclusions

1 Introduction

Since the first decade of the 21st century, for the first time in history, the global urban population exceeded the global rural population, and the world population has remained predominantly urban after that. In 2014 as much as 54 % of the world’s population dwelt in cities (WUP 2014: 1). The urbanisation of this rate permits an estimate that in 2050 there will be up to 66 % of city-dwellers in the world (*ibid.*). Even though cities have always had notable ethnic, cultural and linguistic variety, the increasing urbanisation and the globalisation have significantly changed the linguistic environment in cities in the past few decades. The growing multilingualism and multiculturalism attract more and more attention of researchers from various countries. Various perspectives are taken to analyse linguistic behaviour, migration and linguistic change (Andersen/Thelander 1994), urbanisation and language shift (Thandefelt 1994), multilingualism and language contacts in urban areas (Siemund *et al.* 2013), linguistic superdiversity

(Duarte/Gogolin 2013), ethnolects (Sollid 2013; Muysken/Rott 2013), languages and identities (Sollid 2013) and other aspects. The studies are encouraged by the effect of globalization, increasing geographical migration and the change of its directions on the sociolinguistic situation in different countries.

Urbanisation and globalisation have had the greatest effect on the linguistic life of many countries. However, the sociolinguistic situation of the ex-Soviet republics has significantly changed in the last twenty years also due to socio-political reasons (Pavlenko 2008). After the fall of the Soviet Union and with Lithuania regaining its independence in 1990, the socio-political status and the social value of languages used by the population in the country have changed. Lithuanian was proclaimed an official state language already during the period of national revival in 1988, before the fall of the Soviet Union and the restoration of the independence of the Republic of Lithuania. Back then an article had been inserted in the Constitution of the still Soviet republic of Lithuania that had changed the status of Lithuanian language (Mikulėnienė/Palionytė 1997). Even if this *de jure* decision did not change the situation at the time, it was still a signal of the coming changes in social values of languages. The *de facto* changes have most significantly concerned Lithuanian and Russian languages, not only the status of these languages but also the knowledge and learning, the use and the language attitudes. These changes were first and most significantly seen in cities.

The sociolinguistic situation after the restoration of independence of Lithuania has already attracted the attention of researchers. Several studies have discussed the general linguistic situation, language use and social adaptation (Hogan-Brun/Ramonienė 2003, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2009; Kasatkina/Leončikas 2003), education (Leončikas 2007; Bulajeva/Hogan-Brun 2008), language usage at work (Ramonienė 2011), at home (Ramonienė/Extra 2011a, 2011b), language use and identity (Ramonienė 2010; Geben/Ramonienė 2011; Brazauskienė 2010; Lichačiova 2010; Ehala/Zabrodsckaja 2011, 2013; Vilkiene 2010), changes in the social values of languages (Ramonienė/Vilkiene 2016).

There have been quite a few studies on the change in position of the Lithuanian language in the life of ethnic minorities that live in Lithuania. A radical departure from the Soviet-era asymmetric bilingualism model that meant bilingualism of titular ethnicities and monolingualism of Russian-speakers has occurred. The new language policy influenced, in particular, language attitudes and behaviour of ethnic minorities, comprising about 16 % of Lithuania's population. Poles and Russians, the largest ethnic groups in Lithuania, who knew little or no Lithuanian before the restoration of independence, have modified their language practices which also influenced their language choice. Since 1988 there has been an increase in studying Lithuanian as a second language. Russian-speakers of

Lithuania—Russians, Poles and people of other ethnicities—have started to study Lithuanian. Lithuanian language courses have been organised for free for the employees of various companies and factories that have had Russian as a dominating language during the Soviet times. The new language policy of the country affected the linguistic repertoire of the population, their language preferences and their language use in many domains: in the public sphere, at work, in the higher education. The Law on State language, approved in 1995, has obliged to use Lithuanian for official communication. Linguistic changes in the public sphere started to influence also linguistic behaviour in the private sphere.

This paper aims to analyse the linguistic choice and the directions of multilingualism of inhabitants of Lithuanian cities in private communication. The goal is to study city-dwellers of different ethnicities in order to learn about their linguistic repertoires, the declared linguistic behaviour, language use in different domains: at home, in mental processes, e.g. when thinking, and when using media. This paper presents a detailed analysis of the linguistic behaviour in private life by the city inhabitants of Lithuanian ethnicity and by two major ethnic groups of Lithuania, Poles and Russians, who live in cities. The linguistic behaviour of ethnic groups that constitute only a small part of the whole population is only shown to give a general context, but it is not analysed in detail here. The use of languages rarely spoken, such as German, French, Ukrainian, Belarusian and others is also not studied in detail.

2 Surveys and data capture

This paper analyses quantitative data from two sociolinguistic research projects implemented in different urban areas of Lithuania. The project *Language use and ethnic identity in urban areas of Lithuania* was carried out in 2007–2009 in the three largest Lithuanian cities, namely, the capital Vilnius, the second largest city Kaunas and the seaport of Klaipėda.¹ The second project *Sociolinguistic map of Lithuania: towns and cities* has been carried out throughout 2010–2012 in such urban areas of Lithuania which are inhabited by at least 3,000 people having urban occupations.² Both projects are aimed at a large-scale study of the

1 The project *Language use and ethnic identity in urban areas of Lithuania* was funded by a grant of the Lithuanian State Science and Studies Foundation. The author of this article Meilutė Ramonienė was the initiator and supervisor of the project.

2 The project *Sociolinguistic map of Lithuania: towns and cities* was funded by a grant of the Research Council of Lithuania. The author of this article Meilutė Ramonienė was the initiator and supervisor of the project.

sociolinguistic situation in urban Lithuania and involve quantitative surveys and qualitative in-depth interviews. However, this paper will present only quantitative data.

The first project, *Language use and ethnic identity in urban areas of Lithuania*, involved two different surveys whose results will be discussed in this article. The first survey (hereafter S1) covered primary schools in Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda. For its purposes, a special methodology from the *Multilingual Cities Project* (Extra/Yağmur 2004, 2005; Ramonienė/Extra 2011a; 2011b) was adapted to collect evidence on languages used in the private (home) domain. Application of the same methodology enables a reliable comparison of data across different West European urban areas as similar studies have also been carried out in Göteborg, Hamburg, The Hague, Brussels, Lyon, Madrid (Extra/Yağmur 2004) and other cities. The theoretical basis allows to compare findings from a sociolinguistic survey and describe the range of languages used at home, choice of languages, and vitality index of home languages (Extra/Yağmur 2004, 2005).

The methodology was used in large-scale surveys which aimed to cover at least 80 % of respondents under survey in primary schools (aged 8–10). The total sample was of 23,686 pupils in 189 schools. At Lithuanian state schools, the language of instruction can be Lithuanian, Russian, Polish, Belarusian. Therefore the survey included also pupils who are not instructed in the state language (Lithuanian). Even though the sample of the survey is dominated by the answers of pupils at Lithuanian mainstream schools (as Table 1 shows—84.3 % of all answers are of this set), 9.9 % of all answers are responses given by pupils at Polish schools, 3.9 %—by pupils at Russian schools, and 0.2 %—by pupils at schools that have other languages of instruction. Data processing was conducted at Tilburg University in the Netherlands.

Tab. 1. Languages of instruction for the total sample (N = responses)

Language	N	%
Lithuanian	19972	84.3
Polish	2350	9.9
Russian	924	3.9
Other	44	0.2
Missing	396	1.7
Total	23686	100.0

The second survey of the first project (hereafter S2) covered a representative sample of 2,037 respondents aged 15 or older, who were living in the three biggest cities, i.e. Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda.³ The questionnaire consisted of 64 questions. The major sections of the questionnaire were focused on officially declared mother tongues, knowledge of other languages and dialects, languages used in interaction with various interlocutors, and language attitudes.

The quantitative survey of the second project, *Sociolinguistic map of Lithuania: towns and cities* (hereafter S3) was carried out in all smaller towns of Lithuania. The representative sample of this survey contained 2,660 respondents.⁴ It was partly based on the questionnaire of S2. More specifically, 31 questions out of 64 were selected so that the data from the surveys in large cities and small towns would be comparable. The quantitative data were processed with the SPSS software. The data of S2 and S3 was merged for the analysis of certain aspects and for getting a broader view of the whole urban area in the country. The joint data of these two surveys make up a total sample of 4,697 respondents.

3 Data analysis

3.1 Population in urban Lithuania

Today's Lithuania has approximately 3 million inhabitants and more than half of them live in cities since 1970 (Vaitekūnas 2006: 154). According to the last census in 2011, 66.7 % of the population lives in cities. It is estimated that in 2050 cities will be the home for 75 % of the population of Lithuania (WUP 2014: 23).

3 The representative and quantitative survey was carried out by *TNS Gallup*.

4 The representative and quantitative survey was carried out by *AB Socialinės informacijos centras*.

Tab. 2. Ethnic groups in Lithuania

Ethnic group	Percentage
Lithuanian	84.2
Polish	6.6
Russian	5.8
Belarusian	1.2
Ukrainian	0.5
Other	0.6
Not indicated	1.1
Total	100

Source: Census 2011. Ethnicities were declared by grown-up respondents. Children's nationalities were given by their parents.

According to the 2011 census, the majority of the population in Lithuania are Lithuanians; they account for 84.2 % of the population (see Table 2; by data of Census 2011). According to the data, people of 154 ethnicities lived in Lithuania. The major ethnic groups are Poles (6.6 % of the population) and Russians (5.8 %); groups of other ethnicities are rather small. The ethnic distribution of Lithuania's population is of clear regional nature. The cities are most multicultural. Vilnius was inhabited by people of 128, Kaunas by 85, Klaipėda by 77 different ethnicities. Among these major cities, the greatest ethnic diversity is found in Vilnius, as can be seen from the data presented in table 3. Klaipėda is the most Russian, and Kaunas is the most Lithuanian among these three cities.

Tab. 3. The population of the major cities by ethnicity (in per cent)

	Lithuanians	Poles	Russians	Belarusians	Ukrainians	Others
Vilnius	63.2	16.5	12.0	3.5	1.0	3.8
Kaunas	93.6	0.4	3.8	0.2	0.4	1.6
Klaipėda	73.9	0.3	19.6	1.7	1.9	2.6

Source: Census 2011.

3.2 Languages used at home

The majority of studies confirm that the home or family domain is a very crucial one concerning the linguistic behaviour (Fishman 2000: 95; Pauwels 2005; Rubino 2014: 56–57; Schwartz and Verschik 2013). The family is not only the place where the first language or languages are acquired but also where the

linguistic environment of the child is formed (Schwartz 2010: 172), as well as the basis of language attitudes and ideologies, are founded (King *et al.* 2008: 917). Family language policy and management affect the choice of language or dialect, its maintenance or shift. The role of the family is crucial for the maintenance of bilingualism or multilingualism, and intergenerational transmission of languages (Fishman 2000: 95). Fishman affirms that ‘multilingualism often begins in the family and depends upon it for encouragement if not for protection’ and that ‘multilingualism withdraws into the family domain after it has been displaced from other domains in which it was previously encountered’ (*ibid.*). King *et al.* (2008: 913) state that ‘family patterns of language use and acquisition are both reflected in and reflective of societal patterns,’ that family languages policies ‘shape children’s developmental trajectories,’ and even ‘determine the maintenance and future status of minority languages’ (*ibid.*: 907).

3.2.1 Home languages declared by children

Due to the importance of language in the family domain, home languages in Lithuanian cities were investigated in all of the studies discussed in this paper. The situation is best revealed by the survey S1 conducted in the primary schools of the three biggest Lithuanian cities; S1 was focused on studying precisely linguistic behaviour in the home domain. The total number of pupils in the sample was 23,686.

Our survey covered the following dimensions:

- language skills and proficiency;
- choice of languages at home with different members of the family, particularly with the mother;
- language dominance: the extent to which the home language is spoken best;
- language preferences: the extent to which the home language is preferably spoken.

A question on ethnicity had been included in the questionnaire that was used at schools, but the question was left out in the questionnaire of the international project (Extra/Yağmur 2004: 412–413). Although the question of ethnicity is less transparent (Ramonienė/Extra 2011b: 39), 94.4 % of the pupils indicated their ethnicity. As can be seen in the data presented in Table 4 where eight most frequently indicated ethnicities are listed, the major set of participants of the survey were of Lithuanian ethnicity, some were Russian and Polish, and only a few pupils were of other ethnicities.

Tab. 4. Top 8 ranking of reported ethnic groups

Nr.	Ethnic group	Total
1.	Lithuanian	19138
2.	Russian	1901
3.	Polish	1157
4.	Belarusian	58
5.	Ukrainian	44
6.	Yiddish/Jewish	28
7.	German	24
8.	Romani	23

The total number of reported home languages is 37. However, when comparing this result with the outcome of analogous surveys conducted in multicultural European cities, we see less variety: e.g. 56 languages were mentioned in Madrid, 88 in The Hague, and 90 in Hamburg (Extra/Ramonienė 2011b: 24). It is worth highlighting the fact that the language most frequently mentioned by the pupils as to be used at home was Lithuanian: 21,073 pupils have stated they would use Lithuanian at home (cf. Table 5). It is natural that Lithuanian is the main language in Lithuanian families. However, as shown in table 6, Lithuanian was indicated to be used in the domestic domain not only by Lithuanian children but also, in fact, it is used in all other of the top 8 ethnical groups, i.e. by Russians, Poles, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Jews, Germans, and Roma.

Tab. 5. Top 10 ranking of reported home languages

Nr.	Language	Frequency
1.	Lithuanian	21073
2.	Russian	10139
3.	English	3180
4.	Polish	2006
5.	German	299
6.	Belarusian	232
7.	French	141
8.	Ukrainian	119
9.	Latvian	93
10	Armenian	28

Russian was stated to be the second most frequently used language. This was said by 10,139 pupils (cf. Table 5). Table 6 shows that Russian is not only used

in families of Russian ethnicity; Russian was indicated by children from families of all top 8 ethnic groups. This data shows that Russian which is a language that had a special status during the Soviet times is still known by people living in Lithuania, and it is used in the private domain not only by ethnic Russians but also by people of other ethnicities.

Tab. 6. The relationship between reported languages and top 8 ethnicity

Home language	Ethnicity							
	Lithuanian N 19138	Russian N 1901	Polish N 1157	Belarussian N 58	Ukrainian N 44	Jewish N 28	German N 24	Romani N 23
Lithuanian	18662	904	497	31	22	16	18	11
Russian	6707	1834	770	53	38	24	9	8
English	2730	190	62	6	7	5	4	2
Polish	626	238	953	11	4	1	1	
German	253	20	5	1			5	
French	116	10	2	1				1
Belarusian	95	53	26	22	1			
Latvian	69	6	2					2
Ukrainian	51	30	4		17		1	1
Spanish	24	1						
Armenian	21	3	2					
Italian	14	1				2		
Chinese	6	1	1					
Dutch	2							
Greek	2							
Hungarian	2							
Norwegian	2							
Sign Language	2							
Czech	1							
Danish	1							
Estonian	1							
Finnish	1							
Hebrew/ Jewish	1	1				3		
Hindi	1							
Moldavian	1							
Swedish	1							
Turkish	1	1					1	
Unknown	1	3				1		

The Polish language, even though it is the mother tongue of the largest ethnic minority of Lithuania, takes only fourth place in the frequency list of domestic languages. To be the language used at home, Polish was indicated by 953 children out of a total of 1,157 children of Polish ethnicity. A fairly high number of Polish children indicated that they were using Russian (770 pupils) or Lithuanian (497) at home. This outcome supports results of other studies stating that Poles in Lithuania do not all consider Polish to be their mother tongue, that not all of them know it and that not all of them use it even in their private life (Geben 2010, 2013; Geben/Ramonienė 2011, 2015).

Tab. 7. Top 10 ranking of reported languages per city

Language	Vilnius N	Language	Kaunas N	Language	Klaipėda N
Lithuanian	8707	Lithuanian	9026	Lithuanian	3340
Russian	5605	Russian	2764	Russian	1770
Polish	1879	English	1364	English	518
English	1298	German	116	German	77
Belarusian	180	Polish	113	Ukrainian	42
German	106	French	40	Belarusian	22
French	81	Latvian	38	French	20
Ukrainian	50	Belarusian	30	Latvian	18
Latvian	37	Ukrainian	27	Polish	14
Romani	17	Romani	21	Armenian	9

It is important to point out that Polish is used at home mostly in Vilnius. In Vilnius, Polish is the third most frequent: it was mentioned by 1,879 pupils (see Table 7). In Kaunas, Polish was indicated by only 113 children, and in Klaipėda only by 14 pupils. This outcome is well understandable because the Poles who are the ones in Lithuania who mostly use Polish at home live mainly in Vilnius or in the Vilnius region.

According to our survey, the third most frequently used language in the overall list is English (cf. table 5). English ranks third of domestic languages in Kaunas and Klaipėda (cf. Table 7), whereas in Vilnius, where this spot is occupied by Polish, and English is in the fourth position. One might ask what families use English at home. Maybe they are immigrants that have come to Lithuania? If we take a look at the place of birth of the pupils' parents (see Table 8), we will see that amongst the domestic English users there are only a few pupils and parents that were born in the anglophone United States or the United Kingdom: only 12

children, 2 fathers and 2 mothers were born in the United States; and 10 children, 3 fathers and 1 mother were born in the United Kingdom.

Tab. 8. Place of birth of family members that use English at home (by country)

Birth country	Pupil	Father	Mother
Lithuania	3060	2712	2790
Russia	18	117	110
United States	12	2	2
United Kingdom	10	3	1
Poland	8	22	20
Belarus	5	34	34
Armenia	4	5	2
Ukraine	2	1	1
Israel	2	1	1
<i>Other countries</i>	10	34	16
<i>Unknown</i>	49	236	184
Total	3180	3180	3180

Moreover, at home, English rarely is the only language used (see Table 9), this indicates only 18 cases. Most commonly it co-occurs (see Table 10) with Lithuanian (such situation was indicated by 3,067 pupils) or Russian (indicated by 2,026 pupils). Children that most frequently reported to use English at home are Lithuanians, followed by Russians and, at a considerable distance, by Poles (see Table 11). When asked to mention the interlocutors whom the pupils use English with, the most frequent choice was ‘with best friends’, but even the number of these answers is not high: only 6.7 % of all who said they use English. In fact, the main use of English happens watching TV (65.8 %); and the majority of children have learned English at school (87 %). This use of English at home indicates that English is generally entering the home domain of the inhabitants of Lithuania, not only of anglophone families, and that in Lithuania common practice of children is English media consumption, but it is not English face-to-face communication.

Tab. 9. English used at home

	Total	English only
N	3180	18
Percentage	100 %	1 %

Tab. 10. Languages used at home together with English

Language	Number of responses
Lithuanian	3067
Russian	2026
Polish	221
German	160
French	89
Belarusian	58
Latvian	57
Ukrainian	35
Armenian	12
Italian	7
Spanish	6
Chinese	3
Dutch	3
Norwegian	3
<i>Unknown</i>	12

Tab. 11. Ethnicities reported the use of English at home

Ethnicity	Number of responses
Lithuanian	2730
Russian	190
Polish	62
American	9
English	8
Ukrainian	7
Belarusian	6
Latvian	5
Yiddish/Jewish	5
German	4
Armenian	2
Romani	2
Dutch	2
Irish	2
Tatar	2
<i>Missing</i>	144

3.2.2 Home languages declared by adults

Many researchers analysing linguistic behaviour in families distinguish different speaker roles: father, mother, child, grandfather, grandmother, grandchild, siblings (Fishman 2000: 95–96). Language choice and relationship based on (family) roles can reveal particularities of specific settings. In one domain, speakers of different generations might have different language competence, different linguistic repertoires and linguistic behaviour (Wodak *et al.* 2011: 450). We can uncover the linguistic situation and tendencies of its change in the Lithuanian urban space analysing how languages are used by different interlocutors in the home domain.

In the S2 and S3 surveys, there was a question about what language⁵ do the respondents use to speak with younger and with older family members. The data analysis shows which languages are chosen in families of mixed ethnicities. This chapter deals with linguistic behaviour, of three major ethnic groups in Lithuania: Lithuanians, Russians and Poles. Firstly, the communication between interlocutors of the same generation—spouses and siblings—is analysed. Then the attention will be drawn to the communication with relatives of younger generations: children and grandchildren.

Tab. 12. Languages spoken with spouses and siblings (by ethnicity)

Languages	Ethnicities with siblings				Ethnicities with spouse			
	Lithuanians	Russians	Poles	Other	Lithuanians	Russians	Poles	Other
Lithuanian	99 %	32 %	26 %	20 %	99 %	46 %	36 %	44 %
Russian	3 %	93 %	50 %	76 %	7 %	83 %	54 %	82 %
Polish	1 %	1 %	74 %	5 %	1 %	2 %	55 %	9 %
Code-switching	2 %	11 %	21 %	14 %	4 %	20 %	24 %	25 %
Other languages	1 %	1 %	3 %	42 %	1 %	2 %	4 %	21 %

As shown in Table 12, monolingualism dominates the homes of Lithuanians: as much as 99 % of all Lithuanian families in cities affirm to communicate in Lithuanian to their spouses and siblings. A very small set of them says they

5 When responding to the question about language choice the respondents could choose not only one but all the languages they use with different interlocutors and in different situations.

communicate in other languages. Polish language to communicate with such interlocutors is used only by 1 % of Lithuanians; the Russian language is used a bit more (3 % use it with siblings and 7 % with his/her spouse). Very few Lithuanians declare code-switching (2 % with siblings, and 4 % with spouses) or that they were using any other language (only 1 %).

The situation is rather different in families of non-Lithuanian ethnicities. Respondents of the Russian ethnic group communicate in Russian first: 93 % of all Russians do so with their siblings, and 83 % with their spouses. The second most frequent language in the communication of Russians with relatives of their generation is Lithuanian: 32 % of all Russians chose it for talking to siblings and even more Russians—46 % of all—communicating with their spouse. Russians code-switch in their families a lot more than Lithuanians: 11 % of all Russians are switching languages speaking with siblings, and even one-fifth of the respondents do so with their spouses. Polish or other languages are rarely spoken in Russian homes, only 1–2 % of all Russians use Polish there.

The linguistic behaviour of Poles—the largest ethnic group in Lithuania—has been studied by several researchers. Lithuanian Poles, as well as other ethnicities, have experienced a significant Russification during the Soviet regime (Hogan-Brun *et al.* 2009; Geben / Ramonienė 2015). In that times, for quite a few Poles there was a tendency to switch to Russian; many Poles—especially those who were living in bigger cities—had pushed their children to attend a Russian-medium school and to do not use Polish but Russian in their private life. This language choice is demonstrated by the data of the surveys S2 and S3. Not, as one might expect, a set of nearby 99 % of all Poles, but only 74 % of them affirm to speak Polish to their siblings, and only slightly more than a half (55 %) of them, to do so to their spouses. Here, the Russian language is the one that competes with Polish in the homes domain of this ethnic community: as much as 50 % of all Poles state to talk Russian to siblings, and 54 % to do so to spouses. Poles tend to code-switch more than Russians (21 % of them indicated to do so with siblings, and 24 % to do so with spouses). A rather big set of Poles affirm to use Lithuanian in the domestic domain: 26 % of all Poles say to use Lithuanian with siblings, and 36 % say to do so with spouses. A small part of Poles have declared to use other languages: 3 % of all Poles say they do so with siblings, and 4 % of them—with spouses. The languages that are mentioned in this context as being ‘other’ are either Belarusian or a local vernacular which is called (*język tutejszy* (liter. ‘language from here’) or *po-prostu* (liter. ‘simple language’).

When analysing the communication of the Russian and Polish ethnic groups with the youngest members in the family, children and grandchildren, we can

notice tendencies that show a change in language choice. Lithuanian occupies a more significant position here: 55 % of Russians and 49 % of Poles indicate to use Lithuanian with children, while 50 % of Russians and 54 % of Poles declare using

Tab. 13. Languages spoken with children and grandchildren (by ethnicity)

Languages	Ethnicities with children				Ethnicities with grandchildren			
	Lithuanians	Russians	Polish	Other	Lithuanians	Russians	Polish	Other
Lithuanian	99 %	55 %	49 %	47 %	99 %	50 %	54 %	46 %
Russian	4 %	85 %	46 %	80 %	3 %	84 %	44 %	78 %
Polish	1 %	1 %	68 %	5 %	1 %	0 %	53 %	7 %
Code-switching	1 %	17 %	21 %	14 %	2 %	10 %	17 %	18 %
Other languages	1 %	0 %	2 %	19 %	2 %	2 %	4 %	16 %

it with grandchildren (see Table 13).

A significant part of the communication of both Russians and Poles consists of code-switching. According to the S2 and S3 data (see Table 13), 17 % of Russians and 21 % of Poles declare that they like to code-switch in situations when they talk to their children, somewhat less—10 % of Russians and 17 % of Poles—when talking to grandchildren.

According to the S2 and S3 data, the English language, though it is now becoming a part of the linguistic repertoire of Lithuanians who live in cities, is not popular in communication with relatives. A very small part of all respondents that is only 0.57 % declare that they speak English at home. On the other hand, previous studies have shown that English is more common in other domains, e.g. at work (Ramonienė 2014; Ramonienė/Vilkienė 2016; Vaicekauskienė 2010).

3.3 The 'inner speech' of city inhabitants

Language choice patterns can be understood from the language used in mental processes, i.e. in what language does one think, speak to oneself, dream, or count. The *inner speech* is of particular importance in situations of multilingualism when one is faced with language choice. Fishman (2000: 97) affirms that 'there is some evidence from individual as well as from group data that where language shift is resisted by multilinguals, inner speech remains most resistant to interference, switching and disuse of the mother tongue. Where language shift is desired the reverse frequently obtains.'

The analysis of *inner speech* can help reveal the linguistic situation of Lithuanian urban spaces. The adults who participated in the survey were asked in what language do they think and count. Their answers show that the *inner speeches* of city inhabitants of the several ethnicities vary. Lithuanians usually indicate that they think in Lithuanian. This was the answer of 99 % of Lithuanians living in cities (see Table 14). 9 % of Lithuanians said they think in Russian, 4 % declared they think in more than one language, but they switch languages when they think. It is interesting that as much 7 % of Lithuanians have mentioned English as the language of thought.

Tab. 14. The language used when thinking (by ethnicity)

Language	Ethnicity		
	Lithuanians	Russians	Poles
Lithuanian	99 %	55 %	47 %
Russian	9 %	94 %	66 %
Polish	1 %	1 %	67 %
English	7 %	3 %	2 %
Code-switching	4 %	15 %	14 %
Other	1 %	1 %	1 %

The *inner speech* of ethnic minorities is more multilingual. The majority of Russians (94 %) declared they think in Russian. However, more than half of (55 %) said they also think in Lithuanian and 15 % that they switch from one language to another. English constitutes only a small part in this context—3 %.

In this linguistic context of thinking, the most interesting repertoire is that of the Polish ethnic group. Even though a large set of Poles, 67 %, said they think in Polish, however, an almost equal part (66 %) indicated Russian to be also their language of thought. About half of Poles (47 %) said they also think in Lithuanian, and 14 % of them, that they switch from one language to another. Only 2 % of Poles declared they think in English.

Tab. 15. The language used when counting (by ethnicity)

Language	Ethnicity		
	Lithuanians	Russians	Poles
Lithuanian	100 %	64 %	64 %
Russian	15 %	92 %	75 %
Polish	1 %	2 %	62 %
English	10 %	5 %	5 %
Other	2 %	2 %	1 %

Another question related to the *inner speech* was about the language that is used when the subjects are counting. As demonstrated in table 15, different language combinations are used for counting by city inhabitants of different ethnicities. All Lithuanians said they count in their mother tongue, some of them, 15 %, also count in Russian; 10 % of them mentioned English here. Russians also said they mostly count in their mother tongue—this was indicated by 92 % of people of this ethnicity. As well as for language of thinking, they said they also use Lithuanian when they count—this was indicated by 64 % of all Russians. Another 5 % of Russians indicated they use English when they count; 2 % of them use Polish.

As with all other cases, the Polish linguistic community has a different linguistic repertoire. The Poles also mostly indicated they use the language of their ethnic group (i.e. Polish) when they count, but the percentage is much lower than that of Lithuanians or Russians: only 62 % of all Poles. As many as 75 % of all Poles state they count in Russian, 64 % in Lithuanian, 5 % in English and 1 % in other languages. Therefore, in case of Lithuania's Poles, the linguistic repertoire for inner communication and mental processes is constituted of the language of their ethnic group (i.e. Polish), but it is in competition with Russian or sometimes Lithuanian.

Tab. 16. The language used when praying (by ethnicity)

Language	Ethnicity		
	Lithuanians	Russians	Poles
Lithuanian	99 %	22 %	20 %
Russian	2 %	90 %	7 %
Polish	1 %	3 %	92 %
Other	0 %	0 %	1 %

The domain 'religion' is related to the intimate communicative sphere. Table 16 shows data by different ethnic groups answering in which languages the subjects are praying. In this sphere all ethnic groups indicated they usually use the language of their ethnic group: 99 % of all Lithuanians, 90 % of all Russians, and 92 % of all Poles indicate to do so. As can be seen in Table 16, about one-fifth of Lithuania's ethnic minorities—22 % of the Russians and 20 % of the Poles—choose Lithuanian in this domain. However, Russian which Lithuanians or Poles sometimes choose in other domains is not popular in the domain 'religion'. Only 2 % of the Lithuanian and 7 % the Polish residents indicated Russian to use for praying.

3.4 Language choice using media

Media communication includes both public and private communicative dimensions; as Busch and Pfisterer put it, ‘it mediates between the public and the private sphere’ (Busch/Pfisterer 2011: 435). Even though media products are available publicly, their use and their reception happen in a private environment.

In the past few decades, the use of media has changed drastically. Nowadays, newspapers, weekly papers and other press are not read in the printed version any longer, but more frequently online, where interaction, comments and so on are possible. As Marshal (2011: 407) points out referring to the article of Lehman-Wilzig and Cohen-Avigdor (2004) on the internet’s usurpation of older media, ‘the Internet was a multi-medium that absorbed and transformed existing media.’ The internet has affected TV and other traditional forms of media; it is connected to new forms of interpersonal communication and personalised mediated explorations (Marshal 2011). ‘Whereas some two decades ago, relatively stable reception habits could be assumed as bringing together audiences into national, ethnic or other social communities, present media reception is more characterised by individual practices, which become more ephemeral and deterritorialised’ (Busch/Pfisterer 2011: 438). Therefore, the language choice for media reflects more private linguistic behaviour than the public one.

What languages are chosen for media Lithuania’s urban dwellers? It is worth looking separately at the reading of newspapers and magazines, the reading of books, the languages chosen when watching TV, the listening to the radio, and the surfing of the internet. The following paragraphs present a detailed analysis of the four languages used for media—Lithuanian, Russian, Polish and English—by the major ethnic groups (Lithuanians, Poles and Russians).

Tab. 17. Languages that subjects use when reading print media (by ethnicity)

Languages	Ethnicities							
	Lithuanians		Russians		Poles		Other	
	print	books	print	books	print	books	print	books
Lithuanian	99 %	99 %	81 %	65 %	79 %	66 %	68 %	54 %
Russian	25 %	30 %	91 %	96 %	84 %	84 %	92 %	91 %
Polish	2 %	2 %	4 %	4 %	48 %	59 %	7 %	7 %
English	17 %	21 %	14 %	17 %	8 %	13 %	12 %	16 %
Other languages	1 %	3 %	2 %	1 %	2 %	3 %	22 %	27 %

The results of surveys S2 and S3 show that the most frequent languages that are chosen by urban dwellers when reading newspapers and magazines are Lithuanian and Russian. As can be seen in Table 17, Lithuanian public prints are read by 99 % of Lithuanians, 81 % of Russians, 79 % of Poles, and 68 % of other ethnicities. Even though a large number of people who belong to an ethnic minority in Lithuania know Lithuanian—and especially these know it who are up to the age of 40, Lithuanian public prints are read more by Lithuanians than by non-Lithuanians.

The second most popular language chosen when reading newspapers and magazines is Russian. It is mostly chosen by city dwellers of non-Lithuanian ethnicity: by Russians (91 %), by other ethnicities—e.g. Belarusian or Ukrainian—(92 %), and (a little) fewer in number by Poles (84 %). A set of the Lithuanians also affirm they read prints in Russian as well but their number is significantly smaller than the number of inhabitants of other ethnicities who read Russian print media, to be exact, only 25 %.

Polish, even though it is the language of the largest ethnic minority, has not been preferred for reading newspapers and magazines. No more than 48 % of the Poles chose their language for this activity, so that, in comparison, they read Russian print media more frequently (84 % of them do so, as it has been mentioned above). People of other ethnicities do not frequently read prints in Polish—only 2 % of all Lithuanians, 4 % of all Russians, and 7 % of all other ethnicities do so.

Considering foreign languages, English is usually chosen to read newspapers and magazines: 17 % of Lithuanians, 14 % of Russians, 8 % of Poles, and 12 % of people of other ethnicities do so. Print media in other languages like, e.g. Belarusian, Ukrainian, German, or French are not popular among the city inhabitants, only about 2 % of them say they read the prints in such languages. A more significant difference can be noted when analysing only the answers of smaller ethnic groups, such as Belarusian, Ukrainian, Latvian, Armenian *etc.* About 22 % of them affirm to read the prints in 'other languages' as we combine the less frequently used languages in one category of Table 17.

A slightly different situation is revealed when analysing the language choice in the context of books to be read. Naturally, Lithuanians prefer to read books in Lithuanian (99 % of them do so). The percentage of Lithuanian language use to read books by people of other ethnicities is lower than that of reading the prints: 65 % of Russians, 66 % of Poles and 54 % of other ethnicities. As is the case with the prints, Russian, is very popular among the city dwellers of Russian ethnicity (96 %), Poles (84 %), and other ethnicities (91 %). Lithuanians read

Russian books (a little) fewer in number than townspeople of other ethnicities, only 30 % of all urban Lithuanians declared to do that.

Tab. 18. Languages that subjects use when listening to the radio or watching TV (by ethnicity)

Languages	Ethnicities							
	Lithuanians		Russians		Poles		Other	
	radio	TV	radio	TV	radio	TV	radio	TV
Lithuanian	99 %	100 %	88 %	92 %	85 %	92 %	84 %	90 %
Russian	52 %	72 %	95 %	97 %	90 %	95 %	94 %	96 %
Polish	5 %	8 %	7 %	8 %	60 %	61 %	12 %	12 %
English	25 %	39 %	14 %	25 %	13 %	19 %	11 %	24 %
Other languages	3 %	3 %	2 %	5 %	2 %	4 %	21 %	24 %

City inhabitants of Lithuanian ethnicity, as when reading print media or books, usually chose Lithuanian also when listening to the radio (99 % of them) or watching TV (100 of them)—see Table 18. However, city inhabitants of other ethnicities also choose Lithuanian for audio-visual media more often than they do for reading books or other print media. 88 % of Russians, 85 % of Poles, and 84 % of other non-Lithuanians affirm on listening to the radio in Lithuanian. Even more of them watch TV in Lithuanian: 92 % of Russians and just as much Poles do it, as well as 90 % of all people of other ethnicities. This data correlates with Lithuanian language skills indicated by non-Lithuanians. It can be seen in Table 19 that more non-Lithuanians affirm that they understand Lithuanian when hearing it verbally better (97 % Russians, 96 % Poles and 95 % other ethnicities) than in written form, not to speak about their productive language competence. Naturally, the visual context of the TV programme significantly facilitates the understanding of those whose Lithuanian skills are not very high.

Tab. 19. Lithuanian language skills of non-Lithuanians

Skills	Ethnicity		
	Russians	Poles	Other
Understanding	97 %	96 %	95 %
Speaking	91 %	92 %	82 %
Reading	86 %	90 %	76 %
Writing	82 %	88 %	71 %

The second most frequent language when listening to the radio as well as using other media is Russian (see Table 18). It is chosen by 90–95 % of all these city inhabitants who belong to an ethnic minority and often speak Russian. However, more than half of all Lithuanians (52 %) claim as well they listen to the radio in Russian. Even more city inhabitants watch TV in Russian, this was the answer of 97 % of all Russians, 95 % of Poles, 96 % of all other ethnicities. Also, a significant part of Lithuanians watches TV in Russian: 72 %. So the Russian language learned in the Soviet times is frequently used for media consumption by the city residents of Lithuanian ethnicity. However, the knowledge of Russian and its use for media depends on the age groups of the surveyed subjects. Table 20 illustrates how often city residents, who do not speak Russian as mother tongue, use Russian in the context of media. Russian is chosen more often by people who are older than 35—i.e. who have learned Russian at school in the Soviet era. City inhabitants of the younger generation (in the age between 25 and 35) who did not have Russian at school on a compulsory basis, use less frequently Russian for media, and the youngest group, 15–24 year-olds, say they used Russian a lot less frequently. They mostly use it to watch TV in Russian (55 % of them), less to listen to radio (39 % of them), even less to browse the internet (26 % of them), to read books in Russian (17 % of them), newspapers and magazines (14 % of them).

Tab. 20. Reported use of media in Russian (by age)

	15–24	25–35	36–45	46–55	56+
Books	17 %	29 %	36 %	38 %	40 %
Newspapers, magazines	14 %	26 %	36 %	35 %	35 %
Radio	39 %	56 %	61 %	60 %	52 %
TV	55 %	78 %	85 %	78 %	75 %
Internet	26 %	37 %	33 %	20 %	9 %

The third most frequent language in the context of TV or radio consumption by the city dwellers is English (see Table 21).⁶ The number of choices is lower than Lithuanian or Russian, but some of the city inhabitants claim that they use English rather frequently. As it is in the case of the languages discussed

6 Among all 4,578 respondents of the surveys S2 and S3 who have answered the question about their mother tongue, there has been only one who affirmed that English is one of his mother tongues. Therefore, English has been a second or foreign language to all other subjects.

previously, English is more often chosen to watch TV, but less frequently to listen to the radio. Both for watching TV and listening to the radio, English is chosen by ethnic Lithuanians predominantly (39 % TV and 25 % radio). A small set of other ethnic groups also affirm they chose English for watching TV (25 % of all Russians, 19 % of all Poles, and 24 % of all other ethnicities) and for listening to the radio (14 % of all Russians, 13 % of all Poles and 11 % all other ethnicities). This result is not surprising because it essentially corresponds to the proportion of the declared knowledge of English among the different ethnic groups: 55 % of all Lithuanians, 45 % of all Russians, 31 % of all Poles, and 37 % of all respondents of other ethnicities declare they know English (Krupickaitė/Baranauskienė 2013: 29).

Tab. 21. Reported use of media in English (by age)

	15–24	25–35	36–45	46–55	56+
Books	49 %	27 %	9 %	7 %	4 %
Newspapers, magazines	35 %	23 %	9 %	7 %	4 %
Radio	50 %	31 %	15 %	10 %	4 %
TV	73 %	50 %	29 %	18 %	11 %
Internet	80 %	59 %	32 %	17 %	7 %

The fourth most popular language chosen for TV and radio is Polish. It is understandable that those who usually watch TV and listen to the radio in Polish are city inhabitants of Polish ethnicity, 61 % of them watch TV, and 60 % listen to the radio in Polish. A lot less, only 8 % of all Lithuanians and the same number of Russians, as well as 12 % of people of other ethnicities, watch TV in Polish, and only 5 % Lithuanians, 7 % Russians and 12 % people of other ethnicities listen to the radio in this language.

Tab. 22. Language use for the internet

Language	Ethnicity			
	Lithuanians	Russians	Poles	Other
Lithuanian	99 %	79 %	87 %	77 %
Russian	33 %	89 %	74 %	80 %
Polish	2 %	2 %	29 %	3 %
English	58 %	48 %	40 %	44 %
Other	4 %	1 %	1 %	17 %

An important facet of modern life is the internet. As in the case with other types of media, it is natural that Lithuanians (99 % of all them) browse the internet at Lithuanian pages (see Table 22). It is interesting though that Poles choose Lithuanian most frequently in comparison to other ethnic groups, 87 % of all Poles do so. There is another interesting aspect of how often Poles decide in favour of Lithuanian browsing the internet: it is the only domain where Lithuanian has the precedence over other languages (Russian, Polish). People of other ethnicities also choose Lithuanian browsing the internet, 79 % of all Russians and 77 % all other ethnicities do so.

The Russian language for browsing the internet occupies a far less important position than in the case of other media channels discussed here. Even the city dwellers of Russian ethnicity browse less web pages in Russian than they consume print media, books, TV, or the radio in this language—89 % of all answers given by Russian subjects show their favour to Russian for browsing the internet. Two other groups distinguished in our surveys, i.e. Poles and people of other ethnicities—who often speak Russian fluently or, at least, have a sufficient knowledge of Russian—do choose Russian rather frequently when using other media channels, but rarely browse the internet in Russian: 74 % and, respectively, 80 % of all answers show this.

Polish web pages are very seldom visited. Even people of Polish ethnicity very rarely browse the internet in Polish, only 29 % of them say they do so. Subjects of other ethnicities like Lithuanians or Russians give Polish only in 2–3 % of all instances as their response to the question in which language they do browse the internet.

Among all languages discussed here for browsing the internet, English has a special position. It is a lot more frequently used by city inhabitants of all ethnicities visiting web pages than for consuming other media. In the context of the internet, English web pages are most frequently chosen by Lithuanians: 58 % of them show this. Moreover, it is important to note that for ethnic Lithuanians the internet is the only domain in which English surpasses Russian that otherwise keeps the second position after Lithuanian in the ranking of language use regarding media consumption. 48 % of all Russians, 40 % all Poles and 44 % all city inhabitants of other ethnicities browse the internet in English. Though English does not surpass Russian in the general language choice by non-Lithuanians, just the internet is the domain where English is more often Used than in (the context of) other media.

Through analysing data on how the city inhabitants of different age groups use English (see Table 21), it is evident that the young generation browses the internet far more frequently than the older age groups. A particularly

distinguishable group is the youngest one—subjects aged between 15 and 24 years. In this group, 80 % of all answers report that the respondents browse the internet in English. They are the oldest respondents who least use the internet in English, namely they who are aged 56+. Only 7 % of all answers belong to this age group, but one should also bear in mind that in Lithuania elder people do not very often browse the internet in general (for more on that topic see Vaicekauskienė 2010).

4 Conclusions

The analysis of languages used in the private domain reveals a changing linguistic behaviour of Lithuanian urban dwellers in the communities of different ethnicities, the majority and the ethnic minorities.

The main language used by the majority, i.e. city inhabitants of Lithuanian ethnicity, is Lithuanian, 99–100 % of Lithuanians indicate to use it in private life. However, the study shows that city inhabitants of Lithuanian ethnicity had not forgotten the Russian language that they had learned well during the Soviet times when it was in use in many domains. Previous studies have shown that the Russian is rather often used by Lithuanians in the public domain, or at work (Ramonienė 2011; Ramonienė / Vilkienė 2016). The data analysed in this paper show that Russian is also used in the home environment, sometimes Lithuanians say to think or to count in Russian. Lithuanians affirm to use most Russian when using media: more than one-fourth claim to read books, newspapers and magazines in Russian, one third to use the internet, more than half to listen to the radio and as much as 72 % watch TV in Russian. So the best known foreign language to the ethnic Lithuanian city inhabitants—Russian language learned during the Soviet times—has not left their linguistic repertoire. However, the analysis of the linguistic behaviour of the different age groups shows an intergenerational change. The Russian language is a lot more frequently used by people of middle age and elders and a lot less by the younger age group. In the Lithuanians' linguistic repertoire Russian as a foreign language is being replaced by English. It is used not only for the official, work domain communication, as studies have shown (Ramonienė 2011; Ramonienė / Vilkienė 2016, Vaicekauskienė 2010), but it is entering the private life. English as the third most frequent language in the home environment is mentioned both by pupils and by adult respondents. One-fifth of the ethnic Lithuanian city dwellers read books, somewhat less read newspapers and magazines, one fourth listen to the radio in English, 39 % watch TV. English had a much stronger position than Russian for Lithuanians when using the internet, where it is used by as much as 58 % of city inhabitants of

Lithuanian ethnicity. A sign of intergenerational change is also the fact that English is used in all domains a lot more by the youngest age group of city inhabitants. It should also be noted that it is particularly the city inhabitants of Lithuanian ethnicity that use English rather frequently.

The data analysis shows a great change in the linguistic life of Lithuania's ethnic minorities. The official language—Lithuanian—has already entered not only the public communication that is regulated by the Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania and the State language law, but it also constitutes a big part of private linguistic life. Russians of Lithuania, who used to be the majority in the fallen Soviet Union, after regaining Independence in Lithuania, have become a community of ethnic minority in the Republic of Lithuania, second minority group according to its size, after the Poles. The linguistic life and its change are related to this change of role in society. Despite the fact that their mother tongue is still known not only by their ethnic group, not only by other Russian-speakers but also by a large part of all inhabitants of Lithuania, other languages are incorporated into the linguistic repertoire of the Russian speaking group. It is understandable that the most popular language of their private life is the inherited Russian language (also see Ramonienė *et al.* 2017), that is used at home with various interlocutors, as the inner speech, and it is the most frequent language when using various media. The internet is the only domain where Russian is used less than in other spheres. Lithuanian occupies an important position in various contexts for the Russians. About half ethnic Russian pupils indicated Lithuanian as one of the home languages, and a big part of adults affirmed to not only communicate in Lithuanian with people from their close-circle but also to use Lithuanian when thinking or counting. One-fifth use it also when praying. It is worth noting that Lithuanian is used more frequently with the younger generation, children and grandchildren. Therefore, it can be foreseen that the position of the state language of Lithuania in Russian families will be more important in the future (also see Ramonienė *et al.* 2017). People of Russian ethnicity also use Lithuanian when using media: more than 80 % Russians read newspapers and magazines in Lithuanian, 65 % read books, 88 % listen to the radio in Lithuanian, 92 % watch TV. Therefore, for many Russians who are living in cities and in the Soviet times did not know Lithuanian or knew it very poorly, Lithuanian has an important role in their today's linguistic repertoire or linguistic choices also in their private life.

From the perspective of linguistic choice, the most interesting is the largest Lithuania's ethnic minority: Poles of Lithuania. During the Soviet times, many Poles had switched to Russian in so far as this language had a more significant socio-political status at the time, and in some families, a natural tradition

of passing down the heritage language (Polish) to the younger generation has been interrupted (Geben 2010, and 2013). Therefore, not by all Poles the native language of this ethnic group, i.e. Polish, is chosen for communication in the private sphere. In the family, only 55 % of all Poles speak Polish with their spouses and 74 % with siblings, 68 % with children, and 53 % with grandchildren. Only 62 % of all Poles say they count in Polish and 67 % think in Polish. A domain where Polish is used most is religion, as much as 92 % of urban dwellers of this ethnicity affirm to pray in Polish. In the private life of the Polish ethnic group, Russian is rather popular. Russian is used to speaking in the family (50 % of all Poles use it with siblings and 55 % of them with spouse), for thinking (declared by 66 % of all Poles) and counting (declared by 75 % of all Poles), for consumption of various media. The Lithuanian language plays an important role in the life of city respondents of Polish ethnicity. Both, pupils and adults of Polish ethnicity, claim that Lithuanian is a language used at home. It is used by adults with siblings (declared by 26 % of all Poles) and spouses (declared by 36 % of all Poles), with children (declared by 49 % of all Poles), and grandchildren (declared by 54 % of all Poles). These tendencies show multilingualism with Lithuanian that was not popular during the Soviet times in the linguistic life neither of Poles nor other non-Lithuanians and it is an important sign of a changing linguistic environment.

Changing multilingualism is also indicated by English that is rapidly entering the private lives of the city inhabitants. Lithuanians use English more often than the city inhabitants of other ethnicities. However, these ethnicities—Russians, Poles and others affirm to use English predominantly in the context of media consumption, especially when using internet. Therefore, Lithuanian cities see not only the rise of the social value of this globally used language but also its actual use in public as well as in private life.

It must be added that in Lithuania the urban socio-linguistic situation has been changing quickly in recent years, a particularly rapid change takes place in the linguistic repertoire and linguistic preferences of the youth. Therefore, it is necessary both to continue the observation of the linguistic choices and to research the changes using methods that have not still been used in our present studies.

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Laima Kalėdienė

Lithuanian Language Policy: Past and Present Duel

Abstract. This article reviews some trends appeared in the public usage of the Lithuanian language. It evaluates the changes, emerged during the first 15 years of the new millennium, as well as how the problems of management of language policy that have emerged from these trends have succeeded in solving both the state and society.

Overview

- 1 Significant changes in the Lithuanian legal base
- 2 Negative assessment of language policy
- 3 How is the Language Commission activity appreciated by the public?
- 4 The Law on the State Language as the object of the trade of politicians
- 5 A necessary change of the rules how to form women's surnames as a measure of freedom of the people
- 6 The spelling of non-native surnames is a problem with most suggestions
- 7 Rendering of proper names in Lithuanian
- 8 Linguistic landscape—a reflection of reality
- 9 Urban sociolect—the object of continuous discussion
- 10 Conclusions

1 Significant changes in the Lithuanian legal base

The last three decades in Lithuania were extraordinary since after the Soviet Union's 50-year occupation in 1990th the independence of the Lithuanian state was restored. In the area of language policy, a tremendous amount of work was done at the state level during the first decade of freedom. Decisive but unavoidable solutions were made, such as the cardinal changes in the legal framework, related with the status of the Lithuanian language and putting it into practice; see more in Grumadienė (2005).

The main one was proclaimed in the Constitution of The Republic of Lithuania (approved by the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania in the Referendum on 25 October 1992): 'Article 14. Lithuanian shall be the State language.' In terms of language use the article 117 was important as well:

In the Republic of Lithuania, court trials shall be conducted in the State language. Persons who do not speak Lithuanian shall be guaranteed the right to participate in the investigation and court proceedings through an interpreter.

The Law on the State Language (1995) directly related to this provision of the Constitution, as well, as the Law on the Amendment of the Republic of Lithuania Law on the Status of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language (2001).

2 Negative assessment of language policy

First of all, it should be noted that the whole sociolinguistics was not able to enter the Lithuanian linguistics for a very long time since it was identified with the political pressure of Soviet influence on linguistics, whereas only Russian sociolinguistic works were available at that time. The fact that this provision was very strong, more precisely, anti-provision, could be illustrated by some events from my own scientific experience. When I wanted to publish my own paper *Sociolinguistic Topicalities* in one of two journals that focuses on language usage issues, in ‘Language Culture’ (*Kalbos kultūra*), the most unwanted part of my paper was a text section on global language policy, as well as my review of Hudson’s book (1999) concerning the aspect of the Lithuanian language policy. It is assumed in this paper of mine that sociolinguistic works are not popular in Lithuania, speaking more precisely, were not popular until now due to the prevailing branches of linguistics, like linguistic geography, structural linguistics, historical-comparative linguistics, which in their nature are against the main ideas of sociolinguistics. However, several sociolinguistic works are worth mentioning. They are mainly concerned with the research into the city language (social dialects) and dialectal contacts. Finally, after some corrections, my paper was published in *Kalbos kultūra*, however, signed by my previous surname—Grumadienė (2004). Such an approach to sociolinguistics was very well reflected in the double scientific life of Professor Simas Karaliūnas, the leader of our Sociolinguistic group, because he regarded the historical comparative grammar as a true science, whereas engaging in sociolinguistics he felt himself just disgracefully, even though he wrote a great first textbook on sociolinguistics in Lithuania (published in 1997).

By the way, in 2004 the comparatively conservative journal *Kalbos kultūra* has changed its name from ‘Language Culture’ to ‘Standard Language’ (*Bendrinė kalba*), but the spirit of Prague linguistic circle is still preserved; cf. the book of the former editor-in-chief Kniūkšta (2013), where he focuses on the activities of the years 2002–12. Another analogous and parallel magazine is ‘Native Language’ (*Gimtoji kalba*); the magazine has been published since 1932. It could

be summarised that the discussion of language policy issues in the Lithuanian scientific press is still not popular and comprehensive. Apparently, I have the right to make such generalisations, as I am the Lithuanian correspondent for the international yearbook *Sociolinguistica* for two decades, and I annually submit a bibliography of Lithuanian sociolinguistic works. By the way, here I simply have to mention Rita Miliūnaitė's (2006) collection of articles about the Lithuanian language policy of the years 1990–2006, in which almost each of the relevant language policy topics of that time is reflected.

3 How is the Language Commission activity appreciated by the public?

A certain part of the Lithuanian society is not fully satisfied with the activities of both, the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language and the State Language Inspectorate. The Commissions' activities are sometimes even regarded as rigorous and retrograde. Such an opinion is exhaustively reflected in a collection of articles by seven highly liberal authors, 'Lithuanian Language Ideology: the History of Standardisation and Power' (*Lietuvių kalbos ideologija: norminimo ir galios istorija*, 2016), compiled by Vaicekauskienė and Šepetys. The main idea of this book is to abandon language regulation altogether, to eliminate the institutes involved, and the ideal language policy is called the Danish one, or that of the entire Scandinavian countries.

The point is that the ideology of the Lithuanian language for at least 100 years was exclusively an advocacy ideology because during that time it was vital to defend Lithuanian and to resist the power of languages such as Russian and Polish. At the end of the 19th century, the national revival of the Lithuanian nation was primarily based on the revival of the Lithuanian language. 50-year-old Soviet times taught to live in a spirit of lasting controversy. Now, as the generations of the Soviet era have been pulling from the active life of society, naturally the position of a much more cosmopolitan and European-centred society is emerging, so the conflict is inevitable (cf. the book about this conflict by Pupkis [2016]). On the other hand, with the rebirth of nationalism in Europe, another stumbling block in which young people are active is stirring up.

Thus, it could be summarized that the organisations which implement the Lithuanian language policy express their critique of the society or, at least, of one of its parts in two ways: permanent and occasional. The atmosphere of constant criticism helps to maintain the principle of the formation of the Language Commission: the Commission is approved by the Parliament every four years, and scientific, creative and political organizations offer candidates. It

is difficult to avoid politicising; in particular, the appointment of the chairman of the Commission is politicised. The status of civil servants, the source of budgetary funding and the electoral principles of the members do not create preconditions for independent decision-making on language matters; this is proved by practice. In the interests of a democratic change, it is necessary to abandon the principle of the current electoral process and to apply the principle that a single congressional Parliament chooses Commissioners for another parliamentary term, as in the case of, for example, the election of the National Broadcasting Council.

Another issue with the Language Commission should be mentioned. One thing is the anticipation of language policies and tasks; the other is their implementation. It must be stated that, for at least a decade, the Language Commission has chosen the direction 'the Commission provides the tasks, the Commission solves them itself'. It is progressive that even nine Sub-Committees have been created. These are divided between the areas of their activities: Grammar, spelling and punctuation; Language technologies; Pronunciation and accentuation; Terminology; School textbook evaluation; Place names and personal names; Lexicon; Interpreting and translation; Language Policy. On the other hand, problems arise—and this happens continuously—when a subcommittee provides a task itself, solves it by its own means, and evaluates its work itself. For example, the lexicon should be monitored very consistently, but for the subcommittee, it is not possible to perform. This happens as well in the spheres of grammar, spelling and punctuation, or pronunciation and accentuation. Mostly, the decision-making is episodic, but all changes in language norms always receive many responses, as they relate to many people.

A good example could be the liberalisation of stress standards. Periodically, one or the other case of accent is re-evaluated, and it is suggested then, for example, to rearrange the former line of options. In the media, it is very common thus to discuss only a few instances of the changes rearrangements made, and it is stated that linguists again suggested this kind of nonsense. When people in Lithuania want to mock a language policy—and people want to do it very often—, they usually choose questions about stress and pronunciation. The standard procedure is that they quote real nonsense and claim that linguists were suggesting exactly like that.

All of these changes in the field of accentuation are carried out due to the 'Dictionary of Standard Lithuanian' (*Bendrinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas*) that is going to be completed for many decades—by now, it has been going on for three decades, and that is too long. That is why the Commission's recommendations often look so chaotic and uncontrollable. The Institute of the Lithuanian

Language is preparing the Dictionary, and the Commission periodically sends a bunch of instructions to it. These instructions are binding universally, but for the public, it is difficult to understand them because of their non-systematic nature.

As I see the situation regarding the terms, it is better because there is a separate term bank law providing the timing procedure, the submission to the term bank, how to finance the entire process, the appropriateness of the term bank, and the technical support of it.

For 22 years I taught students at the Lithuanian Academy of Theatre and Music, but my students never learned anything about changes in the codification of pronunciation and accentuation themselves, although they were future drama actors. It was impossible to find out even for those leaders who gave all their strength while preparing for a professional career. They could not find out because the Language Commission never (or did not) want to communicate with the public. I informed my students about all the changes, and then they asked me, 'How did you find out?'

In total, communication is the Commission's Achilles heel. Perhaps, therefore, the humorous 'Commission's' Facebook web page has a far higher proportion of visitors than the Commission's website itself. Given that there are about 20 full-time employees in the Commission, it should be possible to improve communication.

4 The Law on the State Language as the object of the trade of politicians

The currently valid Law on the State Language (adopted in 1995) has become morally obsolete during a quarter of the century; therefore, it must be revised. New versions of the law were presented to the Lithuanian Parliament (*Seimas*) summoned for three times for consideration but due to the political conjuncture formed by the Law on Ethnic Minorities which expired on 2009, the *Seimas* has still not adopted the revised Law on the State Language.

In 2018, the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language presented the draft of both, the Law on the State Language of Lithuania and the Guidelines on the Policy of the Lithuanian Language, to the *Seimas*. The State Commission provided for measures and methods of dealing with the major issues concerning the language regulated by the law since 2009 since the guidelines for 2003–8 were approved for the last time (and for the first time, cf. the review article about them by Grumadienė [2003]). Finally, in May 2018, the *Seimas* approved the Guidelines on the Policy of the Language for 2018–22, but it did not approve the law.

One of the main reasons why a new version of the Law on the State Language of Lithuania must be adopted is the need for raising the prestige of Lithuanian itself. As sceptic voices about the necessity of a Lithuanian language in the contemporary society are becoming louder and louder, in particular, about its usage in the electronic space, so it is time to create conditions of widely disseminating information about how far Lithuanian has already been spread out over the virtual environment. Now, software is quite well-adapted to Lithuanian. However, problems arise from the reluctance of a significant part of the society to use the potential provided by software, since many—especially young—people neither choose the letters of the Lithuanian alphabet, nor apply Lithuanian text grammar correctors, nor use the original Lithuanian computer font ‘Palemonas’ (see Aleknavičienė/Grumadienė *et al.* 2005), *etc.* Coordinated efforts are needed to put into practice the amount of work that has already been carried out—for example, in the field of translation, audio analysis, and speech recognition, in the development of various corpora and databases, as well as in widely introducing digital teaching aids into schools of both Lithuania and abroad. However, there is a particular lack of focused efforts and coordination in this area, and therefore there is a legal framework needed. In addition, research projects in this sphere are sponsored by three institutions without clear coordination by the state – from the Ministry of Education and Science, from the State Commission for the Lithuanian Language and the Lithuanian Science Council. Therefore, there is a lack of labour coordination, research continuity, and success monitoring.

In pursuance of modernising the Lithuanian language, it is necessary to establish the measures of language regulation and, doing this, to fit currently applicable requirements: to revise the principles and rules of standardising Lithuanian, to prepare new grammars and guidelines, to write a dictionary that is based on real language usage and that would be constantly supplemented, to monitor the language usage *etc.* Of course, this will require purposeful and continuous funding and a publication in the electronic space, and the priority funding of Lithuanistics that is currently ongoing in name only should be no fiction any longer.

Another way of enhancing the goodwill to support Lithuanian is to train language specialists—scientists, teachers, translators, editors *etc.*—allowing them to refuse the sound that is taught and that is so much irritating to the rest of society. On the other hand, professionals should meet higher requirements, for instance, the so-called google-translators, who work alongside other perfect specialists. Therefore, the certification of specialists and, in particular, of translators and interpreters should be regulated by law.

There are well-tested ways how to import not only the oral but also the material heritage of Lithuanian culture into the electronic space. The canon of Lithuanian literature is fixed and digitized comparatively well yet, but this could neither be said about the contemporary Lithuanian grammar nor about spelling and punctuation manuals *etc.* Therefore, the funding and the process of digitalising literature, language, history, art and other objects of Lithuanian culture should be regulated by the law and, in so far as these works are already in progress, their funding should be continued. There is also a need for regulating the targets of language standards and planning, and for their implementation into society, especially into the education system.

5 A necessary change of the rules how to form women's surnames as a measure of freedom of the people

Lithuanian has still preserved an archaic system of female surnames; written sources date back to the 16th century. The neighbouring Slavs (Belarussians and Poles) also had a similar system a hundred years ago. Within the system, female surnames are derived from male surnames by attaching various suffixes to them. The surnames of girls and unmarried women are built with the help of the suffixes *-aitė*, *-ytė*, *-utė*, *-(i)ūtė* that are to be attached to the stem of a father's surname. The surnames of married women are built with the help of the suffix *-(uv)ienė* that is to be attached to the stem of the husband's surname. For example, a wife whose husband has the surname *Ramelis* is named *Ramelienė*, the daughter of the couple *Ramelytė*.

However, women with strong feminist views have regarded such system as inappropriate. Back in the 1930s, women were encouraged to discard suffixes demonstrating their marital status. A strong argument for the movement was that after getting married men kept their surnames intact. The heated debate continued until the very beginning of the 21st century. It was 2003 when the Language Commission adopted a decision to legitimise non-suffixed female surnames (e.g. *Ramelė*), which could be used alongside traditional suffixed female surnames (e.g., for girls, *Ramelytė*, *Kasperūnaitė*, *Butkutė*, and for married women, *Ramelienė*, *Kasperūnienė*, *Butkuvienė*). Similar non-suffixed names for women are normal practice in Latvia.

As Rita Miliūnaitė (2013: 341) stated, 'the decision of 2003 to legitimise a new norm of standard Lithuanian is considered [...] to be a mismatch between the moderate and the traditional Lithuanian language planning and to be the new trend in language policy.' (My translation.) Recently, it is commonplace in public to discover the names of the women of innovative femininity. Changing

traditional surnames to non-suffixed ones is especially popular in the sphere of pop culture.

There are no precise statistics, but the name-changing of women spreads among all layers of society very rapidly. The reasons for a change are diverse. The reason often is not emancipation but emigration. In particular, efforts are made to shorten relatively long names, such as *Dudarkevičiūtė*, *Macežinskienė*, or *Karvelienė*. Research shows that in 2010, the short name variant was chosen by about 15 % of all women getting married, but parents very rarely called their female child by a short form surname (Miliūnaitė: 2013, 281). It is worth noting that popular persons such as singers or opinion makers *etc.* have a huge influence; of this, the best example is two very popular specimens of stage singers, Ms *Bunkė* and Ms *Zvonkė*. It could be assumed that at the moment the main reason for changing female surnames is not emancipation, but—much more pragmatic—the preparation for emigration.

Incidentally, a sociolinguistic pilot study carried out by my students in a territory where the Southwest dialect of Lithuanian is still used gives evidence—although this study has not been based on a representative sample—that in this region, overall, the usage of the shortened female surnames does not differ from the general statistical picture of Lithuania. Moreover, this is true even though shortening the naming of women has a negative meaning in the dialectal territory under investigation. The results of the pilot survey whose sample has consisted of female Southwest Lithuanian residents at the age of 15–40 who should choose a surname for the reason of their marriage, revealed that about 15 % of the brides have chosen a shortened surname, and more than one third of them indicated that they get pleasure from their decision. Anyway, it should be noted that shortened surnames are very rarely recorded in the register offices' certificates of female newborn, in both the district under investigation and the whole of Lithuania.

6 The spelling of non-native surnames is a problem with most suggestions

An important issue of language policy that recently has been emphasised not only in Lithuania but also in the international arena deals with how non-native surnames should be written in documents (Urbutis: 2007). The principles for transcribing proper names—first names and surnames in other languages than in Lithuanian—into Lithuanian have changed effectively in the last two decades. We can conclude that not only scientific but also journalistic texts almost universally follow the practice of half-adapting proper names. They use the original's

form adding an appropriate Lithuanian ending—e.g. *buvęs JAV viceprezidentas* **Joe Bidenas**; *Ganos menininkas* **Jojo Gronostay'us**; *NBA krepšininkai* **Derrickas Rose'as**, **Tyusas Jonesas**, **Anthony Tolliveris**; *filosofo* **Charles'io Renouvier** „Uchronija“; *vokiečių poeto* **Stefano George's** *metinės*; *tenisininkę* *vokietę* **Angelique'ą Kerber**; *Galisijos vyriausybės vadovas* **Manuelis Fraga** *mėgo lygintis su Konradu Adenaueriu, Winstonu Churchilliu ir Charles'iu de Gaulle'iu*; *Katalonijos lyderis* **Carlesas Puigdemont'as**; *Lietuvos garbės konsulė* *Urugvajuje* **Cecilia Hernandez Svobas**.

Much more seldom than just the original transcription, which is usually half-adapted in Lithuanian, double rendering is used where both forms are provided next to each other, the original form and the Lithuanized one. In such cases, only the order of presenting the two forms varies: either the original form is written first (generally, with Lithuanian inflections too), and a transcription into Lithuanian based on the pronunciation of the name is given in brackets—e.g. *vokiečių režisieriaus* **Christiano Petzoldo** (*Kristijano Petcoldo*) *filmas* „Tranzitas“; „Oskaro“ *laureatas* **Quentinas Tarantino** (*Kventinas Tarantinas*) *pasipiktino* *Holivudo magnato* **Harvey Weinstein** (*Harvio Veinsteino*) *elgesiu*; or (more frequently, by the way) conversely, the original form is provided in brackets—e.g. *Pitsburgo meras* **Bilas Peduto** (*Bill Peduto*) *paragino* *JAV prezidentą* **Donaldą Trampą** (*Donald Trump*) *atidėti savo vizitą*; *Romos mero pareigas einant* **Virginijai Ragi** (*Virginia Raggi*); *Lenkijos prezidentas* **Andžejus Duda** (*Andrzej Duda*); *debiutinis škotų rašytojos* *Gail Honeyman* *romanas* „**Eleonorai Olifant** *viskas gerai*“ (*Eleanor Oliphant*); *Nyderlandų karalius* **Vilemas Aleksandras** (*Willem-Alexander*).

It is noteworthy that the latter manner of rendering was dominant just recently, a few years ago. Particular publications, especially newspapers and magazines, usually choose one or the other order of presentation and observe it consistently, even though this sometimes requires providing excessive information on those occasions where Lithuanian pronunciation is very similar to the original transcription—e.g. *režisieriaus* **Romano Polanski** (*Romano Polanskio*) *ir* **Samanthos Geimer** (*Samantos Geimer*) *santykiai*.

Rendering of half-adapted proper names also uses non-Lithuanian letters of the alphabet, including, almost universally, *x*, *w* and *q*—e.g. *vokiečių filosofas* **Friedrichas Wilhelm** *Josephas von Schellingas*; *Andrzejaus* **Wajdos** *filmas* „Kanalas“; *Howardo* *Phillipso* *Lovecraft* *o siaubo apsakymai*; *filme* *klaikus gydytojas* **Mantlerėjus** (*Justinas Therouxas*); *brazilų poetas* **Narlanas Martosas** **Teixeira**; *roko dainininkė* **Suzi** **Quatro** *ir kt.* Non-Lithuanian letters with more specific marks are employed a little more seldom. In printed Lithuanian texts, even if infrequently, one can find letters with such marks as a trema (a colon) used for

umlaut (vowel change) of some Germanic and other languages—e.g.: *Vokietijos kanclerio Gerharo Schröderio nuomone; rašytojo kūryba įvertinta Georgo Büchnerio premija*. Other diacritical marks are also used (not always, however), such as Spanish *eñe* (n with a tilde)—e.g. *Čilės rašytojas Roberto Bolaño*—or Hungarian long vowels with the acute accent (á, é, etc.)—e.g. *muzikos novatorių kompozitorių Bėlę Bartókę Vilniuje interpretuos operos režisierius Csaba Káelis*.

In cases of languages employing non-Latin alphabets, proper names are currently mostly transcribed according to the simplified rules of the English language just adding Lithuanian endings—e.g. *Irako ambasadoriui Jungtinėje Karalystėje Salihui Husainui Ali; Benino karaliui Obai Ovonramwenui; Izraelio istorikas Yuvalis Noah Harari*. In the event of double rendering, a similar method is utilised where the original and the Lithuanized form are spelt with Latin letters—e.g. *Sirijos prezidento Basharo al-Assado (Bašaro al-Asado) viešnage; Saudo Arabijos žurnalisto Džamalo Chašogi (Jamal Khashoggi) žmogžudystės tyrimas*. It is not always easy to distinguish which part of a proper name represents the surname and which the first name. Because not all languages adhere to the order common to us of providing the given name first and the surname second—e.g., while reading the Chinese proper name *Hua Chunying* one cannot know that *Hua* is a surname.

In the event of such several-stage adaptation, specific marks are generally lost. For instance, in the phrase written in Lithuanian ‘Japanese head of government Shinzo Abe’ the first name *Shinzō* is usually transcribed without a macron (a hyphen) above the letter ‘o’, though the macron signifies the sound’s length, whereas the combination of the two letters ‘sh’ is read as it would be pronounced in English. Proper names that are written like this, not to say ‘in English,’ are also read applying the rules of the English language, but that is not always a success. In some cases, this rule should not be applied. For example, while pronouncing the surname of the president of China Xi Jinping: the Lithuanian version of Wikipedia (*Vikipedija*) provides a recommendation of how to read this surname in Lithuanian, namely, ‘Si Dzinping,’ but a consultation of the BBC sources proves this recommendation to be wrong since the pronunciation is ‘Shi Yingping.’ Clarification is required quite often, for instance, as to how to pronounce *sraigtasparnis priklausė „Leicester City” klubo savininkui tailandiečiui Vichai Srivaddhanaprabhai*—does ‘ch’ represent [tʃ] here, and does ‘s’ do [s] but not [ʃ]?

However, Slavic proper names, in particular, those of the Eastern Slavic nations (Russian, Ukrainian or Belarusian), are seldom rendered into Lithuanian according to the rules of the English language. For instance, *singer Sergey Sukhachev (Сергей Сухачёв)*—because the Lithuanian transcription is the most

frequently used—e.g. *rusų oligarchui Michailui Chodorkovskiui* (Михаилу Ходорковскому); *Genadijus Nikulovas* (Геннадий Никулов); *profesorius Preobraženskio* (Преображенского) *sumanutas persodinti žmogaus smegenis šiniui*; *ukrainiečių rašytoja Oksana Zabuzko* (Оксана Забужко) *apie Maidaną*; *į Čekijos sostinę atvykusio Anatolijaus Čepigos* (Анатолия Чепиги) *slapyvardis buvo Ruslanas Boširovas* (Руслан Боширов). This Lithuanian way of transcribing the Cyrillic alphabet has a long-standing tradition, and quite many middle-aged or older people still have a good command of the Russian language.

7 Rendering of proper names in Lithuanian

A sudden and fundamental breakthrough, which has undoubtedly been related to the spread and establishment of electronic space as well as its entry into the everyday life, is also reflected by the rendering of proper names in the Lithuanian media. After all, not that long ago, editors of such a significant and universal publication as the Lithuanian Soviet Encyclopaedia (*Lietuviškoji tarybinė enciklopedija*, hereinafter referred to as ‘LSE’), the publication of which was completed in 1985, had made a decision not to provide the original forms of proper names:

Indices of original forms of proper names included in entries’ titles will be provided to readers at the end of the volumes of LSE. The Editors’ Office was not able to provide the original forms or indices of proper names mentioned in the entries’ text, either—that would have meant a much larger encyclopaedia. Therefore, we hereby publish the present rules in the hope that they will help the readers to understand the principles of rendering of non-Lithuanian proper names both in the publications by the Editors’ Office of Encyclopaedias and other publishing houses (e.g. in the new edition of the Lenin’s Works) applying similar principles to render proper names. (Jukna *et al.* 1985: 4; my translation)

Now, after a lapse of a little more than three decades, the changes are so fundamental that the current situation can hardly be compared to the one in the past, and such a decision seems incredible.

In order to review the key changes that took place, it is crucial to familiarise ourselves with the said LSE rules for rendering proper names. The employees of the Literary Control Editors’ Office of the Chief Editors’ Office of Encyclopaedias—Mr Feliksas Jukna (head of the Editors’ Office), Mr Merūnas Gervė, Mr Algimantas Kinderys, Mr Letas Palmaitis, Ms Juzefa Pučinskaitė, and Ms Rita Trakymienė—had drawn up the rules back in 1973–5. In these years, they were starting the drafting of a twelve-volume encyclopaedia, whereas, in 1985, they published a separate book on the topic based on their experience and

expertise, 'Rendering of Non-Lithuanian Proper Names in the Lithuanian Soviet Encyclopaedia' (*Nelietuviškų tikrinių vardų rašymas „Lietuviškojoje tarybinėje enciklopedijoje“*).

In 1984 and 1985, the Lithuanian Language Commission under the Academy of Sciences of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic adopted two resolutions on the rendering of proper names that differed from the principles followed in the already-published LSE only by five relatively subtle provisions. The essential difference between the present-day practice of transcription of proper names in a Lithuanian text and the Rules of the Encyclopaedia is related to the provision of the original form. Currently, Lithuanian texts usually try to present proper names using their original spelling, a little adapted by often adding inflexions, and in case of different alphabets—according to English transliteration.

Thus, the following two questions are related to the writing of personal names (anthroponyms) in the identity documents of the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania:

- (I) Can letters not only of the alphabet of the Lithuanian language be used in identity documents? and
- (II) if the answer to the first question is positive, in what cases this could be applicable?

In order to answer the above questions, the currently valid rules of the writing of name and surname of the person in identity documents and exceptions must be taken into consideration. The 31 January 1991 Resolution of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania 'On Writing of Names and Surnames in the Passport of a Citizen of the Republic of Lithuania' (Valstybės žinios 1991) is still valid and regulates writing of anthroponyms in the official language. The resolution provides for that one of the exceptions to the main principle how to write the names and surnames of the citizens who had the citizenship of other countries, in characters based on the Latin alphabet without breaching the laws of the Republic of Lithuania (paragraph 3) is as follows.

The names and surnames of the persons who had the citizenship of another country may be entered in the issued passport of the citizen of the Republic of Lithuania according to the passport of the citizen of such country or the document equivalent to it. (My translation.)

Thus, currently, the non-Lithuanian Latin alphabet based characters, at least *q*, *w* and *x*, may, by way of exception, be written in the identity documents issued to the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania if the person had any legal relationship with another state (or was a citizen of the State). Nevertheless, the

provision mentioned above of the Resolution adopted in 1991 is not applied, and surnames are written only in the Lithuanian alphabet (it does not contain *q*, *w* and *x* which, as a rule, are requested in such cases). This is because Article 3.282 of the Civil Code (the version of 18 July 2000 including subsequent amendments and supplements thereto) sets forth that ‘The records of civil status acts shall be made in Lithuanian. The name, surname and place names shall be spelt following the rules of the Lithuanian language.’ Paragraph 8 of the Rules of the Civil Registry Office (approved by 19 May 2006 Order No 1R-160 of the Minister of Justice of the Republic of Lithuania, see Valstybės žinios 2006) provides for that

Records of civil status acts shall be made in the Lithuanian language. When registering and recording the civil status acts of citizens of foreign countries and their children, the names and surnames of the persons shall be written in the records of civil status acts and certificates by spelling them in characters based on the Latin alphabet and taken from the passport or certificate of the record of civil status act issued by the foreign institution. Names and surnames may be spelt without extraneous (diacritical) marks if they may be technically omitted. At the request of the parents, the name and/or surname of the child may be written according to the pronunciation and/or grammaticalised, a written request for correction of his/her name and/or surname under the procedure established herein must be submitted. For the purposes of registering and recording of a marriage between a citizen of the Republic of Lithuania and a citizen of a foreign country and the birth of their child, the surname of the citizen of the Republic of Lithuania shall be written in accordance with the legal acts of the Republic of Lithuania establishing the procedure for writing of names and surnames in the documents. (My translation.)

Attention should be drawn to the fact that spelling of the names and surnames of the citizens of other countries in the Latin alphabet based characters without breaching the laws of the Republic of Lithuania is regulated and the regulation does not apply to the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania. Thus, the answer to the question of why writing the names and surnames of the same family differs—a question which is often raised—is not of linguistic but legal nature. The legal acts regulating writing of the names and surnames of the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania in identity documents do not provide for the possibility to use the non-Lithuanian alphabet letters and, as concerns the records of civil status acts of foreign citizens and their children, such possibility exists.

Attention should be paid to the clause in the Rules mentioned above, ‘Names and surnames may be spelt without extraneous (diacritical) marks if they may be technically omitted.’ In such case, the question concerning the use of non-Lithuanian letters as an exception is limited only to the Latin alphabet based letters *q*, *w* and *x*.

The Constitutional Court has, on several occasions, examined the issue concerning the writing of anthroponyms and in 2014 has ruled as follows.

According to the Constitution, it is unacceptable that the Rules which, *inter alia*, set forth writing of the non-Lithuanian anthroponyms (name and surname) in the passport of the citizen of the Republic of Lithuania, were established without considering the impact thereof on the everyday Lithuanian language, the authenticity of the Lithuanian language. (My translation.)

In the discussions, the question is often raised if the note concerning the use of non-Lithuanian letters in the Grammar of Contemporary Lithuanian covers the writing of anthroponyms in the identity documents of the Republic of Lithuania. Since non-Lithuanian characters are also used in the Lithuanian language (media, research publications, fiction). Nevertheless, they do not belong to the Lithuanian language writing system. This is discussed in the note under the table of the Lithuanian alphabet in the Grammar of Contemporary Lithuanian, 'Letters *Q q, W w, double-w, X x*, and, to a lesser extent, *Ă ä, Ö ö, Ü ü [...]* *Æ æ, Å å, Ø ø etc.* are used in the non-Lithuanian words (in particular, anthroponyms).' Such words (anthroponyms) are considered as quotes in other languages; therefore, the spelling peculiarities of such languages may be preserved (Valstybės žinios 1997).

Names and surnames of the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania is another thing; they are the facts of the official Lithuanian language; they are written in the identity documents evidencing the legal relationship between the person and the State (citizenship), function in administrative documents and registers; therefore, the aforementioned note of the grammar is not applicable to them.

If we look at writing of anthroponyms of a secondary nation in the official documents in other countries, it is clear that in some countries the person's right to use his/her name and surname in his/her mother tongue in identity documents is acknowledged; however, the entries are made in a different manner, i.e. according to the rules established by the State. In Finland, Spain, Italy and France this is applicable only in cases where documents to their citizens are issued on the basis of the documents issued by another country (acquisition of citizenship, marriage, childbirth, *etc.*); in such cases, anthroponyms are written without changing anything or almost without changing anything (generally, by refusing diacritical marks). In other countries, only their own alphabet is observed, for example, in the United Kingdom, Latvia, Kingdom of Denmark and Lithuania, when spelling the letters with the diacritical marks not used in the Danish language or non-Latin alphabet based letters, the person chooses the

Danish letters in which writing of the anthroponyms would be most similar by himself/herself.

It is not so easy to answer the question of whether in other countries citizens are allowed to change anthroponyms. Generally, the persons who are already citizens of the country may request to change anthroponyms in identity documents in the following two cases:

- (I) if they wish to restore the former forms which could have been changed due to political or other circumstances; or
- (II) if they wish that authentic forms used in their language which have become the language of the ethnic minority.

In Italy, there is no possibility to change surnames of the ethnic minorities which have been made Italian during the fascist period. In France, there is a possibility to change the surname but only in the case where the person wishes to change his/her surname into the French surname and not the other way round. In Finland, an anthroponym may be changed only in cases where the person wants to make spelling closer to pronunciation. In Poland, as of 2015, the members of the ethnic minorities can use their name and surname in the alphabets of other languages. Nevertheless, this is done only by entering only when the letters of the non-Polish alphabet or letters with diacritical marks not found in the Polish language are entered in an identity document (see *Ustawa o mniejszościach*) but without transferring them to the electronic national data register; therefore, the anthroponyms spelt in this way do not function in public domain.

If in Lithuania the Lithuanian citizens were provided with the possibility to change their surnames into the Polish surnames, this would be an unprecedented case: in historical terms, the process of changing the Lithuanian surnames into the Polish surnames which lasted for several centuries would be finished in the 21st century, for example, *Gulbinas* → *Gulbinovič* → *Gulbinowicz*, *Daugėla* → *Dovgialo* → *Dowgiato* etc. In Europe, for example, in Austria, France, Germany and other countries where the State acts as an intermediary in restoring the changed surname genders, a contrary process is still taking place. In Lithuania, this would be complex, since in 1939 Antanas Salys prepared the Surname Lithuanisation Program and in 2009 the Rules Concerning Changing the Name, Surname, Nationality of the Person (2001) facilitating the procedure were revised.

The discussion emphasises one more argument why it is necessary to observe the same principle of writing anthroponyms in the identity documents of the citizens of the Republic of Lithuania—i.e. that today all personal data is transferred to an electronic medium, and that means, different electronic national

data registers are prepared. Thus, even relative comparison of all linked letters with diacritical marks and the same letters without diacritical marks suggest that there may arise problems concerning coinciding letters (e.g. *s* and *š*; *z* and *ž*; *c* and *č*), since they are not identical in aural terms or due to different number of letters (e.g. *š* and *sz*, *sh*, *sch*; *č* and *cz*, *ch*, *tsch*, *tj*) or different marking (*ch* and *kh*, *hh*, *j*).

8 Linguistic landscape—a reflection of reality

One of the components of the linguistic landscape is advertising. When Lithuania at the beginning of new millennium was bombarded with unobtrusive offensive advertising, the problem immediately arose: advertisers downloaded an advertisement with the allegedly Lithuanian text, which appears to be very poor (Smetonienė 2009: 96–7). This was due to several reasons: sometimes the machine sound was used, sometimes non-Lithuanian actors were reading the incomprehensible text for them, and sometimes Lithuanian actors spoke immaculately because they could have heard it through advertising. Several years a decisive and persistent struggle took place, with much work done by the National Broadcasting Service, until the language of the advertisement became well-versed. The State Language Inspectorate also intervened here more than once, but it had to prove much in the legal context: the advertising law forbids the words to be thrown or changed. Therefore a lot of equilibrium actions had to be carried out, until the Lithuanian advertising eventually developed, as it was possible to draw invaluable experience from advertised advertisements.

Another problem with linguistic landscapes is related to public labels. The fact is that the non-Lithuanian branded company names are predominant. There is a law regulating public records and company names. We hear criticising the fact that in the major cities of Lithuania there are too many notes in a non-official language. Of course, no one can translate the names and brands of approved foreign brands, such as Nokia, Omnitel, Siemens, United Colors of Benetton, Electrolux, Fuji Film, Philips, *etc.* into Lithuanian. However, when it comes to names of new Lithuanian companies, the question is constantly raised why 80–90 % of them they select non-Lithuanian names. The answer always is the same: 'If we call the Lithuanian name, our foreigners will not understand.' Well, but when a cafe or restaurant is opened, it is oriented not only towards foreigners, why is the absolute majority of restaurants and cafe names foreign? I think that is because there is still a notion that foreigners were better; moreover, foreigners in no way went to a cafe or restaurant named in Lithuanian.

Another question is related to road and other signs. Why should that be so that on road signs, for example, ‘Kiss and ride,’ ‘K+R,’ is written in English? In general, public signage in Lithuanian cities is often oriented towards foreigners, not to their citizens.

9 Urban sociolect—the object of continuous discussion

The language of Vilnius is a classic example of a sociolinguistic object. A multilingual city with a complex linguistic history is a typical field of sociolinguistic research. Therefore, it is not surprising that the language of Vilnius received completely different interpretations (cf. Kalėdienė 2014, and Čičirkaitė/Vaicekauskienė 2012).

Urban language studies highlight new problems that have been bypassed in classical Lithuanian dialectology: there are more cases where language has changed and lost its essential features, making it a benchmark for transitional language. Urban language studies reveal new contractual issues, but most importantly—they make discussions about using standard language, especially in the field of pronunciation. Now the key issue is whether the Language Commission will take account of how town residents who in total amounts to 70 % of all citizens use Lithuanian, or carry on focusing on the villagers who are seen as the people who keep the system of Lithuanian dialects by speaking one of them. This view has been advantageous since Standard Lithuanian should be developed, a period that now lasts over a hundred years. Thus the major contemporary grammars, dictionaries and manuals concerning Standard Lithuanian are largely illustrated by indigenous dialects still, and this is why they seem not to be up to date. Anyway, in the traditional view urban varieties of Lithuanian were treated as irregular, non-compliant and damaged only, and so they cannot be a source of the linguistic standard. That the dialects of the country have changed as well have noticed only very few studies yet. They did not change anything significantly because there is no tradition of integrating such results in the process of standardising Lithuanian.

On the other hand, over the past two decades the norms—‘norm’ not being understood here in a prescriptive way but as everyday routine—have changed substantially: the former standard pronunciation based on the dialect of the Southwest has become obsolete. I felt it with myself at the Academy of theatre and music where I was working as a professor of regular pronunciation and standard speech—I felt like Professor Higgins in George Bernard Shaw’s ‘Pygmalion’ (1913). It was a very complicated and controversial period when we, lecturers and professors, ordered the students to continue to speak the correct Lithuanian

language, but they only passed the examinations and never used that kind of language on the scene.

Currently, there are two speakers on national broadcast services that are special. One of them has perfectly learned the rules of the standard language's pronunciation, and the other is the representative of the Southwest dialect from which the norms of Standard Lithuanian (*bendrinė kalba*) were derived. Indeed, a decade ago, it was unimaginable that the narrator apologised for his rustic Southwest pronunciation, and now she did so, and no one was surprised. Changes of this kind of evidence suggest that the Language Commission which does not change anything in its norms is still not able to capture change and adapt to life, to seek and find a way out.

10 Conclusions

- (I) The creation of the legal framework was a detachable act in the management of the Lithuanian language policy.
- (II) The facts indicate that the language policy of Lithuania has become a victim of political games. The adoption of laws related to the regulation of the language directly affects the relations with Poland. Controversial issues are the language of instruction in national minorities' schools, the official spelling of the names of minorities' languages with or without letters *w*, *x*, *q*, and the language in the final exam of the subject Lithuanian language at national minorities' schools.
- (III) A certain part of the society is not fully satisfied with the activities of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language and the State Language Inspectorate as well.
- (IV) The State Commission of the Lithuanian Language on 2018 presented the draft 'Guidelines on the Policy of the Lithuanian Language' to the parliament Seimas providing for the measures and methods of dealing with the major issues concerning the language regulated by the law. The guidelines are approved on 27 June 2018.
- (V) A change in the rules for the formation of shortened women's surnames without reference to their marital status became a measure of freedom of the people.
- (VI) About one-tenth of the women change their surnames according to the new rules; the very significant impact of the law is to be established.
- (VII) A sudden and fundamental breakthrough, which has undoubtedly been related to the spread and establishment of electronic space as well as its entry into the everyday life, is also reflected by the rendering of proper names in the Lithuanian media.

- (VIII) For several years, a decisive and persistent struggle took place, and it has meant a large amount of work for the National Broadcasting Service until the language of advertisements became highly elaborated.
- (IX) Urban language studies highlight new problems that have been bypassed in classical Lithuanian dialectology and linguistics in a whole. The common Lithuanian has changed much of its features now, and this should be recognised as a transition to new Lithuanian.
- (X) It could be stated in this respect that the Lithuanian State Language Commission is systematically working on linguistic corpus planning, but it does neither elaborate the language status of Lithuanian—this is said just with respect to other languages —, nor plan its language acquisition.

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