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POSTPRINT

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Multilingualism, Language Contact and Majority–Minority Relations in Contemporary Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania

1 Background to the Volume: Multilingualism in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia Throughout Time

When we were asked a few years ago whether we wished to edit a book on multilingualism in the Baltic states, it did not cross our minds that the book would be published in 2018—a year which is of particularly symbolic meaning for Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. This year, the three countries are celebrating the 100th anniversaries of their formation:

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DAAD Information Centre Riga, Riga, Latvia e-mail: heiko.marten@daad.lv Lithuania and Estonia in February 2018, Latvia in November 2018. It gives us additional pleasure to provide an international audience with background information about these countries and to explain the context of the numerous political, cultural and other events which take place all year round not only in Riga, Vilnius and Tallinn and in the different historical, geographic and cultural regions of the Baltic states, but also in Brussels, Berlin, Stockholm and other places in Europe and the world. In this way the Baltic states are enjoying an unusual level of attention this year—just as Finland did in 2017 when it celebrated its 100th anniversary and just as all the other countries whose national movements—more or less successfully—seized the historical momentum of the disruption of the European continent at the end of World War I to establish their own nation states.

In discourses on nationhood and 100-year celebrations, language plays an integral part—both relating to the national languages as important ideological foundations of statehood and to continuing debates on the roles of ethnic and/or linguistic minorities and to other languages in the Baltic states within contemporary globalized language hierarchies. In this context it is important to emphasize that academic writings have shifted their focus from mostly researching and evaluating official language policies to a much broader range of topics. The design of this book has therefore been based on the perception that there is a need for an up-todate overview of the variety of studies and discourses on multilingualism, minorities, language ideologies and practices in the Baltic states.

Throughout history the land areas constituting contemporary Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia have long traditions of being multilingual. The languages that have played important roles for centuries are, first of all, the so-called 'titular languages' (i.e., Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian as the national languages of the three countries). The two standardized national languages of Latvian and Lithuanian belong to the Baltic branch of Indo-European languages, together with a number of other contemporary regional, social and functional varieties. The most prominent is Latgalian, a standardized regional language under the umbrella of Latvian ethnicity; the question as to whether it should be called a language, a dialect or something else continues to be ideologically loaded. Estonian as the third national language is a Finno-Ugric

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language; similarly to the situation of Latvian and Latgalian, Estonian is grouped alongside Võro as a related standardized variety as are other regional varieties in South Estonia.

The three titular languages are the only official, or-as they are officially labelled and usually referred to-state languages of the Baltic states today. Historically, however, other languages enjoyed higher status. A dominant language in the area of contemporary Lithuania was Polish; Lithuania and Poland share the history of the so-called early modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (which, nota bene, led to Lithuania celebrating 100 years of restored statehood in contrast to Latvia and Estonia which prior to 1918 did not exist as states in the modern sense; this distinction is not to be confused with the re-establishment of independence of the Baltic states in 1991 which is based on the assumption that the three states throughout the occupations of the twentieth century de jure never ceased to exist). Latvia and Estonia as well as Lithuania Minor were for many centuries exposed to (first Low and later mostly High) German as the language of the economic and political elites and as the main language of the town populations. German has left heavy linguistic traces in contemporary Estonian and Latvian, and its historical role can be detected everywhere in historical buildings and names. Languages which served as *linguae francae* for the upper strata of society also included French and Russian; Russian was an important language of administration during Tsarist times as well as a language of the religious minority of the Old Believers, even though the number of Russian speakers in total remained relatively low. Other languages of some significance in different areas of the contemporary Baltic states throughout times include Belarusian, Ukrainian, Yiddish, Swedish and Finnish.

The past 100 years of independence of the Baltic states resulted in major changes to languages, both regarding the linguistic composition of the population and the status of important languages. After 1918 the titular languages gained power and prestige, but linguistic minorities first enjoyed widespread cultural liberties. This changed to differing degrees when Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia drifted into authoritarianism. The composition of the population changed most dramatically during the three occupations of the Baltic states by the Soviet Union (1940–1941), Nazi Germany (1941–1944) and again the Soviet Union (since 1944) which followed the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. Lithuania gained the highly Polish-speaking territory around Vilnius; ethnic Germans were overwhelmingly forced to move away from their longterm areas of residence in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania Minor; Swedes who had settled on the islands of Estonia moved to Sweden. The linguistic varieties and traditions of Jewish life were largely razed to the ground by the Shoah.

The changes that had the most enduring influence on the current language situation of the Baltic states, however, occurred as a consequence of inner Soviet migration. Russians, like many persons of other ethnicities, moved to the Baltic states mostly in search of better working conditions and settled there-much as they would have in any other part of the Soviet Union-bringing with them Russian as the major language of the country and the main means of communication between different ethnic groups (see Saarikivi and Toivanen 2015 or Zamyatin 2015 for background information on language policies in the Soviet Union). The result was what has often been labelled 'asymmetric bilingualism' in which there were high levels of bilingualism among ethnic Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians. When Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia regained their independence in 1991 the new states saw themselves confronted with high numbers of (often monolingual) speakers of Russianthe proportion of ethnic Latvians, the most extreme case, had drastically declined from 77% in 1935 to 52% in 1989 (Centrālās statistikas pārvaldes datubāzes). Language policies have aimed since then at reestablishing the titular languages as the main languages of Baltic societies and as 'languages of interethnic communication'-amounting to a reversal of language shift and a normalization of language use with the explicit aim that individuals should be able to lead their entire lives using the national languages. Heavy ideological debates around these issues followed and continue until the present day, in which languages usually more or less explicitly play an important role. Among the most famous societal tensions were the 'Bronze Soldier Riots' in Tallinn in 2007 (cf. Brüggemann and Kasekamp 2008) and the referendum on Russian as a second state language in Latvia in 2012 (Marten and Lazdina 2016; Hanovs 2016; Druviete and Ozolins 2016). Educational policies

regarding languages and general policies of integration continue to be 'hot potatoes' in society, even though knowledge of the titular languages among minorities has steadily increased. A recent example is the 2018 decision by the Saeima, the Latvian parliament, to move further away from the Soviet tradition of the dual-school system comprising Latvian and minority schools by increasing the percentage of schooling in Latvian in minority schools. The future aim is to integrate pupils from all language backgrounds in the same schools, in order to avoid segregation of the population on ethnic or linguistic grounds in future generations and to ensure sufficient knowledge of Latvian among children who speak other languages at home. This will involve mother tongue education as well as classes on literature and culture, and thereby respect the right of acquiring minority languages. Remarkably, societal protests by Russian L1-speakers about the Latvian educational reform have-in contrast to, for instance, the reform of 2004-been limited and largely restricted to small groups of extremists. This indicates that acceptance of Latvian as the main language of society and education has grown but is subject to other languages enjoying support in other ways. This corresponds to findings by Dilāns and Zepa (2015) who show that, despite previous critiques by Russian-speaking communities, educational reforms have succeeded to increase Latvian skills among Russian L1-users considerably in recent vears.

Today, almost 30 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Soviet Union and almost 15 years after accession of the Baltic states to the European Union (which forced the Baltic states to rediscuss some of its language policies, cf. Hogan-Brun 2008), multilingualism and minorities therefore continue to be important topics in societal debates in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The many historical layers that shape language practices, ideologies and policies, are a common denominator characterizing the three countries. In spite of historical and contemporary differences and separate developments, there are still many fundamentally similar issues with regard to languages in Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. As the major languages of society, the national languages are today grouped with English, a relative newcomer to the region, and Russian. Both English and Russian function as *linguae francae*—English in globalized communication with the world and by increasing communities of ex-pats and other recent migrants, at least in the major cities, and as a largely 'neutral' language; Russian both in communication with other countries of the former Soviet Union and as the L1 of the most sizeable linguistic and/or ethnic minorities. Post-Soviet societal transformation, ideologies, language practices and policies in this sense justify in many respects the continuing view of the Baltic states as a single unit, and for political and academic actors in the Baltic states there is also the advantage of being more visible in global circles when Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia are not discussed separately.

In light of these historical and current trajectories of languages, multilingualism and groups of speakers, the idea underlying this book is for it to serve as a coherent collection of recent case studies presenting up-to-date work on some of the most prevalent topics of linguistic diversity, societal discourses and interaction between majorities and minorities in the Baltic states. The case studies unite some of the most recent approaches to research in the field and thereby contribute to a methodological understanding of how to conduct research. Approaches, methods and research paradigms include folk linguistics, discourse analysis, labelling theory, narrative analyses and assessment tools, transnationalism applied to analysing media practices, code alternation, research on language beliefs and attitudes, linguistic landscapes, ethnographic observations, language-learning motivation, languages in education and language acquisition. The chapters cover the titular languages, Russian, English, German, Polish and the regional languages of Latgalian and Voro. At the same time, the book also serves as a general introduction to issues of language and society in the Baltic states, not only from the perspectives of some of the most renowned scholars in linguistics and related disciplines in the Baltics, but also including the work of some promising scholars of the next generation. The readers of this book will likely be a mixture of academics and students interested in multilingualism, language discourses, language policy and related fields in Northern and Eastern Europe as well as in contrastive sociolinguistic analyses. Moreover, scholars and students from such fields as history, political science, sociology or anthropology focused on the Baltic states, Northern Europe and the post-Soviet world in addition to practitioners should find the book a useful reference for the provision

of background information. We believe that this diversity of issues of multilingualism in the Baltic states deserves to be on the agenda of an international audience and hope that this book contributes to keeping the Baltic states in the centre of attention in linguistic circles and to encouraging a balanced academic discussion of language issues in the Baltic states.

2 Multilingualism in the Baltic States: Research Paradigms and Contexts

Case studies on different aspects of individual languages and communities in the Baltic states have regularly been published in recent decades. Yet, with a few noticeable exceptions, studies about multilingualism in the Baltic states have mostly appeared as individual research papers. Others are parts of collections published for local audiences within Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania (i.e., they are barely accessible to a readership without knowledge of the national languages in the Baltics). Journals which publish in English such as the Journal of Baltic Studies cover a much broader range of topics and only occasionally focus on issues of multilingualism, sociolinguistics or other language issues (most famously, the comprehensive 2005 Baltic Sociolinguistic Review special issue with detailed historical accounts of each country as well as comments on the contemporary situation; Hogan-Brun 2007a; Verschik 2007; Metuzāle-Kangere and Ozolins 2007; Hogan-Brun et al. 2007). In some respects our book can therefore be described as a continuity of this special issue as well as of the 10-year-old book Language Politics and Practices in the Baltic States (Hogan-Brun et al. 2008). Our book should be regarded as an addition to existing high-value titles, but broadens the scope, shifts the focus, provides an overview of current topics and, most significantly, allows for a more current perspective.

The book highlights the important research paradigms of the past two decades which not only have inspired it, but which the book also wishes to complement with additional perspectives. The most important context of international publications has been to look at languagerelated issues in the Baltic states in light of changes in the linguistic 8

composition of society after more than 40 years of de facto incorporation in the Soviet Union. The linguistic aspects of societal changes have been investigated from the perspective of post-Soviet or former Eastern Bloc countries and their societal transformation after 1990-for example, the issue dedicated to Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries by the International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism (see Pavlenko 2008 for an introduction to the issue; see also Pavlenko 2013) or more recently the 2015 Special Issue of Sociolinguistic Studies on Post-Soviet Identities (Zabrodskaja and Ehala 2015) and the book entitled Sociolinguistic Transition in Former Eastern Bloc Countries: Two Decades After the Regime Change (Sloboda et al. 2016). In contrast, there are books in which sociolinguistic issues in the Baltic states have been researched from the perspective of the current language situation in Europe-for example, Negotiating Linguistic Identity: Language and Belonging in Europe (Vihman and Praakli 2013). Addressing language, identity and language policies all over Europe, some of the chapters in that book look at the Baltic states in particular-for example, on language contacts in Estonia (Verschik 2013) or on Russian speakers in all three Baltic countries (Ehala 2013). General overviews on languages in the Baltic states from specific historical points of view are also occasionally provided by individual articles such as Kreslins (2003) or Tarvas (2015) who reconstructs multilingualism among the intellectual elite in Tallinn in the early modern period.

Language policies and underlying ideologies continue to be among the most dominant topics in publications on languages in the Baltic states (e.g., Siiner 2006; Hogan-Brun et al. 2008; Vihalemm and Hogan-Brun 2013a), and they dominate many of the language-related debates in Baltic societies today. Ozolins writes in chapter " Language Policy, External Political Pressure and Internal Linguistic Change: The Particularity of the Baltic Case" of two largely contradictory discourses which, in spite of all attempts to maintain academic neutrality, often overshadow publications. On the one hand, many scholars from the Baltic states (e.g., Druviete 1997; Veisbergs 2013) argue that nation-building through a single state language is legitimate; language in this understanding serves as a tool of societal integration of different linguistic groups as in other nation states such as Germany or France

in which sufficient skills in the national language are considered a prerequisite for civic participation. In this understanding a Reversal of Language Shift has taken place during the past three decades which has enabled Baltic societies to (at least partly) reverse the consequences of Soviet dominance. This view stands in opposition to studies which have taken (sometimes quite radical) perspectives of minority rights, often by scholars from outside the area or with a Russian-speaking background. Among the ever-underlying ultimate questions are to which degree nation-building based on a common language and culture is still adequate in the twenty-first century, or whether Soviet-time migrants to the Baltics should politically and morally be compared to autochthonous minorities in other parts of the world, or rather be treated in line with, say, twentieth-century Turkish- or Arabic-speaking migrants to Western Europe, which would imply, for instance, that the principles of the Council of Europe's Charter of Regional or Minority Languages would not apply to these groups.

At the same time, studies dealing with policies are not restricted to macro-perspectives of society as a whole. Between many rather polarizing voices in language policy discourses, there are also studies which try to understand nuances, which apply individual perspectives and compromise views and try to paint sociolinguistic realities in more balanced ways, thereby aiming to do justice to the needs of different social groups and to contribute to social integration. Silner et al. (2017) summarize different approaches to language policies in Estonia. Questions of ethnic and linguistic identity and of belonging to Baltic societiesparticularly in regard to Russian (L1) speakers-have gained considerable attention in recent years, pointing to the diversity of identities of people who often see themselves as belonging to the Estonian, Latvian or Lithuanian states, but not always as fully accepted members of society (e.g., Zabrodskaja 2015; Muiznieks et al. 2013). A recent overview of speakers of Lithuanian, Polish and Russian in Lithuania is also provided by Kostiučenko (2016). Berezinka (2017, 2018) analyses how local public bodies in Estonia try to find compromises between sticking to the official regulations and accommodating the needs of the population. In recent years, family language policies have increasingly been examined, in particular from the perspectives of multilingual families

and their practices (cf. Schwartz and Verschik 2013). The ecolinguistic situation of the Baltic states has also been investigated from numerous perspectives through linguistic landscape studies (Pošeiko 2015; Lazdiņa 2013; Marten 2010, 2012; Marten and Saagpakk 2017; Zabrodskaja 2014; Soler-Carbonell 2016). Such a research approach is taken up in chapter "Glocal Commercial Names in the Linguistic Landscape of the Baltic States" of this book by Pošeiko and chapter "The Multilingual Landscape of Higher Education in the Baltic States: Exploring Language Policies and Practices in the University Space" by Soler.

Studies in the fields of language policies, ideologies and identities are often interdisciplinary. Some of these authors are not linguists, but languages are at the core of their work in such fields as sociology or political sciences, often connected through discourse analysis or similar language-related approaches. Hanovs (2016) applies a postcolonial perspective to the post-Soviet situation-interestingly, authors such as Saagpakk (2015) and Ijabs (2013) similarly use postcolonial theory for examining the Baltic-German legacy in post-1918 Estonia and Latvia. Language attitudes are another important aspect of this (e.g., Hogan-Brun and Ramonienė 2008; Priedīte 2008) since policies and practices depend on attitudes to languages-a topic which is taken up in chapter "Regional Dialects in the Lithuanian Urban Space: Skills, Practices and Attitudes" by Ramoniene on dialects in Lithuania, in chapter "How Do Views of Languages Differ Between Majority and Minority? Language Regards Among Students with Latvian, Estonian and Russian as L1" by Marten on national and international languages and in chapter "Latgalian in Latvia: Layperson Regards to Status and Processes of Revitalization" by Lazdina on Latgalian. From a more sociological perspective of media consumption, Vihalemm and Hogan-Brun (2013b) provide examples of media practices in Estonia and their impact on nation-building and societal integration (taken up in chapter "Multilingualism and Media-Related Practices of Russian-Speaking Estonians" by Vihalemm and Leppik). A general overview of questions about the integration of Russian-speakers in Latvia including the effect of language policies and ideologies is also provided by Ozolina (2016).

Yet, even though politics, history and the debates on the roles of the titular languages vs. Russian very often play at least some kind of

background role in many studies, language-related issues in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been portrayed from a number of very different perspectives as well. Debates on social and political roles of regional varieties have not only generated attention for both Latgalian in Eastern Latvia and Voro in Southern Estonia in particular, for which extensive writings exist, but also with regard to practices and perceptions of dialects (see chapter "Latgalian in Latvia: Layperson Regards to Status and Processes of Revitalization" by Lazdina on Latgalian and chapter "Contested Counting? What the Census and Schools Reveal About Voro in Southeastern Estonia" by Brown and Koreinik on Voro in this book; see also Šuplinska and Lazdina (2009) for languages in Eastern Latvia including Latgalian based on the large-scale Survey Latgale conducted between 2006 and 2009, as well as Lazdina et al. 2011; Iannàccaro and Dell'Aquila 2011; Marten 2012; Lazdina and Marten 2012; Marten and Lazdina 2016; for Voro and other South Estonian languages consult the works by the Voro Institute as well as individual publications, e.g., Koreinik et al. 2013, as part of the largescale ELDIA project on Finno-Ugric languages; Koreinik 2016; Brown 2012, 2017). The micro-language of Livonian and its neo-speakers have been investigated from different perspectives by Ernštreits (2012). The Polish sociolinguistic situation in Latvia is, for instance, analysed in Kunicka (2016); for the legal aspects of Polish in Lithuania see Kuzborska (2015). The role of Polish in Lithuania is from a contrastive language policy perspective with Lithuanian in Poland taken up in chapter "Tangled Language Policies—Polish in Lithuania vs. Lithuanian in Poland" by Walkowiak and Wicherkiewicz. In contrast, speakers of the titular languages of the Baltic states have also been investigated as heritage speakers around the world (e.g., Verschik 2014; Šalme 2008).

Another important issue of multilingualism frequently discussed in the Baltic states involves the languages of education—a modernization of practices, debates on curricula, and not least the role of Russian in the continuing segregation of Russian L1-pupils from the titular languages (e.g., Hogan-Brun 2007b; Savickienė and Kalėdaitė 2008; Ramonienė 2006). Such debates continue today, for instance, with regard to current processes of curriculum modernization in Latvia (Lazdiņa 2017). Further, the Baltic states are reacting to the needs of their globalized societies of the twenty-first century and developing skills in international languages (i.e., mostly English). Part of the modernization of language learning takes place through content and language integrated learning (CLIL) and other methods and is met by a variety of views (Lazdiņa 2015; Karapetjana and Roziņa 2017). An important issue here is how to deal with the needs and perceptions of languages in higher education (see chapter "Languages in Higher Education in Estonia and Latvia: Language Practices and Attitudes" by Kibbermann and chapter "The Multilingual Landscape of Higher Education in the Baltic States: Exploring Language Policies and Practices in the University Space" by Soler; see also Soler and Vihman 2018; Soler and Marten, forthcoming). For Lithuania the dilemma brought about by the ideology of securing sufficient skills in the national language and the needs of internationalization has been discussed by Bulajeva and Hogan-Brun (2014). At the same time, research on individual multilingualism has also been carried out from the perspective of the linguistic development of multilingual children (Dabašinskienė and Kalėdaitė 2012)-chapter "Lithuanian as L2: A Case Study of Russian Minority Children" by Dabašinskienė and Krivickaitė-Leišienė is representative of this branch of research. A relatively new phenomenon in this respect involves migrants from countries that are not post-Soviet nations for whom Russian usually is not applicable as a *lingua franca* and for whom the Baltic states are developing educational and language acquisition policies.

Moving towards a closer examination of language practices by individual people and communities, Hogan-Brun and Ramonienė (2010), for instance, discuss changes in patterns of individual multilingualism. These are reflected in research into languages of international communication, of tourism, *linguae francae* (Marten et al. 2012) and globalization. Relations between language and the economy are discussed by Dabašinskienė (2011) for the economic need of languages in Lithuania and by Lazdiņa (2013) in the case of Latgalian, whereas Eidukevičienė and Johanning-Radžienė (2014) collect the linguistic aspects of German–Lithuanian business contexts. It would certainly be worthwhile to continue such analyses, possibly by adapting the 'Linguanomics' concept (Hogan-Brun 2017) to the Baltic situation. The role of English and Russian is also reflected in work on code-switching (see chapter "Estonian–English Code Alternation in Fashion Blogs: Structure, Norms and Meaning" by Verschik and Kask). Code-switching practices in different contexts are also part of broader studies of language contact (e.g., Verschik 2014, 2017) and contextualized as part of constructing and negotiating identities, particularly in the younger generation (see chapter "Russian and English as Socially Meaningful Resources for Mixed Speech Styles of Lithuanians" by Vaicekauskienė and Vyšniauskienė on young Lithuanians' language practices in social media). Moreover, other languages such as German are analysed from a language ecology point of view (Marten 2017), the latter also in the context of historical multilingualism (Pasewalck et al. 2017).

3 The Chapters in This Book

In this section we briefly present the chapters of this book. The book consists of five parts. After the introduction, the second part focuses on regional varieties and minority languages. The third part discusses issues surrounding Russian and its speakers in the context of other languages. The fourth part looks at the role of international languages in Baltic societies, mostly English, but also other languages. Finally, the chapter constituting the fifth part provides some concluding remarks and future perspectives for Baltic societies in the globalized world of the twentyfirst century.

Chapter "Language Policy, External Political Pressure and Internal Linguistic Change: The Particularity of the Baltic Case" by Uldis Ozolins continues our introduction to the historical and political background of language issues given in this introductory chapter. It does so from a macro-political perspective on tensions over language and criticism of Baltic language policies, in particular in the context of recent political and military events in Ukraine. His overview and examples show the distinctive nature of the Baltic situation where the pressure for changes in language policy has largely come from external sources. In chapter "Latgalian in Latvia: Layperson Regards to Status and Processes of Revitalization", the first chapter of the Part II on **Regional Varieties and Minority Languages**, Sanita Lazdiņa discusses the current sociolinguistic situation of Latgalian. The chapter provides insight into the small rural community of Baltinava in the northern part of Latgale, where Latgalian is used on an everyday basis by the majority of the people. It follows a folk linguistics approach, focusing on self-reflections about languages, local respondents' proficiency, language use and regards (for an explanation of 'language regard' see Preston 2011). In this way the study adds to existing quantitative sociolinguistic surveys about Latgalian which have provided important statistical data but which lack evidence to explain local sociolinguistic processes.

Chapter "Contested Counting? What the Census and Schools Reveal About Võro in Southeastern Estonia" provides insight into another regional variety in the Baltic states. Kara D. Brown and Kadri Koreinik analyse societal discourses about the Võro language in South Estonia. By drawing on qualitative interviews with Võro language teachers and a discourse analysis of pre- and post-2011 census-related newspaper texts, the authors focus on the label 'Võro speaker'. They show how the twenty-first century marks the first time when speakers of Võro are constructed as an official category with some measurable content. This categorization has not, however, succeeded in defining the language in the mindsets of the local population or the educational community which continues its struggle to find appropriate space in schools and in language surveys.

Chapter "Regional Dialects in the Lithuanian Urban Space: Skills, Practices and Attitudes" by Meilutė Ramonienė gives an overview on regional dialects in the Lithuanian urban space. It discusses self-reported use of dialects and attitudes to them, based on characteristics such as aesthetics, usefulness, habit and prestige. The author's research shows that the domains of traditional dialect use in everyday communication and attitudes towards dialects are beginning to change in bigger cities as well as in smaller regional towns. One of the most significant factors in the (non)use of dialects are age and strength of regional identity which differ noticeably in the different ethnographic regions of Lithuania. Chapter "Tangled Language Policies—Polish in Lithuania vs. Lithuanian in Poland" connects to the previous chapter on multilingualism in Lithuania by discussing the role of Polish as a minority language in Lithuania, while at the same time contrasting it to the situation of Lithuanian in Poland. In their sociolinguistic analysis of the effects of minority-language policies, Justyna Walkowiak and Tomasz Wicherkiewicz concentrate on the role of minority languages in the domains of religion, education, the media, the linguistic landscape, minority legislation and personal and place names. In this context the authors discuss the prospects of language maintenance, the legal framework for it, and how issues of identity and power relations are reflected in the presence of Lithuanian and Polish on both sides of the state border.

The Part III, entitled **Integration of the Russian Language and Its Speakers into Baltic Societies**, begins with chapter "Lithuanian as L2: A Case Study of Russian Minority Children" by Ineta Dabašinskienė and Eglė Krivickaitė-Leišienė, which is based on a study of children in Lithuania for whom Lithuanian is the second language. The chapter's main aim is to discuss the general linguistic performance of two groups of preschool children—monolingual Lithuanian vs. a group of sequential Russian–Lithuanian bilinguals—on the grounds of a narrative production (elicitation) test. Some major differences between the bilingual and monolingual groups could be identified, particularly by an analysis of code-switching patterns and by error analysis. The results show that bilingual children who live in cities where the Lithuanian language is dominant performed better on the micro-structure level than children from a more multilingual environment—which the authors discuss in the contexts of language exposure and dominance.

Chapter "Multilingualism and Media-Related Practices of Russian-Speaking Estonians" by Triin Vihalemm and Marianne Leppik presents research on Russian-speakers in Estonia, based on census and survey data which explain connections between social involvement and monoand multilingual media practices. The data are analysed within the framework of transnationalism theory, investigating how language skills, media practices and social involvement interact. The survey shows that Estonian and English-language skills are important factors contributing to the formation of media-related practices. Later in the chapter the authors examine how diverse information sources and personal networks have created confusion among Russian-speaking Estonians regarding their views of the current political crisis in Ukraine. The transnationalism approach enables the authors to reflect on conditions of individuals' inbetweenness.

The last chapter in Part III, chapter "How Do Views of Languages Differ Between Majority and Minority? Language Regards Among Students with Latvian, Estonian and Russian as L1", by Heiko F. Marten, discusses language regards among students in Estonia and Latvia. Survey data show that languages are in general considered to be of high importance for young people in these two countries. The motivation for language learning is overwhelmingly practical (i.e., students choose languages according to their perceived usefulness at work, for travelling, or for media consumption). The chapter focuses on differences between respondents who speak Estonian or Latvian as L1 and those with Russian as L1. For instance, Russian is valued to a much lesser degree by L1-speakers of Estonian than by L1-speakers of Latvian. The author concludes that societal integration takes place in Estonia through acculturation of Russian-speakers to Estonian, whereas in Latvia there is a more equal balance between views by L1-speakers of Latvian and Russian.

Anna Verschik's and Helin Kask's chapter "Estonian–English Code Alternation in Fashion Blogs: Structure, Norms and Meaning" is the first chapter of Part IV on **English and Other Languages in the Globalized Societies of the Baltic States**. The authors have studied contact-induced bilingual phenomena in young Estonians' blogs dealing with topics highly affected by English (e.g., fashion and lifestyle). The authors focus on code alternation between English and Estonian and argue that the presence of code alternation and insertions cannot be explained only by proficiency in and attitudes towards English. Semantic categories, the genre of computer-mediated communication and text type–specific norms are also important factors influencing code alternation. Informal discourses are part of the research for chapter "Russian and English as Socially Meaningful Resources for Mixed Speech Styles of Lithuanians" by Loreta Vaicekauskienė and Inga Vyšniauskienė. The authors emphasize how the status of Russian and English as the two main non-native linguistic resources for Lithuanians has changed in recent times. English has gained considerable value in the community, despite the fact that higher levels of access have been limited to speakers of relatively young ages (i.e., to those who were born during the last decade of the Soviet occupation or in independent Lithuania). The chapter discusses adolescents' daily interactions with their peers and adults by social networking on Facebook. The chapter focuses on informal code mixing which includes various elements from Russian and English in an otherwise Lithuanian text.

Solvita Pošeiko's chapter "Glocal Commercial Names in the Linguistic Landscape of the Baltic States" discusses some of the main findings of the author's linguistic landscape project conducted in nine medium-sized cities in the Baltic states—in particular, with regard to ergonyms (i.e., the names of institutions or companies). The data show that these ergonyms carry out representative, promotional and informative language functions, most of which are connected with commercial discourse, mainly with local businesses, revealing the role of private actors in shaping the linguistic landscape. Monolingual ergonyms dominate, with the titular languages of each country used most frequently, followed by English. However, there is also a significant number of bilingual and multilingual ergonyms which are indicative of the multilingual and heterogeneous character of Baltic societies.

The last two chapters in this part discuss languages in higher education. Kerttu Kibbermann shows in chapter "Languages in Higher Education in Estonia and Latvia: Language Practices and Attitudes" that, although the institutions of higher education in Estonia and Latvia mainly function in Estonian and Latvian respectively, the international nature of tertiary education has brought these languages into contact with others, mainly English, but also Russian. The chapter reveals some of the reasons why different languages are used in Estonian and Latvian higher education, and casts light on the language attitudes of students. Interviews indicate that, while the overall language situation in academia seems to be quite similar in the two countries, language practices and attitudes tend to differ, depending on the interviewees' exposure to different languages in university settings.

Kibbermann's chapter is complemented by Josep Soler's chapter "The Multilingual Landscape of Higher Education in the Baltic States: Exploring Language Policies and Practices in the University Space" which explores language policies and practices in the linguistic landscapes of the University of Tartu, the University of Latvia and Vilnius University. In light of increasing internationalization of academic life, the chapter analyses the number and quality of languages in these 'eduspaces', their relative distribution, and discusses whether and how a balance between English and the national languages is met. In particular, the chapter focuses on how state and institutional language policies are—sometimes conflictingly—met by practices on the ground.

The book concludes with Part V, which consists of chapter "National State and Multilingualism: Contradiction in Terms?". This chapter takes an outside look at the important topics of multilingualism in the Baltic states. Christian Giordano contextualizes types of nationalism—focusing on the French and the German models of nationhood. He argues that either model ultimately favours monolingualism—the chapters in this book have shown, however, that the Baltic states, in spite of strong political efforts of nation-building since the re-establishment of independence, are far from being monolingual.

In this sense the summarizing chapter is a strong plea for accepting and cherishing existing patterns and practices of multilingualism in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

The year 2018 marks the 100th anniversary of statehood in the Baltics—multilingualism has to different degrees and in various ways played its part in these 100 years. It is the aim of this book to high-light important contemporary research and thoughts on this Baltic type of multilingualism. In the spirit of the diversity of perspectives on languages which are represented in this book, it asks that the legitimate wish of safeguarding the national languages be respected after centuries in which their roles have regularly been questioned—while at the same time accommodating to the needs of a population that is increasingly diverse and uses linguistic repertoires in numerous creative ways.

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