

Language Attitudes in a Minority Language Context: The Case of Sodankylä and Enontekiö

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Abstract

Language attitude research provides a possibility for explaining linguistic variation in the repertoire of the multilingual minority speaker as well as the process of language change in a minority community. Minority attitudes towards the mother tongue and the multilingual situation have strong effects on the status of the minority language within a given community. As the Saami language is agreed to constitute an integral part of the Saami individual's identity, its speakers are able to reflect on a variety of the facets of attitudes to the minority language including the use, the usefulness and the role of the minority/majority language in the community, language policies, minority education, minority language maintenance and revitalization. In this paper I give an insight into how the language attitudes of the North Saami minority in two municipalities in Finnish Lapland have changed over a decade's time. I look into the ways how integrative and instrumental attitudes manifest themselves in the attitude rating scales and in the open answers on language attitudes. The research is based on a longitudinal survey using questionnaires. A variety of attitudinal statements are compared and analysed to conclude that the bilingual situation in the community is both subtractive due to the decreasing use of Saami in everyday life and also additive due to the positive attitudes of Saami towards their mother tongue and Saami-Finnish bilingualism.

Keywords: endangered languages, minority languages, language revitalization, language attitude

1. Introduction

The issue of endangered languages has grown in importance as today the world's dominant languages are rapidly expanding while indigenous languages are disappearing at an alarming rate. Therefore, in recent years, there has been an increasing research interest in examining the linguistic status of endangered minority languages. According to Winford (2003:6-9) "languages in contact can influence one another in different degrees and at different levels, also depending on the social factors at play and on the social conditions in which the contact takes place, producing language change". Most of the research in the realm of language change focused on examining minority language use, analysing

the language on its way to language attrition and the factors influencing the direction of language change. However, less attention has been paid to the role of attitudes towards the endangered language in this process, especially in the community under investigation. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to this area of research by examining the language attitudes of the North Saami minority communities in Sodankylä and Enontekiö in Finnish Lapland, especially focusing on the ways minority language attitudes have changed there over a decade. North Saami spoken by about 1900 people in Finnish Lapland is regarded as a threatened language whose speakers have been exposed to the influence of majority Finnish leading to the eventual decrease in the functions of the minority language. The Saami are in a language shift situation in which several extra-linguistic factors work for and against this process. Today both the minority and majority take measures to maintain and revitalize the Saami language.

In this paper I present some of the results of the first phase of the longitudinal study launched in 2003 and followed up on in 2013. This questionnaire survey involved 60 Saami speakers in 2003 and the same sample of 40 speakers in 2013 in the same speech community and was seeking to address the following research questions: (1) Has North Saami gained more prestige in the community since 2003? (2) How have integrative and instrumental minority attitudes changed over the past decade?

Firstly, I provide an overview of the terminology and review the literature related to the paper followed by the presentation of the research design and the methodology applied on the course of the study. Next, I sum up the results which are detailed in the discussion afterwards. Finally, the conclusion gives a brief summary and critique of the findings. Here research methods are also reconsidered and areas for further research are identified.

2. Literature review

A considerable amount of literature has been published on language shift and language change in the past decades. These studies define language shift as a process during which a speech community, due to several factors, leaves its mother tongue and gradually switches to the regular use of another language variety, to the majority language as a rule. Multilingualism in such minority communities is unstable, a transitory state leading to the loss of the first language through language change and eventually to language shift (Fishman 1968, Gal 1979, Haugen 1990, Weinreich 1953).

Multilingual speakers not only switch between languages depending on the situation or language competency, but also overtly express their attitudes towards that language variety, its speakers and the multilingual situation they are in. Hogg & Vaughan (2005:150) reflects this view when identifying

language attitudes as “a relatively enduring organization of beliefs, feelings, and behavioral tendencies towards socially significant objects, groups, events or symbols”. While a variety of other definitions of the term language attitude have been suggested, this paper will use the narrow socio-psychological definition proposed by Ryan and Giles who saw language attitude as a sum of evaluative judgments about a language or a language variant and most of all about the speakers of that variant (Ryan et al. 1982:7). As the definitions suggest language attitudes issues extend to all manner of sociolinguistic and social psychological phenomena, such as how we position ourselves socially, e.g. as a minority member of a speech community and how we relate to other individuals and groups, e.g. the majority. Thus, language attitudes may be an indication of our identity that also affect our behaviors and experiences.

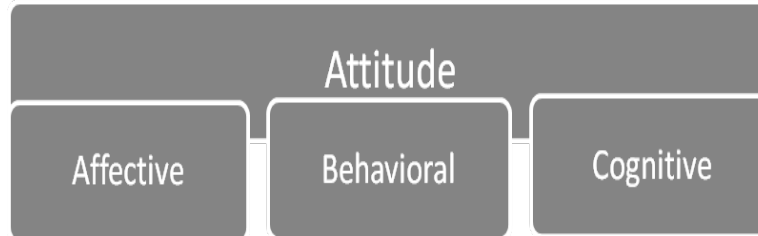
As it has been argued above there is a dynamic relationship between language and language attitudes and as language constitutes an integral part of society and individuals’ identity, people’s attitudes towards it must have strong effects on its status within a given minority community and therefore can indicate language health (see Baker 1992). Similarly, Lewis claims (1981) that attitude is just as important a factor in the process of language shift as the size and the age distribution of the minority community itself. It is also generally accepted that attitudes can function as both input into and output from social action. In areas such as educational research, language planning and language revitalization, this potential duality is particularly important. To take the case of Welsh-language education in Wales, Baker (1992) sees attitudes towards the Welsh language as an important input factor to the learning and general revival of the Welsh language. In sum, language attitudes research provides a backdrop for explaining linguistic variation and change, as well as language shift in a minority speech community.

Language change and especially language attitudes have been a focus of numerous outstanding pieces of research in minority communities in Hungary. Borbély (2001, 2010, 2014) has carried out comparative as well as longitudinal studies on language change and language attitudes in several communities in Hungary. Language attitudes have also been studied in German, Romani and Slovak minority communities in Hungary (see: Bartha 2007, Erb 2007, Pálmainé Orsós 2007, Uhrin 2007).

There are two types of attitudinal orientation defined as the two-dimensional model of language attitudes (Baker 1992). Firstly, the integrative one shows a desire to identify with the language and the culture and can guarantee a long-term motivation. Secondly, the instrumental one can be characterized by utilitarian motives and the aim of the speaker is to achieve social acknowledgement.

Attitude structure, similarly to ethnic identity (see Phinney, 1992), can be described in terms of three components which are usually linked.

Figure 1. The ABC Model of Attitudes



The affective component, as exemplified below, involves a person's emotions about the attitude object, in this case the minority language variety. It also shows how strongly the individual feels a sense of belonging and commitment to the ethnic community and its language. As suggested by Phinney (1992) Asian Americans exhibit both positive and negative perceptions of their ethnicity and a balance that may shift over time. This component is associated with how positive are the person's feelings towards his or her ethnicity and language. Attitudinal statements from the present study below illustrate this component of the attitude structure.

1. *I like speaking Saami*
2. *There are things which sound nicer in Saami*
3. *I like listening to Saami speech*

The behavioral or conative component refers to the way attitude influences how we act or behave. This component also demonstrates the level of the individual's involvement in activities related to his or her ethnicity. Such activities may include speaking the ethnic minority language and participating in minority language education as well as practising cultural traditions or eating ethnic foods.

1. *I will be using Saami when I grow up*
2. *I want to marry a Saami when I grow up*
3. *I want my children to learn Saami at school*
4. *When I grow up I want to be thought of as a person who uses both Saami and Finnish*

The cognitive component involves a person's belief/knowledge about the attitude object. This third element of the model also focuses on the extent to which individuals adopt or are interested in their ethnicity in terms of its history, traditions and values or its future.

1. *I believe Saami will disappear as everyone here speaks Finnish*
2. *I think it's difficult to learn the Saami language*
3. *Saami doesn't have a place in the modern world*
4. *There's no use maintaining Saami for future generations*

Central to this study is the classification of bilingual situations. According to Lambert (1974) bilingual situations can be categorized as additive or subtractive ones. In the former the speaker of the minority language lives in a community where his or her mother tongue is supported by the majority and thus his or her linguistic repertoire is enriched with the knowledge of the majority language. In the latter situation the minority language speakers have fewer and fewer domains of language use as a result of the majority language being societally more dominant leading to the erosion of the first language and thus shifting to the regular use of the majority language. Similarly, Göncz (1999:25) claims that in an additive bilingual situation both language variants, their use in the community and their cultures are equally appreciated and guaranteed a parallel development to foster their acquisition as mother tongue. An interesting question is whether there exist bilingual situations which can be described as additive and subtractive at the same time bearing the characteristics of both situations at a certain period of time during the language change process. This research seeks to address this question.

3. Research design and methodology

The aim of the study is to grasp the process of change in language attitudes in the Saami speech communities of Sodankylä and Enontekiö. In order to do so, i.e. to make connections between the past and present, a longitudinal study has been designed. Similar studies in sociolinguistics focusing on language change are motivated by the realization that apparent-time data, i.e. data gathered at a certain time in the past, cannot demonstrate an actual language change in progress, but informants must be recruited and tested at later times to track the changes in real time (see Labov 1972, Nahkola–Saanihahti 2004). Thus, such studies make use of both apparent-time and real-time data gathered at different points of time, often decades apart.

This longitudinal study has been carried out in the speech communities mentioned above since 2002. I selected these two communities as sociolinguistic research mapping minority language use and attitudes has not been carried out in them apart from Marjut Aikio's outstanding work on the language change situation of the Saami in Vuotso (Aikio 1988).

The Saami in Enontekiö live concentrated in the central village of Hetta and in some other smaller communities, while the Saami in Sodankylä are spread along the main road leading through the central village of Sodankylä and the

major reindeer pastures of the region. According to census data, during the first phase of the study Sodankylä had 120 Saamis constituting 1.5% of the population of Sodankylä municipality and Enontekiö had 180 taking up 8% of the population. Both communities were ethnically mixed having (1) Saamis (2) Finns (3) Saami-Finnish families and their descendants who consider themselves Saami/Finnish based on family background or mostly on linguistic/cultural attachment.

Figure 2: The map of Finnish Lapland



(Source: <http://lappi.sekl.fi/lappi/yleista/toiminta-alue-ja-seurakunnat>)

The major objective of the first survey was to describe the linguistic situation through norms of language use and minority language attitudes. The study was conducted in the form of a paper survey, with data being gathered via questionnaires in Finnish to inquire about the following issues: (1) domains and degree of North Saami language use (2) preferences for language choice (3)

attitudes towards Saami, Saami language use, maintenance and revitalization as well as Saami-Finnish bilingualism (4) norms of language use and language attitudes examined in relation to social variables of age, gender, occupation and linguistic background (see Duray 2008). I used mailed surveys because the aim here was to have as many respondents as possible to filter those who would later be willing to participate in a face-to-face interview and because respondents live in hard-to-reach areas.

The initial sample was stratified according to mother tongue, place of living and age (25 year and above) with the help of the Finnish Statistical Office. The sample is characterized by an even distribution of gender. 60% of the participants were reindeer herders or were engaged in related activities. 90% learnt Saami at home, 100% were bilingual, about half of them multilingual. In the sample I had 227 Saamis in Enontekiö and Sodankylä in 2003 and then resampled 179 of the original sample in 2013 (48 of them passed away during the decade). In the 2003 study 60 participants returned the questionnaires, while the 2013 one had 30 respondents. The aim was to repeat the study in the same communities using the same methods and asking the same questions. The research was mostly variable-oriented and concerned with assessing the correspondence between 2-3 key variables (age, gender, occupation).

In the 2003 study patterns of language use and favourable attitudes towards minority and majority language use indicated that the speech community was in an additive bilingual situation. Yet, functional language loss seemed to be an on-going process facilitated by (1) fading community compactness (loss of traditional livelihoods) (2) the increasing role of the majority language in everyday life (media, work, education etc.). However, some factors have been working against language shift in the past decades including the increasing role of Saami language teaching, of the media and internet in Saami as well as of the institutions involved in revitalization and the positive attitudes of the Saami towards their mother tongue and its revitalization.

4. Hypothesis

Taking the results of the 2003 study into consideration, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

1. Language attitudes towards Saami and the phenomena of Saami-Finnish bilingualism have become more positive during 2003-2013 irrespective of e.g. gender or occupation
2. Saami speakers are in a bilingual situation both additive and subtractive

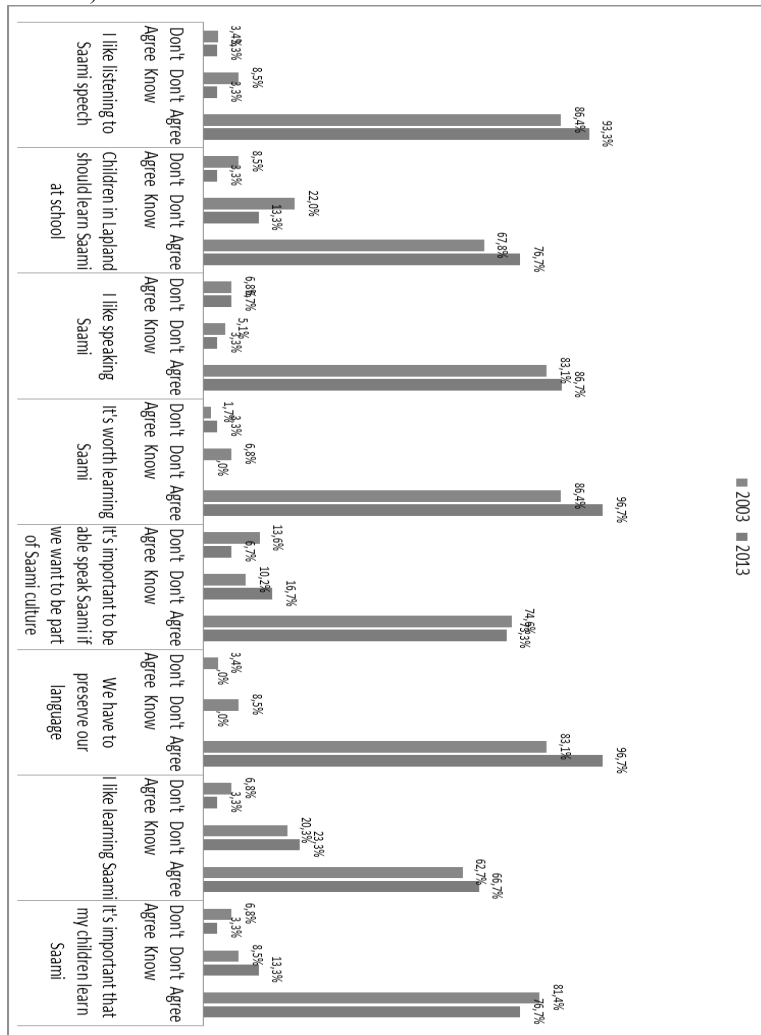
5. Results

Saami identity seems to be strongly linked to language, i.e. being a Saami equals with being a member of the Saami-speaking community. Beside some

other subjective criteria the Saami language has been a major element in the definition of 'Saaminess' which distinguishes Saamis from others. Attitudes also shape identities and thus attitudes towards Saami influence the way Saami identify themselves as part of the Saami community. For this reason and due to the fact that attitudes towards the use and maintenance of Saami have not been investigated prior to this study, I designed an attitude questionnaire in Finnish (see the Appendix). Language choice was determined by the fact that reading and writing skills in Saami are not always as reliable as in Finnish so I needed to make sure that respondents are at ease when filling in the questionnaire. During the design of the questionnaire I particularly paid attention to include attitudinal statements that represent all three types of attitude components, i.e. the affective, the behavioural and the cognitive ones (see Phinney 1992). The questionnaire included two sets of statements enquiring about attitudes towards Saami and towards Saami and Finnish. Informants were required to indicate on a scale how much they agree with the attitude statements. The questionnaire also included some open questions to allow informants to express why they like or dislike Saami and Finnish respectively. The survey was launched in 2003 and repeated in 2013.

Language attitudes were examined in relation to the social variables of age, gender and occupation. Below I present some of the results which best indicate the process of attitude change throughout the previous decade.

Figure 3: Change in Integrative and Instrumental Attitudes towards Saami (2003-2013)

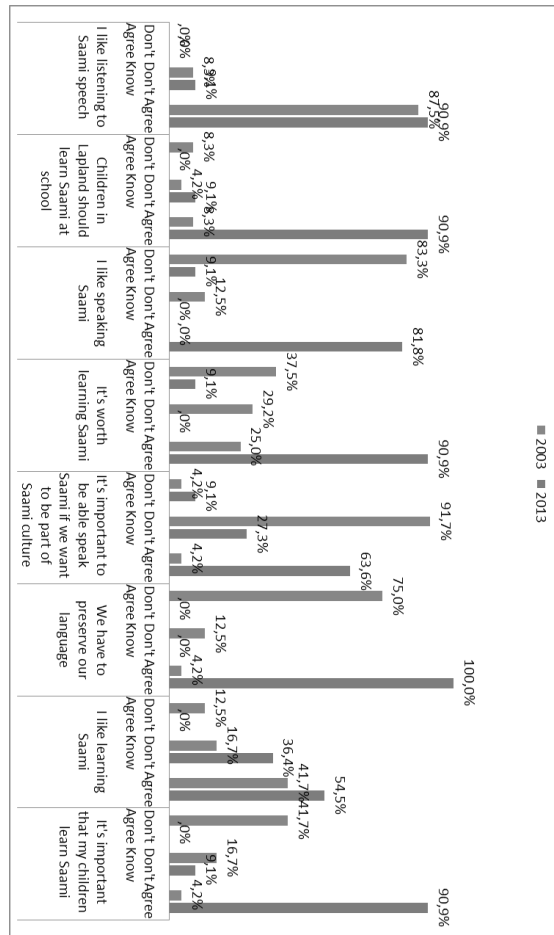


The figures show that during 2003-2013 attitudes towards Saami have remained stable, i.e. highly positive with a moderate increase in the number of Saamis who agree more with both the integrative and instrumental aspects of the Saami language. Although there is a slightly more articulated desire to maintain and learn the language at school, there is a slight drop in the number of Saamis who are convinced that the mother tongue should be passed on to their children. The data also show that fewer Saamis believe that the knowledge of their mother tongue is needed to be able to establish closer bonds with Saami culture.

Overall, the general pattern of longitudinal changes in attitudes was towards the more positive irrespective of the social variables of gender or occupation.

Reindeer herders, as illustrated in figure 4 below, have given increasing prestige to Saami over the years. In 2013 100% of them claim that it is essential to preserve Saami and more than 90% highly agree with statements emphasizing the importance of transmitting Saami to children. Today both instrumental (*It's worth learning Saami*) and integrative attitudes (*I like listening to Saami speech, I like speaking Saami*) are strongly positive. Strikingly, reindeer herders' attitude towards the maintenance of Saami has turned from being totally negative to positive. Similarly, while 83% of them did not like speaking Saami in 2003, today 82% of them do so.

Figure 4: Change in General Attitudes of Reindeer herders towards Saami (2003-2013)



In figure 3 and 4 the data also show that Saami consider education to have an important role in passing down Saami on younger generation. What plays the most important role in the maintenance of the Saami language and culture? Is it education or other domains, such as the family, or institutions including Saami cultural and political organizations or majority policy makers? What the Saami think about this interesting question remains to be investigated during the next phase of the research.

Figure 5: Change in General Attitudes towards Saami and Finnish bilingualism (2003-2013)

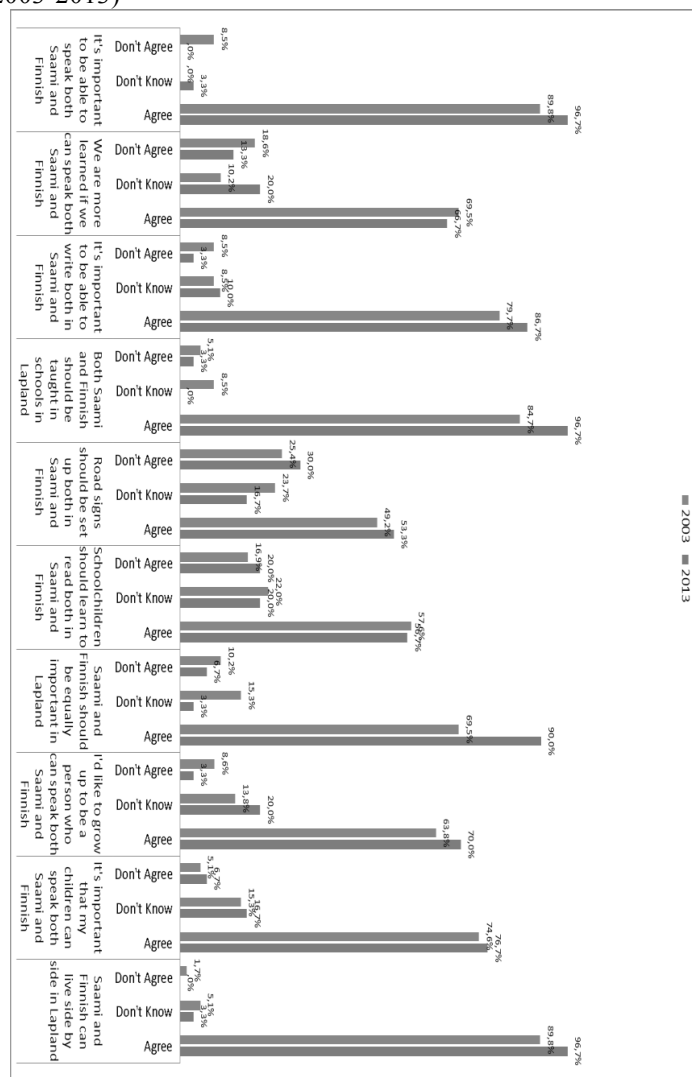
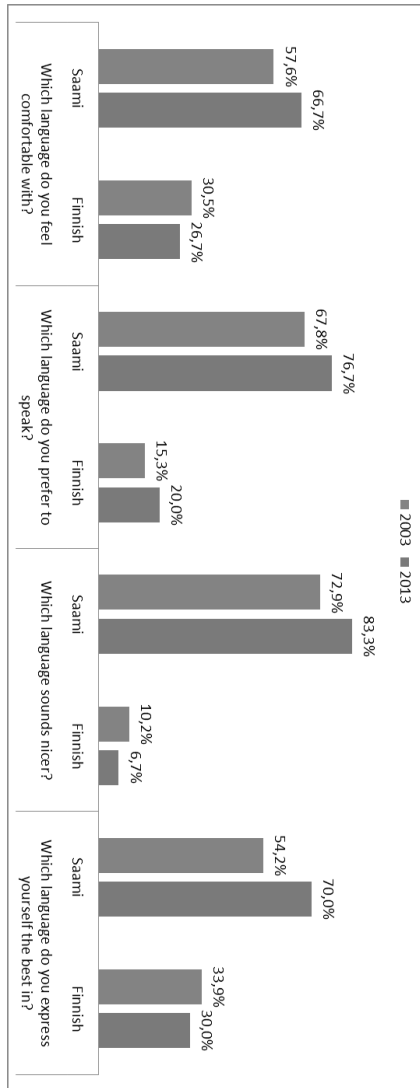


Figure 5 illustrates that the Saami participating in the survey do not consider the Saami-Finnish bilingual situation restrictive or negative in any way, but think about it as something natural and positive. Overall, attitudes have become more positive since 2003. The rest of the data also suggests that 80–90% of all age groups consider bilingual language teaching as an essential way of passing Saami on to children.

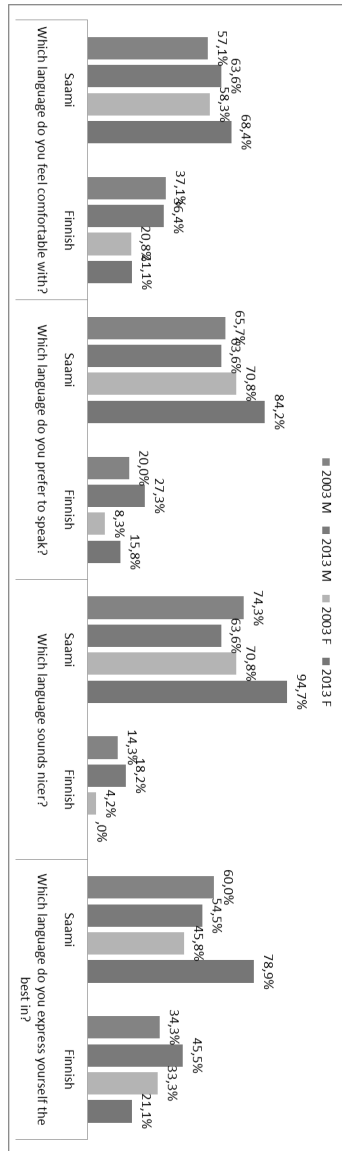
Figure 6: Change in Integrative Attitudes towards Saami and Finnish (2003-2013)



As indicated in figure 6 the Saami have very strong emotional ties with their mother tongue and that there has been a slight increase in positive attitudes since 2003. The richness and beauty of Saami seem to be just as much important as its value as a means of establishing contacts with other Saami members of the community. It must be claimed, however, that only these highly positive attitudes towards the characteristics of the Saami language does not guarantee the long term survival of the language. The actual use of the minority language in informal and formal domains is needed to be promoted for the Saami to be maintained. Despite the decreasing domains of Saami language use in the community (see Duray 2008), the data here also indicate that around 70% of the Saami still feel at ease when speaking Saami.

Analysing the same set of questions it is apparent from the data in figure 7 below that Saami women seem to be more positive than men about their mother tongue being nicer and easier to use than Finnish. In the figure there is a clear trend of women being more and more attached to Saami over a decade's time.

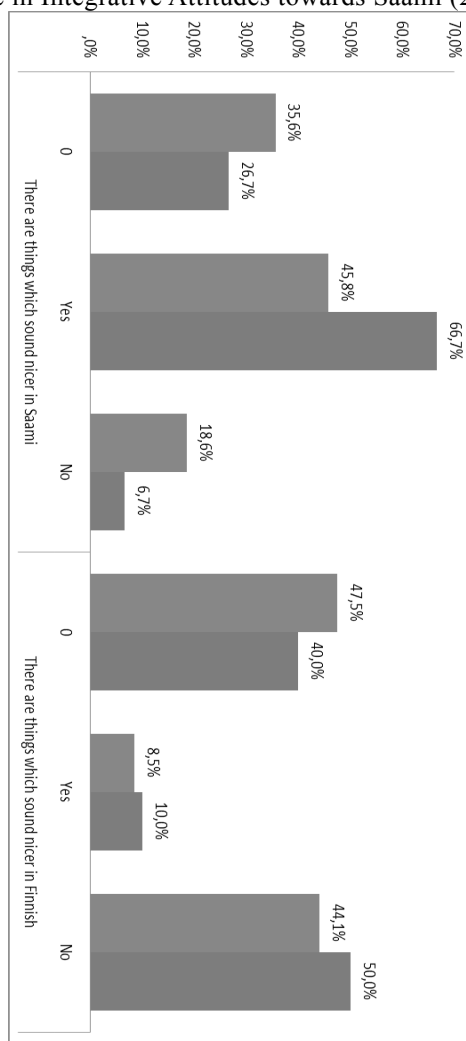
Figure 7: Change in Integrative Attitudes towards Saami and Finnish according to gender (2003-2013)



In the next section of the questionnaire respondents were required to indicate whether there are words or expressions that sound nicer in either Saami or Finnish. The majority of those who responded to these items felt that there are definitely more words that sound nicer in Saami than in Finnish. Most of the words mentioned here were related to life events, e.g weddings and death, to

nature and to words which are strongly attached to traditional Saami culture including reindeer herding and fishing. Others mentioned radio news in Saami, music, songs, poems, prayers and greetings that sound nicer in Saami. Only some of the respondents mentioned words that I nicer in Finnish than in Saami, including the lyrics of war time songs and words related to modern technology and illnesses. From the data in figure 8, it is clear that there has been a considerable increase in the number of Saamis over the period of 2003-2013 who claim that there are more words in the Saami language than in Finnish which sound nicer.

Figure 8: Change in Integrative Attitudes towards Saami (2003-2013)



In the final part of the questionnaire I included some open-ended items because of the consideration that qualitative analysis would usefully supplement and extend the quantitative analysis. Respondents were required here to explain why they like or do not like Saami or Finnish. The answers below were ranked in accordance with the frequency of the answers given by the respondents. They suggest that the love of the Saami language is deeply rooted in its role being the first language to have been acquired in the family. All of the four Saamis, who answered negatively, either learnt Saami at school, so Saami is a second language, live in a dominantly Finnish interethnic marriage or lack domains where the mother tongue could be used. So, these statements point to the fact that most of the respondents consider Finnish as a natural element of their identity and have mostly instrumental attitudes towards it.

I like Saami because ...

- (1) *It's my mother tongue*
- (2) *It's the language I learnt first/as a child*
- (3) *It's my mother tongue I use every day*
- (4) *It's the language we speak at home*
- (5) *It's the language I can express myself the best in*
- (6) *It's a nice language*
- (7) *It's the language I can express my feelings and emotions the best in*
- (8) *It's the language I write poems in, I paint my pictures in Saami*
- (9) *If I speak Saami I'm part of the Saami culture, reindeer herding and handicrafts*
- (10) *All of my relatives speak it*
- (11) *It's much more pleasant to talk to people who speak Saami*

I like Finnish because ...

- (1) *It's an official language*
- (2) *It's the language I use*
- (3) *It's the language I learnt at school*
- (4) *I need it in my everyday life*
- (5) *It's the language I can communicate in with Finnish people in the shop*
- (6) *It's the language I can use every day as most of the people here speak Finnish*
- (7) *It's the main language of my country and I have a lot of friends who only speak Finnish*

- (8) *It's the official language so we must be familiar with it*
- (9) *It's the language I can express things that I didn't learn in Saami*
- (10) *It's the language I rely on when talking about technology*
- (11) *It's part of my everyday life and everyone understands it*
- (12) *My husband is Finnish and I appreciate that*
- (13) *This language also has a past*
- (14) *My younger friends speak it*
- (15) *We must speak it if we want to be understood outside the Saami territories*

I don't like Saami because ...

- (1) *I have never learnt it perfectly*
- (2) *I can't read or write it*
- (3) *I have no one to talk to in Saami*
- (4) *New Saami words are confusing, old people don't understand this 'new Saami'*

I don't like Finnish because ...

- (1) *For me it's a foreign language*
- (2) *I learnt it at school and it's not my mother tongue*
- (3) *It occupies too much place for itself in Finland and eats up all the other languages in the country*
- (4) *It's the language of the state*

6. Conclusion

This paper has given an insight into the minority attitudes of the Saami in Enontekiö and Sodankylä in 2003-2013. Returning to the hypothesis posed at the beginning of this study, it is now possible to state that the Saami bilingual situation can be characterized by positive attitudes towards the minority language and several aspects of the Saami-Finnish bilingual situation in Finland. Although the decreasing use of Saami in the informal domains of language use is an ongoing process, there is no reason to consider the bilingual situation a subtractive one as long as the minority has perceptibly positive attitudes towards the Saami language and demonstrates a strong bond with both the Saami and the Finnish language. Although the current study is based on a small sample of participants, it can be concluded that a complete shift towards additive bilingualism can only happen if those groups who play a responsible role in forming minority attitudes also demonstrated positive attitudes towards Saami and if the everyday use of the minority language increased in formal and

mostly informal domains of language use. Both of those issues remain to be investigated in the future in order to have a more subtle picture of the prospects of the North Saami language in Finnish Lapland.

This longitudinal study has so far proved to be a useful way to gain insight into the general tendencies of change in Saami language use and attitudes. One of the most significant advantages of the study was the fact that I could observe the same set of items over a long period of time and its difficulty lied in the method of selecting and examining a large number of variables so that I can select the data required later in the research.

Notwithstanding the results described above several limitations to this study need to be acknowledged and some points need to be considered and reconsidered when designing the following phase of the research. Firstly, attitude measurement does not provide an exact picture of informants' attitudes for several reasons. First of all, the informants might react to the statements in a way they believe the interviewer or the society would expect from them. For example, they would like to be considered as Saamis who completely agree with the fact that the Saami language has its place in modern society, although they think otherwise. Second of all, informants might not be interested in the research itself or have negative attitudes towards it. And third of all, we cannot predict actual behavior on the basis of attitudes alone. The basic finding of decades of research justifies this by claiming that sometimes people act in accordance with their attitudes, and other times they act in ways that are quite inconsistent with their attitudes (LaPiere 1934; Zanna – Fazio, 1982).

Therefore, one way to make attitude measurement more reliable is to observe informants' behavior in certain domains of language use and/or conduct a sociolinguistic interview based on the contents of questionnaire in the original research design. The research questions to be answered in the future are the following:

1. Do minority speakers behave consistently with their attitudes?
2. What are those situations that promote attitude-behavior consistency?
3. Under what conditions do what kinds of attitudes of what kinds of individuals predict what kinds of behavior?

The current questionnaire survey has been a variable-oriented one focusing on 2-3 key variables (age, gender, occupation). The weakness of it is the tendency towards false generalizations. Unlike the previous research the longitudinal change in attitude patterns will be complemented by the assessment of attitudes towards Saami on the level of the individual. Case-oriented and cross-case analysis will help uncover the factors that explain similarities and differences among individuals' attitude over time towards their mother tongue and the

bilingual situation as well as the factors that cause change in the individuals' attitude.

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Appendix**Attitude Questionnaire****(translated from Finnish)**

What do you think about the following statements? Do you agree or disagree?

Mark your answer (✓)

	Agree	Don't Know	Don't Agree
1. I like listening to Saami.			
2. I prefer watching Finnish programs to Saami ones.			
3. Children in Lapland should learn Saami at school.			
4. It's not worth preserving Saami.			
5. I like speaking Saami.			
6. It's difficult to learn Saami.			
7. There're some other languages more useful than Saami.			
I will most probably use Saami when I grow up.			
9. It's worth learning Saami.			
10. Saami doesn't have a place in the modern world.			
11. Saami will disappear because everyone speaks Finnish here.			
12. It's important to be able to speak Saami if we want to be part of Saami culture.			
13. We have to preserve our language.			
14. Teaching Saami shouldn't be made compulsory.			
15. I want Saami to replace Finnish in Lapland.			
16. It's difficult to study in Saami.			
17. Those who speak Saami are considered to occupy a low position in society.			
18. I like learning Saami.			
19. I want to marry a Saami when I grow up.			

20. It's important that my children learn Saami.			
21. It's easier to get a job if you speak Finnish fluently.			

What do you think about the following statements? Do you agree or disagree?
Mark your answer (✓)

	Agree	Don't Know	Don't Agree
1. It's important to be able to speak both Saami and Finnish.			
2. There should be only one language to be used in Lapland.			
3. We are more learned if we can speak both Saami and Finnish.			
4. Children get confused if they learn both Saami and Finnish.			
5. It's easier to get a job if you can speak both Saami and Finnish.			
6. It's important to be able to write both in Saami and Finnish.			
7. Both Saami and Finnish should be taught in schools in Lapland.			
8. Road signs should be set up both in Saami and Finnish.			
9. It's not difficult to speak two languages.			
10. It causes problems if you can speak two languages.			
11. I regret those who can't speak Saami and Finnish.			
12. Schoolchildren should learn to read both in Saami and Finnish.			
13. You know more if you can speak both Saami and Finnish.			
14. Those who can speak both Saami and Finnish have more friends.			
15. Only the elderly should speak Saami and Finnish.			

16. If you can speak both Saami and Finnish, it's easier to be promoted.			
17. Children learn Saami just as easy as Finnish.			
18. Saami and Finnish should be equally important in Lapland.			
19. Salary is better if you can speak both Saami and Finnish.			
20. I don't want Finnish to replace Saami.			
21. I'd like to grow up to be a person who can speak both Saami and Finnish.			
22. Everyone should speak Saami and Finnish.			
23. It's important that my children can speak both Saami and Finnish.			
24. Saami and Finnish can live side by side.			
25. Everyone should speak one language only.			
26. It's easier to learn another language if you can already speak two.			

Mark your answer (✓)

	Saami	Finnish
1. Which language do you feel comfortable with?		
2. Which language do you prefer to speak?		
3. Which language sounds nicer?		
4. Which language do you express yourself the best in?		
	Yes*	No
1. There are things which sound nicer in Saami *Give examples		
2. There are things which sound nicer in Finnish * Give examples		

I like Saami because ...

I don't like Saami because ...

I like Finnish because ...

I don't like Finnish because ...