Attitudes towards Foreign Language Use and Perceptions of L2 Speaker Identity in Modern Lithuania

by

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January 4th, 2016

Contents

Abstract

This paper sets out to investigate Lithuanians' attitudes towards foreign languages in the light of political, cultural, and historical situation that Lithuania witnessed during the turn from the 20th to the 21st century. The aim of this paper is twofold: 1) to determine what type of identities Lithuanians ascribe to speakers with foreign accents and 2) to establish the motivations behind choosing Lithuanian versus foreign languages in daily life. The research that was carried out in Lithuania consisted of two parts. The first part of the research used attitudinal study and the second part used a questionnaire distributed around Lithuania. These tools were used to assess Lithuanian opinions of six speakers with various accents, and to analyse the rationale for choosing either the mother tongue or a foreign language in different situations. The results showed that the attitudes towards foreign speakers of Lithuanian differ between the capital city and the smaller town chosen for this study, and that the main reason for choosing Lithuanian over foreign languages in daily settings is more often based on the emphasis of national identity. The findings also suggest that while for the respondents in the smaller town chosen for this study, a standard Lithuanian speaker was an ultimate example of a successful person, the respondents in the capital city saw an American speaker of Lithuanian as the most prosperous individual.

1. Introduction

In highly globalised world, where there are more than 6,000 active languages, the notion of multilingualism has been a central topic for many linguists. Multilingualism can be understood differently by various people, depending on the society in which the concept is used. For example, the concept of multilingualism in Europe may have different connotations than the same notion in African or Pacific regions. While one country may have a vast amount of official languages, to cite one example, the Constitution of South Africa declares 11 languages in total as the official languages of the Republic (Meyerhof 2006: 105), an other state may have just one official language, with an opportunity to learn a foreign language as a second tongue. This is the case in Germany, for example, where 95% of the population speaks German as their first language (BBC).

The central topic of this work is the notion of multilingualism in contemporary Lithuania. After regaining its independence from the Soviet Union in 1990 and joining the European Union in 2004, Lithuania took a significant step towards establishing its place in the Western family of nations. The described situation aroused the researcher' interest in analysing whether Lithuania, as one of the countries that saw the collapse of the Soviet Union, is becoming more globalised, not only politically and economically, but also linguistically.

1.1. Historical background and linguistic situation in Lithuania

In order to better understand the attitudes of Lithuanians towards their mother tongue, it is necessary to look at the historical background of the nation. Due to the fact that previously Lithuanian was occupied or oppressed by other nations for years or even for centuries, some Lithuanians view their national identity as inseparable from their linguistic identity because language served as a symbol of independence in times of oppression. Since the 19th century, when the similarity between Lithuanian and Sanskrit was noticed, Lithuanians have taken a particular pride in their mother tongue as the oldest living Indo-European language. The French linguist of the early twentieth century, Antoine Meillet, claimed that anyone who wanted to listen to the sound of old Indo-European should approach a Lithuanian farmer (Savickienė & Kalėdaitė 2005: 443). One of the keys to Lithuanian history and language was the determination of the majority of Lithuanians to survive in the face of extreme oppression by foreign rulers.

The Lithuanian nation emerged from the conglomerate of Baltic tribes to become a unified Lithuanian state in the 13th century. Lithuanian was attested in writing from the beginning of the 16th century onwards (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 44). The Union of Lublin in 1569 which united Poland and Lithuania into a commonwealth resulted in a marked Polonization of the Lithuanian upper classes and some Polonization of the peasantry through a combination of Polish

culture and the practical benefits of adopting the Polish language. Despite this, the Lithuanian language survived among some of the peasantry and lesser nobility, Lithuanian folk culture resisted assimilation, and Lithuanian-language books continued to be published (Lane 2014: xix).

By the second half of the 19th century, during Tsarist times Lithuanian was prohibited in public administration, secondary schools and in courts (Druviete 2000). All publications in the Lithuanian language had to be printed in Cyrillic script during the Russification period from 1864 to 1904 (Hogan-Brun et al. 2005: 347). Numerous texts in the Latin alphabet were nevertheless produced abroad, and smuggled across the border. As it had never been used before as an official language, and rarely used in writing (the main exception being religious literature), the formation of standard Lithuanian was a slow process. The foundations of present-day standard Lithuanian were laid in the 1880s, by a publicist named Jonas Jablonskis who was actively involved in the Lithuanian national revival and insisted that literary Lithuanian should be purged of foreign elements (ibid.).

The final codification of standard Lithuanian was only possible after the establishment of an independent state in 1918 (Dahl & Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 44). Recent language issues in this area, however, also represent a continuation of the much longer historical context of changing language regimes: over the course of the 20th century alone, a few different major language regimes can be said to have had significant influence in Lithuania. The intense Russification in Tsarist times, and the return of Russification tendencies in the first period of Soviet occupation from 1940-1941 had negative consequences on Lithuanian language retention. This process of Russification was followed by the imposition of German during Nazi occupation in 1941-1944 (Hogan-Brun et al. 2008: 470). Even though it was aimed at imposing the German language on the Lithuanian nation, German did not become a widely adopted language since Nazi occupation did not last for a long period of time. The return of Soviet Russification under the mantle of "the socialist equality of languages" from 1944 until the late 1980s/ early 1990s was the final stroke to the Lithuanian language before the Lithuanian Constitution of 1992 stipulated that "Lithuanian shall be the State language" (Chapter 1, Article 14).

A brief summary of the key facts of Lithuanian history shows that over the course of several centuries, Lithuania had to withstand the processes of Polonization, Germanification, and Russification. After regaining its independence in 1990, Lithuania, a very young state both politically and economically, joined the European Union in 2004, and entered a melting pot of different cultures and nations. Having incurred some recent scars during the fights for freedom, some Lithuanians were not very enthusiastic about joining a politico-economic union that would encourage dialogue and collaboration with the wealthiest and the strongest European nations. According to Tabouret-Keller (1997), members of a group who feel their cultural and political

identity threatened are likely to make particularly assertive claims about the social importance of maintaining or resurrecting their language. This work investigates whether modern Lithuanians are also likely to put an emphasis on retaining and preserving their national language.

2. Literature review

This chapter will review some literature that is valuable to understanding of this research. From describing the status of languages at the end of the 20th century, to moving towards the discussion of multilingualism in the EU, the following sections introduce the political and cultural language situation in Lithuania. Before discussing Social Identity Theory, the relationship between accent, identity, and stereotypes in linguistic discourse will be described. Then, the concept of globalisation in the sociolinguistic setting will be considered. Lastly, an attitudinal study with an emphasis on the verbal guise technique will be discussed in detail.

2.1. Eastern Europe: status of languages at the end of the 20th century

Having looked at some historical facts that resulted in the establishment of Lithuanian as the official language of Lithuania, it is important to review the political situation in Eastern Europe at the end of the 20th century, in order to understand the symbolic power of ethnic languages in the newly formed Eastern European States.

During the transformation process that took place in Central and Eastern Europe during the 1990s, the taboo of inviolability of state borders, which had dominated the political post-World War II order in Europe, was abandoned, and large multilingual entities disintegrated into new states that considered themselves nation-states. This disintegration created new majority-minority relationships, and resulted in a reordering of the status of the languages spoken and written in the successor states to entities such as the Yugoslav Federation, the Soviet Union, and the Czechoslovak Republic. Languages that had formerly been dominant state languages became minority languages, with low status in certain contexts (for instance Russian in the Baltic States), and former regional or minority languages were raised to the status of official languages (like Lithuanian in the Lithuanian Republic). Alongside the flag, the coat of arms, the national anthem, and other insignia, the state language was considered a central element in the affirmation of "new" national identities (Busch 2010: 182).

To summarise, the Lithuanian language is for a Lithuanian not only a state language, but also something that carries a symbolic meaning of freedom and national identity. Nevertheless, with the spread of globalisation, new Eastern European countries had to strike a balance between establishing policies for a new state language and at the same time entering into a highly advanced Western family of nations, which resulted in the active learning of foreign languages. This research

tries to determine whether at the present moment, after being part of the EU for 11 years, Lithuanians see their language as the main language for communication or if they also acknowledge other languages as a tool for daily interactions.

2.2. Multilingualism in the European Union

It is important to review the language policy of the EU in order to get a general picture of the cultural situation in which Lithuania found itself after joining the EU. Before describing the policy of multilingualism in Europe, the general concept of multilingualism will be presented.

Franceschini (2009) suggests that the definition of multilingualism is intended to be dynamic in nature. While Edwards strictly claims that multilingualism is "he ability to speak, at some level, more than one language" (1994: 33), Franceschini, with her more contemporary approach, states that "the term/concept multilingualism is to be understood as the capacity of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to engage on a regular basis in space and time with more than one language in everyday life" (2009: 33).

There are currently 24 official languages of the EU. The Commission of the European Communities released an Action Plan for 2004 – 2006, which promotes language learning and linguistic diversity within the EU. The document declares that "every European citizen should have meaningful communicative competence in at least two other languages in addition to his or her mother tongue" (p. 4). What is more, the Action Plan promotes life-long language learning, based on the assumption that language competencies are part of the core of skills that every citizen needs for training, employment, cultural exchange, and personal fulfilment. A number of EU funding programmes actively promote language learning and linguistic diversity.

Uniting the nations of Europe while fully respecting their cultural and linguistic diversity, creating a synthesis of European countries, and not simply a fusion of them (Sosonis 2005: 40) are principles that completely oppose those that Lithuania witnessed as a member of the USSR. The Bolshevik policy towards minority nationalities after the Russian Revolution of 1917 called *korenizatsiia* (nativization) was designed to unite all the nations of the USSR into a single socialist community with a uniform national culture.

During the course of less than fifteen years, Lithuania underwent some very different historical, cultural, and linguistic transitions: from being part of the USSR, where due to the process of Russification the nation was encouraged to be monolingual, to establishing a sovereign nation state with Lithuanian as its official language, to finally joining the EU, where linguistic diversity is respected and multilingualism is highly encouraged. Therefore, the research applies the attitudinal study in an attempt to investigate whether Lithuanians have been able to adjust to their rapidly

changing circumstances and develop positive attitudes towards foreign languages, or if their mind-set is directed solely towards preserving their national language. The notion of "attitude" as well as an elaborate description of the attitudinal study will be presented in section 2.7.

2.3. Accent and identity

In the light of the previously described historical, political, and cultural situation in Lithuania, this study analyses the current linguistic situation in the target country through the medium of both foreign languages and foreign accents, and applies it to the notion of identity. Therefore, this section will present existing studies conducted in the field of sociolinguistics, namely focusing on the relationship between accent and identity.

There has been a considerable amount of literature written regarding the relationship between language and identity. This literature discusses the symbolic function of language in forming identity as was seen in the case of Ireland (Hoyt 1996), considers the correlation between language and national identity (Quirk 2000), and analyses the relationship between language and identity from the perspective of second language acquisition (Norton 2010). The language somebody speaks and his or her identity as a speaker of this language are inseparable. Language features are the link that binds individual and social identities together. The link between language and identity is often so strong that a single feature of language use suffices to identify someone's membership in a given group (Tabouret-Keller 1997: 317).

When linguists talk about accents, they are referring only to how speakers pronounce words, whereas they use the term "dialect" to refer to distinctive features at the level of pronunciation, vocabulary, and sentence structure. Myerhof (2006) argues that accent is a linguistic phenomenon where two speakers' grammar may be wholly or largely the same, and they differ at the level of pronunciation only. Accent, in particular, is often seen as making up an important part of one's identity (Jenkins 2000). As Smith and Dalton (2000) state, accent helps identify speaker's identity most immediately. Smakman (2014: 7) observes that pronunciation is generally deemed a vital aspect of language production, evaluation, and perception, which has an important social value and is strongly related to prestige and image.

Sociolinguistically, identity is viewed as a socially constituted, reflexive, dynamic product of the social, historical and political contexts of an individual's lived experiences (Hall 2013: 31). There is a substantial amount of literature written about foreign accented speech (see for instance Munro & Derwing 1995; Magen 1998; Clarke & Garrett 2004); however the focal topic in this research is the relationship between accent and identity.

In her study, Marx (2002) focused on learners' shifts in accent, in both native and second language, and the development of a new linguistic and cultural identity accompanied by changes to a former L1 identity. The study was based on a first-person account of her experiences as a language learner who moved to an L2 environment as a young adult and lived there for over three years, becoming a legitimate participant in the new culture. The results showed that bilinguals often experience a more pronounced division of identities, and the challenge is to learn to navigate between their two cultures. Lippi-Green (2012), in her study on the relationship between accented speech and identity, discovered that when native speakers of American English are confronted with an accent that is foreign to them, either unfamiliar varieties of English or foreign (L2) accented English, they immediately make assumptions about the speaker's identity, which might affect the outcome of the communicative situation. A recent study carried out by Sung (2014) in Hong Kong investigated the attitudes of a group of bilingual speakers of English and Chinese concerning issues surrounding accent, identity, and English as a lingua franca. Among the participants who preferred to use a local accent of English, their preference was not necessarily motivated by the need for expressing their lingua-cultural identity, but primarily by pragmatic considerations, such as not having access to the necessary materials that might have helped them acquire another kind of accent. It was also found that some participants' desire to speak English with a native-like accent was associated with their wish to present a confident self-image of bilingual speakers of English. Smakman (2014) states that sounding like a native speaker can be quite useful, practical, and enjoyable, however, it can also have several drawbacks. The scholar notes that imitations of native speakers may be regarded as awkward to these same native speakers, and people generally want to know what the native tongues and culture of the person they are talking to are, as this defines the language level that can be used, as well as the range of possible conversation topics (ibid.).

This paper discusses whether foreign accents play an important role in attributing certain social and character features, as well as shaping a speaker's identity in Lithuania. The following chapter will describe the relationship between accents and stereotypes, concentrating on the role of accent in stereotype formation.

2.4. Accents and stereotypes

Research assumes that we form perceptions of people with accented speech based on stereotypes held about that ethnic group (Gill 1994). Since this research analyses people's attitudes towards Lithuanian speech with different foreign accents, it is necessary to look at the relationship between accented speech and stereotypes.

A stereotype is a socially shared belief that describes an attitude object in an oversimplified and undifferentiated manner, that is, the public opinion of society in general as

contrasted with the opinion of each individual. Stereotypes are very important in the formation of the social climate within which language preferences act (Hauptfleisch 1977: 13).

Maas and Arcuri (1996) claim that language plays an important role in stereotype transmission, cognitive organization, stereotype maintenance, and expression of stereotypical identities. For the analysis of this research, only the last function is relevant and will be discussed in greater detail. The main idea behind stereotypical identities is that intergroup situations tend to activate sociolinguistic stereotypes, such as those associated with male versus female speech, or black versus white speech. De Klerk and Bosch (1995), for example, carried out a study on an attitude survey using a matched-guise technique among speakers of the three main languages of the Eastern Cape: English, Afrikaans, and Xhosa. The scholars investigated the extent to which the speakers in the area were using language and accent to make judgements about individuals, and examined the stereotypical views regarding these languages and their speakers. The results revealed that discrimination against certain people may well be linked to the sort of language they use. Holmes et al. (2001) performed research in New Zealand where they re-examined negative attitudes of Pākehā towards Māori and introduced the analysis of the combined influence of accent and appearance on evaluations. The results showed that the longstanding negative attitudes towards Māori still existed. The study proved that it is very difficult, if even possible at all, to eliminate fixed stereotypes in ethnic communities.

In Lithuania, the only prevailing stereotypes towards speakers of foreign languages are unofficial, and a description of them could be found in the press, such as in popular magazines or tabloids. Applying an attitudinal study, this research is the first of its kind in Lithuania, as it analyses and determines the official stereotypes of speakers with accented speech.

2.5. Social identity theory

For this research, social identity theory is important for describing the basis on which Lithuanians make their assumptions when dividing speakers of their mother tongue and foreign languages into groups.

Beginning in the 1970s, the social psychologist Henri Tajfel investigated the foundation and maintenance of minimal groups with his students and colleagues. The minimal group paradigm (Tajfel et al. 1971) has been used to demonstrate that simply being placed into two distinct groups causes intergroup discriminations favouring the ingroup. In a series of experimental studies, Tajfel and his colleagues demonstrated how easy it is to divide people into groups on the basis of unimportant criteria (for example, expressing a preference for one of two painters, neither of whom had previously been heard of), and how subsequent behaviour (for example, treating another member of your group more positively than you do an "out-group" individual) is affected by

this. Once boundaries have been created – either in a social laboratory or in the real world – group membership per se becomes important (Edwards 2009: 25). Tajfel and his scholarly descendants then proposed "social identity theory", which rests on the assumption that besides our uniquely personal sense of self, we also have social identities based upon the various groups to which we belong (ibid. p.27). As Turner and Reynolds (2010) argued, Tajfel put forward the hypothesis that people are in need of a positive social identity and they believe that in order to preserve, maintain, or achieve a positive social identity they must establish a positively valued distinctiveness for their own groups in comparison to other groups.

When looking at social identity and relationships between individuals in a social group, it is also important to discuss how individuals order their social environment, encompassing the immediate physical surroundings, social relationships, and cultural milieus within which defined groups of people function and interact (Barnett & Casper 2001). For the purpose of this discussion, the process of social categorization is relevant for brief consideration. According to Tajfel (2010), social categorization, as it is used by the human individual in order to systematise and simplify his environment, presents certain theoretical continuities, from the role played by categorising in perceptual activities to its role in the ordering of one's social environment. Hence, social categorization can be understood as the ordering of a social environment in terms of groupings of people in a manner that makes sense to the individual. The cognitive "mechanisms" of categorization are particularly important in all social divisions between "us" and "them" – that is, in all social categorizations in which distinctions are made between the individual's own group and the outgroups which are compared or contrasted to it.

In this paper, the relationship between "us" and "them" in social groups (where "us" indicates Lithuanians and "them" indicates foreign speakers) is described by applying social identity theory to the current situation in Lithuania. This research tries to determine to what extent Lithuanians react positively to their own group compared to the group of "foreigners". Moreover, this research attempts to investigate how social identity theory fits in with the setting of a highly globalised world, where various peoples are merging together and crossing different national borders more and more frequently.

2.6. Globalisation

In the light of the debates on the emergence of the global lingua franca (Rajagopalan 2008; Crystal 2010, Jenkins & Leung 2013), the current research concentrates on the issue of whether or not globalisation leads to revitalizing and preserving local languages and ethnic identities. Before moving towards Blommaert's (2010) proposed approach of considering the notion of globalisation from the

sociolinguistic point of view, which is also the central approach for this study, it is necessary to examine the general definitions of globalisation.

The highly complex sets of changes that have recently been referred to as "globalisation", in the dictionaries are defined in general and abstract terms. For instance, *Macmillan Dictionary.com* defines globalisation as "the idea that the world is developing a single economy and culture as a result of improved technology and communications and the influence of very large multinational companies"[1]. *A Dictionary of Media and Communication* (Chandler & Munday 2011) defines this term as "a planet-wide systematic interrelationship of all social ties so that no given relationship or set of relationships can remain isolated or bounded and consequently geographical boundaries become unsustainable". Fairclough presents a very thorough description of the term, and says that globalization can be associated with

> Flows of goods and money and international financial and trading networks in the economic field; inter-governmental networks and interdependencies and interactions and interconnections between international agencies [...] and government agencies at national and regional levels; the mobility of people as migrants, tourists or members of commercial or governmental organizations; flows of images and representations and interactions through contemporary media and forms of technology (2009: 318).

To summarise the above definitions, it is important to mention that the emergent globalising discourse considers the economy a key factor in the valorisation of linguistic practices , and promotes multilingualism, cultural and linguistic diversity, and the commercialization of cultural and linguistic resources (Bush 2010: 192-93). Therefore, homogenization in language use is much more difficult to implement today under the conditions of globalisation, where communication and media flows have become more diverse and multi-directional than in previous times when communication was organised around a national public sphere (ibid. p.193).

Despite this, Blommaert (2010) states that the process of globalisation from a sociolinguistic point of view is not easy definable. Blommaert claims that people make a crucial mistake when trying to make a distinction between language and globalisation, language and culture, language and society, etc. Blommaert (2010: 3), on the contrary, proposes a sociolinguistic approach to globalisation that looks at linguistic phenomena from within the social, cultural, political, and historical context of which they are a part; one that considers language as organized not just in a linguistic system but in a sociolinguistic system, the rules and dynamics of which cannot

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[1] See Globalisation [Def.1] in References

be automatically derived by considering their linguistic features, and one that also examines language in an attempt to understand society.

Taking the definitions of globalisation that were proposed by Fairclough (2009) and Bush (2010) as a starting point, and moving towards Blommaert's (2010) more elaborate concept of globalisation in the discourse of sociolinguistics, this research analyses foreign accents and the role of foreign languages in Lithuania from within cultural, political, and historical contexts. The sociolinguistic research conducted in Lithuania helps bring understanding of the views of Lithuanians towards different languages in a country that has recently become part of a wider globalised network.

2.7. Attitudinal studies

For analysing Lithuanians' attitudes towards foreign languages, the current research was based on attitudinal study. The first part of the research applied verbal guise technique, which will be further discussed in section 2.7.1, and the second part was conducted by distributing a questionnaire. Before discussing the studies on language attitudes, the concept of attitude is presented.

A well-cited definition of attitude was given by Allport (1954), who stated that "attitude" is "a learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way". Oppenheim also incorporated cognitive and behavioural aspects, including in his definition more elaboration on the ways in which attitudes are manifested, thus claiming that an attitude is

> A construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behaviour (1982: 39).

Using these definitions as a starting point, it can be said that an attitude is an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language or a new government policy (Garrett 2010: 20).

Over the past 50 years, a substantial amount of research on attitudes to language variation has emerged around the world and across the disciplines. However, the empirical origins in this area can be traced back to the early 1930s. The study on language attitudes arguably began in 1931 with Pear's classic study inviting BBC audiences in Britain to provide personality profiles of various voices heard on the radio, finding that different forms of the British dialect caused integral changes in person perception. These stereotype-based judgements of voice are, nonetheless,

socially vital and there has been an explosion of research since 1960 showing that people can express definite and consistent attitudes toward speakers who use particular styles of speaking (Giles & Billings 2004: 188-89).

Language attitudes are of interest to researchers both as an individual and a collective phenomenon. Individual attitudes towards language can be distinguished from collective attitudes (such as the attitude of the inhabitants of a country to the official language) to territorial multilingualism and to minority languages. The collective attitude towards languages is a social phenomenon that is determined by a great number of different forces (Christ 1997).

As far as attitudinal language study is concerned, Giles & Billings (2004) distinguish two different attitudinal outcomes regarding accented speech, describing the power of the standard accent and the power of non-standard varieties. Although a standard variety is the one that is most often associated with high socioeconomic status, power, and media usage, and non-standard accented speakers per se attract less prestige than standard accents, research in a number of cultures shows that a status hierarchy differentiating between non-standard varieties is robust (ibid. p. 194). In many contexts, it has been shown that non-standard speakers are evaluated more highly on traits relating to solidarity, integrity, benevolence, and social attractiveness relative to non-standard speakers (Giles & Powesland 1975). In Switzerland, for example, Hogg et al. (1984) found that judges rated High German and Swiss German speakers equivalently on status dimensions, but Swiss Germans more favourably on solidarity traits. In Ireland, a Donegal speaker was rated the most competent of five Irish guises, but a Dublin speaker, who was regarded the lowest in this regard, was considered the highest in social attractiveness (Edwards 1977). In the United States, Luhman (1990) invited Kentucky students to evaluate the personalities of Standard Network American and Kentucky accented speakers. The former were judged to be in the high status/low solidarity quadrant, while Kentucky-accented speakers were found in the low status/high solidarity quadrant.

This research not only focuses on evaluating the listeners' attitudes toward standard versus non-standard Lithuanian, but it also analyses what kind of attitudes Lithuanians have towards their mother tongue (including both standard and non-standard varieties) in comparison with the attitudes towards Lithuanian speech with a foreign accent.

The research focusing on attitudinal language studies done on the Lithuanian language is scarce. The major studies in the field of sociolinguistics and analyses of the sociolinguistic situation in Lithuania have been regularly undertaken by a relatively limited number of linguists in the field (see Grumadienė 2005; Hogan–Brun & Ramonienė 2003; Vaicekauskienė 2012). As far as attitudinal language study is concerned, Hogan-Brunn and Ramonienė (2005) carried out research that investigated attitudes to minority language use and to the state language, and considered the

aspects of linguistic identification in the historically densely multilingual and multi-ethnic areas of eastern and south eastern Lithuania. The results show that attitudes towards Lithuanian in rural areas with a high level of multi-ethnicity are overall favourable and mainly integrative in nature. Vaicekauskienė (2007) examined the attitudes of Lithuanian society towards the language of two conditionally defined subcultures, and considered English borrowings as the indicator of an already formed identity. The outcome of the research demonstrated that language with a high concentration of English borrowings is fairly unanimously related to males under the age of 35, living in a city.

Since the very beginning of the research contributing to language attitude studies, a range of methods have been used to study listener's evaluation of specific languages or language varieties. According to Swan et al. (2004), in additional to the matched guise technique, which was introduced by Lambert (1960) et al., other research related to attitudinal study has focused on speakers' self reports (see for example Marx 2002), or on listeners' identification of speakers' ethnic, social, or regional background, also often referred to as the verbal guise approach, which will be further discussed in the following section. One part of the present study is based on the last method, where listeners are asked to identify speakers' regional and social background supporting their attitudes on the accented speech.

2.7.1 Verbal guise technique

This research applies the verbal guise technique to analyse the attitudes towards the representatives of different languages who are speaking Lithuanian. Ladegaard (2000) describes the verbal guise technique as the evaluation of personal and linguistic characteristics based on speech samples. According to Campbell-Kibler (2006), the verbal guise approach is useful primarily when examining attitudes towards easily conceptualised units of language, for example separate languages, language varieties, or speech in specific geographic areas.

In Egypt, El-Dash & Tucker's (1975) verbal guise study of language attitudes towards Classical Arabic, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, American English, British English, and Egyptian English found significant status differences. Overall, results appeared to point to an Egyptian status hierarchy roughly along the lines of Classical Arabic, then American English, and then British English and Colloquial Arabic. In his study on attitude-behaviour relations in language, Ladegaard (2000) combined general questionnaires with a verbal guise task, as well as correlating these with actual linguistic behaviour, investigating the attitudes and uses of teens in Denmark towards the vernacular in the area. The outcome of this study showed that male subjects exhibit more vernacular features

in their language, and also express more genuinely positive attitudes towards the local vernaculars than do female subjects.

McKenzie (2008), through the employment of a verbal-guise study and techniques incorporated from perceptual dialectology, investigated the attitudes of Japanese university students towards six varieties of English speech. Although the results suggest a particularly favourable attitude towards standard and non-standard varieties of British and American English in terms of "status", respondents expressed greater solidarity with a Japanese speaker with heavily-accented English. In Lithuania, one of the recent studies on shaping a speaker's identity was done by Čekuolytė (2014). She conducted the verbal guise experiment in order to analyse Vilnius adolescents' perception of their peers' linguistic identity. The results showed that, for example, a linguistic feature such as the lengthening of the short vowels in stressed syllables was perceived as an indication of a streetwise identity.

3. Scope of research

A synopsis of the relevant literature indicates that there are many studies that consider the attitudes towards language varieties in different languages. However, none of the investigations provide any analysis of the current opinion towards multilingualism in Lithuanian society. As a result, the current research aims at analysing the attitudes of Lithuanians towards foreign languages in contemporary Lithuania. By relating to Tajfel and Turner's (1979) proposed "social identity theory", the research questions to what extent the "mechanisms" of categorization between "us" and "them" are still applicable in a highly globalised world, presenting the case of Lithuania. In light of this objective, the research consists of two parts and aims to answer three research questions, which are the following:

1. What types of identities are ascribed to speakers with different accents in contemporary Lithuania?
2. What are Lithuanians' motivations for choosing Lithuanian versus foreign languages in daily life?
3. What is the general tendency in Lithuanians' attitudes towards foreign languages?

The first research question was operationalised through an attitudinal study in which Lithuanians expressed their attitudes towards foreign speakers in comparison with the attitudes towards Lithuanian language speakers. In addition, while trying to analyse what types of identities Lithuanians ascribe to the foreigners through the medium of accented language, the study tries to ascertain whether Lithuanians have any prejudiced or stereotypical opinion about people coming from abroad. The second research question was examined through the questionnaire distributed around Lithuania, which helped study whether Lithuanians who live in Lithuania consider the official

language to be the only one in daily situations, or if they also allow other languages to be part of their intercommunication. Finally, the third research question was examined by combining the results of both research parts: the one based on the attitudinal study and the other based on the questionnaire.

4. Methodology

The research consisted of two parts, and applied both qualitative and quantitative approaches in order to analyse to what extent Lithuanians who currently live in Lithuania have positive or negative attitudes towards foreign languages. The qualitative part of the research was based on the attitudinal study, and the quantitative part relied on the questionnaire distributed throughout Lithuania. The methodology of both parts of the study will be discussed separately in the following sections.

4.1. Part one

In the first part of the study 20 respondents were asked to listen to six recordings and answer nine questions after each recording. In this part of the research, six speakers from four different countries (France, Spain, the United States, and Lithuania) were recorded. All of the speakers except one are current residents of Lithuania.

4.1.1. Recordings

In the recordings, the foreign speakers were asked to speak Lithuanian. In order to analyse to what extent Lithuanians react positively or negatively towards the foreign speech in comparison with the attitudes towards Lithuanian speech, there were also two recordings of native Lithuanian speakers inserted. One of the speakers spoke in a dialect and the other was asked to speak standard Lithuanian. The speakers were asked to answer the questions regarding their childhood memories, such as describing the house they grew up in or describing their primary school teacher, as well as to discuss their hobby or future dreams. According to Labov (1972: 208), reminiscing or dreaming leads to less monitored speech since speakers are deeply involved emotionally at these times. The interviews were edited into short clips of approximately 20 seconds for each speaker. If the speakers mentioned any names of the cities or countries of their origin (facts that needed to remain unknown in the recorded speech), those pieces of information were excluded from the edited recordings.

4.1.2. Speakers

Before the interviews began, the speakers were asked to fill out a short questionnaire about their age, regional background, educational level, profession and the approximate amount of time spent living in Lithuania. Speaker 1 is originally from France and has been living in Lithuania for about ten years. Speaker 2 comes from Spain and has lived in Lithuania for more than twenty years. Speaker 3 was born in the Soviet Union in the city of Vilnius, which is now the capital of Lithuania. Therefore, Speaker 3 provided some additional information about himself in order to explain his linguistic background. Since the speaker was born in the former Soviet Union, he attended Russian school and spoke Russian at home, at school and later at work. Hence, the speaker's mother tongue is Russian. At the time when the Soviet Union started to collapse and Lithuania re-established its independence, the official language of a new state became Lithuanian. The speaker had to learn Lithuanian in his 30s. Therefore, he has a noticeable Russian accent when he speaks in Lithuanian. Speaker 4 was born and raised in the west of Lithuania, in the ethnographic region of Samogitia. Linguistically, this region is known as a very strong dialectal area. After the interview, the speaker mentioned that he had to learn to speak standard Lithuanian when he came to study in the capital of the country, and it took for him about two years to adopt the features of the standard language. Speaker 4 was asked to speak in his native dialect during the interview. Speaker 5 is an American-Lithuanian who was born in the United States and lived there for all of his life. However, the speaker mentioned that until attending primary school, he spoke only Lithuanian at home. When he started to attend a public American primary school, he went to Lithuanian Saturday school. Now, he speaks Lithuanian with some of his friends and family members, as well as any time he visits Lithuania. The reason the researcher chose to ask the speaker's wife, who is also an American-Lithuanian, to interview and record this speaker, was mainly due to the fact that most of the American-Lithuanians who live in Lithuania are well-known public figures, and they would most likely be recognised by the judges, which might affect the outcome of the research. Speaker 6 was born in the south of Lithuania where some of the older speakers might still have some traces of the dialect there. However, after the speaker graduated from high-school, he came to the capital of Lithuania to study journalism. As he pointed out, even those who speak standard Lithuanian before entering journalism school have to improve their speaking skills once they enter the school. Speaker 6 was asked to speak standard Lithuanian during the interview. Refer to Table 4.1 for more information about the speakers.

Table 4.1. Information about the speakers in the recordings

Speaker	Age	Gender	Birthplace	Place where sp. grew up	Current residence	Education level	Profession	Time spent in Lithuania
1	35	M	Paris, FR	Poitier, FR	Vilnius, LT	Bachelor, University	Social worker & teacher	~10 years
2	47	F	Jaen, SP	Madrid, SP	Vilnius, LT	Master, University	Dietician	~20 years
3	50	M	Vilnius, USSR	Vilnius, USSR	Vilnius, LT	Vocational school	Construction worker	25 y. in ethnical territory of LT & 25 y. in the Rep. of LT
4	26	M	Kretinga, LT	Salantai, LT	Vilnius, LT	Master, University	Actor & teacher	All of his life
5	27	M	Chicago, USA	Chicago, USA	Chicago, USA	University, dental degree	Dentist	Has been on vacation
6	22	M	Alytus, LT	Alytus, LT	Vilnius, LT	Bachelor, University	Journalist	All of his life

4.1.3. Cities where the research was carried out

The research was carried out in two ethnically different Lithuanian cities. The first ten respondents were questioned in Vilnius, which is the capital of Lithuania and the largest city by number of inhabitants. The other ten judges were interviewed in Rokiškis, which is the 23rd city in terms of the population size. Appendix A presents a map of Lithuania, and shows the cities where the research was carried out.

Vilnius is a very multinational and ethnically rich city in comparison to Rokiškis. According to a national survey that was held in 2011 (LSD), Lithuanians comprised only 59,4% of the entire population in the district of Vilnius, while in the Panevėžys district, where Rokiškis is located, the percentage of Lithuanians reached up to 96,4%. According to the same survey, Vilnius was declared the most multinational city in Lithuania, with 128 different nationalities, while the Panevėžys district was one of three districts where the percentage of other nationalities was the smallest.

Due to its rich cultural heritage, Vilnius attracts a large number of tourists every year. Because Vilnius houses the oldest and most prestigious university in the country, it is also a city of great interest for students and scholars from all over the world. Moreover, Vilnius is the seat of government in Lithuania. Rokiškis, on the other hand, which is famous for its ancient architecture, and archaic cultural traditions and heritage, does not attract a large number of foreigners for longer stays in the city, partially due to its long distance from the capital city and the lack of both cultural and business activities for a multilingual audience. The reason for choosing two such ethnically

different cities was based on the assumption that conclusions about shaping speaker's identities through foreign accents cannot be based solely on the data collected in a large and ethnically diverse city. Therefore, it was necessary to choose a small and ethnically homogeneous city in order to compare the situations between a large and small city.

4.1.4. Judges

Due to the fact that the older generation experienced a different political regime in their childhood or youth, which might have affected the results on expressing the attitudes towards people from different countries, it was decided to choose judges whose age difference would range from 20 to 30 years old. The majority of the judges were born in an already independent Lithuania, which means that they travelled to a number of different countries, met foreigners in Lithuania, or even had an opportunity to study abroad without any governmental restrictions. The generation of people who were born after 1990 or a couple of years before that date have heard the stories of fighting for freedom and opposing the communist regime from their parents or grandparents, as well as read about it in the school textbooks, however, this generation never witnessed the real threat from the Soviet government.

It was assumed that the results of the qualitative study would highly depend on several important factors, such as the place where a judge lives, his or her education level, the rate of travelling abroad, and whether or not the respondent has ever lived in a foreign country. It happened unintentionally that in both cities 4 women and 6 men participated in the research. The participants' age range varied between 20 and 29 years old in Vilnius, and between 21 and 29 years old in Rokiškis. The mean age of the judges' in Vilnius was 23.3, while in Rokiškis it was 24 years old. All of the 20 participants were Lithuanians who were born and raised in Lithuania. The time spent living in Vilnius varied from 6 years to the whole of the participant's life, while the duration of current residence in Rokiškis varied from 5 years to all of the participant's life. The judges' education levels differed according to the city. The respondents from Vilnius were either current students at university or those who hold bachelor's or master's degrees, whereas the judges from Rokiškis had lower secondary, general secondary, professional bachelor's, bachelor's or master's degrees, as shown in Table 4.2[2].

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[2] More on the structure of education system and types of education institutions in Lithuania can be found on the website of The European Education Directory: http://www.euroeducation.net/prof/lithuaco.htm

Table 4.2. Judges' education level in different cities

Resp. from Vilnius	Number of respondents		Resp. from Rokiškis
	-	2	Lower secondary
General secondary (incl. current students)	3	4	General secondary
	-	2	Professional bachelor
Bachelor	4	1	Bachelor
Master	3	1	Master
Total	**10**	**10**	**Total**

The last variable to be discussed with regard to the judges is the number of visited countries. All the participants from Vilnius indicated that they had travelled abroad, whereas some of the interviewees from Rokiškis stated that they had never been to any foreign country, or visited only up to five countries. Only one participant had visited up to 20 countries, as can be seen in Table 4.3 below. Moreover, 5 out of 10 of the Vilnius' respondents had lived abroad with a time range from five weeks to one year, while only 2 out of 10 of Rokiškis' judges indicated that they lived abroad for between two to five months.

Table 4.3. Judges rate of travelling abroad

Resp. from Vilnius	Number of respondents		Resp. from Rokiškis
None	0	2	None
Up to 5	1	7	Up to 5
Up to 20	6	1	Up to 20
More than 20	3	0	More than 20
Total	**10**	**10**	**Total**

4.1.5. Procedure

The research was first carried out in Vilnius, then in Rokiškis. The judges were asked beforehand to fill out a short questionnaire providing some basic information about themselves such as their age, gender, and education (see Appendix B). Ten judges in both cities were asked to listen to six recordings, and fill out a survey after each clip. In these surveys, the judges had to either respond to the open-ended questions about their first opinion of the speaker and the type of a person they imagined the speaker to be, or they had to rate the speaker's friendliness, income, self-confidence level, and intelligence, as well as the standardness and prettiness of the speech (see Appendix C).

Each of the judges filled in the survey after having heard the recording. The whole procedure lasted between 50 to 90 minutes, depending on the judges' pace in answering the questions. The reason for meeting the judges personally, rather than performing the same survey online was for the sake of more qualitative answers. It was assumed that the judges would provide more in-depth answers if they had decided to come to a physical meeting and spend their time participating in the research.

4.2. Part two

The second part of the research was based on the questionnaire distributed in Lithuania. Since this part of the research was quantitative, the goal was to collect more than 100 responses from a diverse audience. The total number of completed surveys came to 104. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 56 years old. The group of participants from Vilnius was the biggest, comprising 79 of the respondents. In addition to Vilnius, five more cities participated in the survey. There were 14 participants form Kaunas, ten from Panevėžys, four from Marijampolė, one from Klaipėda and one from Telšiai (see Appendix A for the distribution of the cities). The questionnaire consisted of multiple-choice questions. Some of the questions asked the respondent to explain why this option was chosen from among the other alternatives. The questionnaire was designed to determine whether Lithuanians allow other languages to enter their everyday lives. Therefore, the questionnaire consisted of questions such as, "Which inscription would you chose for your doormat: 'Welcome!' or 'Sveiki atvykę!', or "What is your usual reaction towards the foreign children's names in Lithuania, such as Charlotte, Miguel, Jennifer, Luigi, etc." (for all the questions see Appendix D). Beforehand, the respondents were asked to fill in a short questionnaire providing some basic information about themselves, such as age, gender, and education (see Appendix B).

5. Results

In this section, the results of the study will be presented separately. First, the results of the qualitative research will be discussed (part one), and then the outcome of the quantitative research will follow (part two).

5.1. Part one

Before presenting the results of the first part of the study, it is important to mention that having done the data analysis the questions number one and three (which inquired about the first impression of the speaker and the impression that the speaker created in the respondent's mind) were decided to be discussed together, due to the similar or sometimes identical answers to both questions. The following six sections will present the evaluations of every speaker and the summary of the main results will be presented in the discussion chapter, Section 6.1.

5.1.1. Evaluation of speaker 1

The first speaker to be evaluated was a person from France who spoke Lithuanian. The overall evaluation of the speaker was positive, with some minor remarks about his fast and at some points incoherent speech. The speaker was seen as a highly-educated, hard-working, and honest teacher, monk, or clergyman, and this opinion was justified by such claims as *"the fact that he is a Frenchman who speaks fluent Lithuanian shows that he is involved in educational or spiritual activities here", "I imagine him to be a monk because I was acquainted with a French-speaking monk in Lithuania",* or *"he speaks like a teacher, inserting sophisticated vocabulary".* Interestingly enough, speaker 1 was often praised for learning a difficult foreign language, e.g. *"the speaker left a very good impression since he is not Lithuanian, but he can speak very good Lithuanian", "his Lithuanian as a foreign language is quite correct and the vocabulary he uses is sophisticated",* or *"since the speaker is trying to learn a foreign language, I would say he is diligent and ambitious'.* If there were any critical remarks about the speaker, they were related to his speech style, but not to his identity or personality traits, e.g. "*he cannot pronounce some words correctly because he speaks really fast", "it seems like he is saying a tongue-twister",* or *"he has an accent, thus it is difficult to understand him".*

When the respondents were asked to indicate speaker's country of origin, there were 12 different countries ascribed to speaker 1. The judges from Vilnius were more aware of the speaker's accent since 5 out of 10 judges indicated that the speaker came from France, while only two respondents from Rokiškis indicated the speaker's homeland correctly. All the different countries ascribed to the speaker are presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Countries ascribed to speaker 1

Resp. from Vilnius	Number of respondents		Resp. from Rokiškis
Azerbaijan	1		
Georgia	1		
Italy	1		
Netherlands	1		
Turkey	1		
France	5	2	France
		1	England
		2	Germany
		1	India
		1	Norway
		1	Romania
		2	Spain
Total	**10**	**10**	**Total**

What is more, the judges were asked to rate the speakers' speech prettiness and correctness on a scale of seven points. The results showed that the judges from Vilnius were more critical towards the speaker's speech, as shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Assessment of speaker 1's speech characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Prettiness	4,3	4,8
Correctness	4	4,2

In addition, the judges had to evaluate some social variables, such as speaker's intelligence, income, and level of self-confidence. The income and self-confidence of speaker 1 were evaluated to be slightly higher by the judges from Rokiškis (see Table 5.3).

Table 5.3. Assessment of speaker 1's social characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Intelligence	5.7	5.1
Income	4.4	4.8
Self-confidence	5.1	5.2

However, the intelligence of the speaker was rated more highly by the judges from Vilnius, again putting the emphasis on speakers' ability to speak a foreign language, e.g. *"I think the speaker is very intelligent because he speaks a language which is completely unrelated to his mother tongue", "The speaker speaks better and nicer than some people who were born in Lithuania, which shows that he is intelligent"* or *"An unintelligent person would not learn Lithuanian".* As can be seen in Table 5.3, the variable of the speaker's income received the lowest score out of three variables and the overall opinion of the speaker's income was quite pessimistic. The attitude towards the speaker's income was explained by the fact that the person lives in Lithuania, e.g. *"I do not think that he has high income since he works in Lithuania"* or *"He should be rich because he is from Western Europe. On the other hand, he lives in Lithuania, thus I do not think that he has a very high income".* The speaker was generally considered to have a high level of self-confidence, explaining that *"there was no stress felt in his speech"* or *"the speaker is confident because he is not afraid to make mistakes while speaking".*

5.1.2. Evaluation of speaker 2

The second speaker to be evaluated was a person from Spain who spoke Lithuanian. The attitude towards speaker 2 ranged from very positive to quite critical, with remarks about the speaker's

personal traits and language mistakes. The speaker was mostly described as a calm, modest and shy housewife, babysitter, or pre-school teacher, e.g. *"I imagine her as a person who spends a lot of time at home", "She is somewhere from the South, she is very relaxed and probably has a Lithuanian husband"* or *"She is a good-hearted and very devoted to her family".* Surprisingly, when answering to the question about the image this speaker created, the judges described speaker's 2 appearance in greater detail, saying that she was a slow, stout, unattractive, and not a very tall woman. Three judges stated that the speaker is unemployed because of very poor language knowledge. On the other hand, five judges said that she might be a manager, head of the company, teacher, lecturer, or a journalist because she creates an image of a very rational and ambitious woman who is ascending a career ladder, or that she bring to mind a woman from high society who has high self-esteem.

The rationale behind such different answers regarding speaker 2's country of origin (as well as in the case of speaker 1) might be related to the fact that the judges did not have a clear idea of where the speaker came from: there were 11 different countries attributed to the speaker. The answers ranged from the continent of Africa to India, but also included European countries, as shown in Table 5.4 While seven judges from Vilnius indicated that the speaker was from Spain, only one respondent from Rokiškis assumed that the speaker was a Spaniard, which might suggest that the judges tried to guess speaker 2's country of origin.

Table 5.4. Countries ascribed to speaker 2

Resp. from Vilnius	Number of respondents		Resp. from Rokiškis
Italy	1		
UK or USA	1		
Sweden	1	1	Sweden
Spain	7	1	Spain
		1	*Africa*
		1	Finland
		1	France
		1	Greece
		1	India
		2	Latvia
		1	Slovakia
Total	**10**	**10**	**Total**

The judges from Vilnius were more positive towards speaker 2's prettiness and correctness of speech than the respondents from Rokiškis (see Table 5.5). Since the judges from Rokiškis were not familiar with speaker's 2 accent, and could hardly identify the speaker's country of origin, it could be assumed that the judges were suspicious about the speaker, and thus rated her

prettiness and correctness of the speech lower. Interestingly, there were no positive remarks about the speaker's effort to learn a foreign language, as was observed in the case of speaker 1.

Table 5.5. Assessment of speaker 2's speech characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Prettiness	4.3	4.8
Correctness	4	4.2

Moving to the discussion of the social variables, Table 5.6 shows that all of the three target variables were rated higher by the judges from Vilnius. It was observed that the judges rated speaker 2's intelligence and income much lower than they did the same variables for speaker 1, which was based on the argument that speaker 2 had poor language competency, e.g. *"She cannot have a well-paid job with poor language knowledge"* or "*A lower education level is an immediate reaction towards the interlocutor's incorrect language".* Surprisingly, although people in Rokiškis speak a dialect themselves, they still expect proper language knowledge from a foreigner in order for him to be integrated into Lithuanian society, e.g. "*So far the speaker has broken Lithuanian, thus I assume that the speaker has a job unrelated to his obtained degree or qualifications"* or "*Based on the speaker's barely comprehensible language, I assume that the speaker has a job where she does not have to communicate a lot".* The speaker was generally considered to have fairly low level of self-confidence due to the uncertainty in the voice or the possible fear of making mistakes.

Table 5.6. Assessment of speaker 2's social characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Intelligence	4.7	3.7
Income	4.7	4.2
Self-confidence	5.1	4.2

5.1.3. Evaluation of speaker 3

The third speaker to be evaluated was a Russian speaker who spoke Lithuanian. The opinion of speaker 3 differed significantly according to the city. While the judges from Vilnius were very certain that the speaker came from either Russia or Poland, or he is a Lithuanian-Polish or a Lithuanian-Russian, the respondents from Rokiškis were not familiar with the speaker's accent at all. This once again proves that in the multilingual city of Vilnius people are aware of Russian or Polish speech, whereas the fact that the judges from Rokiškis could not recognise speaker 3's accent proves that in

the north of Lithuania, people have limited access to Lithuania's biggest ethnic minorities, such as Poles or Russians. Table 5.7 presents the variety of nationalities attributed to speaker 3.

Table 5.7. Countries ascribed to speaker 3

Resp. from Vilnius	Number of respondents		Resp. from Rokiškis
Lithuanian-Polish or Lithuanian-Russian	1		
Poland	2	3	Poland
Russia	7	1	Russia
		3	Lithuania
		1	England
		1	Georgia
		1	France
Total	**10**	**10**	**Total**

In Vilnius, speaker 3 was seen as a benevolent, positive, and practical mechanic, blacksmith or construction worker, e.g. *"It seems that the speaker is practical, thus his occupation is most likely related to fixing, building, etc.", "This type of speech is very common among construction workers in Lithuania"* or *"One can usually hear such speech among garage mechanics'*. One judge was rather critical towards speaker 3, saying that *"The speaker is tired or did not have enough sleep. Most likely, he drinks quite a lot"*. In comparison, in Rokiškis, the judges saw the speaker as an artistic, self-assured, and strong businessman, teacher or manager. Moreover, the respondents from Rokiškis praised speaker's language, claiming that *"the speaker has a beautiful accent, clear, and fluent language", "his Lithuanian is quite correct"* or *"even though his speech lacks fluency, I had a very good impression of the speaker because he sounds eager to learn the language".* The same attitudinal distribution between the cities was prevailing when evaluating the speaker's prettiness and correctness of speech. As shown in Table 5.8 the judges form Rokiškis assessed the speaker's speech as prettier and more correct.

Table 5.8. Assessment of speaker 3's speech characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Prettiness	4.3	4.9
Correctness	4	4.8

When rating speaker 3's intelligence, the judges from Vilnius remained highly critical (see Table 5.9), relating speaker's education level to his accent, e.g. *"Assuming that the speaker was born in Lithuania, I would say that he is quite unintelligent because he still could not learn Lithuanian", "Judging by his way of speaking, I would guess that the speaker is not familiar with*

academic or scientific work" or *"The use of particle "nu"[3] shows his low level of intelligence".* Again, when reading the answers about the same speaker provided by the judges from Rokiškis, it seems that a completely different person was described. The judges characterised speaker 3 as an intelligent man who most likely has an official job and works with documents. Also, it was noticed that the speaker would not have such beautiful speech if he were untalented. However, both groups of judges agreed upon the average speaker's income. The respondents from Vilnius claimed that as a worker, he should have an average salary, and the interviewees from Rokiškis agreed that most likely he had a *'decent salary to live a stable life'*. 17 judges out of 20 considered speaker 3 to be self-confident, relaxed and unstressed.

Table 5.9. Assessment of speaker 3's social characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Intelligence	4.4	5.1
Income	4.7	4.8
Self-confidence	5.4	5.2

5.1.4. Evaluation of speaker 4

The fourth speaker to be evaluated was a dialect speaker from the region of Samogitia. In general, the attitude towards speaker 4 was positive, but the judges from Rokiškis were in some cases more critical towards the speaker. The speaker was seen as an active, cheerful, and happy farmer, manager of a folk ensemble or driver. Quite frequently, the speaker was described as *"a real Samogitian",* which indicates that people from eastern and northern Lithuania have a clear image of people from the west. All the judges from Vilnius said that the speaker is Lithuanian, while the respondents from Rokiškis assumed that he might also come from Latvia or Poland (see Table 5.10).

Table 5.10. Countries ascribed to speaker 4

Resp. from Vilnius	Number of respondents		Resp. from Rokiškis
Lithuania	10	8	Lithuania
		1	Latvia
		1	Poland
Total	**10**	**10**	**Total**

The results showed that the judges from Rokiškis were highly critical towards speaker's 4 speech prettiness and correctness (see Table 5.11). Having filled in the questionnaire,

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[3] According to The State Commission on Lithuanian Language, the particle *'nu'* is considered to be a barbarism in the Lithuanian language and the particle *'na'* has to be used instead. Retrieved from http://www.straipsniai.lt/lietuviu_kalba/puslapis/16718

one of judges from Rokiškis wanted to explain why she gave low points for the intelligence and correctness of the dialect speaker. Due to the fact that the judge speaks in a dialect herself, she sometimes feels like an inferior interlocutor when communicating with a standard Lithuanian speaker. She feels that her speech is not pretty or correct enough. The judge confessed that when she is in the supermarket in Vilnius, it even seems that a shop assistant speaks more beautiful Lithuanian than she does. Since the speaker in the recording also spoke in a dialect, she evaluated him as she would have evaluated herself.

Being critical of their own speech might explain why the judges from Rokiškis gave lower marks to another dialect speaker. On the contrary, the judges from Vilnius thought that speaker 4's speech was the prettiest out of all six speakers, which might suggest that people from the capital are sentimental towards the dialectal speech variety. In conclusion, while a dialect speaker feels inferior to a standard language speaker, a standard speaker considers a dialect speaker to have beautiful speech.

Table 5.11. Assessment of speaker 4's speech characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Prettiness	6.5	4.9
Correctness	5.4	4

While the judges from Vilnius tried to hedge when describing speaker 4's intelligence level, the respondents from Rokiškis were very straightforward. When the judges from Vilnius said that the speaker's daily life must be related to farming activities, and therefore academic work is not in his interest field, the judges from Rokiškis noted that he speaks like "*kaimo jurgis*", which is a mocking expression for calling someone a farmer, as well as noticing that *"educated people at least try to speak correctly, which cannot be said about this speaker"* or *"this person is definitely from a village, I did not understand half of what he was saying".* While the respondents from Vilnius assumed that the speaker should have a good income since he is happy and money is not his first priority, the respondents from Rokiškis agreed on his low income, which was explained by saying that *"he is not educated, thus he has a low income"* or *"I do not think he could have a well-paid job with such a thick dialect".* Both groups agreed upon the speaker's high level of confidence because of the brave and relaxed manner of speaking, without any complexes towards his own dialect (see Table 5.12).

Table 5.12. Assessment of speaker 4's social characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Intelligence	5.3	4.1
Income	4.9	3.8
Self-confidence	6.5	6.2

5.1.5. Evaluation of speaker 5

The fifth speaker to be evaluated was a person from the United States who spoke Lithuanian. Although the overall opinion towards speaker 5 was positive and Vilnius' judges gave the speaker some special credit for his identity, for the respondents from Rokiškis this speaker was just another foreigner. Even though the judges from Rokiškis were more aware of speaker's accent and the country of origin, the answers still varied suggesting the countries from four different continents (see Table 5.13).

Table 5.13. Countries ascribed to speaker 5

Resp. from Vilnius	Number of respondents		Resp. from Rokiškis
American-Lithuanian	1		
England	1	1	England
USA	8	5	USA
		1	Australia
		1	China
		1	Norway
		1	France
Total	**10**	**10**	**Total**

Speaker 5 was described as an interesting, educated, and energetic businessman, engineer, IT or marketing specialist. It was also noted that the speaker was probably a very popular, liberal, and carefree American-Lithuanian who has wealthy parents. Moreover, he was described as a typical American who is happy about his life and is engaged in the activities he likes. One of the judges respected him for *"exchanging the American dream for a peaceful, quiet, and beautiful life in Lithuani"'*. As far as speech correctness is concerned, the judges from Vilnius assigned the lowest marks, with a mean of 3.2 to speaker 5 out of all six speakers, which was unexpected because in the open-ended questions, the judges were positive overall about the speaker (see Table 5.14). According to the respondents, the only disadvantage in his speech was a very noticeable accent, and only one judge made a very critical remark about speaker 5's speech prettiness and correctness, saying that he did not like the American accent in general, and therefore the speaker's speech was

neither beautiful nor correct. In addition, this judge noted that the speaker's poor vocabulary disturbed him a great deal.

Table 5.14. Assessment of speaker 5's speech characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Prettiness	4.5	4
Correctness	3.2	3.6

Having discussed the judges' evaluation of speaker 5's speech prettiness and correctness, the following results about the speaker's intelligence, income, and self-confidence are surprising. Even though the judges from Vilnius gave the lowest points for speaker 5's speech correctness, they considered the same speaker to be the most intelligent and to have the highest income out of all six speakers (see Table 5.15). The choice to rate the speaker's intelligence with high points was based on the arguments, such as *"the self-assurance of the speaker created an image of him as being highly intelligent"* and *"the unconstrained manner of speech creates an imagine of an educated man".* There was also one ironic observation pointing out that for an American, speaking a foreign language must mean that he is very intelligent.

Table 5.15. Assessment of speaker's 5 social characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Intelligence	6	4.8
Income	6	4.7
Self-confidence	6.1	5.2

When considering his income, the judges claimed that he must be earning a great deal, since he knows how to present himself, which shows that he has a well-paid job. One of the judges imagined him as an old American pensioner, and according to this judge *"retired Americans have big pensions".* Another judge confessed that he has a stereotypical opinion about Americans that they usually have much higher income than Europeans. The judges from Vilnius thought the speaker was very confident, but the judges form Rokiškis said that the speaker does not seem to be self-assured because of his accent or at least they would not have felt confident with this type of accent.

5.1.6. Evaluation of speaker 6

The last person to be evaluated was a standard Lithuanian speaker. While the respondents from Vilnius were quite critical towards the speaker and his language, the judges from Rokiškis saw the

speaker as a highly-educated man and an icon of correct speech. Speaker 6 was mostly described as a polite, thoughtful and erudite professor, artist or priest. Out of 20 judges there was only one person who thought that the speaker might be an Italian (see Table 5.16).

Table 5.16. Countries ascribed to speaker 6

Resp. from Vilnius	Number of respondents		Resp. from Rokiškis
Lithuania	10	9	Lithuania
		1	Italy
Total	**10**	**10**	**Total**

Table 5.16 shows that having evaluated the prettiness of the speech, the judges from Rokiškis emphasised that the last speaker had the prettiest and the most correct speech out of all the speakers, as was the most eloquent, e.g. *"It seems that to speak in public is his daily routine"*. The judges from Vilnius said that the speech of speaker 6 was in general correct. However, a few judges noticed that the speaker used an incorrect word *ružava*, which means purple colour, while describing the colour of the walls in his dining room and should have said *rožinė*[4] instead. According to the judges, such a mistake creates an image of a speaker who is not concerned about the correctness of his own language.

Table 5.17. Assessment of speaker 6's speech characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Prettiness	5.8	6.3
Correctness	6.3	6.7

The judges from Rokiškis considered speaker 6 to be a very intelligent person because of his highly correct, eloquent, and beautiful language. The judges from Vilnius pointed out that he might be a student who is still trying to find his own speech style because he was taking pauses or was sometimes looking for the right words to describe something. One judge had a feeling that the speaker misunderstood the question and did not understand what he was asked to explain. When describing the speaker's income, the judges from Rokiškis thought that the speaker had a larger than the average income because he is very educated, while a few of the respondents from Vilnius thought that money was not his first priority or aim, and he was more focused on artistic or philanthropic work. When rating the speaker's self confidence level, the interviewers from Vilnius noticed that the speaker felt neither comfortable nor confident. One judge commented that the

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[4] According to The State Commission on Lithuanian Language the word *ružava(s)* is considered to be a barbarism in the Lithuanian language and the word *rožinė(-s)* or *rausva(s)* has to be used instead. Retrieved from http://konsultacijos.vlkk.lt/lit/2887

speaker could not express his thoughts clearly, which for the speaker indicated having a low self-esteem complex. The judges from Rokiškis had a completely different opinion of the speaker's confidence. They considered the speaker to be very self-confident due to his strong and handsome voice, the use of sophisticated vocabulary, and correct language. Table 5.18 presents the judges assessment of speaker 6's social characteristic in 2 different cities.

Table 5.18. Assessment of speaker 6's social characteristics

	Vilnius	Rokiškis
Intelligence	5.8	6.1
Income	4.6	5.5
Self-confidence	5.3	6.2

5.2. Part two

The second part of the research investigated Lithuanians' attitudes towards the use of Lithuanian versus foreign languages in daily life. This part of the research was based on a questionnaire answered by 104 respondents in six cities around Lithuania. This part of the study aims at analysing the general situation in Lithuania, taking into consideration people's attitudes towards their mother tongue in comparison with their views on foreign languages. Hence, the results from all the cities were summarised and an analysis of each question is presented below.

5.2.1. "Welcome" versus "Sveiki atvykę"

The first question to be answered was related to expressing the respondents' preference for the Lithuanian "Sveiki atvykę!" or the English "Welcome!" inscription on the doormat to their apartment or house door. Table 5.19 shows that more than half of respondents would choose the Lithuanian variant.

Table 5.19. Preference for English versus Lithuanian inscription

Choice	Percentage
Welcome!	39.4%
Sveiki atvykę!	54.8%
Other	5.8%

The reason why the respondents would choose Lithuanian over the English variant was classified according to four major categories, and the distribution of the results is shown in Table 5.20.

Table 5.20. Reasons for choosing the Lithuanian inscription

Reasons	I am Lithuanian	I do not have guests from abroad	Because nowadays English is dominant	Answers without an argument
Percentage	59.6%	5.3%	8.8%	26.3%

The majority of respondents would chose a Lithuanian inscription because they are Lithuanians, they live in Lithuania, Lithuanian is their mother tongue, the majority of their guests are Lithuanians, because they feel more attached to their own language, or because they believe that those who live in Lithuania have to understand Lithuanian. The second category was related to the answers, claiming that the Lithuanian variant would be more understandable because the majority of the respondents do not have any guests from abroad. On the other hand, some of the participants would chose a Lithuanian version due to the fact that English is all around them, and there are not that many Lithuanian inscriptions on various products. There were some respondents who expressed their preference without providing any arguments for their choice.

The reasons why participants chose an English variant over a Lithuanian one were divided into four main categories, and the distribution of the results is shown in Table 5.21.

Table 5.21. Reasons for choosing the English inscription

Reasons	English is a universal language	Friends or relatives are from abroad	My doormat is with an English inscription	Answers without an argument
Percentage	58.5%	17.1%	7.3%	17.1%

More than half of respondents would choose an English inscription because English is a universal language that is understandable for anyone and because the English version is shorter. Some of the participants stated that they use English more often in daily life, and that they like the English language more than Lithuanian, thus they chose the English variant. The second category of respondents expressed preference for the English inscription since they have many friends from abroad, or they have relatives who are married to a foreigner. The third group of respondents stated that they already had a doormat with English inscription and they had never seen a Lithuanian version on sale. The last group provided no arguments for the choice.

The answers fell under the category of "other" if they indicated that the respondents would choose the quality, price, and design over the inscription on a doormat, that they would

choose the doormat with both English and Lithuanian versions, or that they would prefer to have a doormat without any inscriptions.

5.2.2. "Coffee Corner" versus "Kavos kampelis" [5]

The second question asked whether the respondents would choose the English name "Coffee Corner" or the Lithuanian equivalent "Kavos kampelis" if they had to establish a cafe in the Old Town of Vilnius. This question belonged to the group of questions that analysed Lithuanians' motivations for choosing Lithuanian over the foreign language. The results showed that more than 57% of the interviewers would choose the Lithuanian version (see Table 5.22).

Table 5.22. Preference for the English versus Lithuanian cafe name

Choice	Percentage
Coffee Corner	39.4%
Kavos kampelis	57.7%
Other	2.9%

The reasons the respondents would choose the Lithuanian name were divided into three categories, and the distribution of the results is shown in Table 5.23.

Table 5.23. Reasons for choosing the Lithuanian cafe name

Reasons	I am Lithuanian	Because nowadays English is dominant	Answers without an argument
Percentage	58.3%	16.7%	25%

The majority of the respondents who would chose the Lithuanian version based their choice on such arguments as, e.g. *"I am Lithuanian", "I live in Lithuania and love my language", "Our official language is Lithuanian and we have to use Lithuanian names",* or *"No language sounds as beautiful as Lithuanian".* However, another group of participants claimed that they would chose the Lithuanian version over the English one due to the fact that there are hardly any cafes with Lithuanian names in big cities, and the choice of the Lithuanian name would attract more tourists who are searching for something authentic. The last category consisted of the answers without the explanations.

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[5] In order to obtain unbiased results, it was decided not to choose the cafe names from the current market. Therefore, the researcher invented the cafe names exclusively for this research.

The answers of the respondents who would choose the English name for a cafe were also classified into three groups. As Table 5.24 shows, the majority of the respondents would select the English option since an English version would be more appealing to the large quantity of tourists in Vilnius' Old Town, as nowadays a name in a foreign language would attract more customers. A few respondents, who comprised the second group, claimed that they would choose the English variant due to a current tendency to give foreign names to the cafes in Lithuania and listed some examples such as Vero Cafe, Coffee Inn, Coffee Hill, Caif Cafe, etc. The third category covered the answers without the explanations.

Table 5.24. Reasons for choosing the English cafe name

Reasons	English would attract more customers	Due to the common tendency to name cafes in foreign language	Answers without an argument
Percentage	82.9%	4.9%	12.2%

The section of "other" contained the answers which suggested the fusion of both languages, for example, "Coffee kampas". Some of the respondents said that they would choose a Lithuanian name with an English translation.

5.2.3. Lithuanian subtitles versus Lithuanian dubbing

Since the majority of foreign programmes on Lithuanian television are currently dubbed, the third question was designed to determine whether Lithuanians think that foreign programmes in Lithuania should be broadcast in their original language with Lithuanian subtitles or with Lithuanian dubbing. The question analysed the preferences and motivations for choosing Lithuanian versus foreign language dubbing in foreign programmes. Even though the results were almost equal, Table 5.25 shows that there were more respondents who would prefer to watch Lithuanian programmes with Lithuanian subtitles.

Table 5.25. Preference for English versus Lithuanian subtitles in foreign movies or TV programmes

Choice	Percentage
Original language with Lithuanian subtitles	46.1%
Original language with Lithuanian dubbing	45.2%
Other	8.7%

The reason that the respondents would choose to watch foreign programmes with Lithuanian subtitles were divided into three groups as shown in Table 5.26.

Table 5.26. Reasons for choosing Lithuanian subtitles

Reasons	Original language helps to learn a foreign language	Meaning is better conveyed through original language	Answers without an argument
Percentage	37.5%	37.5%	25%

The first group of respondents claimed that watching foreign programmes in their original languages would help to learn foreign languages better. One of the respondents gave an example of such countries as the Netherlands and Denmark (see Appendix E[6]), saying that in these countries, where movies are broadcast in their original language with subtitles, the percentage of people who speak English, for example, is much higher than in those countries where foreign programmes are shown with dubbing. Another common reason mentioned by the respondents was concerned with the better quality of a programme or a movie when they are screened in the original language. The respondents claimed that the quality of Lithuanian dubbing might be very bad, which negatively affects the entire experience of watching the movie and can even lead to a misinterpretation of the meaning a director wanted to convey. According to some respondents, dubbing should be forbidden in general since there must be a specific reason that movie producers create a movie in a certain language. The last group of respondents expressed their opinion without an argument.

The answers of those respondents who would choose to watch foreign programmes dubbed in Lithuanian fall into 3 categories as shown in Table 5.27.

Table 5.27. Reasons for choosing English subtitles

Reasons	More comfortable to watch a movie in Lithuanian	I am Lithuanian	Answers without an argument
Percentage	53.2%	17%	28.8%

The largest number of interviewees based their opinion on the argument that it is easier to listen to a text rather than to read a text while watching a movie if you do not understand the original

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[6] Appendix E presents a map of European countries where dubbing is used and those where it is not. The map was retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dubbing_(filmmaking)

language of the movie. Moreover, some respondents were concerned about the elderly, who would have difficulty watching a programme in a foreign language and reading the subtitles simultaneously. Another category was related to responses such as "Lithuanian television has to show programmes and movies in Lithuanian, otherwise our national language will remain in the shadow of foreign languages". The third group presented no arguments for their choice.

The category of "other" was formed from answers that stated that the respondents would like to have an option to choose between the subtitles with the original language and dubbing whenever they want.

5.2.4. Language of citizens' names in Lithuanian passports

The last question, attempting to produce an argument behind the choice of a certain answer, asked respondents to express their opinion about Lithuanian citizens' foreign names in Lithuanian passports. The respondents could choose among 5 options which are discussed emphasising only the main findings.

As Table 5.28 shows, the majority of participants stated that Lithuanian citizens' names on the front page of a passport should be written in the official language according to pronunciation.

Table 5.28. Distribution of data in the question: "the names of foreign Lithuanian citizens on the front page of a passport should be written...":

Choice	Percentage
Only in the official language according to the pronunciation	34.6%
In a preferred language using the Latin alphabet	26%
In the original language	24%
In any language and order according to the passport owner's preferences	10.6
Other	4.8%

The respondents listed several reasons for this choice, saying that they are patriots of Lithuania and they also want others to respect the official language of their country. Moreover, some of the respondents claimed that the use of the Lithuanian language in the passports would facilitate administrative work. Twenty six percent of the interviewees thought that the best option would be to write the name in a person's preferred language using the Latin alphabet since the language should be understandable for all Lithuanian citizens. As some respondents pointed out, Lithuanian officers would not be able to read a person's name if it is written in Chinese, Hindi or the Arabic languages. Twenty four percent of the participants said the name in a passport should be written in

the original language; otherwise a person's name is distorted, which may cause legal issues if an individual's real name does not match the name in the passport.

5.2.5. Attitudes towards foreign names

The rest of the questions in the questionnaire were multiple-choice questions where the respondents could also choose the option "other" and give an answer not present in the survey.

Question 5 was designed to determine whether the respondents had any prejudiced opinion towards foreign names for children in Lithuania, such as Charlotte, Miguel, Jennifer, Luigi, etc. More than 66% of the respondents said that their reaction was neutral because it might be that a child's parents are foreigners. Even though the second most common answer comprised only 16.1% of the responses, the answer stated that the respondents' opinion was negative and they could not understand why Lithuanians would choose a foreign name for their child when there are plenty of beautiful Lithuanian names. The rest of the answers, which comprised less than 10% of the total, can be seen below in Table 5.29.

Table 5.29. Attitudes towards foreign children's names

Choices	Percentage
Positive. It shows parents' creativity.	3.4%
Positive. Once a child grows up and starts travelling, his or her foreign friends will not have troubles pronouncing the name.	5.1%
Negative. Why should we choose foreign names for our children when we have a lot of beautiful Lithuanian names?	16.1%
Negative. If we continue in the same manner, Lithuanian names and the language will disappear.	5.9%
Neutral. Who knows, maybe one or both of the parents are foreigners.	66.1%
I feel so sorry for the child since he or she will be bullied at school in the future.	3.4%

5.2.6. Lithuanian equivalents for borrowings

The next question asked to express views on the use of borrowings. The respondents had to indicate whether they find it necessary to have an equivalent in Lithuanian for foreign borrowings. The results showed that 72.1% of the participants thought that it is not necessary to find an equivalent for every borrowing, since some translated words do not sound natural. Furthemore, 15.4% of the interviewees stated that translated borrowings should be kept to a minimum, because it is very common to use international terminology in a rapidly changing world. However, 7.7% of the respondents thought that every borrowing that appears in Lithuanian should have an equivalent, otherwise the Lithuanian language might disappear. Four point eight percent of the participants fell under the category of "other", saying that it is more important to follow the ways people are

actually using these words and then decide whether to change them rather than simply finding Lithuanian equivalents immediately.

5.2.7. Attitudes towards Lithuanian speech with inserted foreign words

The following question was related to the attitudes of the respondents towards a friend who inserts foreign words while speaking Lithuanian. Fifty two point nine percent of the interviewees claimed that their reaction to such speech is usually neutral, since they themselves also often insert foreign words into their speech. Nonetheless, 20.2% of the respondents said that they react negatively to such language, they find it irritating, and it often seems that a person is just seeking for attention. Thirteen point five percent of the participants noted that they do not mind if their foreign friend has such speech, but they do not like when their Lithuanians friends do this. Furthermore, 8.7% said that their attitudes are positive, since it shows that a person knows a lot of languages and it is interesting to listen to such speech. However, 4.8% of the participants expressed negative views, saying that it shows that a person does not know or forgot Lithuanian.

5.2.8. Behaviour towards a foreign stranger on the street

The respondents were asked to indicate what they usually do when a foreign speaker approaches them and asks for directions. Fifty six point seven percent of the participants said that they try to give accurate directions, even if their language is not fluent. Thirty six point five percent of the interviewees claimed that they answer the stranger's questions in a fluent and friendly manner. Five point eight percent of the respondents admitted that they are be able to give directions in a foreign language, thus they usually say or show that they do not understand the speaker. There was only one respondent who said that he had never had an encounter with a foreign speaker on the street.

5.2.9. Attitudes towards international schools

The last question asked the respondents to express their opinion about the fact that the number of recently established international schools in Lithuania is growing, e.g. The American International School of Vilnius or the Ecole Française de Vilnius. Forty six point two percent of the respondents said that they do not mind such schools in Lithuania, but that they would like their children to attend Lithuanian schools. Another common answer, comprising 36.5% of the answers, stated that the interviewees are positive about such schools and they would like their child to attend a similar school since the more languages a child speaks, the better it is for his or her future. Nine point six percent admitted that they are happy about the establishment of such international school, since it indicates that the Lithuanian government has finally found an alternative for Polish and Russian

schools. One point nine percent of the respondents said they react negatively to these schools since they are afraid such schools might overshadow Lithuanian schools one day, and Lithuanian children will not learn Lithuanian. Five point eight percent of participants chose the option "other", saying that their attitude is positive as long as international schools are not only about prestige. Some of the respondents expressed a positive attitude, claiming that children of people who come from abroad will be able to attend schools where their mother tongue, or at least the language they know is a primary language used in that school.

6. Discussion

6.1. Discussion of part one

Table 6.1 contains an overview of both the speech and social characteristics of the speakers, and the mean of respondents' answers in each city. The highest-scoring characteristic in each city is bolded in orange, and the lowest-scoring characteristic is italicised in blue. The attitudes towards the characteristics are explained below, and they are compared with the literature.

Table 6.1. Assessment of speaker's speech and social characteristics

	Speaker's accent						
Characteristic	French	Spanish	Russian	Dialect	American	Standard LT	City
Prettiness	4.3	*4.1*	4.3	**6.5**	4.5	5.8	**Vilnius**
	4.8	*3.8*	4.9	4.9	4	**6.3**	**Rokiškis**
Correctness	4	3.4	4	5.4	*3.2*	**6.3**	**Vilnius**
	4.2	*3.3*	4.8	4	3.6	**6.7**	**Rokiškis**
Intelligence	5.7	4.7	*4.4*	5.3	**6**	5.8	**Vilnius**
	5.1	*3.7*	5.1	4.1	4.8	**6.1**	**Rokiškis**
Income	*4.4*	4.7	4.7	4.9	**6**	4.6	**Vilnius**
	4.8	4.2	4.8	*3.8*	4.7	**5.5**	**Rokiškis**
Confidence	*5.1*	*5.1*	5.4	**6.5**	6.1	5.3	**Vilnius**
	5.2	*4.2*	5.2	**6.2**	5.2	**6.2**	**Rokiškis**

Although the judges from Vilnius agreed that the standard Lithuanian speaker has the most correct Lithuanian, they considered the dialect speaker to have the prettiest speech and to be the most confident. Edwards (2009: 91) indeed claims that, although standard accents and dialects connote greater prestige and competence, some non-standard regional accents may evoke a greater sense of integrity or social attractiveness. The reason that the respondents from Vilnius, the majority of whom speak a more or less standard language variety, were highly critical towards standard Lithuanian speaker's language mistakes and self-confidence level might be explained by observation from Edwards, that "those whose speech suggests competence, intelligence and status may not necessarily be those with whom we will most readily identify, trust or generally get on with" (ibid.).

On the other hand, the standard Lithuanian speaker was seen as the most intelligent and confident, with the highest income, the most correct and the prettiest speech, and received the highest-scoring points from the judges from Rokiškis in all categories. In other words, the standard language is a prestige language variety and a tool for social success for the judges who descend from a dialectal region. Moreover, where the respondents from Vilnius had overall positive attitudes towards the dialect speaker, the judges form Rokiškis were critical of the Samogitian, giving the speaker more than one full point lower in 4 out of 5 categories in comparison with the results from the Vilnius judges (see Table 6.1). According to Labov (1976), those whose speech includes non-standard or stigmatised forms are typically their own harshest critics, which explains why the judges from a dialectal region criticised the language of another dialect speaker.

As far as the American speaker is concerned, the attitudes of Vilnius judges towards this speaker were highly interesting. Although the speaker was seen to have the least correct speech, he was graded as being the most intelligent and having the highest income out of all six speakers. According to Vaicekauskienė (2010: 175), in Lithuania, English plays an important role for youth in big cities, since the English language is associated with a modern and economically independent consumer identity. It has been claimed that English is associated with modernity, technological innovations, science, and in Eastern Europe – Westernisation (Crystal 2003; Backhaus 2007). The results showed that the respondents from the capital of Lithuania, who were 20-30 years old, also tried to relate their identities with the Western world by showing their favour for an American accent. As long as the speaker had an American accent, the fact that his speech was ungrammatical did not play an important role for the speaker to be socially accepted for the judges from Vilnius.

In the light of the political and cultural ties between Lithuania and the former Soviet Union, one might assume that the Russian speaker could have been evaluated with the lowest-scoring characteristics. However, the results showed that the Russian speaker (except for the

characteristic of intelligence for the judges from Vilnius) was not given the lowest scores among all the speakers. In fact, the judges from Vilnius thought that the Russian speaker was more confident and had slightly higher income than the standard Lithuanian speaker, and the interviewees from Rokiškis gave higher scores in all the target characteristics to him than to the other five speakers. The results showed that the attitudes towards speaker 3, as a representative of the Russian minority in Lithuania, were well-disposed. This might be in line with the findings of sociological research recently conducted by Janušauskienė (2013: 432), which claimed that the majority of the Lithuanian population is tolerant towards national minorities, and even though one third of the population express some kind of negative attitudes towards national minorities, these negative attitudes are almost absent in everyday life in society.

Although the French and Spanish speakers were praised for learning language as difficult as Lithuanian, both of them received the lowest-scoring points in the category of language prettiness and speaker's self-confidence. Moreover, the judges from Vilnius gave the French speaker the lowest evaluation according to income and confidence characteristics, whereas the respondents from Rokiškis gave the lowest scores to the Spanish speaker in four categories out of five. The low scores in the evaluation of both speakers might be linked to the fact that the judges could hardly determine the regional background of these two speakers, which suggests that Lithuanians are not familiar with Spanish and French accents yet, especially in smaller towns. When describing the patterns of cultural identity, Oxford (1994: 35) noticed that the fear of the unknown appears to be a fixture in most cultures, and this fear translates into prejudice and discrimination. In this study, the fear of the unknown was explicitly demonstrated towards the French and Spanish speakers by giving the lowest scores to the speakers whose accents were the least familiar to the judges.

6.2. Discussion of part two

To summarise all nine questions presented in the questionnaire, the results showed that in four questions, Lithuanian was chosen over foreign languages, three questions exhibited a higher preference for foreign languages over Lithuanian, and two questions resulted in the expression of neutral opinion, without showing a preference for any particular language. Below, the results of the first two formed categories are presented. Since this study tried to determine the respondents' motivations for choosing a particular language in daily life, the third category (which presented neutral attitudes without choosing any particular language) was considered to be insignificant for the present study and was not discussed below.

6.2.1. Language as a national identity

As shown in Table 6.2, those who chose Lithuanian over foreign languages in three out of four questions emphasised their Lithuanian identity as the main reason for choosing their mother tongue above other languages in daily life situations. Although the fourth question in the group was a multiple-choice question, where the participants did not have to provide a reason for their choice, it is assumed that the rationale behind the answer would be the same as in the previous three answers. Although the political situation in Lithuania witnesses that we are moving towards a globalised world, the results of the current research show that Lithuanians' linguistic actions, such as choosing Lithuanian over the foreign languages emphasise their national identity. Hall (2013: 35) indeed also observed that with the meaning of our linguistic actions, how linguistically pliable our identities are depends to a large extent on the historical and political forces embodied in them.

Table 6.2. Questions in which the Lithuanian language was chosen over foreign languages

Choice	Main Reason	Percentage
LT version of Welcome	I am Lithuanian	59.6%
LT version of Coffee Corner	I am Lithuanian	58.3%
Official language for LT passports	I am Lithuanian	34.6%
Positive attitude with minor restrictions towards international schools	The respondents do no mind such schools, but they would like their children to attend LT schools	46.2%

6.2.2. Language as a commodity

The second category consisted of three questions where the respondents approved of the use of foreign languages in their daily lives. A larger percentage of the respondents thought that Lithuanian television should broadcast foreign programmes in the original language with Lithuanian subtitles. The fact that the original language helps to learn a language better was given as the main reason. Furthermore, the interviewees expressed neutral attitudes towards speakers who insert foreign words into Lithuanian speech, grounding their opinion on the fact that they often do the same themselves. Finally, the majority of the respondents claimed that they give directions to a foreign stranger on the street according to their language level.

Having analysed the arguments for choosing foreign languages in daily circumstances, a gradual transition was noticed from learning a foreign language while watching television, to inserting foreign words into Lithuanian speech, and finally to speaking a language to a foreigner on the street (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3. Questions in which foreign languages were chosen over Lithuanian

Choice	Main Reason	Percentage
Original language with LT subtitles	**I learn** a foreign language when I listen to the original language	37.5%
Neutral attitudes towards LT speech with inserted foreign words	**I insert foreign words** into LT speech as well	52.9%
Behaviour with a foreign stranger on the street	I try to give directions	56.7%
	I answer the questions in a fluent and friendly manner	36.5%

In other words, in the cases where the respondents have chosen foreign languages over their mother tongue, the foreign language was seen as a commodity to achieve the respondents' goal of learning and speaking an additional language. Indeed, Bourdieu (1991) was the first who pointed to the many ways in which language forms part of the symbolic capital that can be mobilized in markets as interchangeable with forms of material capital. Gal (1989) also argued that the study of language needs to be framed in terms of not only the making of meaning, social categories (or identities), or social relations, but also the in political economic conditions that constrain the possibilities for making meaning and social relations.

7. Conclusion

The main aim of this study was to determine the attitudes of Lithuanians towards foreign languages in contemporary Lithuania. The research consisted of two parts, and applied both qualitative and quantitative approaches to test to what extent Lithuanians are open to other languages.

Due to its diverse historical, political, and cultural past and present situation, Lithuania has become a country worthy of attention for a sociolinguistic research, especially for the analysis of language attitudes. On the one hand, one might assume that Lithuanians would be likely to have somewhat negative attitudes towards other languages due to the lengthy spells of foreign rule that led to the imposition of super-state languages – Polish, German and, twice, Russian – and relegation of Lithuanian to semi-public and private settings (Hogan-Brun et al. 2005: 347). On the other hand, it has been 11 years since Lithuania became connected to a highly globalised world through EU membership. The opportunities created by EU membership such as sharing one's own culture with many countries, studying, and travelling abroad, etc. might lead to the inference that Lithuanians would be more likely to have positive attitudes towards foreign languages. This situation was analysed through the formulation of three research questions.

The first research question analysed the types of identities that are ascribed to speakers with different foreign accents in contemporary Lithuania. While shaping speakers' identities, the judges also formed stereotypical images that Lithuanians hold towards foreign speakers who have certain accents. In general terms, the French speaker was identified as a highly-

educated, hard-working, and honest teacher, monk or clergyman. The Spanish speaker was mostly described as a calm, modest, and shy housewife, babysitter or pre-school teacher. The Russian speaker received two completely different descriptions in the two cities. The respondents from Vilnius saw this as a benevolent, positive and practical mechanic, blacksmith or construction worker, while the interviewees from Rokiškis described the speaker as an artistic, self-assured and strong businessman, teacher or manager. The dialect speaker was seen as an active, cheerful and happy farmer, manager of a folk ensemble or driver. The American speaker was ascribed an identity of an interesting, educated and energetic businessman, engineer, IT or marketing specialist. Finally, the standard Lithuanian speaker was thought to be a polite, thoughtful and erudite professor, artist or priest.

Moreover, Table 6.1 showed that for the judges from Rokiškis, the standard Lithuanian speaker was the ultimate example of an intelligent, rich, and self-confident speaker who had the prettiest and most correct speech out of six speakers. The judges from Vilnius agreed on the fact that standard Lithuanian speaker had the most correct speech, but they saw the American speaker as the most intelligent speaker, and also as having the highest income. Nevertheless, the respondents from Vilnius expressed sentimental feelings towards the dialect speaker, saying that he is the most self-confident speaker with the prettiest language.

The most striking findings in the verbal guise technique were the positive attitudes expressed towards the Russian speaker and the more negative views assigned to the French and Spanish speakers. The research did not show that people usually have more negative attitudes towards the representatives of the languages we stereotypically consider to be inferior (for example, Russian in the Baltic States due to the previous imposition of the Russian language) (Bush 2010), but instead indicated that people are more likely to react negatively and exhibit fear towards the unknown (Oxford 1994).

The second research question examined Lithuanians' motivations for choosing Lithuanian versus foreign languages in daily life. The results showed that Lithuanian received the higher percentage in four out of nine questions. When selecting Lithuanian – first, the respondents emphasised their national identity as the main reason for choosing Lithuanian over the foreign languages. The option of choosing the foreign languages over Lithuanian was chosen in three questions out of nine. When the preference for foreign languages in daily circumstances was expressed, language was seen as a commodity to be used in achieving the respondents' goal of learning a foreign language.

The third research question evaluated the general tendency in Lithuanians' attitudes towards foreign languages. The overall tendency showed that nowadays Lithuanians express favour

for their mother tongue first and after that they express positive views towards foreign languages. The research showed that in smaller towns, standard Lithuanian has a prestigious role, while in the capital city, after their mother tongue, the American accent was greatly admired. Moreover, Spanish and French accents are still mostly unfamiliar to Lithuanians, whereas a speaker with Russian accent got various evaluations in different cities. Additionally, Lithuanians choose their mother tongue more often than foreign languages in daily life settings because they want to preserve their national identity. However, the research also showed that Lithuanians express positive attitudes towards foreign languages, and even see a foreign language speaker as an example of a highly-educated person who is able to obtain a decent income.

Drawing on the conclusion from the sociolinguistic research on language attitudes in Lithuania, it was confirmed that Tajfel and Turner's (1979) proposed "social identity theory" with its "mechanisms" of categorization in which distinctions are made between the individual's own group and outgroups is still applicable in a world which is becoming more and more globalised. By giving a more positive evaluation to the speaker of their own group, and by choosing Lithuanian more often than foreign languages in daily life settings, the research conveyed that the distinction between "us" – as Lithuanians and "them" – as foreign speakers is to some extent prevalent in Lithuania – a country, which traces its first decades as being a part of global community.

Further studies might continue by carrying out this research in other post-Soviet Eastern European countries, and perform a comparative analysis of the linguistic situation in terms of attitudes towards different accents in different countries.

As Wright (2003) wrote, "language is the prime factor in the constitution of groups as well as a major barrier between groups". This research has proven that people hold certain attitudes towards their mother tongue as well as the other languages, and that these attitudes highly depend on historical and political circumstances (Hall 2013).

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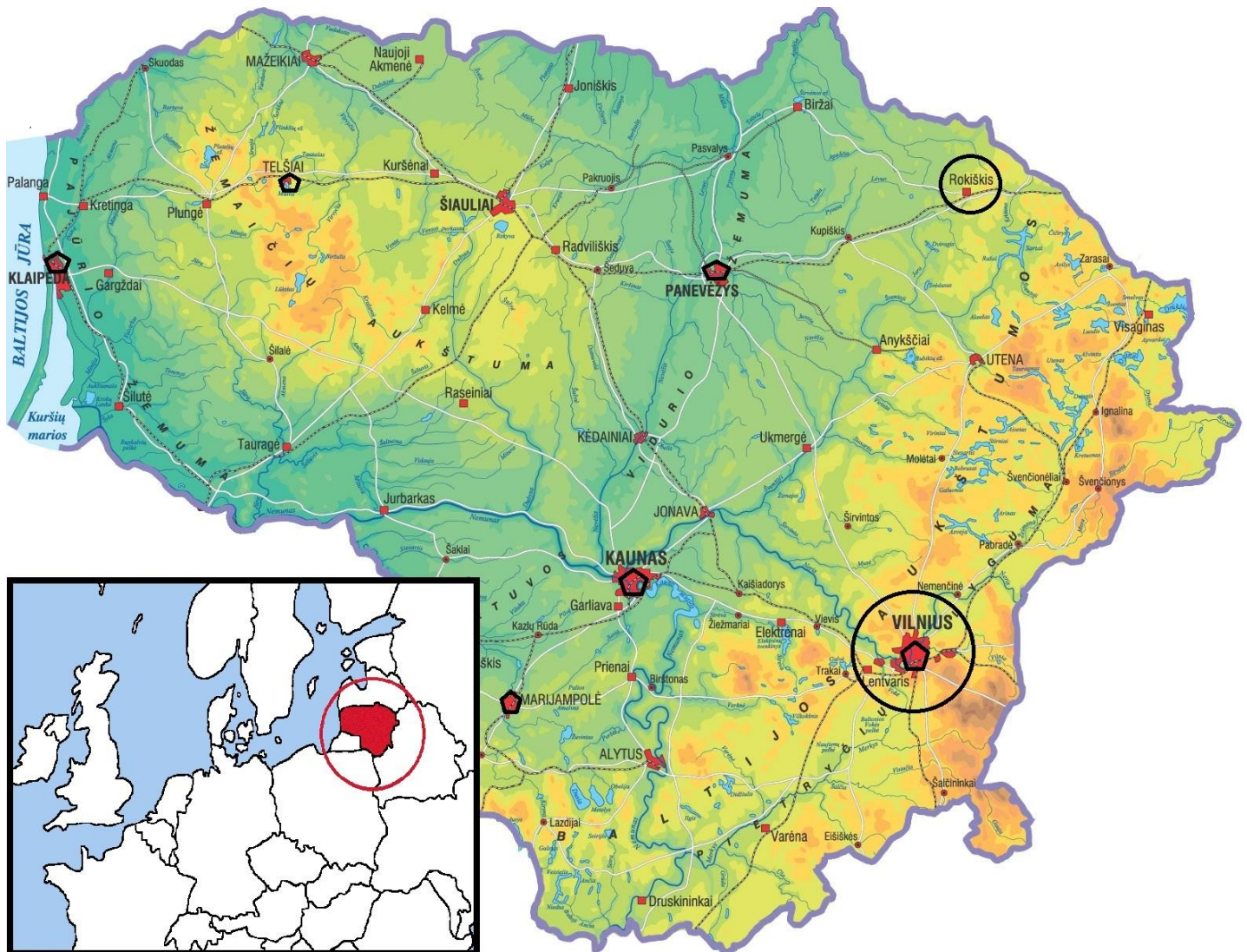
Appendices

Appendix A: Lithuanian cities where the study was carried out

Agenda:

◯ Part one: qualitative research carried out in two cities

⬠ Part two: quantitative research carried out in six cities

Appendix B: questionnaire for the listener

1. Age: _____
2. Gender: _____
3. Nationality: _____
4. Birthplace: _____
5. City where you spent most of your life _____
6. Current place of residence: _____
7. How long have you been living in this city? _____
8. Highest achieved education level (completed):_____
9. Do you currently work? _____
10. If yes, what is your job? _____
11. How many foreign countries have you visited?
    o   None
    o   Up to 5
    o   Up to 20
    o   More than 20
12. Have you ever lived abroad?
    o   Yes
    o   No (if the answer was no, you can skip question 13)
13. What was the longest time you have lived abroad? _____

By signing this form, I give permission to use the data in this survey for the current research.

Signature _____ Date:_____

Appendix C: questionnaire for the listener about the speaker

Your opinion of the speaker:

Speaker #: _____

1. What is your first opinion of the speaker and his/her speech once you've heard the recording?

_____
_____
_____

2. Which country do you think the speaker is from?_____

3. What type of a person or what kind of the image does the person create in your mind?

_____
_____
_____

_____
_____
_____

4. What do you think of how the speaker speaks?

    7   6   5   4   3   2   1

I think it's pretty   I don't think it's pretty

5. How standard is the speaker's Lithuanian?

    7   6   5   4   3   2   1

Very standard   Not standard

6. Do you think the speaker has a high or low income?

    7   6   5   4   3   2   1

High income   Low income

Why?

_____
_____
_____

7. How intelligent do you think the speaker is?

    7   6   5   4   3   2   1

Very intelligent   Not intelligent

Why?

_____
_____
_____

8. What do you think of the speaker's self-confidence level?

         7   6   5   4   3   2   1

Very confident   Not confident

Why?

_____
_____
_____

9. What kind of job would this person be likely to have?

Occupation_____

Why?

_____
_____
_____

By signing this form, I give permission to use the data in this survey for the current research.

Signature_____ Date:_____

Appendix D: questionnaire for the respondents: research part two

1. Which inscription would you chose for your doormat?
   o "Welcome!"
   o "Sveiki atvykę!"
   Why?

   _____
   _____
   _____

2. Which name for a cafe would you choose if you had to establish one in the Old Town of Vilnius?
   o *Coffee Corner*
   o *Kavos kampelis*
   Why?

   _____
   _____
   _____

3. Foreign programmes in Lithuania should be broadcast in:
   o The original language with Lithuanian subtitles
   o The original language with Lithuanian dubbing
   Why?

   _____
   _____
   _____

4. The names of foreign Lithuanian citizens on the front page of a passport should be written:
   o Only in the official language according to the pronunciation
   o In a preferred language using the Latin alphabet
   o In the original language
   o In any language and order according to the passport owner's preferences
   Why?

   _____
   _____
   _____

5. What is your usual reaction towards the foreign children names in Lithuania, such as Charlotte, Miguel, Jennifer, Luigi, etc. (several answer options are possible)
   o Positive. It shows parents' creativity.
   o Positive. Once a child grows up and starts travelling, his or her foreign friends will not have troubles pronouncing the name.
   o Negative. Why should we choose foreign names for our children if we have a lot of beautiful Lithuanian names?
   o Negative. If we continue in the same manner, Lithuanian names and the language will disappear.
   o Neutral. Who knows, maybe one or both of the parents are foreigners.
   o I feel so sorry for the child since he or she will be bullied at school in the future.

6. Do you think that it is necessary to find the equivalent in Lithuanian for foreign borrowings, e.g. the word *failas* would be changed into *rinkmena* or the word *glamūrinis* into *kerintis*, etc.?
    o   Every borrowing that appears in Lithuanian should have an equivalent; otherwise the Lithuanian language might disappear.
    o   It is not necessary to find an equivalent for every borrowing because some of the translated words do not sound natural.
    o   Borrowed and translated words should be kept to a minimum because we use the international terminology anyway in a rapidly changing world.
    o   Other _____

7. What is your reaction towards a friend who inserts foreign words while speaking Lithuanian?
    o   Positive. It shows that a person knows a lot of languages and it is interesting to listen to such speech.
    o   Negative. It shows that a person does not know or forget Lithuanian.
    o   Negative. Actually, I find it irritating and it often seems that a person is just seeking attention
    o   Neutral. I often do so myself.
    o   Negative if my Lithuanian friend does so, positive if my foreign friend does so.

8. What do you usually do when a foreign speaker approaches you and asks for directions?
    o   I usually say that I do not understand him because I will not be able to give directions in a foreign language.
    o   I answer his or her question in a fluent and friendly manner.
    o   I try to give precise directions even if my language is not fluent.
    o   I have never had an encounter with a foreign speaker on the street.
    o   Other _____

9. What is your reaction towards the fact that the number of the recently established international schools is growing in Lithuania, e.g. *The American International School of Vilnius,* the *Ecole Française de Vilnius*.
    o   Positive. Finally we have an alternative option for Polish and Russian schools.
    o   Positive. The more languages a child speaks, the better it is for his or her future. I would also like my child to attend such a school.
    o   Positive. However, I would like my child to attend a Lithuanian school.
    o   Negative. I am afraid such schools might overshadow Lithuanian schools one day and Lithuanian children will not learn Lithuanian.
    o   Other _____

Appendix E: types of dubbing in European countries
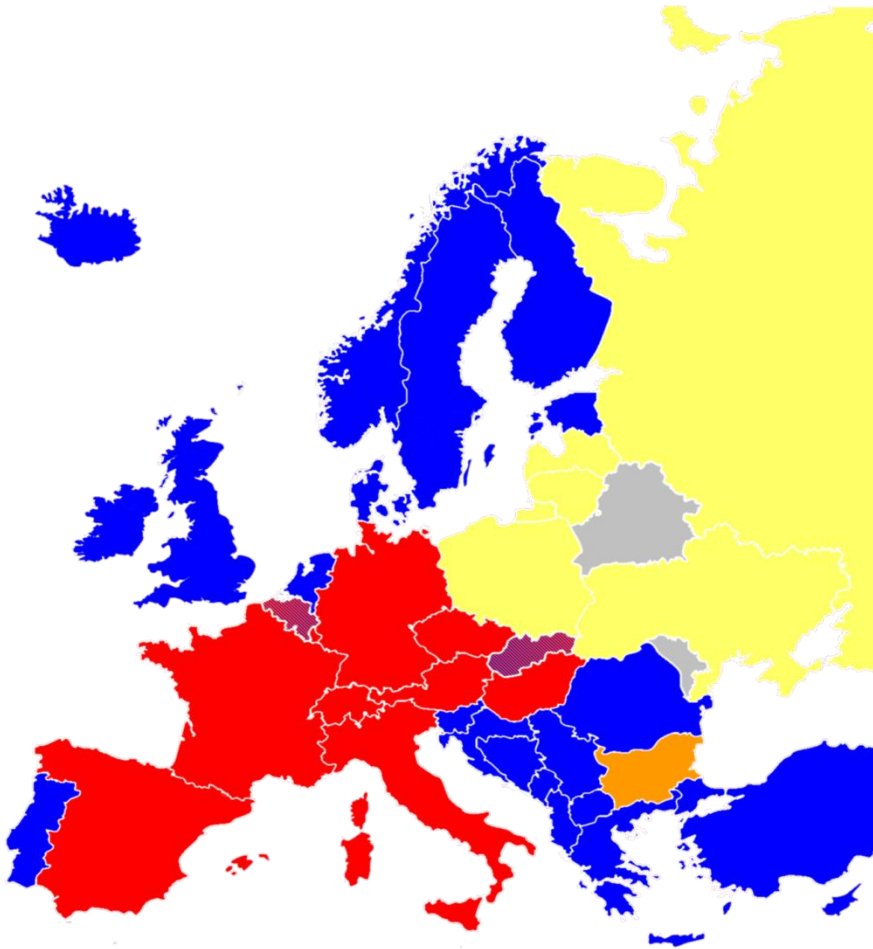
■ Dubbing only for children, otherwise solely subtitles

■ Mixed areas: Countries using occasional multiple-voice voice-overs on broadcast TV, otherwise solely subtitles.

□ Voice-over: Countries using usually two or more voice actors, otherwise the original soundtrack remains such as in Poland and Russia. This method is used in TV broadcasting, but dubbing is also used in these countries.

■ General dubbing: Countries using exclusively a full-cast dubbing, both for films and TV series, although in Polish, Czech and Slovak cinemas, only children's movies are usually dubbed.

■ Countries that produce their own dubbings, but often use dubbed versions from another country whose language is sufficiently similar so that the local audience understands it easily (French and Dutch for Belgium and Czech for Slovakia.)